

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN FINNISH UPPER
SECONDARY GENERAL SCHOOL AND
THEIR JOB SATISFACTION**

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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Opettajien työtyytyväisyyttä on tutkittu jonkin verran, mutta lukio-opettajiin keskittyviä tutkimuksia ei juuri ole. Monissa aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa on sen lisäksi käytetty työtyytyväisyyden määritelmiä, joissa ei huomioida tyytyväisyys-käsitteen kaksijakoisuutta. Tässä tutkielmassa käytetään Evansin määritelmää työtyytyväisyydestä. Evans jakaa käsitteen kahteen eri osaan, joiden englanninkieliset nimitykset ovat 'job fulfilment' ja 'job comfort'. Edellinen kuvaa niitä työhön liittyviä asioita, joista opettajat saavat eniten tyydytystä työssään ja jälkimmäinen tarkoittaa sellaisia asioita, joille annetaan arvosana tyydyttävä. Lisäksi tutkitaan, mitkä seikat aiheuttavat tyytymättömyyttä.

Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää suomalaisten lukion englanninopettajien työtyytyväisyyttä. Tätä varten haastateltiin yhteensä kuutta opettajaa kahdesta eri lukiosta. Tutkielma vastaa kysymyksiin: 1) Mistä asioista lukion englanninopettajat saavat tyydytystä työssään? 2) Mille asioille he antavat arvosanan tyydyttävä? 3) Mihin asioihin he ovat tyytymättömiä työssään? Litteroidut teemahaastattelut on analysoitu teema-analyysin keinoin ja aineisto on jaoteltu tutkimuskysymysten mukaisesti kolmeen osaan.

Tulokset osoittivat, että opettajilla oli hyvin yksilölliset näkemykset työtyytyväisyydestä. Monet asiat olivat joidenkin opettajien mielestä tyydyttävällä tasolla tai he saivat niistä jopa tyydytystä, kun taas jotkut olivat niihin tyytymättömiä. Jotkut opettajat taas kokivat jonkun tietyn asian toisaalta olevan hyvin, mutta toisaalta taas huonosti. Tämän takia tuloslistoissa esiintyy samoja asioita kahdessa tai jopa kaikissa kolmessa kohdassa. Opettajat saivat eniten tyydytystä oppilaiden sekä työtovereiden kanssa työskentelemisestä. Muita esille tulleita seikkoja olivat englannin kieli, kielten opettaminen, onnistumiset ja lukion opettajien arvostus. Arvosana tyydyttävä annettiin mm. työolosuhteille, opetusmateriaalille, rehtorille, palkalle ja työtovereille. Tyytymättömyyttä aiheuttivat mm. työmäärä, työolosuhteet, palkka, rehtori ja opetusmateriaali.

Haastatteluista kävi ilmi, että puolet opettajista oli yleisesti ottaen tyytyväisiä työhönsä ja puolet taas ei. Huolestuttavaa oli, että kaikki opettajat sanoivat työmäärän olevan kohtuuton. Onneksi kuitenkin kaikki löysivät myös hyviä puolia työstään. Jatkossa tarvittaisiin lisätutkimuksia esim. lukiossa muita aineita opettavien työtyytyväisyydestä. Lisäksi Evansin määritelmiä olisi hyvä testata myös muiden ammattiryhmien työtyytyväisyystutkimuksissa.

Asiasanat: language education. job satisfaction. job fulfilment. job comfort. job dissatisfaction. teachers.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Work is usually a fairly big part of people's lives and therefore it is essential that they like it. People also normally work some 30-40 years, so a lot is demanded from work that people would like it the whole time. Of course people change jobs more often than earlier and jobs are not that stable or permanent, but still people need to feel good about it to be capable of doing it. Studies on job satisfaction are needed to gain knowledge of how much people enjoy their work. With the help of that knowledge their work can be made more enjoyable and there might be more smiling faces in working places.

In the media there has been a lot of discussion about teachers' work and how it has become more demanding and tiring, since students have more and more different kinds of psychological problems and they are more restless and disobedient. In addition, schools have less and less resources and therefore teaching groups have been made bigger and it still adds to teachers' stress. Thus, as a future teacher, I'm concerned about how teachers are doing and what could be done to make their work more enjoyable. That is a reason why I chose to study teachers' job satisfaction.

In the literature, many potential effects of job satisfaction are dealt with. Many of them are fairly serious, and therefore employers and also employees should pay attention to job satisfaction. It has been hypothesized that job satisfaction would have an effect on job performance or productivity (e.g. Spector 1997:55-56, Herzberg et al. 1959:51). It has been thought that if an employee is happy, he or she is also productive. However, the correlation between job satisfaction and job performance has been only modest in many studies. Spector (1997:56) claims that this may have been caused by some problems in measuring job performance. Spector adds that also the opposite is possible: if an employee is productive, he or she may be satisfied with his work.

Another hypothesis is that if an employee is dissatisfied with his work, he or she may be absent a lot and may even quit (e.g. Spector 1997:58-65, Vroom 1964:175-180). In many studies there has been inconsistency in the

correlations between job satisfaction and absence (Spector 1997:59-63). However, absence is a complex issue and there can be many other reasons behind it than job satisfaction. Turnover and job dissatisfaction, in contrast, have a causal correlation: job dissatisfaction causes turnover. Nevertheless, also there are other factors that influence turnover. For example, when there are many other working possibilities for a person, he or she will quit more easily than during high unemployment.

In some studies a link has been found between job satisfaction and both physical and mental health (Spector 1997:66-67, Locke 1976:1328-30). It has even been suggested that job dissatisfaction may shorten a person's life. Job dissatisfaction can cause, for example, psychosomatic symptoms such as head- and stomach ache, high cholesterol, anxiety, and depression. Thus, if these results are correct, it is very important to pay attention to people's well-being at work.

In addition, job satisfaction and life satisfaction may depend on each other (Spector 1997:68-70, Judge and Church 2000:173-174). Because work is usually a fairly big part of a person's life, well-being at work can therefore affect life in general, and vice versa. There are three different hypotheses that have been suggested about their relation (Judge and Church 2000:173-174). The first is the spillover hypothesis. Accordingly, a person's feelings in one area of life have an effect on other areas as well. For example, if a person is very satisfied at work, this positive feeling may "spill over" to his or her personal life, too. The second one is the compensation hypothesis. It means, for instance, that people try to compensate their feelings of dissatisfaction at work by devoting all their energies to being happy outside of work, and vice versa. The third one is the segmentation hypothesis which suggests that the feelings about one's work and personal life are separate and do not have anything to do with each other. Judge and Church mention a study where these three hypotheses were tested. It turned out that spillover seemed to be involved in 68% of the cases, whereas segmentation in 20% and compensation in 12% of the cases.

It is obvious that personality also has an effect on a person's job satisfaction (Vroom 1964:160). Some people are dissatisfied with their job no matter what they do (Spector 1997:50). Some people, in contrast, are always satisfied. However, it is usually possible to affect job satisfaction by making some improvements either in the working conditions or in the work itself and therefore job satisfaction studies are needed.

In this study job satisfaction of six English teachers in upper secondary general school is studied. Upper secondary general school teachers' job satisfaction has not been studied much and therefore they were chosen as subjects for this study. In addition, I am personally interested in working in that school level and that is also one reason why these subjects were chosen. A total of six teachers from two different schools are interviewed. That way it is possible to make comparisons between the schools and also within a school. The framework for this study is taken from Evans (1998). She divides the concept of job satisfaction into two different terms, job fulfilment and job comfort. Job fulfilment describes the satisfying aspects of one's job, whereas job comfort the satisfactory ones. The teachers are asked to divide aspects of their job according to those two terms. In addition, they are asked to describe dissatisfactory aspects of their job.

In chapter 2 the concept of job satisfaction is discussed. Four different theories or views about job satisfaction are outlined there. The next chapter reviews previous research. There are a lot of studies relating to job satisfaction, but not so many concentrating on teachers or on language teachers especially. For the present purpose four studies were chosen which all concentrate on teachers in different school levels. In chapter 4 the present study is explained in more detail and the research questions, subjects, data collection and data analysis are described. Chapter 5 reports the results of this study. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first deals with job fulfilment, the second with job comfort and the third with job dissatisfaction. In chapter 6 the results are discussed and in chapter 7 some conclusions are made.

2 WHAT IS JOB SATISFACTION?

Job satisfaction has been studied a great deal, starting from the 1920s and 1930s, but there still is no definition that everybody would agree on. In the following sections, three of the most popular theories on job satisfaction are outlined in a chronological order. The oldest one is Maslow's need hierarchy theory from the 1950s. The second one is Herzberg's two-factor theory which was also developed in the 1950s. The third one is Locke's value-percept theory from the late 1960s. In addition, a fairly recent model by Evans is reviewed. The three older theories are general theories of job satisfaction, whereas Evans concentrates on teachers.

2.1 Maslow's need hierarchy theory

Maslow's need hierarchy theory (1954) has been a popular theory and it has been used in studying work motivation and satisfaction. It is a theory of human motivation and it is based on needs. Accordingly, people have different kinds of needs that are categorized under five topics: physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs and self-actualization need. Maslow claims that the needs are hierarchical and they therefore appear in this order. Thus, physiological needs are the first ones to emerge and self-actualization becomes last. For example, when physiological needs have been satisfied fairly well, safety needs appear and when safety needs are gratified, belongingness and love emerge and so on. When lower needs are satisfied, they become less important and they are not sources of motivation any longer. Thus, if hungry people get enough food, the hunger will no longer motivate them and they move on to the next need level.

The first group is **physiological needs** and they include, for example, food, water and air (Maslow 1975:34,39; 1954:16). These are the most basic needs that people try to fulfil. If a person is living in extremely poor conditions and is missing everything, it is most likely that he or she is not motivated by anything else than by the physiological needs. Thus, if a person is hungry, is not feeling safe, is not loved by anyone, and is lacking esteem he or she will most certainly

be looking for food and ignore safety, love and esteem. The other needs are then pushed aside or they disappear totally. The physiological needs differ from the other sets of needs in that they are not usually related to each other or to other motivators either.

The second group is called **safety needs** (Maslow 1954:18; 1975:39). This category comprises, for example, need to feel safe, including also economical security, the need for stability, and not needing to be afraid of anything. People also wish that there is a structure, an order, laws, and limits in society and in their lives. Furthermore, absence of pain and illnesses belong to this group of needs. In Maslow's opinion, the safety needs of healthy adults in Western societies are normally fairly satisfied since the society runs smoothly and people do not have to be afraid of, for example, wild animals, extremes of temperature, or chaos.

The third category in Maslow's (1954:20) hierarchy includes **belongingness and love needs**. First of all, people want to love and be loved and secondly, they want to belong to a family or a group. They therefore find friends, a mate or children important. People whose love needs are unsatisfied try to get any kind of relations with people in general. They hope to find their own place in a group or in a family. Maslow claims that if a person moves from place to place in childhood, he or she may become rootless and may always feel that he or she is an outsider. In addition, Maslow is of the opinion that many of the youth rebellion groups are caused by lack of belongingness. Young people want to feel that they are a part of a group.

Maslow (1954:21-22) claims that the fourth set of needs comprises **esteem needs**. Usually everybody wishes to have a positive picture of themselves and feel self-respect and have self-esteem. Everybody also wishes to be respected by others. Maslow classifies the esteem needs in two categories. The first one includes the desire to be competent and able to achieve what one wants and be independent. The second one relates to a person's desire for prestige or reputation, being important and being appreciated. Thus, the first category relates to one's own feelings about oneself and the second involves what other

people think about one. When these needs are satisfied people are self-confident and believe in themselves and feel that they are necessary in the world. However, unsatisfied esteem needs make people feel inferior, weak, and helpless. Although esteem needs are partly based on other people's opinions, Maslow wants to point out that self-esteem should not be based on external fame but the respect must be really earned and it needs to be based on a person's actual achievements.

In Maslow's (1954:22) opinion, the final category involves **self-actualization need**. Maslow says that every person has his or her own nature and everybody should be true to that. Thus, everyone should do what best suits for them. The term self-actualization is defined by Maslow (1954:22) as follows: "It refers to people's desire for self-fulfilment, namely, the tendency for them to become actualized in what they are potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one idiosyncratically is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming". Maslow adds that all people are different and there therefore is great variation in the self-actualization need. Nevertheless, he points out that one feature is common for these needs and that is that they will normally appear only after the previous needs (physiological, safety, love and esteem needs) have all been satisfied.

Although Maslow (1975:37) claims that the previous needs have to be satisfied before the next ones appear, he does not mean that lower needs would have to be completely satisfied until higher needs emerge. His point is that needs appear gradually and needs from different categories can be present at the same time. However, usually lower needs are more gratified than higher ones. Maslow (1954:26-27) also admits that there is some variation in the hierarchy among individuals. For example, some people are innately creative and this quality is usually connected with self-actualization. Nevertheless, these people do not have to be satisfied in their basic needs to be creative.

Maslow's need hierarchy has been criticized. It has been claimed that Maslow himself disproves the idea of hierarchy because he admits that needs do not exist only one at a time but several or even all levels of needs can be at work at

the same time (Locke 1976:1309). Some have also come to the conclusion that prepotency does not necessarily exist (Lawler and Suttle 1975:40). The criticism is continued by concentrating on satisfied needs. Maslow (1975:31) has claimed that when a need is satisfied it does not motivate the person any more. However, no need can be gratified permanently. For example, if a person is hungry he or she can eat and therefore satisfy the need for a while but the hunger keeps coming back. Thus, it has been argued that needs have to be gratified over and over again and they do not disappear (Locke 1976:1309).

It has been argued that Maslow does not give any explanations for needs (Locke 1976:1308). Many of the concepts Maslow uses are needs but he does not give any reasons for them. In addition, Maslow's need categories have been criticized because Maslow has grouped together elements that do not fit together. For example, such needs as not needing to be afraid of physical harm and economical security are both in the same category. They do not seem to belong together since the former can threaten one's life while the latter cannot. Finally, it has been pointed out that Maslow bases the idea of self-esteem on false grounds. In Maslow's opinion, self-esteem is partly based on how other people view the person. Locke (1976:1308), in contrast, points out that some psychotherapists claim that if a person bases his or her self-esteem on other people's opinions, it can be interpreted as a neurosis.

Further weaknesses in Maslow's theory have been found. Maslow's term self-actualization and the way it has been explained have been attacked:

It is virtually impossible to find an intelligible definition of the concept of self-actualization in Maslow's writings. For example, to "become more and more what one is" is self-contradictory. To become "everything that one is capable of becoming" is impossible if taken literally, since every person is metaphysically capable of becoming an almost unlimited number of things. A person who tried to become self-actualized in this respect would probably become neurotic due to unresolvable conflicts among the thousands of choices open to him (e.g., with respect to character, occupation, activities, friends, etc.). As Maslow defines it, the term self-actualization has no coherent meaning and cannot be used to explain anything. (Locke 1976:1308)

Neither in the book nor in the article that I read did Maslow present any research results or referred to any studies when he explained his theory. He just stated his ideas as facts and did not give good reasons for them. The theory

would have been more reliable if there had been some evidence on how he came to the conclusions. Lawler and Suttle (1975:40) say that Maslow's theory has not been widely tested. The reason for that is that the theory is difficult to test because it would demand longitudinal studies or experimental data.

2.2 Herzberg's two-factor theory

Herzberg's two-factor theory has been widely used in studying work motivation and work satisfaction (Steers and Porter 1975:87-88). The theory has several names: two-factor theory, dual-factor theory or motivation-hygiene theory. It was first published in 1959 and developed further in 1966. Herzberg's theory has been important in the sense that it has inspired many researchers and it has made people think more about workers' motivation. The theory also reached employers and managers, since it was simple and easy to understand. What further enhanced its popularity among managers was that it offered recommendations for improving motivation at work.

Herzberg's two-factor theory (1966:71,75) is based on human needs. Accordingly, humans have two kinds of needs. We humans have our animal side and that is why we try to avoid pain and everything that is unpleasant. But we differ from animals in the sense that we have also other kinds of needs. We want to grow psychologically and have a need for self-actualization. From this duality of needs stems two different kinds of job attitudes. One of them relates to work itself and the other to working environment. This fact will be discussed further in this section.

Herzberg (1966:71) formed his theory after a study that involved two hundred engineers and accountants in Pittsburgh. They were interviewed and asked to tell the researcher about events at work that made them feel exceptionally good and which improved their job satisfaction considerably and correspondingly name situations that reduced their job satisfaction. The interviewees were asked what the reasons were that made them feel as they did. They were also asked if these events had any effect on their performance at work, on their personal relationships or on their welfare.

Based on his data, Herzberg (1966:72-74) found sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction and there seemed to be a clear division between the factors that caused satisfaction and that caused dissatisfaction. Herzberg noticed that there were five factors that stood out as satisfiers and they were achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement. Of these factors the last three were those that produced long-term changes in attitudes towards the job. When the interviewees told about the situations that reduced their job satisfaction they very seldom mentioned any of these five factors. Instead, the following factors appeared to be the sources of dissatisfaction: company policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relationships, and working conditions. These factors usually caused attitude changes that did not last long.

When Herzberg (1966:74) studied closer these two sets of factors that affected job satisfaction he realized that the factors that were sources of job satisfaction related to work, whereas the factors that caused job dissatisfaction related to the working environment. Herzberg named the “dissatisfiers” as hygiene factors. The term is used in its medical form, meaning “preventative and environmental”. The hygiene factors are sometimes called also maintenance factors. The factors that caused satisfaction were to be called motivators. Herzberg justifies this choice of name by stating that other results of the study suggest that these factors are good motivators and make employees work harder and with better outcomes.

Herzberg (1966:76) claims that because job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are caused by different factors these two terms are not opposites of each other. Instead, the opposite of job satisfaction is *no* job satisfaction and the opposite of job dissatisfaction is *no* job dissatisfaction. Herzberg admits that this is a difficult thing to understand and he therefore gives an example that explains the division. He compares job satisfaction to vision and job dissatisfaction to hearing. The two senses are separate dimensions because vision is stimulated by light and hearing by sound. If one increases or decreases light it will not

affect hearing in any way and likewise if one manipulates sound it will not have an impact on vision.

Herzberg (1966:75) combined hygiene factors and motivators with two different kinds of human needs. Hygiene factors relate to animal needs. People want to avoid pain and unpleasantness and aspects of the working context or environment can lead to job dissatisfaction. Motivators, on the other hand, can lead to job satisfaction because they help a person to grow psychologically and reach self-actualization.

Herzberg et al. (1959:113-115) explain that both motivators and hygiene factors meet the needs of employees but motivators seem to be more important because they cause job satisfaction and improve employees' performance at work. This is the kinds of qualities that industry wants from workers. Thus, in their opinion, improving hygiene factors only prevents job dissatisfaction, but if managers really want to make their employees more satisfied they need to pay attention to motivators. Even if the working context would be perfect it does not necessarily make workers satisfied if there is something wrong with the work itself. Herzberg et al. add that if there are only limited opportunities for the motivators to work the job environment has to be very good in order for the work to be tolerable. Thus, Herzberg et al. (1959:131-132) state that good hygiene is not enough, it is only a beginning for employees to be happy at work.

Although Herzberg's two-factor theory has interested many people and it has been widely used it has also been criticized quite a lot. Herzberg (1966:92-93) himself names two aspects that have been criticized. The first one concerns generalizing of the results to involve all employees when the study was done only among engineers and accountants. Herzberg presents in his latter book (1966) nine studies where his theory has been used and his results verified. In these studies seventeen different occupations have been involved and the results seemed to support the two-factor theory. Another point that has been criticized is psychological research itself. It differs from the hard sciences since there are many variables that are involved and the researcher may have a

greater effect on the results. That is why replication of studies is in Herzberg's (1966:92) opinion very important in psychology and he therefore reports nine replications of his study.

It has been pointed out that the distinction between hygiene factors and motivators may derive from people's defensive processes (Vroom 1964:129). When the work is going well and people are satisfied they connect this satisfaction to themselves and their own achievements. In contrast, when people are not satisfied with their work they blame the working environment for it. Herzberg (1966:130-131) thinks that this view is naïve. In his opinion, it is just the opposite. He claims that when employees want to look good in the eyes of others they will say that they are not satisfied because they are not given enough responsibility, they have little opportunities for promotion and personal growth rather than blame the supervisor, co-workers, or working conditions.

Using Herzberg's method may contaminate the results because the researcher has to make interpretations. An example of this is given below:

For example, the dimension of supervision encompasses, among others, the categories: 'supervisor competent,' (b) 'supervisor incompetent,' and (c) 'supervisor showed favouritism.' The three classifications all require an interpretation of the superior's behavior. If the respondent offers the evaluation, no interpretation by the rater is required. However, if the subject merely describes the supervisor's behavior, an evaluation by the rater is necessary. (House and Wigdor 1975:107)

Thus, researchers need to be very careful when interpreting respondents' answers. It would be advisable to ask for clarifying questions if the respondents' opinions remain unclear for the researcher in order not to have to make unnecessary interpretations.

The criticism is continued by revealing that in some studies achievement and recognition have been found to be dissatisfiers (House and Wigdor 1975:111) while in Herzberg's (1966:72) opinion they are merely satisfiers. It has also been claimed that a factor can be a source of job satisfaction for one person whereas it causes job dissatisfaction for another (House and Wigdor 1975:111,

Evans 1998:147). Herzberg's sharp division of factors into motivators and hygiene factors is therefore questionable. In addition, there is disagreement with Herzberg in another aspect, too. Herzberg (1966:75-76) claims that the hygiene factors cannot cause job satisfaction. Thus, if the dissatisfiers were removed it would not lead to job satisfaction. However, Evans' (1998:143-144) studies did not support this view. This difference arises from the fact that Evans and Herzberg define the term 'job satisfaction' differently. This is discussed further in section 2.4.

Herzberg's study was made in the 1950s and it involved only male workers. In the replication studies that he reports in the latter book (1966) some women were studied. At that time there were a lot fewer women at work and they worked mostly in different occupations than men. Thus, the society today is different from the society sixty years ago so there can also be changes in job satisfaction and how people view it. We should therefore be a little cautious with Herzberg's theory.

2.3 Locke's value-percept theory

In addition to Maslow's and Herzberg's theories, Locke's theory has been one of the most popular theories of job satisfaction. Locke (1976:1300) defines job satisfaction as "a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences". Locke (1976:1303-1304,1308) is mostly interested in **values**. He describes a value as something that a person wants or desires and that improves his or her well-being. In his opinion, values have to be separated from needs, since they are two different concepts. He criticizes, for example, Maslow's need hierarchy theory because it does not make a distinction between values and needs, since they are mostly identical. Locke argues that needs are in a sense "objective". They are necessary for a person to stay alive and to be healthy and they exist whether a person realizes them or not. However, values are "subjective" because a person thinks about them consciously or subconsciously. In addition, Locke claims that needs are innate, whereas values are acquired. The basic needs of all people are therefore

the same but individuals value different issues. Thus, if people's needs require them to act, it is their values that determine what they actually will do.

Locke (1976:1306-1307) justifies his point of view further by stating that it is obvious that all people do not listen to their needs. He mentions alcoholics, for example. They violate their basic needs since excessive use of alcohol is not good for their systems. Their needs and values therefore differ from each other considerably. Locke states, however, that one does not gain as strong pleasure from a value that is contradictory to one's needs as one would from a value that is similar with one's needs.

According to Locke (1976:1304-1306), one cannot say that all values are equally good or important. Individuals value different issues and experience job satisfaction differently. Locke states that a person's job satisfaction reflects two different aspects: discrepancy and importance. The first one describes the discrepancy or relation between what people want and what they think they are getting. The second one reflects how important people consider the things they wanted. Thus, if there is a discrepancy between what people desired and what they received, it will cause dissatisfaction only if it is an important issue for them (Judge and Church 2000:168-169). Locke (1976:1301,1305) views a job consisting of many different elements and the overall job satisfaction is formed by rating the elements separately and then summing them up. In his opinion, "it is the (perceived) job situation in relation to the individual's values that is the most direct determinant of job satisfaction" (Locke 1976:1304).

Locke (1976:1311-1313) criticizes Herzberg's theory since in his opinion Herzberg is not logical in how he classifies incidents. Locke gives an example of Herzberg's inconsistency in classification: if an employee thinks that the work is too difficult or too easy it is put under the topic "work itself". However, if an employee says that there is too much or too little work it belongs to the category "working conditions". In Locke's view this inconsistency in Herzberg's classification derives from the fact that Herzberg fails to recognize two different classes. The first one is the event or condition which makes the employee satisfied or dissatisfied and the second one is the

agent that makes the event or condition to happen. Locke includes the following events to the event or condition category: task activity (enjoying/disliking the work or the task itself), amount of work, smoothness, success, promotion, responsibility, recognition, money, interpersonal atmosphere and physical working conditions. As agents he names: self (the employee himself), supervisors, co-workers, subordinates, organization and management (no particular persons mentioned), customers (students in the case of teachers) and nonhuman agents (nature, machinery, weather etc.).

There is a problem in Locke's theory concerning values and their importance (Judge and Church 2000:169). Usually when people want something they also find it important. In principle they are two different concepts but in practice it is difficult for many people to separate them. Judge and Church give an example that relates to pay: why would people want a lot of money of their work if they do not find money important? Nevertheless, Judge and Church report that there are many studies that support Locke's theory. In addition, Locke does not make a distinction between what an employee thinks is satisfactory and what is satisfying in his or her work. The importance of this distinction is explained in section 2.4.

2.4 Evans' view of job satisfaction

Evans (1997, 1998) has studied teachers' job satisfaction and she has found problems relating to the concept of job satisfaction. In Evans' (1997:320-21, 1998:3-6) opinion, the problems are caused by the fact that there is no clear or agreed definition for job satisfaction. Several different definitions have been used. Evans adds that many of them are not even real definitions but they just describe what kind of consequences job satisfaction has or they list its characteristic features. In some cases, job satisfaction has not been defined at all. Evans points out that in Herzberg's two-factor theory, for example, there is no definition for job satisfaction.

Evans (1997:321) mentions another problem that stems from the unclear definition. It relates to construct validity which means that the specific terms

are accepted and understood. If the researcher and subjects interpret key concepts differently then construct validity is threatened. Thus, Evans states that since researchers do not agree on the concept of job satisfaction, there will emerge problems with construct validity because researchers cannot express exactly what they mean when they talk about job satisfaction or because they cannot explain how the subjects understand the concept.

Still another problem that concerns the term job satisfaction is the ambiguity of the word satisfaction. Evans (1997:322, 1998:6-8) is the first one who has realized, in connection to the research on job satisfaction, that the word satisfaction can be understood as meaning either satisfactory or satisfying meaning different things. Evans states that no other researcher has paid attention to this distinction and how it has an effect on any study on job satisfaction. The fact is that there is a great difference if an employee thinks that his work is satisfactory or satisfying. Evans therefore has a point when she claims that there are problems with previous research in the field of teachers' satisfaction, since the ambiguity is ignored and it is not clear if the researchers are reporting satisfactory or satisfying aspects of the job or both. Evans mentions that in Herzberg's two-factor theory the distinction is implicit. Thus, what Herzberg defines as hygiene factors are usually the elements of work that make a job satisfactory whereas motivation factors can mostly be related to the aspects that make a job satisfying. However, Evans did not find any evidence that Herzberg would have acknowledged the ambiguity of the word satisfaction.

Based on her research, Evans (1998:10-12) states that there are two options for clarifying the term job satisfaction. One needs to define job satisfaction so that the definition includes and explains the two different meanings of satisfaction, or the term needs to be cut in two parts and define satisfactory and satisfying elements separately. Evans suggests that two different terms could be used, **job comfort** and **job fulfilment**. Job comfort includes the aspects of a job that a person thinks are satisfactory. Evans (1998:11) explains that "job comfort relates to the extent to which the individual feels comfortable in his/her job. More specifically, it is about the extent to which the individual is satisfied

with, but not by, the conditions and circumstances of his/her job.” Job fulfilment, in contrast, involves the elements of the job that are satisfying. In Evans’ opinion job fulfilment includes people’s assessment of how good they are in their job. Evans (1998:11) defines job fulfilment as “a state of mind encompassing all of the feelings determined by the extent of the sense of personal achievement which the individual attributes to his/her performance of those components of his/her job which s/he values”. Evans adds that job fulfilment reveals how people themselves feel that they have made achievements and therefore it is not an objective evaluation.

Evans (1998:12) states that job comfort and job fulfilment are both determined by how a person evaluates different aspects of his or her job. When a person feels that he or she has not self affected the circumstances or conditions, job comfort is involved and it may be high or low, depending on how satisfactory the conditions are. However, when a person feels that his or her own achievements have had an effect on the working conditions or circumstances that he or she thinks are valuable and important, job fulfilment is involved. Job fulfilment, too, can be high or low.

As pointed out, Evans (1998:12) is of the opinion that job satisfaction consists of two components, job comfort and job fulfilment. Evans defines job satisfaction as “a state of mind encompassing all those feelings determined by the extent to which the individual perceives her/his job-related needs to be being met” (1998:12). Evans adds that she thinks that there is a connection between Maslow’s and Herzberg’s theories. Maslow categorized needs into higher and lower ones and Herzberg had hygiene and motivation factors. The connection still needs to be studied more closely, but Evans believes that there is one. Evans suggests that what she categorizes as job comfort involves how well a person’s lower needs that relate to the job are satisfied and job fulfilment concerns the higher job-related needs being met.

A problem in Evans’ ideas is that they have not been widely tested. Evans herself has conducted a few studies, where a satisfactory-satisfying distinction has been taken into account. However, I could find only one other study

(Laitinen 2001) where Evans' ideas were mentioned and in that study only little attention was paid to them.

3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON TEACHERS' JOB SATISFACTION

In general, teachers' job satisfaction has been studied quite a lot. There are studies that concern teachers in certain school levels (e.g., Voutilainen 1982, Mustonen and Saarinen 2003, and Evans 1998) and studies of teachers' of certain subjects (e.g. Laitinen 2001 and Taipale 1996). However, there seemed not to be many studies that concentrated especially on language or English teachers. In addition, only a few studies have been conducted among upper secondary general school teachers. I review four studies that in my opinion relate best to my own study. At first I describe a study concerning primary school teachers and then I move on to studies on language and English teacher that are closer to my target group.

Evans has studied primary school teachers' morale, motivation and job satisfaction. I chose Evans because I like her ideas about job satisfaction and I am using them in my study. Secondly, I chose Mustonen and Saarinen's study. It relates to my study in that it concentrates on language teachers in Finnish upper secondary general school. It does not involve job satisfaction directly, but it was the closest one I found. Thirdly, I outline Pennington's review of studies. It was one of the few studies that included teachers of English as a second language. However, the teachers in those studies are native speakers of English, while in my study the teachers' mother tongue is Finnish. Finally, I summarize Lyytinen and Vuori's study. It is the closest to my study in the sense that they studied the job satisfaction of Finnish teachers of English. Their study involved, however, teachers in comprehensive school and at a workers' institute, whereas I study upper secondary general school teachers.

3.1 Four interrelating studies concerning teachers' job satisfaction, morale and motivation

Evans (1998:46-47) wanted to study teachers' attitudes toward their work because she thought that there had been misunderstandings in previous research. Evans has been working as a primary school teacher and she claims that wrong things have been considered to motivate teachers, to affect their

morale and to be behind their job satisfaction. In her opinion, these misunderstandings derive from two issues. The first one is that people have based their ideas on conventional wisdom instead of relying on research results. The second one is that the research that has been conducted has not been appropriate. Evans claims that there has been a vicious circle: the research has been based on conventional wisdom and the research which has not been well designed has supported the conventional wisdom. Evans wanted to study teachers' attitudes more closely and find the real reasons behind their attitudes.

Evans (1998:47-52, 62) conducted four different studies that were related to each other. They involved teacher morale, motivation and job satisfaction. The studies were carried out among primary school teachers in the UK. Evans wants to emphasize that she is presenting the teachers' subjective views about their work. In her opinion, it would not be possible to evaluate the "correctness" of their opinions, and it would not even be relevant, since even if the teachers would misinterpret factors relating to their work, it is still their point of view and that is what interests her.

The first of Evans' (1998:48-52, 70-71) studies was a pilot study and it was conducted in a Rockville County Primary School. This school was chosen because it had a reputation of a "low morale" school where many staff members were dissatisfied. The purpose of the study was to find out the level of morale and job satisfaction among the teachers and the factors that had an impact on the levels. Three different methods were used in the data collection. Firstly, Evans made observations at the school over one academic year starting in 1988. She worked there as a part-time classteacher and as a classroom support colleague. The observation was not structured or organized in any way. Its main purpose was to provide some background information about the school climate and the relationships among the members of staff. Secondly, Evans interviewed 12 teachers in the school. The interviews were semi-structured and the schedule was structured around different themes. In addition, Evans interviewed the school secretary and one teacher that worked at the Rockville-based English Language Teaching Centre. By doing this, Evans wanted to hear the opinions of people who work in the Rockville context but

who were not directly involved in teaching there, and she tried to get a more balanced view of the Rockville situation. The interviews were carried out either at Evans' home or at the interviewees' homes and their average length was 75 minutes. Finally, the teacher interviewees filled in a questionnaire after the interviews. The questionnaires included statements and the respondents reacted to them on a six-point scale. The questionnaires had three purposes: to ascertain how much the different opinions were shared among the teachers, to find out if there were any inconsistencies in the answers between the interviews and the questionnaires, and to quantify the teachers' levels of job satisfaction, job dissatisfaction and morale.

Based on the data from the first study, Evans (1998:59-67) found out that many of the Rockville teachers were dissatisfied with the school management. The headteacher led the school in a *laissez-faire* manner and let a few teachers in the senior management group do what they liked. The headteacher did not do anything to improve the situation, though many teachers complained about it. However, though most of the teachers did not like the way the school was run, it had different kinds of effects on different teachers. Some people were ready to quit, whereas it did not have any kind of impact on other teachers' job satisfaction or morale. Thus, Evans found that job satisfaction and morale were very individually experienced by the teachers. Evans concluded that there were three different factors that explained the differences in the teachers' views. They are **professionalism**, **relative perspective** and **realistic expectations** and they are explained in the following.

Evans (1998:74-75, 148) found out that teachers' professionalism had a great impact on their work-related attitudes. Evans uses the terms that Hoyle (1975, as quoted by Evans 1998) has introduced. Hoyle claimed that teachers' professionalism can range from '**extended**' to '**restricted**'. Professionalism does not mean the same as professionalism. Professionalism is related to teachers' knowledge, proficiency and way to work, whereas professionalism refers to elements that are related to the status of a profession. Professionalism is mostly about behaviour while professionalism relates to thinking. If a teacher is a 'restricted' professional, he or she refers to intuition and conventional wisdom.

He or she bases the ideas on the day-to-day life in the classroom and his or her view is therefore somewhat narrow. An 'extended' professional, in contrast, has a wider perspective and he or she relies on theory and research results. He or she looks at his work in a more analytic and reasoned way. Usually teachers who work in a school where most of the staff have the same kind of professionalism as themselves are more satisfied than teachers whose professionalism clashes with the others.

By relative perspective Evans (1998:150-151) refers to how teachers view their work when related to other aspects. For example, teachers may have worked in another school and they can compare the situation and how things were done there. In addition, they can reflect their work to their life outside of school and can make prioritisations accordingly. Comparative experiences have an impact on the teachers' opinions about their current job, since teachers can make comparisons and can rate their current post as favourable or not.

Realistic expectations do not reveal teachers' ideal view of their job, but a realistic view and expectations of their job (Evans 1998:151-153). If a teacher's expectations are met, he or she will probably be more satisfied with the job, and when the expectations are realistic, he or she will not be disappointed that often. From expectations one can infer a teacher's values and ideologies, and the two factors mentioned above, professionalism and relative perspective, also have an impact on them. Thus, all the three factors are inter-related.

The purpose of the second study in 1989-90 was to test if the most important results of the first study could be generalised (Evans 1998:47, 52-53). Evans wanted to find out if a teacher's professionalism and a school's professional climate were factors that affected teachers' attitudes toward their work. Evans chose two schools where she again made observations and interviewed three teachers from both schools. During the observation phase Evans found out the teachers' professionalism orientations and chose interviewees with different kinds of professionalities.

Evans' (1998:47, 53) third study in 1990-92 concentrated on teachers who were 'extended' professionals. The categorisation had been made with the help of observations and earlier interviews, since four of the teachers had been involved in Evans' earlier studies as well. Evans interviewed six teachers who all had a bit different degree of 'extended' professionalism. The interviews were semi-structured and their purpose was to show how important the teachers' 'extended' professionalism was in determining their attitudes toward their work.

When Evans (1998:47, 53, 139) was conducting her first study, the Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA) and National Curriculum implementation had not yet been established. Evans wanted to make a post-ERA follow-up study which is the fourth of her studies. She wanted to find out if these kinds of acts that were not school-specific but that were prescribed by higher decision-makers had any effect on teachers' morale or job satisfaction. Evans reinterviewed eight of the twelve Rockville teachers that were involved in the first study. This study was carried out in 1992-93. Evans found out that ERA and National Curriculum implementation had not had a great impact on teachers' attitudes. Instead, school-specific factors seemed to be much more important than policies that were centrally imposed.

The data from the four studies was analysed in the same way (Evans 1998:55-56). Evans studied the data cyclically, going through the material many times and reducing and displaying the data. At the same time she tried to draw conclusions and seek for evidence. She used this method especially when going through the interviews. The data from the observations was used as a way to gain support, to dismiss or to question the conclusions that were made. During the first-level coding, Evans looked for evidence that would reveal the levels of morale, job satisfaction and motivation and tried to find the factors that influenced them. This way she could set some general categories. During the next codings, Evans concentrated on narrower points and tried to find out more specific sources of job satisfaction, morale and motivation, for example, relationships with co-workers, working with children or the management in the school. By doing the codings many times and reducing the data she could find the factors that influenced teachers' work-related attitudes.

Evans (1998:137-153) summarizes the most important findings in her studies. She mentions five factors that seem to be the crucial ones in determining teachers' attitudes toward their work. The first one reveals that **the working context** influences teachers' attitudes. It represents teachers' real working life. As mentioned earlier, the school-specific factors have a greater impact on how teachers feel about their job than decisions and acts that are made in higher commissions. The second factor is **individuality**. Every teacher has his or her own opinions about his work and they can differ a lot from one teacher to another. For example, one aspect can make one teacher satisfied, whereas it can cause dissatisfaction to another. The other three factors that relate to individuality and have an impact on teachers' attitudes are **professionalism**, **relative perspective**, and **realistic expectations** that have been discussed earlier in this section.

Evans used fairly versatile methods in her studies, since she interviewed, observed and used questionnaires. There are, of course, some aspects in every method that are sometimes problematic, but using many methods makes a study somewhat more reliable. However, there were some points in Evans' studies that needed to be considered carefully. Firstly, as Evans (1998:48) herself also mentioned, there were problems that arise out of observation. Evans was both observing and working as a part-time teacher at the same time, which may have been difficult. Furthermore, the observation was not systematic. In addition, her views of the situation in the school may have been somewhat subjective, since she was involved in it. Secondly, during the observation phase she got to know the teachers and probably more deeply than merely in an interview situation. However, it has been suggested that a researcher should not interview people who he or she is familiar with (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001). Besides, she used the same interviews in two different studies but she did not explain clearly how she did it and how she could take into account both studies during the interview. Thirdly, in the questionnaire that she used in the first study a six-point scale was used, but there was no such option where the subject could have chosen "I do not know". This may have

distorted the results, since the subjects were forced to choose an option that perhaps did not match their opinion.

3.2 A study on upper secondary general school teachers in Finland

It was difficult to find studies that related to teachers' job satisfaction in Finnish upper secondary general schools. Mustonen and Saarinen (2003) studied these teachers, but the purpose of the study was to find out the impact of the autumn matriculation examination on language teachers' workload. However, there were some implications to job satisfaction. The study was carried out in autumn 2002 at the time of the matriculation examination. A total of 1280 upper secondary general school teachers were sent a questionnaire that related to working time. Only 424 teachers (33 %) filled in the questionnaire. Their mean age was 46 years and they were mostly women. They had been working in upper secondary general school for 16 years on an average.

The respondents were asked to rate their use of time during one week in September 2002 (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003:18). The answers ranged from week 36 to 41. Full-time teachers worked usually 43 hours and part-time teachers 28 hours per week. However, during the week that they were rating the teachers worked almost seven hours more. Fulltime teachers worked 49 and part-time teachers 35 hours. Reasons for this was the matriculation examination with its tests, and there were also some other examinations at the same time.

Some comparisons were made between week 37 and 39 (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003:18). The matriculation examination was held during week 39. The teachers worked four hours more during week 39 than during week 37. Interesting for the present study was that the teachers of English and Swedish worked three hours more than the teachers of other languages. In addition, teaching groups were 1,5 times bigger in English and Swedish than in the other languages. English and Swedish are compulsory subjects for all students and therefore the groups are often bigger and the teachers have more work, whereas other languages are optional and fewer students study them.

It turned out that 14 % of the respondents did not get any compensation for correcting the listening comprehension tests and 8 % for correcting the written tests (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003:19). However, some of the teachers got some kind of compensation for supervising the tests. There were different kinds of systems in how the teachers were paid for their work. Many teachers felt that the system in their school was unfair and difficult to understand. Over half of the respondents were of the opinion that the compensation they got from correcting the matriculation examination was not sufficient. Again, an interesting point for the present study was that teachers of English and Swedish in particular were dissatisfied with the pay.

The teachers in general thought that their workload was too big (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003:20). Only those who were working part-time considered their workload to be all right. Two thirds of the full-time teachers would have wanted to reduce their workload. Age was also one determinant since 70 % of the teachers who were over 40 years old would have wanted to work less. Four fifths of the full-time teachers felt that their workload had increased during the last five years. There are many reasons for that. The amount of meetings, working groups, and projects has increased and the correcting of the new kinds of exercises in the matriculation exams requires more work from teachers. In addition, more students attend matriculation exams, especially in autumn, and there are often also other exams in the schools at the same time with the matriculation exams.

It turned out that 84 % of the respondents claimed that their work had become more demanding during the last five years (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003:20). What explained this were, for example, the students' poorer skills, increase in irresponsibility, and weaker motivation. Furthermore, the new kinds of test items in the matriculation examination, such as summaries, are more demanding for teachers to correct. The older the teachers and the longer they had worked in upper secondary general school, the more they felt that their work had become more demanding.

The sample of the study was fairly small, since only 33 % of the respondents returned the questionnaire. Thus, one has to be careful when making any generalizations. Mustonen and Saarinen do not provide the questionnaire and do not tell us what kind of questions or statements it contained. The study was published in a magazine and not in a scientific journal, so that probably explains why more accurate descriptions are missing and the article was a popularized version. The study did not involve job satisfaction directly, but it revealed at least some points that caused dissatisfaction among upper secondary general school teachers.

3.3 A review of work satisfaction studies among British and American ESL professionals

In her article, Pennington (1995) reviews studies that relate to job satisfaction among ESL professionals. Pennington states that there are only a few studies that relate to this topic. These studies involve teachers who are native speakers of English and who teach English as a second language. Pennington reviewed about ten studies and I outline here a few of them that are most relevant to the present study. Pennington does not explain in detail how the studies were carried out, reporting mostly only their results. As a rule, however, the data in the studies has been collected by questionnaires.

Firstly, Pennington (1995:113-117) reviewed a study conducted by the British Council. It concentrated on EFL teachers who were citizens of Britain and who worked in Britain and abroad. It was found that the jobs in this field were often short-term or part-time, and many people who had moved abroad to teach English were not planning to stay in the job for the rest of their lives. In addition, the pay was not very good and sometimes the working conditions were poor, too. Thus, many teachers quit after a few years. However, when they go back to Britain, they have difficulties in finding a job, since there are not many EFL teacher positions there.

Another study in Pennington's (1995:118-121) review dealt with ESL teachers in the USA. ESL teachers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, were studied. Also in

this group, many teachers, 75 %, worked part-time. The major findings were that the teachers would want more pay and benefits and possibilities for promotions. In addition, they wanted to grow psychologically and express themselves in their work. Furthermore, they would like to have more responsibility and participate more, for example, in the decision-making.

Pennington and Riley (1991a, 1991b, as quoted by Pennington 1995:129-134) conducted two studies where they used two standardised scales, The Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) and The Job Descriptive Index (JDI). In the MSQ there are 20 different facets that are rated. It is possible to count a total score when combining all the facets. In addition, extrinsic and intrinsic satisfaction subscales can be counted separately. In the JDI five different facets are assessed: work, pay, promotion, supervision, and co-workers. There are adjectives or phrases that describe the job and the respondent answers “Yes”, “No”, or “Uncertain”. It is recommended that each facet is dealt with separately and that no overall score is counted. (Spector 1997:12-17).

The MSQ was sent to one hundred members of the TESOL organization and the JDI to another one hundred (Pennington 1995:129-134). Altogether 32 MSQ responses and 36 JDI responses were received. In both cases, six responses came from outside the USA. Most of the respondents were teachers, but a few had other jobs, for example, working as an embassy representative or ESL program director. When measured with the MSQ, the teachers’ overall job satisfaction was moderately good. The teachers were most dissatisfied with opportunities for advancement and compensation. Other low points were supervision and company policies and procedures. The most satisfying points were moral values and social service. Other fairly satisfying factors were, for example, creativity, achievement, responsibility and independence. The study using the JDI showed that the teachers were generally satisfied with their work. They were satisfied with co-workers, whereas pay and promotions indicated a much lower level of satisfaction.

There are some points in the studies that Pennington reviewed that need to be considered carefully if some comparisons are made with the present study.

Firstly, Pennington does not explain well how the studies were conducted or the data analysed. Secondly, concerning the study among British EFL teachers, it has to be taken into account that it is a different thing to work as an EFL teacher abroad than working in one's homeland. As mentioned earlier, many teachers who move abroad are not prepared to stay for a long time. There may also arise many kinds of problems relating to, for example, cultural differences, homesickness, or family relations. Thirdly, in Pennington's own studies the samples were fairly small and the results cannot therefore be generalized.

3.4 A study on the job satisfaction of teachers of English in Finland

In their study, Lyytinen and Vuori (1993) compared teachers of English at the upper grades of comprehensive school and at a workers' institute. In their opinion, it is necessary to study teachers' job satisfaction, since it is important for their general well-being. Secondly, it has an impact on students' learning results. Finally, when we know, what makes teachers satisfied or dissatisfied, we are able to improve their work. Their purpose was to find out how satisfied English teachers were with their work, if there were any differences in the job satisfaction of the two groups of teachers and what the factors that caused job satisfaction and dissatisfaction were.

Lyytinen and Vuori's (1993:13-14) study drew on Herzberg's two-factor theory. As has been explained in section 2.2, according to Herzberg (1966:75-76), job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are caused by different factors. Motivators which relate to the job itself cause satisfaction, whereas hygiene factors that are concerned with the working environment cause dissatisfaction. Thus, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not opposites, but the opposite of satisfaction is *no* satisfaction and the opposite of dissatisfaction is *no* dissatisfaction.

Ten female teachers, five from comprehensive schools and five from a workers' institute were interviewed by Lyytinen and Vuori (1993:31-34). In addition, before the interviews the teachers filled in a questionnaire that concerned their background information. In the interviews open questions were

used. The researchers wanted the teachers to be able to answer freely and describe their feelings and thoughts in their own words. The questions were divided into 15 sections by theme including, for example, salary, relations with co-workers and students, and work arrangements. Each of the researchers interviewed five teachers.

Lyytinen and Vuori (1993:1, 35-65) claimed that their analysis was qualitative since the sample of teachers was so small. They used this method since they wanted to get as much information from the teachers as possible and attempted therefore to find out and understand why the teachers had the kind of feelings as they did about their job. Lyytinen and Vuori reported their results by the 15 themes they had in the interviews. They compared the two teacher groups and explained in what sense their opinions were alike and how they differed. They had also made some hypotheses and they compared them with the results. The researchers added that their analysis was also descriptive in the sense that they could convey the teachers' personal opinions. However, they did not explain clearly, how the data was analysed.

It turned out that the teachers in comprehensive schools were less satisfied with their job than the teachers at the workers' institute (Lyytinen and Vuori 1993:1). The comprehensive school teachers were most satisfied with teaching materials and relationships with co-workers. They were dissatisfied with big teaching groups, public criticism aimed at teachers, relationships with pupils, economic problems in schools and problems in discipline and upbringing. In contrast, the teachers at the workers' institute were satisfied with good relationships with students but dissatisfied with teaching materials.

However, Lyytinen and Vuori did not make a distinction between what was satisfying and what was satisfactory, which in Evans' (1998) opinion is important. Their results may also have been affected by the fact that there were two different interviewers who might have had a different impact on the interviewees. In addition, they interviewed only female teachers in their study. Nevertheless, most of Finnish teachers of English are female, so it is not that easy to find male teachers for studies.

4 PRESENT STUDY

In the previous chapters some theories and studies concerning teachers' job satisfaction were reviewed. In this chapter the present study is outlined. Firstly, the starting points and the research questions of the study are reviewed and then the subjects, data collection and data analysis methods are explained.

4.1 Research questions

The present study relies on Evans' (1998) model for several reasons. Firstly, Evans has studied specifically teachers which makes her model more suitable for the present study than the other three theories. Secondly, Evans' (1998) model is fairly recent when compared to Maslow's (1954), Herzberg's (1959) and Locke's (1976) theories. Thirdly, in previous studies and theories only Evans has taken into account the distinction between satisfactory and satisfying aspects of a job, which is fairly crucial. Thus, Evans' terms job comfort and job fulfilment, which make a distinction between satisfactory and satisfying factors, are used in this study. In the interviews the interviewees were asked to make a distinction between what they would rate as satisfactory and satisfying aspects of their job.

In previous studies teachers of different subjects and at different school levels were studied. Evans (1998) concentrated on primary school teachers and Mustonen and Saarinen (2003) on language teachers in upper secondary general schools. Lyytinen and Vuori (1993) compared teachers of English in comprehensive schools and at a workers' institute, whereas Pennington (1995) reviewed studies about ESL professionals who were native speakers of English. The present study concentrates on English teachers in upper secondary general schools in Finland. I chose teachers from this school level, since there was only little research focusing on them. In addition, students in upper secondary general schools are older than in primary and comprehensive schools and usually younger than at workers' institutes. Thus, it is probably also different for a teacher to teach different age groups. Also some studies indicate that teaching level and students' age may affect teachers' job

satisfaction. For example, in lower secondary education and in vocational schools there are generally more dissatisfied teachers than in other levels (Laine 2003:20) and elementary school teachers are more satisfied than secondary school teachers (Mäkinen 1982:22). Furthermore, I am personally interested in working in upper secondary general school, so it is also one of the reasons why I chose this school level.

The previous studies had different kinds of aims. Evans (1998) wanted to understand better primary school teachers' attitudes toward their work and find the factors behind these attitudes. Mustonen and Saarinen (2003), in contrast, did not focus on job satisfaction, but wanted to find out if the autumn matriculation examination had increased language teachers' work load. Pennington (1995), on the other hand, was interested in ESL professionals' work satisfaction, motivation, and commitment, whereas Lyytinen and Vuori's (1993) aim was to find out the job satisfaction of teachers in comprehensive schools and at workers' institute. In this study, however, the focus is on English teachers in upper secondary general schools and on their job satisfaction. The research questions of this study are:

1. What aspects of their job produce job fulfilment for upper secondary general school teachers of English in Finland?
2. What aspects of their job produce job comfort?
3. What are the sources of job dissatisfaction in their job?

This way I try to make a distinction between the factors that the teachers are satisfied *with* and satisfied *by* as suggested by Evans (1997:327).

4.2 Subjects

In this study six teachers of English were interviewed. The teachers were chosen from two upper secondary general schools in Western Finland, three teachers from both schools. The criteria for choosing the schools was that there would be at least three teachers of English so that it would be possible to make comparisons between the teachers' opinions within a school and also to compare the results of the two different schools. The schools were both middle-sized upper secondary general schools. The schools differ in the sense

that school A was merely an upper secondary general school, while school B was in the same building with the upper grades of comprehensive school.

Five of the teachers were women and one was a man. All of them were qualified and had a regular job at the school where they were working. They also had quite a lot of working experience since they had been working as a teacher for 9-26 years. In the particular schools they had had posts for 1,5-15 years.

Teachers 1, 2 and 3 work in school A, whereas teachers 4, 5 and 6 in school B. Teacher 1 had been working as a teacher for 19 years and 10 years in this particular school. She taught merely English. Teacher 2 had a somewhat longer career behind her since she had been in this school for 15 years and had 25 years of teaching experience. She taught English and Spanish. Teacher 3 had taught a total of 14 years and had been in this school for 6 years. Her subjects were English and Swedish. Thus, teachers in school A were all experienced and had been there for a long time.

Teacher 4 was working part-time since she was on partial pension. She had been working as a teacher for 26 years and spent over ten years in school B. She taught only English. Teacher 5 was the youngest one in this study. She had nine years of teaching experience and had been in this school for 1,5 years. She taught English in upper secondary general school and a little Swedish in comprehensive school. Teacher 6 was the only male teacher in this study. He taught mainly Swedish and only little English. He had taught a total of 16 years. He had come to this school nine years ago, but was first teaching in comprehensive school only. Then gradually he got more and more groups in the upper secondary general school and three years ago he got a permanent post in the upper secondary general school.

4.3 Data collection

Pennington (1995) and Mustonen and Saarinen (2003) used questionnaires to collect data, whereas Lyytinen and Vuori (1993) and Evans (1998) interviewed

teachers. I chose interviewing because Evans' (1998) results suggest that teachers feel job satisfaction very individually. Thus, one factor may satisfy one teacher but may be irritating to another. By interviewing a few teachers I can be sensitive to the individuality of their experiences of job satisfaction. By using questionnaires and statistical procedures I might lose the individuality and end up with only generalizations. If a researcher knows beforehand that the results will be complex, as in this study, it is usually advisable to collect data by interviews (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001:35). In interviews it is possible to get deeper knowledge, the interviewees can express their own views about job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and some aspects that the researcher has not been able to predict may come up (Spector 1997:5). By using questionnaires it would be possible to study larger populations, but the results would not be as profound. In addition, questionnaires may restrict the answers since there are often a few options made by the researcher and the opinion that the subject had in mind may be missing (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001:37). In addition, Evans made yearlong observations in the schools to get a better understanding of the situations there. However, I do not have an opportunity to spend that much time on my research, so I base my research on interviews alone.

The interviews in the present study were semi-structured. It is typical of a semi-structured interview that some aspects of the interview are determined beforehand but not all (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001:47). For example, the questions are asked in the same form but they can be asked in different order, or the questions are decided beforehand but their wording can be altered. In this study the themes were the same for every subject, but the questions were not asked exactly in the same form in every interview.

In my opinion, a structured interview would have been too restricting, since the teachers would have had to choose one of the options and they would not have had a chance to answer in their own words. I would have had to predict what kind of answers they might have given to be able to come up with options for the answers (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001:45). An open interview, in contrast, might have produced a great deal of data that would have been irrelevant for the study, and it often requires several interviews with one person (Hirsjärvi et

al. 2004:198-199). It was easier for me to have some kind of structure for the interviews, since an open interview is quite demanding for a novice.

The interview questions were arranged thematically (see Appendix 1). In the beginning there were some background questions. The next sections dealt with choice of career, education, expectations and relative perspective. After that the teachers were asked to evaluate different aspects of their job, for example, the working environment, relationships with other teachers, headmaster and students, pay, amount of work and the work itself.

Most of the themes are taken from Evans' (1997, 1998, 2001) studies since I draw on her model. As mentioned in section 3.1, Evans suggests that teachers' expectations and relative perspective are important factors in determining their job satisfaction. In addition, the working environment and the headteacher seem to have an impact on teachers' job satisfaction. Furthermore, extended or restricted professionalism is one important aspect. In her studies, Evans asked teachers to describe a good and a bad day at work to make a distinction between satisfying and dissatisfying aspects of work. Evans also asked teachers what they were satisfied with and satisfied by. At the end of the interviews I asked the teachers to make that distinction.

In addition, the interview schedule contained themes and questions from several other studies to supplement Evans' views and cover areas that did not appear in her study. Many themes occurred in several studies, but I mention here from which I have taken them. The questions that dealt with promotion and learning new skills were chosen from Herzberg et al. (1959). Vroom (1964) was interested in hours of work and control over work methods. Voutilainen (1982) wanted to find out teachers' opinions about independence of their work, holidays and teachers' respect. Hämäläinen and Sava (1989) state that getting recognition and help from co-workers, and having a possibility to take part in decision-making is important. Lyytinen and Vuori (1993) asked teachers if they were satisfied with their education. Spector (1997) mentions satisfaction with compensation and company policies and practices, which in this case are the policies at the school. Jalasaho and Junnila

(1999) asked their subjects if they still would choose teaching as their profession. The questions that deal with matriculation examination and amount of work were chosen from Mustonen and Saarinen (2003). Finally, in Väänänen's (2004) study the workers were asked if their work was interesting.

Before the actual interviews I conducted a pilot study. In the pilot study the questions about what is satisfactory and what is satisfying in one's job were asked quite early on and the teacher had difficulties in answering then. Thus, I decided to move the question closer to the end, so that the teachers would have more time to think about their work and answering would be easier for them.

The teachers were all interviewed at their schools, since it was the easiest way to arrange the interviews. All but one of the interviews were carried out in an empty classroom or in a study where there were no other people. However, one interview had to be made in the school library, since there was no other place available. There were a couple other people in the library and they may have had some influence on the interview, since the teacher may not have told everything she wanted. The interviews were carried out at the end of February and beginning of March in 2005. They lasted 30-60 minutes and were all conducted in Finnish, since all the teachers and I were Finnish.

All of the interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The transcribing was done word for word, but for some dialect words the meaning in standard language is given in brackets to avoid misunderstandings. However, not so much attention was paid to pauses or hesitations. Short pauses were marked with a comma (,) and longer ones with three stops (...). Words and phrases that were indistinct on tape were marked with X.

4.4 Data analysis

In analysing the data thematic analysis was used (Coolican 1999:214,453). In this approach the theoretical background guides the study and the analysis. The data are categorized by themes. In this study Evans' (1998) view of job satisfaction was used and the data were analysed making use of her

categorization. The idea was to find out which themes were mentioned as sources of job fulfilment, comfort and dissatisfaction. Thematic analysis differs from content analysis in the sense that the number of different words or themes is not considered that important, but an attempt is made to find examples that support one's views (Coolican 1999:214). The themes that occur are of greater interest. However, in tables (see sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3) the reader is provided with the number of teachers who mentioned each theme to get an idea of their frequency. Since only six teachers were interviewed, it was no use doing any statistical analyses.

First, the transcripts of the interviews were read through thoroughly and every teachers' sources of job fulfilment, job comfort and job dissatisfaction were identified. Then the sources were compared and groupings were made when similarities were found. When appropriate, some comparisons were made between and within the schools.

5 RESULTS

In this chapter the results of this study are reported. The results are divided into three sections according to my research questions. First, section 5.1 concentrates on the aspects of teachers' job that they find satisfying. Second, in section 5.2 the satisfactory factors of their work are discussed. Finally, in section 5.3 it is explained what makes the teachers dissatisfied with their work.

5.1 Job fulfilment

In this section I am looking for answers to my first research question: What aspects of their job produce job fulfilment for the six upper secondary general school teachers of English in Finland? Six aspects of their work that they found satisfying were identified: students, co-workers, the English language, teaching languages, succeeding and the status of upper secondary general school teachers (see Table 1). The results are outlined in the way that those themes that came up in several interviews are explained first and individual views after them.

Table 1. Satisfying aspects in a teacher's job

Satisfying aspect	Number of teachers
Students	4
Co-workers	3
The English language	2
Teaching languages	2
Success	1
The status of upper secondary school teachers	1

5.1.1 Students

One of the most satisfying things in a teacher's work was the students. The teachers found three different kinds of satisfying aspects in the students. Firstly, they liked working with them and enjoyed the interaction with them.

Secondly, the teachers thought that it was satisfying to see their students to succeed in language tests and in real life using the language. It made the teachers feel that they had succeeded in their work. Thirdly, it was satisfying to see that the students had succeeded in their lives after school.

Teacher 4 particularly loved being with students and said that they were her biggest source of job satisfaction. She told that when she was doing teacher training she thought that she could never be a teacher. Teacher training had been very severe and demanding and she had seriously considered changing her occupation. She had, nevertheless, continued teaching and her satisfaction had grown over the years:

1) No sit mä pysyin tässä opettajan ammatissa ja nyt, nyt sitte näin ku vuodet on vieriny niin täytyy sanoa et mun tyytyväisyys luokkatyöhön, nimenomaan oppilaiden kanssa työskentelyyn, on kasvanu. Mä koen sen niinku sillä lailla mielekkääksi. Se on raskasta kyllä, edelleenkin, mutta jotenkin siitä, se on se josta sen tyytyväisyyden saa työssään, se luokkatyöskentely. Ja oppilaat. Näin on mulle käyny. (Teacher 4)¹

Also teacher 3 had the same kind of views and she enjoyed being with her students. She felt that interaction with students was stimulating:

2) No kyllä se satisfying varmaan on, oisko se tää että tavallaan sitä vuorovaikutusta ja, ja tuota niin kanssakäymistä oppilaitten kanssa ja. [. . .] Että se sellanen, ja tietenkä jollakin tapaa kuitenkin sitte...niin kun on nuorten ihmisten kanssa tekemisissä kuitenkin koko ajan niin...jotenki semmonen...piristävää ja...ja välillä hellyyttävääkin kattoo niitten touhuja että kun näkee että joku nyt on oikein...oikein umpirakastunu ja niitten toimia, että mitä, voi että. Niinku sellanen että tulee, tulee semmosia ihan hauskoja. Ja just se että jos jonkun ryhmän kanssa, niin kun menee niinku mukavasti...niin kyllähän siitä tulee semmonen tosi hyvä olo. Että joo että, se on niinku kivaa sillon kun se sujuu...se opettaminen ja ryhmän kans niinku, toimii, toimii niinku hyvin. Että, se kai siinä sellanen...semmonen niinku antaa sitä...tyydytystä. (Teacher 3)

It was pointed out that a satisfying aspect of a teacher's work was when he or she saw that students were excited about learning and enjoyed themselves in the classroom. That made also the teacher feel good since the students actively participated in the learning process. Teacher 3 commented that sometimes students were very passive and she thought that not getting any contact with them was even worse than a noisy group of students:

¹ For rough translations into English, see Appendix 2.

3) *Oikeastaan kaikkein pahin mun mielestä, melkein niinku sitä hälinääkin pahempi on se, että minkäänlaista, kontaktia ei, oppilaat on ihan niinku jotaki puupötkkelöitä siellä. Että kysyy että tehdäänkö näin vai näin, tai onko teistä tämä vai tämä niin, kumpaankaan ei saa yhtään ainoata vastausta. Ja sitten minkä tahansa ite niinku valitseekin sitte tai mihin ratkasuun tuleekin niin on semmonen tunne et se oli varmasti se väärä. Ja vaikka vaihtais niin se ois kuitenkin vielä väärä (naurahtaa).* (Teacher 3)

It was mentioned that when students got good grades in the matriculation examination or in other tests, the teachers felt that they were doing a good job and their work was useful. Their efforts really seemed to lead to results and the students had learned to use the language:

4) *Sitte oppilaitten kanssa, silloin kun kokeet nyt menee hyvin ja ne on mukana ja...ja ne oppivat ja näin ja sitten. Se on ehkä se paras...satisfying-juttu täällä. Että..kokee että...mä teen nyt semmosta työtä joka tuottaa tulosta. Ja sitten vielä jos näkee et ne nauttii siitä työnteosta...niin silloin, se on ehkä se paras, paras juttu.* (Teacher 2)

Teacher 2 illustrated this point with another example of how seeing students using the foreign language in real life made her feel good. She told me about a study trip she had made with her students. It had been very enjoyable for her when she had seen her students using the foreign language and realising that they really were able to speak it:

5) *Ja sit tuo kyllä on ehkä myöskin se tän mun XX, opintomatkan tekeminen niin se oli, se oli siinä mielessä satisfying kun näki että ne niin kun...huomas että hyvänen aika tähän toimii, et mä oon oppinu puhumaan tätä kieltä ja mä pärjään tällä ja...tuun toimeen täällä maassa. Ja sit se kun näki kuinka ne saivat kontaktin sen vieraan maan oppilaisiin. Vaikka ne ei olleet ennen nähneet niin yks kaks, se oli niin käsittämätöntä kun se kontakti synty siellä sitten. Ne puhuivat niinku kilpaa ja kaikki yhteen ääneen ja...niin innostuneita olivat että niin. Se oli ehkä semmonen niinku...yks hienoimpia hetkiä...mitä on kokenu.* (Teacher 2)

Teacher 1 said that she had been working as a teacher quite a long time and her first students were beginning to graduate, for example, from universities. She stated that it was nice to see that these students had succeeded in their lives and she felt pride since she had had a share in their education:

6) *Ja sitte kun...sitte mä oon tyytyväinen siihenki, mä sanon vielä sen asian että nyt munkin aikana ku mä oon kymmenen vuotta ollu niin nyt ne alakaa valamistua jo vaikka mihinkä nämä mun ensimmäiset oppilaat. On hienoa niinku*

huomata että vau että ne on päässy pitkälle. Ne on jo opettajiks lukemas ja ne on lääkikses ja. Et se että niistä on tullu ja mä oon ollu siinä mukana. Ja sitte ku näkee oppilaita niin ne hei sä opetit englantia ja kyllä oli mukavaa ja. Et sellanen, näkee sen jatkumon [. . .]. (Teacher 1)

5.1.2 Co-workers

Another source of job fulfilment was co-workers. Teachers 1 and 2 in school A said that their co-workers, especially the other English teachers, were fantastic and they gave each other encouragement and support. Also teacher 3 mentioned that the English teachers got along well. The English teachers did a lot of co-operation. They tried to keep similar principles in each course and exchanged teaching material:

7) Mä haluan kyllä ylistää mun työtovereita. Meiton kolme kolleegaa ja ilman niitä niin olis kyllä tosi tylsää. Meillon hyvä yhteishenki ja sellanen et me tuotetaan niinku materiaalia...yhyres ja tehdään yhyres ja meillon aika samanlainen niinku linja sitte, yritetään pitää. Että se on erittäin hyvä asia ja niiltä saa tukea sitte näiltä työkaveriilta. Ja tuota sillä tavalla yhyres niinku ponnistellahan. Vaikkakin ollaha vähä eri tyylisiä ihmisiä mut se on kuiteski varmasti ihan hyvä että...ollahan erilaasia. (Teacher 1)

In school B, co-workers were not praised as much as in school A. Teacher 6 mentioned that it was satisfying if one had a good time with colleagues. Co-workers were not then the source of job fulfilment for everyone, as can be seen in sections 5.2.5 and 5.3.11.

5.1.3 The English language

The third aspect of the work that was satisfying to the teachers was the language they were teaching. The people who go and study languages at university are of course at some level interested in them. This interest in the English language, and also some other languages that the teachers taught, was evident in some of the interviews. Teachers 3 and 5 said that they enjoyed using the foreign language and they were able to do so in their work. Teacher 3 also pointed out that the language that was used in the upper secondary general school level was quite demanding and that she herself could also learn new aspects of the language, which she found satisfying:

8) *Ja tuota niin tavallaan myös se että, itse pysyy niinku tavallaan sen kielen kanssa niin kun...että sitä koko ajan itekin tulee niinku tavallaan käytettyä. Toki se on tietenki se sama materiaali mitä käy aina mutta, kuitenkin että kyllä sieltä aina jotakin uutta löytää ja sitte ku tulee jotain ylimääräistä ja muuta vastavaa, et se omankin kielitaidon kannalta ja ihan mitä niissä kappaleissa sanotaan, että ai tollanenkin asia, siellä on ihan oikeasti mielenkiintosa juttuja.* (Teacher 3)

5.1.4 Teaching languages

The fourth theme found in this study to produce job fulfilment was teaching languages. Teachers 2 and 4 claimed that they enjoyed particularly teaching languages. Teacher 4 found the teaching of English very satisfying, whereas teacher 2 thought that teaching Spanish was her source of energy:

9) *Ja täs ollu nyt tää valtava etu, et mä saanu alottaa ton espanjanopetuksen täällä. Se on ollu semmonen kyllä suunnaton...semmonen voimantantaja koska valtavasti tykkään siitä kielestä ja haluan sitä sit, opiskelua edistää. Että täällä on kyllä annettu valtavan hyvät mahdollisuudet siihen sitten. [. . .] Sanotaan että varmaan paremmin on, esimerkiksi lyhyissä kielissä on huomattavasti paremmat...tilanteet kun jossain kaupunkikoulussa. Et meillähän on aivan upea lyhyitten kielten valikoima ja...ja tuntimäärä ja...todella hyvät. Niihin valikoituu aivan huippuhyvät oppilaat. Niistä tulee ihan ihmeellisiä tuloksia. Et se on valtavan palkitsevaa...se sitten se lyhyen kielen opettaminen. Et sellasta, mahdollisuutta en ehkä löytäisikään XX.* (Teacher 2)

Teacher 4 was of the opinion that teaching was the issue to which teachers should devote all their energy and pay less attention to paper work and all kinds of projects that were so popular at the time. She stressed that teaching was their main job and nothing else:

10) *Et kaikki tällänen byrokratia ja paperityö vähemmälle ja itse opettamiseen se energia. Näin mä oon sen omalta kohdalta joutunu miettimään. Et se on se joka, joka on se tarkoitus miks täällä ollaan opettajana, ei mikään muu. Ja kun siihen satsaa ja muun yrittää painaa vähemmälle, projektit, vaikka ne on hirveesti muotia nykyään, mut siis mun kohdalla on näin, ja tälläset muut häsäämiset niin sillon jaksaa vielä. Ja se voi olla tosi mielenkiintosta ja se voi olla kivaa, ja antoisaa.* (Teacher 4)

5.1.5 Success

Not only did the students' good results give satisfaction to the teachers; they enjoyed their own success, too. This was the fifth finding. Teacher 6 found it satisfying when he himself succeeded in something. He said that it could even

be a very small thing. For example, if he succeeded in giving an assembly and somebody thanked him for it, it made him feel good:

11) *Ja sitte jos joku asia joskus onnistuu tai onnistuis. Et ne on niinku niitä. Ja ja, ne voi olla ihan pieniä asioita, saa vaikka jonkun päivänavauksen hyvin pidettyä, joku kiittää siitä ja kehuu. Siitä riittää pitkäksi aikaa XX. (Teacher 6)*

5.1.6 The status of upper secondary general school teachers

Finally, yet another satisfying aspect that came up in this study was the status of upper secondary general school teachers. Teacher 1 claimed that teachers at this level were respected, since their work was quite demanding and the students were usually motivated. In addition, she felt that she was at the top of her career, since she worked at this school level. In her opinion, the best students came to upper secondary general school and they had high goals:

12) *Ja mun mielestä niinku, sanon vielä että, koulumuoroosta kuiteskin niin, lukio nauttii tietynlaista arvostusta. Et mä jotenkin oon pitäny sisälläni sitä että mä oon tavallaan uran huipulla kun on päässy niinku lukioon englannin opettajaksi. Se on vähän sellainen tuntemus mikä on. Nykyään tietysti...ajattelis että no joo opettaja ja lukio, hyi kauhia. Se on mulle hirveen tärkeä se, se ammattiarvo, sellanen arvostus. Että vau, lukiossa. Siellähän on ylioppilaskirjoitukset, yliopisto ja näin. Mä ajattelen sillai vähän vanhanaikaisesti sisälläni. Et tänne tulee fiksuimmat oppilaat ja ne jotka tosiaanki niinku suurin osa pyrkii ylähäpäin ja arvostaak in tätä koulua. Ja kyllä siihen vielä sanon senkin tuli nyt mieleen että kyllä mun mielestä täällä näin...niin tuota...arvostetaan, oppilaat arvostaa kuitenkin lukiota sisimmässsänsä vaikei sitä nyt niin kaiutetakaan. Mut että ne jotka sen tosissansa jaksaa käyrä niin kyllä ne näkee sillä sen välinearvon että...tätä mä tartten. Että niin niin, sillä tavalla se on kyllä...opettajan työpaikkana lukio on niinku semmonen...edelleenki arvostettu...arvostettava ainakin. (Teacher 1)*

5.2 Job comfort

This section concentrates on the second research question: what aspects of their job produce job comfort for the six teachers? The sources of job comfort were more varied than those of job fulfilment. Ten different themes were identified. The teachers were satisfied with working conditions, teaching material, headmaster, salary, co-workers, undisturbed lessons, independent work, school image, assistant teacher from abroad and curriculum reform process. However, some of these themes were also discussed in sections 5.1 and 5.3, so the teachers' opinions were not always convergent. Somebody was happy with one

aspect of their job, whereas somebody else was irritated by the same aspect. Below is Table 2 which gives the frequencies for each aspect. The themes are again reported in the way that the most common views are reported first and the ones that were mentioned by one teacher only after them.

Table 2. Satisfactory aspects in a teacher' job

Satisfactory aspect	Number of teachers
Working conditions	6
Teaching material	5
Headmaster	4
Salary	4
Co-workers	3
Undisturbed lessons	2
Independent work	2
The school image	1
Assistant teacher from abroad	1
Curriculum reform process	1

5.2.1 Working conditions

The teachers were fairly satisfied with the physical working environment and equipment. In both schools there was one or two language laboratories and they were quite new and the teachers felt they were up-to-date. In school B where there was only one laboratory there were also wireless headphones that could be used for listening comprehension exercises in ordinary classrooms. The teachers also felt that they had all the equipment they needed in language teaching:

13) *Kaikki tarpeelliset koneet ja laitteet on ja meillon kaks upeaa studiota ja.* (Teacher 2)

14) *Ja niin kun sanotaan tämmösissä, teknises mielessä, laitteiden ja muiden osalta niin pidetään asiat kunnossa, pidetään huolta.* (Teacher 6)

In school A the teachers thought that the size of their teaching groups was moderate. Earlier there had often been groups where there had been over 30 students, but at the moment the average size was a good 20 students. The

teachers thought that the ideal size of a teaching group would be 15-20 students. They pointed out that they did not like very small groups either. A small group was difficult to teach because it was not so active:

15) *No, täällä vaihtelee kyllä aika hirvittävästi, että saattaa olla joskus joku yli kolmenkymmenen...porukka ja se on liian iso tietenki. Mut sitte jos menee alle kakstoistaki, meillä ny saa varmaan joku kymmenen, kymmenen on minimikoko jolla saa pitää sitte pakollisen kurssin niin...se voi taas olla liian pieni. Että mun mielestä semmonen viistoista-kakskymmentä on se mikä ideaalein. Siinä pystyy sitte kaikkia hallitsemaan että. [. . .] Kaiken kaikkiaan meillä on kyllä, jos muita kouluja vertailee täs ympäristöskin niin meillon pieniä ryhymiä. Meitä karehritaan kyllä sen takia ku me saaraan kieliski kahdellekymmenelle opettaa. [. . .] jos nyt hyviä puolia sanon niin enimmäkseen sopivat...ryhmäkoot. (Teacher 1)*

In school B there were somewhat bigger teaching groups, at least with the youngest students. Teacher 4 who had worked in school B the longest said that usually the groups had been moderate, but this year there were fewer first-year students than normally and some groups had to be combined. Thus, there were more students in one group:

16) *Koot on ollu hyviä täällä. Täällä on satsattu siihen että kielten ryhmät on aika pieniä, paitsi tänä vuonna on kasvanu hurjasti. Et nyt on sellasta, lähellä kolmeakymmentä oppilasta ku se on ollu siinä parinkymmenen paikka ennemmin. Ja se tuntuu kyllä siinä kun sitä työtä tekee. Ja luokkatyöskentelyssä niin se on aikamoinen porukka ku on luokka melkein täynnä. Et toivotaan että siitä, toivotaan et se palaa niinku entisille raiteille. (Teacher 4)*

5.2.2 Teaching material

The teachers were generally satisfied with the teaching materials. In both schools they had recently changed to a new series of books. In school B the teachers had no complaints about the series they used, but were very satisfied with it:

17) *Nykyajan opetusmateriaali on oikein hyvää. Meillon nyt kolmas kirjasarja sinä aikana ku mä oon täällä ja aina vaan paranee, tuntuu siltä. Ja nauhat on tosi hyviä ja ne on ne CD:t [. . .]. (Teacher 4)*

The teachers in school A, however, were a bit more critical of the series. This is discussed further in section 5.3.5. Nevertheless, they also found positive aspects in it:

18) *Joo, meillon vaihtunu just tai vaihrettiin...uus kirjasarja ja se on kyllä hyvin innostava ja semmonen yks positiivinen puoli et on mukavia ja kiinnostavia aiheita. Ittekin oppii tosi paljo sanastoa ja huomaa kuinka kieli on muuttunu. Ja sit oppilaat tykkää kyllä ihan...niistä aiheista ja ei oo sellasta koulumaista et se on semmosta...ihan niinku käyttökelepoosta...tekstiä tai kuinka se ny. Niistä tosiaan oppii ihan yleissivistäviä asioita niinku oppilaatki. (Teacher 1)*

5.2.3 Headmaster

In both schools there was a teacher or teachers who did not have anything negative to say about their headmasters. It became clear from the interviews that in both schools the headmaster was quite authoritarian, and some of the teachers liked that and others did not, as is explained in section 5.3.4. Teacher 4 in school B commented on their headmaster in this way:

19) *No, rehtori on hyvin jämäkkä ja tämmönen tarkka ja, ja luotettava mun mielestä siinä mielessä että hän hoitaa kyllä kaikki asiat ja toimii niinku hirveän hyvin, pitää hallinassaan tän koulun toiminnan. Et siinä ei voi olla moitteen sijaa mun mielestä. (Teacher 4)*

Teacher 5 in the same school said that the headmaster took care of many things that in some other schools teachers had had to do on their own. Now that their headmaster had been on vacation for a while this teacher had had a lot more things to remember and take care of. In this sense this teacher liked the way the headmaster worked in school B:

20) *Kyllä sillä tavalla, tota, asiat toimii kyllä tosi hyvin, mun mielestä, et huomattavasti paremmin kuin näissä muissa kouluissa missä mä oon ollu. Ja tuntuu että siellä niinku piti paljon enemmän huolehtia ite sellasia asioita mitä täällä rehtori huolehtii. Nyt huomannu ku rehtori on ollu tässä lomalla jonkin aikaa, huomannu kyllä että...että tuota...on tullu niinku semmosta omaa muistettavaa nyt, etenki noitten yo-kirjotusten suhteen. Enemmän ku silloin kun hän oli paikalla. (Teacher 5)*

Teacher 3 in school A thought that she got along with their headmaster well. She added that on the other hand their headmaster was good at running the school since he was well organised. However, because of that the system was sometimes inflexible:

21) *Mutta tuota niin, näin niinku henkilönä niin...jos ajattelee tuota meidän, esimiestä niin. Hänestä tietenkin voidaan olla montaa mieltä, mutta mä niinku*

mielestäni oon tullu hänen kanssaan aika hyvin toimeen. Että meillä kuitenkin, jollain lailla, mä ymmärränki hänen huumoriansa, mikä on monelle taas sitte hyvin käsittämätöntä. Tai sillä tavalla että hänen huumoriaan ei niinku ymmärretä. Ja onhan se joskus sellasta, ettei oikein ymmärrä, että oliko toi nyt vitsi vai, vai oliko toi ihan tarkotettu oikeasti että. Mutta että...toisaalta taas sitten...lukujärjestykset tulee täsmällisesti ja niinku tavallaan tää tämmönen tekninen puoli...niin kun hoituu tosi hyvin ja...ei sillä tavalla, kenellekään ei oo epäselvää niin kun että...miten pitää niinku tehdä. Et semmoset niinku tavallaan säännöt, pelisäännöt on kuitenkin suhteellisen selvät. Mutta siitä tavallaan sitte, just siitä ku ne on niin tarkat ja tiukat niin se ehkä on sellasta joustamatonta sitte että. (Teacher 3)

5.2.4 Salary

The teachers were satisfied with their salary on the one hand and dissatisfied on the other hand. Here the satisfactory aspects are discussed. Many teachers thought that the amount of money they got every month was fine and they got along well with it:

22) No palkkaan, siihen rahasummaan mikä kilahtaa tilille, kuukausittain niin, ei mun mielestä siinä nyt niin suurta...moitetta niinku tavallaan sinällään ole mutta, suhteutettuna työmäärään se on kyllä sitte, et jos laskis oikein tuntipalkkaa itellensä niin, se varmaan kyllä menis aika alhaseks. Että niinku sillä tavalla et sillä palkalla on hyvin tullu toimeen ja mun mielestä se on kuitenkin niinku, naisen palkaksi ihan ok. [. . .]Kyllä siinä kuitenkin, näin niin kun...kaiken kaikkiaan kyllähän se epäkohta on, siinä palkan ja työmäärän, suhteessa. Tai sanotaan että, jos sais sen saman palkan mutta työtä olis niinku vähemmän. Sit se olis niinku ihan ok. Et en mä niinku tavallaan, lisää rahaa kauheesti kaipaa. Mutta niinku se että, sitä työmäärää vois olla pikkasen vähemmän. (Teacher 3)

Teacher 6 was very satisfied with the salary of an upper secondary general school teacher and did not find any faults in it:

23) Lukion puolella olen joo. Et ei se tota, niin kun nyt kun täs on jo, viidentoista vuoden ajalta nää kaikki korotukset XX kohallaan. [. . .]Minä oon tyytyväinen. (Teacher 6)

However, many of them thought that when the salary was proportioned to the amount of work, the salary was not that good. These views are reported in section 5.3.3.

5.2.5 Co-workers

In section 5.1.2 it was explained that for some teachers co-workers were the source of job fulfilment. However, in some teachers' opinion co-workers produced only job comfort and one was even dissatisfied with some co-workers, which is explained in section 5.3.11. In this section, the teachers' who were satisfied with but not by their co-workers views are reviewed.

In school A teacher 3 and in school B teachers 5 and 6 thought that they got along well with their co-workers. The teachers helped each other and there had not been any bigger clashes. Teacher 3 mentioned that there had been a little disagreement about mock finals but it had not been that serious:

24) *No meillähän kieltenopettajien kanssa on mun mielestä yhteistyö toimii tosi hyvin ja. Niinku me kolme jotka englantia opetetaan niin varsinkin, mutta nyt tietenki ku mä oon niinku tavallaan tässä ruotsin maailmassakin mukana niin, niin ihan kyllä samalla tavalla sielläkin on että, että jos joku on jotain ekstramateriaalia tehny niin ei sitä pistetä piiloon toiselta että jos nyt vaan muistaa ottaa ylimääräsen kopion niin varmaan antaa sitte toisellekin ja tämmöstä...konsultaatiota tapahtuu...tapahtuu mun mielestä koko ajan...välitunneilla ja muulloinkin. Et kyllä mun mielestä toimii hirveän hyvin yhteistyö ja...ja tota...muihin...näihin aineenopettajiin niin...en mä kyllä ainakaan osaa sanoa että olis, olis mitään. Tässä nyt jotakin skismaa vähän oli, oli syksyllä...liittyen preliminääreihin jotka sitten tuli meille myöskin syksyyn. Et siinä nyt oli vähän tämmöstä niinku henkilökemioitten kolahtelua sitte, mutta sekin oli sellanen...johon varmaan löyty omat syynsä ja kaikki ne ymmärsi, ne syyt sieltä. (Teacher 3)*

5.2.6 Undisturbed lessons

In school B the students seemed to be somewhat calmer and quieter than in school A. Teachers 5 and 6 said that they did not have any disciplinary problems with the students. Teacher 5 mentioned that there had been some kind of problems in the schools where she had been earlier, but that in this school the students behaved very well:

25) *Sillä tavalla oon positiivisesti yllättyny että täällä on tosi semmonen...miten sen nyt sanos...oppilaat mun mielestä käyttäytyy hyvin ja tekee hommansa asiallisesti. Ja ei niinku esim. työrauhasta koskaan tartte huomauttaa. XX tosi hyvä juttu. Että voi niinku keskittyä siihen opettamiseen ihan kokonaan että ei tartte mitään muuta mieltä siinä. (Teacher 5)*

5.2.7 Independent work

It was mentioned by the interviewees that a teacher's job was fairly independent and unrestricted. The teachers liked it that they could work in their own way and that there were no strict orders. When I asked teacher 2 to comment if her work was restricted or could she work the way she wanted, she said that the headmaster did not place any restrictions on her work. She felt that the headmaster could trust her skills and he did not have to interfere in her work. In addition, the co-workers did not have a pressure to all work in precisely the same way, but they could proceed the way they felt to be the best:

26) Tuota...Rehtorin taholta ainakin kyllä hyvin vapaasti että. Mä koen että hän luottaa siihen että mulla on se riittävä ammattitaito ja...ja tuota. Eikä työkaverit siis...jos nyt tätä yhtä lukuun ottamatta, niin, tätä tapausta minkä kerroin niin ei kukaan mulle aseta mitään. Että esim. mun kollegat jotka opettavat englantia niin...ei koskaan mitään määräyksiä että. Et me aina yhdessä sovitaan sitten jos tulee joku tilanne miten menetellään. [. . .] Ja sit mä voin itse aika paljon päättää sen että miten mä käsittelen kappaleet ja...et mun ei, mä en kuitenkaan orjallisesti seuraa kirjan ohjeita. Ja voin ihan jättää jonkun kappaleen käsittelemättä, kun taas kollega voi ottaa jonkun toisen. Että meillei niinku semmosta mitään painostusta, että jokainen menis just tuota samaa rataa. Ja sitte semmonen on et päinvastoin se on hyvä et jokainen tekee omalla tyylillään koska...silloin kukin tuo niinku siihen lisää ideoita siihen työntekoon. (Teacher 2)

However, there were also opposite opinions, since teacher 1 thought that the headmaster controlled their work in the sense that all new ideas had first to be accepted by him. This is discussed in section 5.3.4.

Teacher 2 added that their work was also flexible in a way. If she was tired or busy, she could postpone some of the work, for example, checking the students' essays:

27) Ja sitten tuokin että kyllä...siinä mielessä täs on niinku se on...toiset tykkääkin siitä että on vapaus sitten tehdä ne työnsä, et jos ei tänään jaksa tehdä niitä aineenkorjauksia niin voi siirtää sitten toiselle päivälle, et mä voin palauttaa ne sitten vaikka viikkoo myöhemmin. Et mun ei tarvi niin kun...et siinon tavallaan joustovaraa on siinä aikataulussa sitten. Et jonkun verran pystyy joustamaan ja...et se vapaus on. (Teacher 2)

5.2.8 *The school image*

It was mentioned by one teacher that she liked the image their school had. In her opinion it was nice to teach in an ordinary upper secondary general school which was not specialized in any subjects and where there were not some kinds of projects going on all the time:

28) *Ja toisaalta mä tykkään tästä meidän koulun ulukopuolisesta kuvasta, joka on tavallansa sellanen vähä että, että täällä annetaan peruslukio-opetusta. Musta on tosi mainiota kun...niin...nykyään niin kovasti pitää olla kaikkea hienoa niin mä oon kääntäny sen että ku ei tää oo niin kovin innovatiivista niin tällästä, tämmöstä hienoa ja modernia niin tän voi kääntää että satavuotisia perinteitä. (Teacher 1)*

Earlier she had worked for ten years in another school, which was very different from this school where she was now. The previous school had concentrated on technology and computers and there was virtual teaching etc. In addition, there had also been evening classes for adults. On the one hand, it had been nice to be in a modern school which kept up with the times, but on the other hand, it was hard, and eventually she got tired of continuous changes:

29) *Siinä sitte oli se että, mulla ittellä ku se oli mun oma koulu niin...niin halus...sieltä pois että oikeestaan väsy siihen että aina di koko ajan jotain meneillänsä ettei ollu semmosta perusopetusta niinku ollenkaan paljo. Et mä tykkäsin et mä saisin opettaa sitä englantia enkä liehua jossakin ihme...semmosis jokka näyttää mahdottomiltakin projektilta. (Teacher 1)*

She added that a teacher had to market the evening classes to adult students and try to get them to come to lessons. Sometimes she felt that the marketing and the developing of the school was considered more important than teaching itself:

30) *Ja tuota tosiaan että jos oot iltakoulu kieltenopettajana siellä täytyy niin kun ne oppilaat itte haalia ittellensä sinne kursseille. Et ne niinku sillä tavalla, tavallansa sitä peeärrää piti teherä niin kun kauheesti...ittekin ponnistella että ne kurssit toteutuu. [. . .] niinku tavallansa se kurssin markkinointi ja se koulun kehittäminen oli melkein niinku....vielä tärkeempää ku se itte opetus. (Teacher 1)*

For this reason she liked her present school, since teaching was the most important part of their job there.

5.2.9 Assistant teacher from abroad

Assistant teachers were mentioned by one teacher only. Teacher 4 said that they had an assistant teacher from Hungary in their school. It was a part of Comenius-project which had specialized in sending students to teacher's assistants all over Europe. Teacher 4 thought that it was nice to have in the classroom a person who spoke English, since then the students could get into contact with an English-speaking person:

31) *Englannin puolella on tavallaan sillai et meillon apuopettaja Unkarista ollu nyt syksyn ja on edelleenkin. Mut hän on nyt enemmän tuolla yläasteen puolella et mä en oo nyt nähny tässä lukion puolella. Mut hän oli syksyllä muun muassa mun tunneilla aika paljon. Ja tota niin, ihan kiva kokemus. [. . .] Et tulee kontaktia englantia puhuvaan henkilöön niin sehän siinä on tärkeintä.* (Teacher 4)

5.2.10 Curriculum reform process

The last theme that came up was the curriculum reform process. Teacher 6 had been involved in the curriculum reform of the school. He had done the general part of it and had been in charge of the compiling of the whole curriculum. In addition, he was still taking care of its updating. It had caused him more work and he had to attend courses for it, but nevertheless he found it interesting:

32) *Ja opetussuunnitelmahomma, mä oon vieläkin siinä silleen mukana että mä oon sen päivittäjä. Ja joudun käymään nois koulutuksissa X, se on tietysti sellanen, homma joka onnistuu ja se niinku se prosessi jatkuu, et siinon jotain tiettyä mielenkiintoa, XX, siihen mä oon ihan tyytyväinen.* (Teacher 6)

5.3 Job dissatisfaction

This section finds answers to the third research question: what are the sources of job dissatisfaction in these teachers' work? Seventeen different aspects were found to make the teachers dissatisfied with their job. Most often were mentioned work load, working conditions, salary, headmaster and teaching material. As can be seen, many of them are the same themes that occurred in section 5.2 as sources of job comfort and some even as sources of job fulfilment in section 5.1. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the teachers

had opposite opinions and secondly, a teacher could mention the same aspect to be satisfactory on the one hand and unsatisfactory on the other hand. The frequencies for each aspect are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Dissatisfactory aspects in a teacher's job

Dissatisfactory aspect	Number of teachers
Work load	6
Working conditions	5
Salary	5
Headmaster	3
Teaching material	3
Respect for teachers	2
Students' problems	2
Restricted liberty in work	2
Open-mindedness to new ideas and co-operation	2
Incoherent work	2
Atmosphere in the teachers' room	1
Criticism from the school board	1
Training courses in teachers' own time	1
Weaker students	1
Cancelled project	1
Possibility to take part in decision-making	1
Evaluation	1

5.3.1 Work load

The most obvious unsatisfactory aspect in upper secondary general school teachers' work was the amount of work. Every one of the six teachers stated that the work load was huge. The only one who was satisfied with her own amount of work was teacher 4 who worked part-time. Nevertheless, also she said that if she had to work full-time she would be very stressed and tired:

33) Se, siis jos mä tekisin täyttä päivää niin mä en olisi tyytyväinen siihen työn kauheaan määrään. Tai siihen et se väsyttää niin hirveesti. Mutta ku mä teen nyt tällästä lyhyempää työpäivää niin tää on niin ok mulle. Että mä en koe sitä, tää ei oo mulle semmonen paine enää, tästä työstä ei tuu sellasta painetta, mikä

tulee ihan varmasti jos tekee täyttää päivää. Ja varsinkin sitte jos on vähän iäkkäämpi. Ehkä nuorena vielä jaksaa sen, en tiedä. (Teacher 4)

The teachers thought that it was a bad thing that the work load was not steady. In the autumn and winter there was a terrible amount of work and the spring, in contrast, was usually easier:

34) No, se kyllä jakautuu tosi epätasaisesti et se on huono asia. Syksyllä ja oikeastaan siihen asti kun abit on talossa niin on niinku paljon työtä ja etenki tuosta joulusta tän helmikuun puoliväliin niin oli jopa niin paljo että välillä tuntu ihan et ei niinku jää aikaa oikein mihinkään muuhun. Ja nyt sitte keväällä on taas vähä väljempää. Se on ongelmallista se töitten kasautuminen niinku samoihin aikoihin. (Teacher 5)

Especially the older teachers thought that the amount of work had increased a great deal. There were at least two reasons for this. The first one was that in the upper secondary general school there no longer were classes, but the students could proceed at their own pace. It had increased the amount of exams that the teachers needed to organize. In addition, some students misused this freedom and did not pass the courses in time. Then they came to see the teachers and a new examination had to be held for them:

35) Ja tämä valinnaisuus ja sellanen että siellä voi mennä, mennä niinku omaan tahtiinsakin ja sitte ne jotka jää, jää sitte kielistä tuota tavallisesti niin, niin niin, kärryiltä putoo niin ne sitten tulee niitä kurssejansa kyselemään kesken kaiken, että mulla on ny tämä ja tämä kurssi ja mulla on etenemiseste ja koska mä voin tehdä tämän ja. Että se on niin sellaista hajottavaa se...homma että. No joo, okei, mun pitää nyt tuolle antaa vitonen että se pääsee tästä koulusta pois ja. On paljon sellasta niinku...sellasta työtä mitä ennen ei ollu. että jotkut oppilaat ei vaan osaa tätä vapautta käyttää niinku oikein. Sitte on tietysti niitä nyhtyriä suurin osa mut ne työllistää ihan valtavasti joilta jää roikkumaan kurssia. Ja niitä näinä kiireisinä aikoina tullaan sitte kättämään että mun pitäis tehdä tää ja tuo. Ja tälläset aiheet on justiin niitä jotka kyllä yleisesti ärsyttää ja yleisesti on, niinku puhuttaa. (Teacher 1)

The second reason that had increased the teachers' work load was that the matriculation examination had changed. Previously there had been only multiple choice questions which had been easy to check. However, at that moment there were many different kinds of exercise types and they all needed to be practised. Thus, the teachers had a lot more paperwork to do than before:

36) [. . .] sitten kun ylioppilaskokeessa siirryttiin näihin muihin kuin pelkkä monivalinta-, näihin avoimiin kysymyksiin ja tämmösiin niin...ja kuunteluissakin tuli avoimet kysymykset ja ja kaikennäköset ylimääräiset tehtävät niin se on tuonu

lisätyötä ihan valtavasti koska se pitää huomioida sitten tässä valmennuksessa, et jo koulussa totuttaa niitä, teettää tiivistelmiä ja tarkastaa niitä. Et niillä on sitten käsitys minkälainen se ylioppilaskokeen tiivistelmä on. Tai vastaava muu koe. Että sitä paperityötä on tullu aivan määrättömästi. (Teacher 2)

Furthermore, at the moment the teachers in school B had also many other tasks besides teaching which added to their work load. They were involved in different kinds of projects, for example, internationalizing and curriculum reform projects. In addition, they needed to keep in contact with different authorities outside of school:

37) Ja sitte kaikkea ylimääräisiä juttuja, kaikkea projekteja pitäis olla ja pitäis pitää yhteyttä eri tahoihin ja se niin kun, rasittaa tätä hommaa [. . .]. (Teacher 6)

Because the teachers had a bigger work load than before, they were also often very busy. Teacher 1 added that since nowadays in the upper secondary general school teaching was organized in periods, there was always a terrible haste and there was not enough time to concentrate on one issue, but every point had to be gone through very fast:

38) Ja tuota, kurssimuotoisuus on tuonu semmosen ihan kamalan kiireen. Asiat täytyy laukata vaan läpi. Ja tuota, että ei pysty niinku...sillä tavalla perusteellisesti käymään jotain asiaa läpi ja et se on vaan semmosta, useinkin semmoista huitaisua ja sellasta, semmosta treenaamista ja valmentamista. (Teacher 1)

The bigger work load had even made teacher 2 to wonder if she just was so slow that she had to work so much at home. But she had talked with her colleagues and they had said that they also worked at nights and weekends:

39) Ja mä oon ajatellu et oonks mä vaan hidas mutta tuota kun mä kysyin sitten näiltä kollegoilta...niin he sanoi et heillä kans menee, et kyllä heilläkin viikonloppuja menee, XX menee aika paljon aikaa ja. Ja sitte, tai sitte tekevät yöllä, iltamyöhällä, yöllä niin...jos jaksavat. Mä en taas jaksa niinku enää niin myöhällä. Mä sit sitten siirrän ne viikonloppuun. Se on koulumaa-, vaikka sitä yrittää kaikki...konstit keksiä et millä mä välttyisin tästä työstä...ylimääräisestä, niin ei, ei niinku oo löytyny vielä. Kyl ne pitää ne sanakokeet pitää ja aineet kirjottaa ja tällästä. (Teacher 2)

Teacher 3 was of the opinion that during the winter when the teachers were working, it was almost impossible to live a normal life outside school. They had so much to do after school that they did not have time for anything else

than work, especially if they had children. Thus, she thought that a language teacher in upper secondary general school should be a single person who had no other life than school. She illustrated this point by giving an example about her previous day. Her husband had called and told her that they were going to get visitors who would spend the night in their home. She had panicked since she had had so much work to do and she would not have time to do them:

40) *Niin...niin siinä sitte helposti käy tosiaan niin että tuntuu että välillä ei oo niin kun, sillon ku koulu pyörii, niin mitään muuta elämää ei juuri ehdi elää. Ja jos sattuu tulla jotakin vähä odottamatonta, keskellä viikkoa esimerkiksi, tulee joku yllätysvieras, niin ajattelee että voi ei, niinku, missä välissä mä läksyt teen? Ja niinku nyt itse asias tälläkin viikolla, nyt toki täs on ylimäärästäkin kun on näitä suullisia tenttejä ja muita että...että mun mies soitti ja sanoi että meille tulee niinku viime yöks justinsa, että tulee, tulee niinku yövieraita. Elikkä, kauhean mukava ihminen ja hänen vaimonsa jota en ollu koskaan ennen tavannukaan, mutta ensimmäinen, mulle tuli heti niinku mieleen että, se että, apua että, missäköhän välissä mä teen läksyt kun mä oon kolmeen asti täällä ensin ja sit mun täytyy heille niinku jotakin vähä niinku varata ja muuta ja. Niinku heti rupes niinku tavallaan se semmonen niinku, järjestelykello toimimaan päässä, että mistä mä nipistän sen ajan että, niinku otan ne vieraat vastaan. Mä tiesin että mulla menee se koko ilta, että mä en pysty edes, niinku normaalisti, mä pystyn yhdeksän jälkeen alkaan sitten, jos en ehdi siinä välillä ennen ku haen lapsen hoidosta niin, en ehdi niinku tehdä, omia läksyjäni, niin mä ehdin yhdeksän jälkeen sitte alkaa niitä. Ja nyt mä tiesin että ei vieraat varmaan yhdeksältä vielä, oo menossa nukkumaan, että mun täytyy seurustella niitten kanssa niin. [. . .] jos nyt ollaan ihan rehellisiä niin lukion, kielenopettajan pitäis olla naimaton ihminen, jolla ei oo mitään muuta omaa elämää ku se lukio (naurahtaa). Lukion opettamist-. Kesällä se elää sitte. (Teacher 3)*

Teacher 1 taught only English and she thought that her work load was very big. However, she still added that those who taught both English and Swedish, the two compulsory languages, had so huge an amount of work that it was not healthy anymore:

41) *[. . .] se on niin työllistävä että tähän vois vielä lisätä, että jos ois ruotsi ja englanti niin se on aivan tappava nykyisellä menolla, niin, kellekään kielenopettajalle. (Teacher 1)*

Teacher 5 was of the opinion that it might be her own fault that she had so much work. She thought that she maybe worked too conscientiously. However, if she had not done her best she would have not felt good:

42) *Se on tietysti, et voishan niitä töitä tehdä niinku vähän silleen et ei tekis niinku niin kauhean täsmällisesti (naurahtaa), ei tulis ihan niin paljon, sitä vois sillä tavalla vähentää. Mut toisaalta sitte taas, ei oo niinku itellä oikein hyvä olo jos,*

pitäny jotenki sillai vähä, ei oo oikein parastaan yrittäny. Ehkä siinä on vähän omaakin syytä et sitä työtä on paljon. (Teacher 5)

5.3.2 Working conditions

Although the teachers were generally fairly satisfied with the working conditions (see section 5.2.1), they also found some faults in these. In school A the teachers hoped for offices and better air conditioning. Teacher 1 was most critical and found several flaws in the school building and in students' desks. In school B teacher 4 thought that they could do with more computers.

In school B the teachers had, in addition to teachers' room, separate offices where they could work during their free periods. In school A the teachers did not have workrooms and teachers 1 and 3 thought that they would be needed. In teacher 3's opinion they had very poor working conditions in the teachers' room since there was very little space. She pointed out that if one's own classroom was engaged, the teachers did not have a place to work. She especially found the situation difficult, since her own classroom was a language laboratory and many other language teachers used it during her free periods. Furthermore, she mentioned that there was very little storage in her own classroom. Thus, she had to keep most of her material at home and then carry them back and forth:

43) Mutta kaiken kaikkiaan sitten tässä koulussahan ettei oo opettajille minkäänäköstä työtilaa missä vois tehdä sitte jos oma luokka ei ookaan vapaa. Niinku munkin, studio tietenkä sinne voi tulla joku toinen kielenopettaja sitte jos mulla on hyppytunti, niin kyllähän meillä ihan onnettomat noi työtilat tuolla opettajanhuoneessa on että. Ei oo eikä, nykyisessäkään luokassa ei oo niinku säilytystilaa juuri mitään, että mulla on suurin osa materiaalista kotona ja sit mä ihan fyysisesti kannan ne aina tänne salkussani joka painaa sitten mielettömiä. (Teacher 3)

Teacher 4 thought that it was difficult to use computers in teaching, since there were not computers in every classroom and the computer class was often engaged:

44) Että ainut on ehkä että tietokoneille jos ajattelis sitä tietokoneopetusta niinku niin sinne ei nyt niin sitte helposti pääse ku joka luokassa ei oo. Et pitäis sit olla varattuna aika ja, ja se on sitte ehkä usein varattuna se tietokoneiluokka että mä en oo sitä harrastanu kyllä oikeastaan ollenkaan. (Teacher 4)

Teacher 2 felt that the air conditioning in her classroom was not sufficient. At the end of a lesson the air was stale. In addition, in the spring the sun shone directly to the classroom and it became really hot. She added that it was not possible to keep the windows open during lessons, since there was a busy road right next to the school and the noise would disturb teaching:

45) Ainoa ehkä just tällöinen sanotaan joku ilmastointi niin semmonen et se ei must oo riittävä täällä luokassa, täällä ei mitään oikein kunnan...sellasta...must täällä on huono ilma. Kun täällä tunti ollaan niin kyllä...kohta pökertyy. Ja sit ikkunaa ei voi pitää auki koska se on niin...tuo liikenne tuossa niin kun. Et ei voi tunnin aikana. Sit keväällä on se että tänne paistaa aurinko ja täällä on semmosta 28-30 astetta saattaa olla lämpöä. Ja sit jos on monta tuntia peräkkäin niin, se on todella uuvuttavaa. (Teacher 2)

Teacher 1 was very critical of the school building. In her opinion it was in so bad a condition that it should be torn down and a completely new building should be built. She also thought that the desks were not good in some classrooms, since they were often too small and they could even cause problems to students' health:

46) No, tämä kouluhan tietenkin kaipaa ihan perusremonttia ja...melekein selevintä olis hajottaa koko koulu ja teherä uusi. Että täällähän on ihan kaikki nämä tyypilliset ongelmat mitä ny voi olla johonakin [jossakin] koulurakennukses. Tilanahtaus on ja kolhiintuneet paikat ja rapistuneet paikat ja hometta ja ties mitä vesivaurioita ollu. Ja luokkien varustelu on...hyvinki vaihteleva, jo pulpetiista lähtien. Joihinki luokkiin on saatu niinku täski luokas on hyvät pulpetit, mutta sitte on aivan, aivan kerta kaikkiaan ala-arvoiset pulupetit, jotka voi olla jo oppilaillekin vaarallisia. Että näin niinku terveyden kannalta että, liian pieniä ja tämmöstä. (Teacher 1)

5.3.3 Salary

As was pointed out in section 5.2.4 many teachers were satisfied with the amount of money they received monthly. Nevertheless, when they thought about their salary in relation to the amount of work they had to do, they were not satisfied with it. They commented that they had very long working days and they often also had to work during weekends, since they had to plan lessons and correct examination papers and essays. Teacher 1 stated that they had their certain compulsory teaching time, but a large amount of all kinds of

extra duties could be included in that same teaching time and still the salary stayed the same. Thus, in that sense she was not satisfied with the salary:

47) Ja sitte palkkauskaan ei kyllä vastaa tosiaan sitä työmäärää niinku taisin jo sanoa, että tuntuu että samaan...samaan opetusvelvollisuuteen voidaan sisällyttää ihan älyttömästi eikä se niinku näy missään korvauspuolella. (Teacher 1)

Teacher 6 thought that the salary was good when one taught in upper secondary general school and got all the possible age bonuses and raises. However, the salary was smaller if one taught in upper grades of comprehensive school. In this teacher's opinion, the work in comprehensive schools was often disparaged, although it was at least as demanding as in upper secondary general schools. Thus, in his opinion, the salary of comprehensive school teachers should be raised:

48) Että peruskoulun puolella niin, se on hyvin vaativaa työtä vaikka sitä monet väheksyy, mutta se on tota vähintään yhtä vaativaa kun lukio X. Siellä vois niinku, nuorempien puolen päästä niinku tarkistaa ylöspäin...palkkajuttuja. (Teacher 6)

5.3.4 Headmaster

In section 5.2.3 it was reported that some teachers were satisfied with their headmasters. However, not everybody was of the opinion, since in both schools there were teachers who had something negative to say about their headmaster and his way of working. Many of them were satisfied with some aspects but dissatisfied with others.

In both schools some teachers complained that the headmaster was very authoritarian. There was no room for conversations or planning together, but the headmaster alone or with the school board made decisions. These teachers found it hard that their opinions and views were not heard and they just had to accept the new decisions:

49) Rehtori nyt on aika, autoritaarinen, siis sellanen, tekee ite päätökset ja sitte me ollaan leimasimena sitten siellä. Että jos on yritetty jotakin, uudistuksia läpi tai jotain, pyydetty että eikö voitas tehdä näin. Jos hän on sitä mieltä että se ei

hänen mielestään oo hyvä asia niin hän sanoo jyrkästi ei, eikä sen kummemmin perustele että miksi, olis näin että. (Teacher 3)

50) Teacher 6: Meidän, sellanen työilmapiiri tai työkuulttuuri,XX semmonen toimintakulttuuri ei oikein suosi sellasta...keskustelua. Monia asioita niinku jyrätään ja asiat vaietaan.

Interviewer: Ahaa. Kuka siinä niinku jyrää sitte, tietyt opettajat vai rehtori vai?

Teacher 6: Joo näin, sekä varsinki rehtori että sitte häntä lähellä oleva X johtokunta. Joskus se, joissain asioissa sitten on vähän harmillista, koska se on niin läpinäkyvää, mutta siihen ei oo kellään kanttia sanoa. (Teacher 6)

In addition, it was difficult for the teachers to suggest any reforms or changes. If the headmaster did not like the suggestions, he could reject them right away and the matter was not discussed further. Furthermore, teacher 1 said that if a teacher or students had an idea and wanted to do something different, make a trip or have a visitor in the class, for example, it would have to be accepted by the headmaster and there was always the possibility that it would not be accepted. Thus, new ideas did not spring up very often, since it was not that simple to implement them:

51) [. . .] jos mä haluan että mun tunneilla vierailee joku...joku...jostakin tai jotain että mä veisin luokkani vaikka jonnekin...niinku semmosta. Tai jotain tällästä...et tuntuu että se on vaan siis tuntemus mut niistähän täs ny puhutaankin että...että kun on tällänen...tällänen autoritääriinen johtaja niin...silloin semmoset...ryhmän ideat ja...tämmöset projektit ei oikeen pääse kukkimaan ku tietää että...voi olla että no...se ei niinku niin...niitä asioota hyväksytä...Et tuntuu että on moneskin asias vaan yks ainut totuus ja...näin teherään. (Teacher 1)

Teachers 1 and 3 pointed out that there was some sort of inflexibility in the school, especially concerning teachers' absences and substitute teachers. Teacher 1 said that it was almost scary to go to the headmaster and ask for a leave:

52) Ja sitte tietenkä niin voi sanoa että...että ei oo kovin helppoa lähestyä rehtoria...jos tulee joku pulmatilanne...esimerkiksi sijaisten, sijaisten saaminen on aika hankalaa...ja poissaoloihin mun mielestä suhtaudutaan vähän nuivasti, et jos opettaja joutuu yhtäkkiä lapsen sairauden takia tai jonkun muun pakollisen menon takia, olemaan pois niin...byrokraattista ja jäykkää ja silti pitää niinku huolehtia niistä tunneista tavallansa vaikka ei olis edes velvotettu sairaslomalla...niin sit pitää kuitenkin niinku mieltä ne tunnit siinä sille sijaiselle parhaas tapaukses tai ainakin oletetaan niinku näin että opettaja toimittaa koululle tai muuten ilmottaa että mitä nyt tämä sijainen tekee tai

näin...Et se on mun mielestä inhottavaa että...että ei oo semmosta et vois niinku ittekin järjestää näitä sijaisiansa että...että jos on nyt joku semmonen että, että tarttis jonkun ihan parin tunnin takia niin ku ei voi muuten hoitaa niin vois joustavasti...jollekin sanoa että...jollekin kollegalle tai jollekin pätevälle sijaiselle tai muuten koulus olevalle että voisiksä hoitaa tämän. Et se on niinku sillä tavalla...piinaavaa et on vähä peleko et mitäs nyt saanko mä nyt tän. Tai koeviikon aikana kaikki ne, mitäs jos lapsi sairastuu, mitäs jos itte sairastuu tai jotain näin. (Teacher 1)

Teacher 3 also longed for greater flexibility for absences. In her opinion, it would sometimes be necessary to switch lessons with a co-worker, but that turned out to be impossible:

53) Jos nyt esimerkiksi on sellanen tilanne että, pitäis vaikka perjantaina...vaikka niinku mullakin on tässä kaks hyppytuntia välillä ja sitte kaks tuntia et jos mä nyt joskus haluaisin jonnekin olla menossa ja mä voisin niinku periaatteessa sopia jonkun toisen kieltenopettajan kanssa että pitäisitkö mulle tunnit ja mä pidän sulle sitte joskus, niin tälläisiä järjestelyjä ei missään nimessä saa tehdä. Että ne ainakin, ainakin tuota...ilman muuta että ne täytyy rehtorin kautta kierrättää ja mä uskon että siitäkään huolimatta ei, vaan se pitäis hakea niinku virallisesti virkavapaata, ja sitten menettää sen kahden tunnin palkan itse ja toinen sitten saa ne kahden tunnin palkan ja näin edespäin. Että semmonen, välillä tuntuu että se on niinku, järjenkäyttö on vähä niinku kiellettyä, että miten hommat saatais vähän joustavammaksi että. Mutta mä ymmärrän sen tavallaan tietenkä toisaalta hänen näkökulmastaan että, se on helpompaa kun se on niin selkeätä että, tämmösiä järjestelyjä ei tehdä, niin ei tarvi sitten miettiä, että tehdäänkö tällä kertaa. Mutta tietenkä työviihtyvyyden kannalta niin jos, niin kun, vähän enemmän luotettas niinku opettajanki omaan arvostelukykyyn ja järjenkäyttöön niin...niin se tietenkä tekis siitä vähän sellasta miellyttävämpää. Mä en usko että täälläkään ketään mitään varsinaista sellaista lusmaa tai lintsaria edes on...että...et siinä mielessäkin, mun mielestä ei ainakaan sitä tarvis pelätä...että sitä käyttäis niinku väärin, tälläistä vapautta. (Teacher 3)

5.3.5 Teaching material

The books were found to be inspiring and the topics interesting. However, teachers 1 and 3 thought that the books were fairly demanding and that was a problem with weaker students:

54) Ja täydentäminen, kun me ollaan aina vähä, ettei olla niin tyytyväisiä kuitenkaan sitte siihen että, mitä ne kirjantekijät on ajatellu että. Ne tekee ne vähän liian hyvälle oppilaille meidän mielestä kirjoja. Vaikka materiaali sinänsä on hyvä, niin tota, se oletettava lukija sille kirjalle on vähän...keskitasoa parempi meidän mielestä. (Teacher 3)

Teacher 2 speculated that their new series of books concentrated maybe somewhat too much on proficiency in spoken language. She had noticed that the students who had used the new series were not as good in writing English

as the ones that had had the older series. However, she wanted to point out that since the new series had been used only for a short while, it was not certain if the poorer results in writing were the result of the new series or whether this particular group of students just was a bit more careless:

55) *Ja hirveen paljon tämmöstä suullista...suullista tuota niin harjotusta...huomattavasti enemmän. Mutta sitä mä en mee sanomaan et se tuottais paremman tuloksen. Että nyt mä niin kun hämmästelin että mulla on yks ryhmä joka on, nyt ne on käyneet...niillon ollu In Touch kuus, seiska ja kasi, elikkä kolme kurssia on In Touchia ollu, niin niillä ei se kirjallinen tuotos oo niin hyvä...kun olis odottanu. Että...se valmentaa puhumisen aika hyvin mutta sitte kirjallisen tuottamisen semmoseen tarkkuuteen mikä Passwordsin kautta tuli. Tää on nyt ihan tämmönen ensimmäinen...huomio, mut en oo varma sit pitääkö paikkansa, mutta sitte kun useamman kurssin käy että oliko vaan sitte ryhmä sen tyyppinen että ne ei niinku oo tarkkoja ollenkaan. Se oli tyttöryhmä aika iso ryhmä. Että tuota...ainekirjotuksessa, vaikka niitä harjoteltiin ei musta päästy niin hyvälle tasolle kun on yleensä päästy. (Teacher 2)*

5.3.6 Respect for teachers

There were conflicting views as to respect for teachers. It was mentioned already in section 5.1.6 as a satisfying aspect, but it was also a source of dissatisfaction. Teacher 6 was of the opinion that teachers were not respected in society. He said that many people thought that teachers' work was very easy, they had short working days and their salary was very good. He sounded disappointed when he stated that even some people with higher education did not understand the nature of teachers' work. This was his answer to the question if teachers were respected in society:

56) *Ei arvosteta. Et se näkyy noissa lehtikirjotuksissa ja muissa, ja muiden suhtautumisessa että tota, niin kun et me ei oikein tehdä mitään, saadaan paljo rahaa. Tossa just ku puhuttiin noista hiihtoasioista niin joku sano mullekin, yks henkilö, että opettajilla on [aikaa] pitää itteensä kunnossa että se on niinku se, se yleinen käsitys että XX. Ja sitte niinku noista aina puhutaan et luullaan että, että se on niinku sitä vaan että käydään siellä tunnilla jotain sanomassa ja tullaan pois ja sit lähetään kotiin. Se ei oo sitä. Ja ku, sitte niinku ne ei ymmärrä jotka, tota niin, ei oo koulun kanssa niin paljon tekemisissä. Ihan korkeamminkin koulutettuja kavereita niin, XX. Että siinä mielessä varmaan [arvostus] on laskenu. Ei siitä oo mitään harhakuvitelmiä. (Teacher 6)*

It was pointed out that teachers did not usually get any credit or acknowledgement for their work from the students' parents. Teacher 2 said that

during the fifteen years she had worked in this school only a couple of parents had supported or encouraged her:

57) *Sanotaan että palautetta mitä sieltä niinku vanhemmilta saa niin...oikeastaan voi sanoa, kaks...kaks ihmistä mä muistan...tässä nyt täälläoloaikana joilta on tullu niinku semmosta...jännää niinku tukea...opettajalle tukea ja kannustusta. Kaks tai kolme...vanhempaa, tässä tän uran aikana että, se se myönteinen palaute ei tuu meille ja kielteinen tulee kyllä heti. Et se tässä on. Mutta sitä täytyy vaan totuttaa itsensä että...sanotaan, se työ palkitsee. Siitä niinku lukee sen kiitoksen jos hyvin menee ja...ja tekee työn parhaansa mukaan ja.. luottaa et kyllä se sitten tulosta tuottaa. Ei sitä ehkä odotakaan enää mitään kiitosta mistään. [. . .] Oli se varmaan mikä työ tahansa nykyaikana niin ei sitä niin ihmeellisiä kiitoksia tuu. Työ on työtä. (Teacher 2)*

5.3.7 Students' problems

In the interviews with the teachers of school A it could be seen that the teachers were worried about students. They seemed to have more problems than before. Teacher 2 had noticed the negative impact of watching too much television and spending too much time on the Internet. She said that some students had problems in getting into contact with other people and understanding others:

58) *[. . .] joissakin nuorissa näkee tuon television ja...ja Internetin ja ja kaiken tämän median vaikutuksen. Ne on niin kun...joskus jotkut ihm-lapset joist melkein tietää paljon television ja...netin kanssa vaan. Et niillei niinku vanhemmat oo niin paljo läsnä. Ne on niinku vähä melkein eri maailmassa. Ja ne ei niinku ymmärrä sitte toisia oppilaita niin hyvin ja. Et ne ei niinku näitä ihmistaitoja sitten hallitsekaan niin hyvin. Et, melkein huomaa et missä, mikä oppilas tulee hyvästä kodista. Ja yllättävän, jopa niinku sanotaan että, niinku taloudellisesti varmaan hyvä ja kaikin puolin hyvä koti mutta saattaa olla...sitten jotenkin...että se vanhempien läsnäolo puuttuu. Ja se on paha lapselle. Ne saattaa joutua ihan hakoteille sitten että niin. Että muutamia on havainnu semmosii..Tai sitte jos on oikein semmonen niin kun...tietokonefriikki taikka tämmönen nörtti, niin tota...sit hän ei, hän on niinku aivan yksin. Et muutamia oon havainnu semmosiikiin jotka...ei sitten saa kontaktia toisiin ihmisiin. Että ne on nykyajan ilmiöitä nää. (Teacher 2)*

Teacher 1 mentioned a very sad incident that had happened in their school. A boy who did not seem to have any problems had killed himself. She had taken it very hard, because she had taught him English and the boy had felt that he was not good in English, although in her opinion he was doing well. After the incident she had been afraid of causing a trauma to a student by giving him or her a bad grade. She admits that the idea is not realistic, but still it bothers her:

59) *Että mun mielestä niinku oma henkilökohtaanen kauhukuva tuli silloin...kun tuota niin...yks poika ampu ittensä. Semmonen poika jota, josta minä en olisi ikinä opettajana uskonu että vois teherä semmosta joka näytti niin täysin...täydelliseltä tyypiltä että oppilaalta että tuollahan on niinku...jota pidettiin oikein mallioppilaana. Ja tuota niin sitte...tavallansa niinku...sitte onnettomastikin oin siitä opettajana hirvittävän ison taakan ittelleni, että se oli sellainen joka ei justiin kielis pärjänny hyvin, mielestänsä hyvin, vaikka mun mielestä pärjäs hyvin. [. . .] Et kyllähän sen jälkeen, sen tapauksen jälkeen niin mä aina mietin sitä että mitä nyt et jos mä välillisesti aiheutan jonkun kamalan trauman antamalla tai jonkun katastrofin antamalla vitosen tai kutosen, pilaamalla jonkun elämän. Vaikka siis sehän on ihan epärealistinen ajatus [. . .].* (Teacher 1)

5.3.8 *Restricted liberty in work*

Although some teachers thought that their work was fairly independent and free, as was explained in section 5.2.7, there were also teachers who felt that their work was restricted. Teacher 1 was of the opinion that the headmaster was very authoritarian and he had strict rules that had to be obeyed. Thus, if a new idea came up it had to be approved by the headmaster:

60) *Rehtori on meillä hyvin autoritäärinen...joka tuota niin sopii niille jotka haluaa teherä...niinku käskyjen mukaan eikä niin kauheesti ajatella itte. Että...se tietysti...toisaalta tappaa innostuksenki jos niinku tietää että jos jotain ideaa saa niin se pitää käyrä sitte siunaamas perusteellisesti kanslias. Että...sinänsä ei oo niin kun semmosia joustovapauksia mun mielestä täällä koulus. että aika, aika niinku sillä tavalla ylhäältä annetut säännöt ja...tiukka ohjanta.* (Teacher 1)

Teacher 6 thought that on the one hand his work was unrestricted but on the other hand not. He said that in the classroom he could work the way he wanted, but otherwise the work was determined by rules, dates and deadlines. However, he stated that there were schedules also in other jobs, so teachers' job was not necessarily an exception in that sense:

61) *Voin ja en. Tunnilla voin, muuten en missään tapauksessa. Täynnä päivämääriä ja käskyjä ja aikatauluja eikä sillä lailla. Mä en tiedä ku mä en oikein muuta työtä paljo tehny, lyhyitä työsuhteita, mutta näin verrattuna niinku johonkin muuhun vapaata vai ei. Että, tietysti se mitä mä itte toteutan, X niinku sen varaan siinä mieles kyllä, XX. Ja ainahan kaikis töissä on aikatauluja ja pitää ehtiä sitä ja tätä. Et en mä tiedä onko mikään tavallinen palkkatyö kauheen vapaata. Että se tietyl tapaa on ja tietyllä tapaa ei.* (Teacher 6)

5.3.9 *Open-mindedness to new ideas and co-operation*

It was mentioned by teachers 5 and 6 that people in school B were not very open-minded to new things or to co-operation with other schools. Teacher 5 wished that people in their school would take up a more positive attitude towards changes. In her opinion, some issues were always done the same way and other possibilities were not even considered:

62) *Ainut mikä on semmonen mitä toivois vähä enemmän niin vois jotain semmosia, ehkä voitais olla vähän avoimempia joillekin uusille asioille. Ja niinku. Joskus vois kokeilla jotain uusia juttuja. Välillä tuntuu että kaikki tehdään sillä tavalla niinku...joku vanha tapa mikä toimii hyvin ja tehdään edelleen. Tietysti se on ihan arvokasta, et ei niinku sinänsä uudistaminen oo mikään semmonen itsetarkotus mutta...kuitenki niin kyllä sitäkin aina välillä vois niinku vähän tehdä, tai miettiä edes. [. . .] jotain tämmösiä uusia juttuja vois vähän ehkä kokeilla enemmän. Vähän niinku avautua enemmän ulkomaailmaan päin. (Teacher 5)*

Teacher 6 added that their school was somewhat isolated from other schools and did not do co-operation with them. In his opinion, however, co-operation should be done:

63) *[. . .] meidän kulttuuriin kuuluu vähän semmonen eristäytyminen muista että, ei mielellään olla yhteistyössä, esimerkiks täs [paikannimi] alueella X, periaattees kuuluis olla. Kaikkeen tämmöseen suhtaudutaan hyvin nihkeesti. (Teacher 6)*

5.3.10 *Incoherent work*

It was pointed out that the work of an upper secondary general school teacher was very incoherent nowadays. The teacher had many things he or she had to take care of. The fact that students could proceed at their own rate made it more difficult for the teacher to do his or her work. In addition, students seemed to have more problems than earlier:

64) *[. . .]tämä nykylukio niin.. se on semmonen että...tä on niinku niin, tää on niin epämääräinen tää työnkuva, että, että tuata, on niin paljon semmosia yksittäisiä asioita mitkä täytyy hoitaa. Koko ajan pitää niinku pitää kirjaa, että on nää perustunnit, sitten on näitä tenttijöitä kaiken sortisia, ongelmia oppilailla on ihan tavattomasti paljon enemmän kuin ennen kun oli tavallinen lukio. Ja tämä valinnaisuus ja sellanen että siellä voi mennä, mennä niinku omaan tahtiinsakin ja sitte ne jotka jää, jää sitte kielistä tuota tavallisesti niin, niin niin, kärryiltä putoo niin ne sitten tulee niitä kursejansa kyselemään kesken*

kaiken, että mulla on ny tämä ja tämä kurssi ja mulla on etenemiseste ja koska mä voin tehdä tämän ja. Että se on niin sellaista hajottavaa se...homma että. (Teacher 1)

5.3.11 Atmosphere in the teachers' room

Previously it has been discussed in sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.5 how some teachers liked their co-workers. However, there was also an opposite opinion. Teacher 4 said that many people thought that the atmosphere in their school was very good, but that it really was not that good. This teacher thought that some people spoke evil of others behind their backs which was not acceptable:

65) Mutta sitte mitä tulee opettajanhuoneen ilmapiiriin niin, täällähän sanotaan et se ilmapiiri, kaikki ovat sitä mieltä että se on hirveän hyvä. Ja tota. Et se on harvinaisen hyvä ehkä mutta, mutta mun mielestä se ei ihan pidä paikkaansa, että kyllä sieltä löytyy pinnan alta, niinku jokasessa työpaikassa, monenlaista. Ja sitä mä pidän pahana tälläsessä opettajayhteisössä et jos sorrutaan, jos sorrutaan siihen pahan puhumiseen selän takana. Et mun mielestä tämmönen työyhteisö jossa sellasta on, niinku selvästi näkyvissä, niin se vaatis ehdottomasti tätä työnhjausta. Se on mun mielipide. Ja tota, tietysti jokaisessa työpaikassa ja opettajanhuoneessa varsinkin, sitähän on paljon puhuttu minkälaisia opettajanhuoneet ovat, niin siellä muodostuu näitä pikku pöytäkuntia tietysti ja klikkiytymistä ja sellasta. Eikä siinä välttämättä mitää pahaa oo, se voi olla semmonen tuki ihmiselle että sellasta muodostuu. Mut se että jos se alkaa mennä siihen että siinä sitten niinku aletaan, tavallaan niinku määrittämään siinä pienessä porukassa että mikä, missä asemassa joku toinen henkilö siinä työyhteisössä on. Ja siellä alkaa sit se selän takana puhuminen ja sellanen, se kyllä näkyy siinä, se näkyy siinä ilmapiirissä välittömästi ja alkaa vaikuttaa siihen niinku salakavalasti. Että se on ehkä, ehkä sellanen asia mun mielestä mihin täällä olis pitäny kiinnittää enemmän huomiota. Että tuntuu että se tieto kulkee vaikkei itte puhuis mitään niin, (naurahtaa) kaikki tietää kaiken. (Teacher 4)

5.3.12 Criticism from the school board

It was mentioned by teacher 2 that their school had been criticized by the local school board. In its opinion the school image was not good enough and students did not want to go there. She was offended by these blames, since she thought that the school board should have supported them:

66) Että aino on sitten että...niinku ulkopuolelta tullu arvostelu ja sanotaan että oppilaiden vanhempien taholta ehkä. Että tuota, tai en mä tiedä onko se oppilaiden vanhempienkaan taholta vaan semmonen niinku...tuli koululautakunnalta kautta sellanen että...meidän koulu ei...meidän koulun imago ei ole riittävän hyvä. Että tänne ei niinku kukaan halua tulla. Kyllä täällä ihmeen paljon oppilaita on ja...ja tuota...se tuntu karmealta kun se sanottiin niinku sieltä koululautakunnan taholta. Että joitten pitäis toisaalta itse olla niin

kun...kannustamassa ja...ja sillai myönteisellä tavalla...kehittämässä. (Teacher 2)

5.3.13 Training courses in teachers' own time

In addition, it was said by teacher 2 that there was a lot of training available for teachers and it was a good thing. However, they could not take leave from work to go to a course, but they could participate in courses only during weekends. It cannot be inferred from her answer why they were not able to participate in training courses during working hours. The reason can be that the headmaster did not give permission to be absent or that most of the training courses were organized at weekends:

67) Että kyllä mun mielestä koulutusta me saadaan jatkuvasti. Ja se tapahtuu kaikki omalla ajalla. Et siihen ei niin kun, et me ei sitä työajasta saada ottaa...vaan me sitten meidän viikonlopuista tingitään ja. Ja se espanjanopettajaviikonloppu olis jo perjantai-illasta sunnuntai-iltapäivään asti. Eihän siel tietenkään koko aikaa tarvi olla, mutta näin että. (Teacher 2)

5.3.14 Weaker students

An aspect that was also mentioned was weaker students. When teacher 6 had come to upper secondary general school he had thought that the students would be much better in languages than in comprehensive school. However, he had been disappointed since, in his opinion, the students were getting weaker and weaker and less motivated. They had so much else to do so that school did not always interest them:

68) [. . .] sitte toisaalta se että oppilaiden tasot laskee koko ajan. Osaamisen taso. Niiden mielenkiinto hajoo niin monille aloille et sitä ei aina riitä kouluun. (Teacher 6)

5.3.15 Cancelled project

In addition, frustrating experiences were said to cause job dissatisfaction. Teacher 6 mentioned an internationalisation project which they were supposed

to have, but which did not get enough interest. He had worked hard on it and felt frustrated because it was cancelled:

69) *Sitte meillä oli yks kansainvälistymisprojekti tuonne Ruotsiin päin. Se sitten viime hetkessä, niinku, se peruuntu. Mutta siihen tuli tehtyä koko syksy töitä. Sitte tälläisiä pienempiä. XX tälläisiä projektia, varsinki että se, Ruotsin projekti, siihen uhrattiin aika paljon ja sitte se, siihen ei tullu riittävästi kiinnostuneita niin XX turhauttava kokemus sitte ja. Tämmöset turhauttavat kokemukset vielä niinku lisää sitä rasittavuuden tuntua.* (Teacher 6)

5.3.16 Possibility to take part in decision-making

Furthermore, it was mentioned that there was no real possibility to take part in decision-making in the school. As mentioned in section 5.3.4, teacher 6 was of the opinion that the headmaster walked all over the opposition and made the decisions alone or with the school board and did not usually listen to others' opinions. Now that teacher 6 had been involved in the curriculum reform process, he felt that he had won the headmaster's confidence in that sense. However, there were still many situations where he could not participate in decision-making:

70) *Ei paljon. Että tota tietysti nyt, sanotaan, on tullu vähän sellasta uskottavuutta vuosien aikana ja uskaltaa sanoa ja sillai uskaltaa vaikuttaa, joitakin asioita nimenomaan tos kun olin siinä sen opetussuunnitelman kokoaja mistä nyt on monta kertaa tullu mainittua niin, tuns niinku saavansa semmosta luottamusta, rehtorilta ja sitte sivistystoimenjohtajalta ja muuta et. Joissain asiois mutta niin sitte, hyvin monessa asiassa ei pysty vaikuttamaan. Että, ihan, meillon ajankohtainen asia ruotsin oppikirjan vaihtaminen X, rehtori haluais yhen kirjasarjan ja me yhden toisen että katotaan miten siinä.* (Teacher 6)

5.3.17 Evaluation

Evaluation was found to be the most unpleasant part of the job by teacher 1. She found it very difficult, since so many different aspects of language needed to be taken into account. In addition, there was always so terrible a rush that she did not have much time to spend on one student's grade. Thus, she was often worried if she had given the right grade:

71) *Inhottavinta täs hommas on niitten valtaviin paperien korjaaminen ja arvioiminen, kääntäminen ja vääntäminen. Et vaikeinta on...justiin näitten tämmösten ongelmien lisäksi sitte vielä niinku se arviointi, siis se arviointityö.*

Että ottaa ne kaikki kielen osa-alueet hyvin oikeudenmukaasesti huomioon...siinä kiireen keskellä. Mun mielestä joskus se koeviikkorumba mikä on niin se vie siltä arvostelun luotettavuudelta kyllä pohjaa jos on aikaa viis-kaksikymmentä sekuntia aikaa miettiä jonkun arvosanaa. Että saisi rauhas sen teherä niin olis niinku tyytyväisempi olotila, mut aina on vähä niinku falski olotila, että tulikohan tuolle annettua oikein. (Teacher 1)

6 DISCUSSION

In this study the job satisfaction of Finnish teachers of English in upper secondary general school was studied. The term job satisfaction was divided into three categories which were taken from Evans (1998). The categories were job fulfilment, job comfort and job dissatisfaction. Job fulfilment was caused by satisfying aspects of the job, whereas job comfort by satisfactory ones and job dissatisfaction by dissatisfactory ones. Thus, the research questions of this study were:

1. What aspects of their job produce job fulfilment for upper secondary general school teachers of English in Finland?
2. What aspects of their job produce job comfort?
3. What are the sources of job dissatisfaction in their job?

The teachers in this study thought that the most satisfying aspects of their work were students, co-workers, the English language and teaching languages. When they were asked to name satisfactory aspects, ten different aspects were mentioned. The most common ones were working conditions, teaching material, headmaster, salary and co-workers. However, when the teachers listed the dissatisfactory aspects, many of them were the same ones that were already mentioned as sources of job comfort. Seventeen different aspects made the teachers dissatisfied with their work. The most common ones were work load, working conditions, salary, headmaster and teaching material.

There is not much previous research on the job satisfaction of upper secondary general school teachers. The closest one was Mustonen and Saarinen (2003) study where the work load of language teachers in upper secondary general school was studied. There were more studies relating to teachers' job satisfaction in other school levels. Evans' (1998) concentrated on primary school teachers, whereas Lyytinen and Vuori (1993) compared teachers' job satisfaction in comprehensive school and at workers' institute. Pennington (1995), in contrast, studied EFL teachers who were native speakers of English. Since the target groups in the previous studies were different from the present study and different theoretical background was used in them, for example, job

comfort and job fulfilment were not separated from each other, except for Evans, it is difficult to make comparisons. However, some comparisons are made when possible.

In this study Evans' (1998) categorization was used and it turned out to be useful. Aspects of the teachers' job were divided into three categories: job fulfilment, job comfort and job dissatisfaction. In previous research no distinction was made between satisfactory and satisfying aspects of work, which was criticized by Evans (1998). This study confirms that there clearly is a difference in what teachers are satisfied with and satisfied by. Every teacher could make a distinction between satisfactory and satisfying aspects of their job and gave different answers to questions relating to them. Thus, the term job satisfaction should be divided into job fulfilment and job comfort. Those two terms should be separated from each other, since they obviously are caused by different aspects.

It became clear that every teacher had his or her individual views about work and job satisfaction. Individuality was also one of Evans' (1998) findings. There were some themes, such as headmaster and salary that were mentioned to be both sources of job comfort and job dissatisfaction. In addition, co-workers and teachers' respect were sources of job fulfilment to some whereas sources of job dissatisfaction to others. In that sense the results of the present study differ from Herzberg's (1966) theory, since in his opinion there is a clear division between aspects that cause job satisfaction and dissatisfaction. However, in many cases the teachers had similar opinions and the same themes were mentioned by many of them. For example, most of them felt that students produced job fulfilment and work load job dissatisfaction.

Although some points were mentioned to be both satisfying and satisfactory, there was, nevertheless, a difference in some of them. The satisfying issues related more to the work itself, such as interacting with the students, love for the English language and teaching languages. Many of the satisfactory aspects, in contrast, related more to the working environment, such as working conditions, teaching material and salary. This resembles, in Evans' (1998:144)

opinion, a bit Herzberg's (1966) division of hygiene factors and motivators. Herzberg thinks that job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are caused by different things and removing dissatisfactory aspects will not produce job satisfaction. Evans, in contrast, is of the opinion that if dissatisfactory aspects are removed it can produce a certain kind of job satisfaction, i.e. job comfort. Since Herzberg failed to recognize the ambiguity of the word satisfaction, his theory has weaknesses.

Human relations at work seemed to be the major source of job fulfilment. Every teacher mentioned either students or co-workers and some even both. However, headmasters were not mentioned to cause job fulfilment. Maybe a headmaster is usually somewhat more distant than co-workers since he or she is one's supervisor and a very close relationship does not spring up. Headmasters were, nevertheless, mentioned often when the teachers talked about satisfactory or dissatisfying issues. Thus, in this study headmasters did have an effect on teachers' job satisfaction, which was also one of the findings in Evans' (1998) studies.

Learning new things about the language was one aspect of their job that the teachers enjoyed. Teacher 4 mentioned that in a teacher's career there were no possibilities for promotion or other kind of development in the status and therefore the work was fairly similar every year. That is why learning something new about the language is probably seen so important, since it is one of the few possibilities to develop oneself. Teachers were dissatisfied with promotion possibilities also in the previous research (Pennington 1995).

Some teachers in school B spoke evil of others which was mentioned by teacher 4. This kind of behaviour will certainly have a negative impact on the atmosphere in the teachers' room and also on this teacher's job satisfaction. However, the other teachers from the same school did not mention this problem, so it probably was not that obvious. In addition, more sensitive people take these kinds of things seriously, whereas other people may shrug the problem off.

The work load was said to be very heavy and the older teachers were of the opinion that it had increased a lot during their career. Similar results have also been found in other studies (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003). There was a little difference in the opinions between teachers who had taught in upper secondary general school earlier when there were classes and teachers who had only worked during the new system. The teachers who had worked in upper secondary general school for a long time knew that the work load had been smaller before and they therefore were dissatisfied with it. In their opinion, the new system that the students could proceed their own pace and the new matriculation examination tasks types had increased their amount of work. In contrast, the teachers who had no experience in teaching in the old system saw different kinds of reason behind the work load. Teacher 3 thought that since she had learned to go through the basic aspects with the students she had realised that there was a lot more that they needed to study. In addition, teachers 3 and 5 also mentioned that their work load had increased since they themselves were so conscientious. Thus, they felt that they themselves were a reason behind the work load, whereas the more experienced teachers said that the new system made them work more.

Since the work load of an English teacher in upper secondary general school was considered to be too big, something should be done to reduce it. However, it should be done in a way that would not harm the students and their learning. One should not, therefore, reduce the amount of essays or examination so that students get enough practice and opportunities to pass the courses. Thus, maybe teachers' compulsory teaching time might be reduced a little so that they could do the work better and still had time for other things, too.

Teachers' work was said to have become more demanding. Similar results can be found in another study, too (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003). In both studies similar issues were mentioned to make teachers' work more difficult. Firstly, the matriculation examination had changed and new kinds of exercises had been added to it. They demanded more also from teachers, since they all needed to be practised and it took more time to correct them. Secondly,

students were getting weaker and less motivated and they did not always take responsibility for their own learning.

The salary was not that good, when it was proportioned to the amount of work. Salary has been a source of complaints also in other studies (Mustonen and Saarinen 2003, Pennington 1995) and it has also been discussed in the media recently. This is a difficult question, since all teachers do a different amount of work outside of lessons, and teachers' salary issues have been discussed for a long time. However, since work load, demanding work and low salary were mentioned by almost every teacher, there very likely is a something wrong in them. Maybe the more demanding work and the high amount of it should be taken into account in the salary. It has been speculated that some teachers may quit and take up other jobs, since they often are better paid and mentally less demanding than teaching jobs. This should be prevented so that there would still be enough qualified teachers.

One significant difference could be found in the present study and in Lyytinen and Vuorinen's (1993) study. Relationships with pupils and problems with discipline and upbringing were mentioned as sources job dissatisfaction by teachers in upper grades of comprehensive school. In contrast, in the present study the teachers liked being with students and they had very little problems with discipline. However, Lyytinen and Vuori also studied teachers at workers' institute and they thought that they had good relationships with students. Thus, it can be noticed that there are differences in teaching in different school levels and forms and they affect teachers' job satisfaction. Usually when students are in upper grades of comprehensive school they are puberty and it is a difficult time to teach them. By the time students go to upper secondary general school the worst years of puberty are over and they are more mature. It is therefore often easier to get along with students in that school level and the same goes with adults at the workers' institute.

In the previous research teachers from different school levels were studied. When the most important results from these studies are drawn together, some similarities but also some differences between the levels can be found. Salary

was mentioned to insufficient in many studies. School management was criticized in many school levels. Independence was often seen as an advantage in a teacher's work, whereas possibilities for promotions as disadvantage. Heavy work load and demanding work became emphasized in upper secondary general school. In upper secondary general schools and at workers' institute the students were sources of satisfaction, whereas in comprehensive they caused dissatisfaction. Co-workers were also controversial, being both satisfiers and dissatisfiers. Teaching materials were still one issue that was both good and bad. It was especially mentioned by teachers at workers' institute to be bad, since they usually don't have many books or other material at hand.

When comparisons are made with the previous research it can be seen that every school level has its own advantages and disadvantages. The students are at different ages and they have different interests. In addition, teachers' jobs can differ from each other from one school level to another. It is therefore important to study teachers' job satisfaction on each level to find out if teachers are happy in them. Furthermore, there can be some differences between schools even at the same level. Thus, very general conclusions cannot be drawn from single studies and therefore further research is needed.

This study has contributed to the study of job satisfaction in the way that it concentrated on upper secondary general school teachers whose job satisfaction had been studied very little. In addition, Evans' (1998) categorization was used in this study and job fulfilment and job comfort were separated from each other. It became obvious that such a distinction is necessary, since the two clearly are different concepts.

7 CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present study was to focus on English teachers in upper secondary general schools and on their job satisfaction. The aim was to use Evan's (1998) division of the concept job satisfaction and use terms job comfort, job fulfilment and job dissatisfaction. The data came from six interviews where English teachers were asked to describe what they considered satisfying, satisfactory and dissatisfactory aspects of their work. The method of analysis was thematic analysis. The analysis was mostly qualitative, but also the frequencies for every aspect mentioned were noted.

In general it seemed that half of the teachers thought that there were more positive than negative aspects in their work and the other half was of the opposite opinion. Amount of work and demanding work were criticized mostly, whereas students and co-workers were thought to give positive energy. One of the teachers worked part-time so her work load was now smaller. In addition, one teacher was planning to be on leave the next fall and another had some thoughts about going to another school level, for example, to elementary school. Thus, the teachers seemed to be tired or in need of a change. Furthermore, when the teachers were asked if they still would choose the career of a teacher if they were now starting their studies, only one said that she probably would choose it. Two teachers commented that they absolutely would not choose it and also the other three said that they probably would consider something else. It therefore seemed that a teacher's job in upper secondary school was very hard and some teachers said that they would earn their living much easier by doing something else. Nevertheless, they luckily still found also satisfying aspects in it. It is, however, true that people often concentrate on the negative aspects and the positive ones get less attention (Evans 1998:52).

In this study Evans' (1998) view of job satisfaction proved to be useful. It could fairly easily be used and all the teachers could make a distinction between satisfactory and satisfying aspects of their job. In addition, interviews seemed to be a good method of collecting data for this purpose, since teachers in upper secondary general school have been studied only a little. It would have

been difficult to make questionnaire items, for example, because there might have been difficulties in knowing what kind of aspects might be mentioned. Furthermore, teachers' answers were often quite different from each other and interviews therefore better brought out this individuality.

There are a few points in this study that need to be taken into account when evaluating the results. Firstly, only six teachers of English were interviewed and therefore the results may not apply to all teachers. Secondly, the interviewer was fairly inexperienced and did not always realize to ask for clarifications and further questions and therefore some points remained somewhat unclear. Thirdly, one of the interviews had to be done in the school library where there were other people. This may have had an influence on a teacher's answers. Finally, the interviewer should more specifically have asked the teachers to describe their general satisfaction, since although they might be very dissatisfied with some aspects of their work, they could still be satisfied in general. This point remained somewhat vague in this study.

In addition, it might have increased the reliability of the results if a second-rater had been used. It could have verified that the classifications were correct. In general, it was fairly easy to separate positive aspects from the negatives, but somewhat more difficult to make a distinction between satisfactory and satisfying ones. In the interviews the teachers were asked to rate their job satisfaction in relation to different aspects of their job and only at the end make a division between job fulfilment and job comfort. This proved to be the best way to do it, since it seemed difficult for the teachers to make the distinction at the beginning. Because the teachers were directly asked to separate satisfactory and satisfying aspect themselves, there were no great difficulties in classification. Only a few points that they mentioned at the beginning but forgot to mention when classifying satisfactory and satisfying aspects were somewhat difficult to classify. Nevertheless, it was usually possible to infer from their use of words what they meant. For example, if they said that they were pretty satisfied or that something was ok, it was categorized as satisfactory, whereas mentioning that something gave positive energy was categorized as satisfying.

There are very few studies that concentrate on the job satisfaction of teachers in upper secondary general school. Since every level has its unique characters and teachers' jobs may differ a lot from each other, it would be important to study teachers' job satisfaction at different school levels. It might also be fruitful to compare the job satisfaction of teachers who teach different subjects. In this study teacher 6 taught mostly Swedish and only little English and it could be inferred from his interview that there were some differences in teaching English and Swedish. Since based on the interviews there is now some knowledge of what the teachers might answer, the results could be used as help when designing a questionnaire. That way it would be possible to study larger groups and get more general information about teachers' job satisfaction. In addition, since Evans' (1998) division of the concept of job satisfaction into job comfort and job fulfilment seemed to be successful, more research should be done where the two concepts are used to reduce the ambiguity caused by the word satisfaction. Furthermore, Evans' division could also be tested in studies that could concentrate on other professions besides teachers. Although Evans developed her view of job satisfaction by studying teachers, it seems applicable to all kinds of professions.

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APPENDIX 1: Interview schedule

TAUSTAKYSYMYKSET

Koulutus, koska valmistunut?

Kauanko toiminut opettajana? Missä muualla/millä asteilla? Mitä muuta työtä tehnyt?

Kauanko ollut tässä koulussa, onko virka/tuntiopettaja/määräaikainen?

Opettaako muita aineita kuin englantia?

Koulun koko? Oppilas-/opettajamäärä?

URAVALINTA

Oletko tyytyväinen opettajan työhön yleisesti? Miksi alun perin valitsit opettajan ammatin? **Mitä silloin odotit opettajan työltä? Onko vastannut odotuksia?** Valitsisitko vielä opettajan ammatin? Miksi?

KOULUTUS

Olitko tyytyväinen koulutukseesi? Miksi? Mitä olisit kaivannut lisää, mitä jättänyt pois?

ODOTUKSET

Liittyen työhön tässä koulussa?

Miten työ/työpaikka vastasi odotuksiasi? Pääsitkö opettamaan sille asteelle, mille halusitkin?

RELATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Oletko työskennellyt muissa kouluissa ennen tätä? Miten tämä koulu eroaa niistä (posit./negat.)? **Viihdytkö paremmin täällä vai haluaisitko takaisin johonkin entiseen kouluun?** Miksi?

TYÖOLOSUHTEET

Työolosuhteet, tilat, välineet, materiaalit, luokkien/ryhmien koko, työaika, lomat

TYÖTOVERIT, ILMAPIIRI, REHTORI

Suhteet työtovereihin? **Ilmapiiri** opettajanhuoneessa/ muun henkilökunnan keskuudessa? (avoimuus, luottamuksellisuus, kiinnostus, ymmärrys, kunnioitus) Teettekö **yhteistyötä?** Saako **kannustusta/tunnustusta/apua** muilta opeilta/rehtorilta?

Suhteet rehtoriin? Miten rehtorin kanssa tullaan yleisesti toimeen?

Työskentely-/johtamistapa?

Hyvä/huono? (tasapuolinen/vaativa)

Ovatko opettajat tässä koulussa yleisesti tyytyväisiä? Miksi? Miten näkyy?

Tyytyväisyys koulun tapoihin/ilmapiiiriin muuten? Tyytyväisyys ylempien tasojen päättäjiin (kunta-/valtiotasolla)? Tyytyväisyys OAJ:hin?

SUHDE OPPILAIISIIN JA HEIDÄN VANHEMPIINSA

Opettajien arvostus (yleisesti, oppilaat)?

Suhteet oppilaisiin? Miten tulee toimeen? Ilmapiiri luokassa? Työrauhan ja järjestyksen ylläpito, kasvatustehtävä? Minkä ikäisiä opettaisit mieluiten?

Suhteet oppilaiden vanhempiin? Millaista yhteistyötä/yhteydenpitoa, kuinka paljon? Oletko tyytyväinen määrään/laatuun?

PALKKA+TYÖMÄÄRÄ

Oletko tyytyväinen palkkaasi? Palkka suhteessa työmäärään? Mitä työhön kuuluu opettamisen lisäksi (projektit, ryhmän-/luokanohjaus, muita?) Korvaus niistä? Onko työmäärä lisääntynyt/vähentynyt viime vuosina? Miten/miksi? Yo-kokeiden tarkistus+saako siitä korvausta? Millainen korvaussysteemi?

HYVÄT JA HUONOT PÄIVÄT

Millainen on **hyvä päivä**?

Millainen on **huono päivä**?

Muistatko jonkun tapauksen/päivän, jolloin olit erittäin tyytyväinen työhösi?

Entä tapauksen/päivän, jolloin olit todella tyytymätön työhösi?

Millainen olisi mielestäsi **unelmatyö**?

TYÖ ITSE

Mille asioille työssäsi antaisit arvosanan tyydyttävä? Entä mistä saat eniten tyydytystä? Mistä et pidä työssäsi? Mihin olet tyytymätön? Saatko työstäsi tarpeeksi tyydytystä? Mielenkiintoisuus?

Työn **vapaus**? Voitko toimia niin kuin itse haluat? **Vaikutusmahdollisuudet** työhön/päätöksentekoon?

Oppiiko uutta? Kehittyminen taidoissa ja ammatissa?

Ylenemismahdollisuudet?

Tunnetko työsi **hyödylliseksi**? Näkeekö opettajan työssä työnsä tulokset?

Tunnetko **ylpeyttä** työstään?

EXTENDED-RESTRICTED PROFESSIONALITY

Luetko paljon opettajan työhön liittyvää kirjallisuutta/lehtiä? (metodi-/teoriakirjallisuutta) Osallistutko usein **koulutustilaisuuksiin**? Onko koulutusta tarpeeksi/liikaa? Mitä kaipaisit lisää? Teetkö **itsearviointia**, pyydätkö **oppilaspalautteita**? Miten huomioit palautteet?

Mikä täällä työskentelyssä on erityisesti sellaista, mistä pidät/et pidä? Mitä säilyttäisit/ muuttaisit? Miksi? Viihdytkö tässä koulussa? Voitko ajatella olevasi täällä vielä 5-10 vuoden päästä? Miksi/miksi et? Etsitkö toista työtä? Miksi haluat lähteä? **Tärkein syy miksi jatkat opettajana?**

APPENDIX 2: Translations of quotations into English

1) Well then I stuck with this teaching profession and now that the years have rolled on I have to say that my satisfaction with working in the classroom, especially with working with students, has increased. I feel that it is meaningful. It is hard, still, but somehow it, it is the thing where you get the satisfaction in your work, working in the classroom. And the students. This is what has happened to me. (Teacher 4)

2) Well satisfying probably is, would it be this interaction and association with students and [. . .]. And of course then...since you have to deal with young people all the time it is somehow...stimulating and...and also touching sometimes to see their doings when you see that now somebody is...terribly in love and you think that oh my. Funny things happen. And that if it goes well with a group...it makes you feel really good. That it is nice when it goes well... teaching and it works well with the group. The kind of things give satisfaction. (Teacher 3)

3) Actually the worst, in my opinion, even worse than the noise is that no contact at all, students are like some blocks of wood there. That you ask that shall we do this way or that way, or is this or this so you don't get any answers to either of them. And then what ever you self choose or to what decision you make you have the kind of feeling that it certainly was the wrong one. And even if you changed it would still be wrong any way (laughs). (Teacher 3)

4) Then with the students, when the examination goes well and they participate and...they learn. It is maybe the best...satisfying thing here. That you feel that...I'm doing work that leads to results. And then if you see that they enjoy working...so that is maybe the best thing. (Teacher 2)

5) And then maybe also this my XX, making a study trip so it was, it was in the sense satisfying when you saw that they...noticed that oh my goodness this is actually working, that I've learned to speak this language and I get on with it...and I get along in this country. And then when you saw how they got into contact with foreign students. Although they had never met before, all of a sudden, it was so unbelievable when they got into contact then. They were all talking at the same time and...so excited they were that. That was maybe the kind of...one of the finest moments...that I have experienced. (Teacher 2)

6) And when...I'm satisfied by it, I still add this thing that now that I've worked here for ten years my first students are beginning to graduate from universities. It is nice to notice that wow that they have gone far. They are studying to be a teacher and they are medical students. That they have become something and I've been involved in it. And when you see the students they say that you taught English and we had so great time. The kind of things, that you can see the continuum. (Teacher 1)

7) I really want to praise my co-workers. There are three of us and without them it would be very boring. We have good community spirit and we produce teaching material together and do things together and we try to keep same kinds of principles. It is a very good thing and you get support from these co-workers. That we kind of make efforts together. Although we all have our own styles but it is probably a good thing that...we are different. (Teacher 1)

8) And well in a way the fact that you all the time use the language. The material that you go through is, of course, always the same, but you can, however, always find something new and when you get something extra, that for your own language skills and what is said in the texts, that oh that kind of thing, too, there really are some interesting stories. (Teacher 3)

9) And I have had this huge advantage that I have been allowed to start this teaching of Spanish here. It has given me a lot of energy because I like the language very much and I want to promote the studying of it. That here I have been given very good possibilities for it. [. . .] Let's say that here we have a better situation than in some city schools with optional languages, for example. We have a marvellous selection of optional languages and teaching time, really good. Top-notch students select optional languages. You get amazing results in them. That the

teaching of optional languages is really rewarding. That I probably could not find this kind of opportunity XX. (Teacher 2)

10) That less energy on all this bureaucracy and paperwork and use the energy on the teaching itself. I have had to think it that way myself. That it is the purpose why we are here as teachers, nothing else. My situation is this that when you invest in that and do not pay so much attention to other things such as projects and other stuff, although they are very fashionable today, then you still have strength. And it can be really interesting and it can be fun and rewarding. (Teacher 4)

11) And then if some thing sometimes succeeds or would succeed. That they are them. And they can be very little things, if you, for example, succeed in giving an assembly and somebody thanks and praises you for that. It can give you XX for a long time. (Teacher 6)

12) And in my opinion, I still add this that, of all the school levels, however, upper secondary general school enjoys a certain kind of respect. That I have somehow thought personally that I'm, in a way, at the top of my career since I've got into upper secondary general school as an English teacher. It is the kind of feeling I have. Nowadays of course... you would think that well, teacher and upper secondary general school, how horrible. It is terribly important to me, the status of the profession, the kind of respect. That wow, in upper secondary general school. There you have the matriculation examination, university and so. I think in a way a bit old-fashioned inside of me. That the smartest students come here and the ones that really, most of whom high goals and value this school. And then I will still add this since it crossed my mind that I think that here...well...the students, however, value upper secondary general school in their minds although it is not said aloud that often. But that those who are able to go through it seriously, they can see the instrumental value in it that...this is what I need. So that, in that sense it is...as a teacher's working place, upper secondary general school is the kind of... still respected... respectable at least. (Teacher 1)

13) We have all the necessary machines and equipment and we have two marvellous language laboratories. (Teacher 2)

14) And let's say that in a technical sense what comes to equipment and others the things are all right here, they are being taken care of. (Teacher 6)

15) Well, the size varies a lot, sometimes may be over thirty students and that is too big of course. But if you have less than twelve students it may be too small. I think the minimum size for an obligatory course is ten. That I think that fifteen-twenty is the most ideal. Then you can control everything. [. . .] All in all we have small groups if you compare with other schools in this area. People are jealous at us since we can teach to twenty students even in languages. [. . .] if I think about positive sides I say that mostly the group sizes are moderate. (Teacher 1)

16) The sizes have been good here. They have made an effort here that the groups in languages would be small, except that this year they have grown a lot. Now we have almost thirty students, but earlier we had about twenty. And you can really feel it when you do the work. And in working in the classroom it is quite a crowd when the classroom is almost full. I hope that it will go back to the former state. (Teacher 4)

17) Today's teaching material is very good. This is the third series of books we have since I've been here and I feel that it is all the time getting better. And the tapes are really good and we have the CDs [. . .]. (Teacher 4)

18) Yeah, we have just changed to a new series of books and it is very inspiring and one positive aspect is that the topics are nice and interesting. I myself also learn a lot of vocabulary and notice how the language has changed. And students like the topics and it is not school-like but useful text. Also students can get general knowledge about them. (Teacher 1)

19) Well, the headmaster is very sturdy and precise and, and reliable, in my opinion, in the sense that he takes care of everything and works very well, keeps the school activities under control. I think that there is nothing to complain about that. (Teacher 4)

20) Yes in the sense that things work very well, in my opinion, a lot better than in the schools I've been before. And I feel that there I myself had to take care of many things that here the headmaster takes care of. Now that the headmaster has been on vacation for a while I have noticed that there is a lot more to remember, especially concerning the matriculation examination. More than when he was here. (Teacher 5)

21) But as person, if I think this superior of ours. People can have different opinions about him, but I think that I've got along with him pretty well. In a way I can understand his sense of humour which is incomprehensible for many. Or that his humour is not understood. And I have to admit that it is sometimes difficult to know whether he's joking or does he really mean it. But, on the other hand, he gives the timetables very punctually and in a way this technical side is taken care very well. It is not unclear to anyone how they should do things. These kinds of rules are, however, fairly clear. But because they are so precise and strict, it is maybe a bit inflexible then. (Teacher 3)

22) Well, I don't complain about the sum that I get into my bank account every month, but if it is proportioned to the amount of work, if I would count earnings per hour for myself it would probably be quite low. I have got along fine with the salary and I think that it is a good salary for a woman. [. . .] There, nevertheless, is a defect in the proportion of salary and work load. Or I should say that if I got the same salary but the work load would be smaller. Then it would be ok. That I don't really long for more money. But the work load could be a bit smaller. (Teacher 3)

23) In upper secondary school I am [satisfied]. Since I already have all the age bonuses from fifteen years' time [. . .] I am satisfied. (Teacher 6)

24) Well, the co-operation with us language teachers works very well. Especially we who teach English, but now that I'm also involved in the Swedish teaching, it's the same situation there, that if someone has made extra material we don't hide it but give it also to others if we just remember to take an extra copy of it and this kind of consultation takes places during the breaks and also at other times. In my opinion, the co-operation works well and in relation to the other subject teachers, I don't think there is any [problems]. We had a little disagreement in the autumn in relation to the mock finals that are now organised also in the autumn. That there personalities clashed a little, but there probably were own reasons behind it and everybody understood them. (Teacher 3)

25) In the sense I'm positively surprised that here...how should I put it...the students behave well and do their work to the point. And I never need to tell them to be quiet, for example. XX a very good thing. That you can fully concentrate on teaching and don't have to think about anything else. (Teacher 5)

26) Well...On the behalf of the headmaster, at least, very freely. I feel that he trusts me and that I have the adequate professional skills. And, except for this one incident that I mentioned, the co-workers don't impose me anything. That, for example, my colleagues who teach English never give any orders. We always negotiate together how to proceed if a situation comes. [. . .] And I can self decide how I go through the texts and...that I don't have to, I do not literally follow the directions in the book. And I can skip some texts, whereas a colleague may take another. That we don't have any pressure that everyone should proceed exactly the same way. On the contrary, it is a good thing that everybody works in their own way because...then everybody brings new ideas to the work. (Teacher 2)

27) Then also this...in the sense we have this...other people like it that we have the freedom to do the work, if you're too tired to correct the essays today you can postpone it to another day, that I can give them back a week later. That I don't have to...the timetable is in a way flexible. That there is a bit flexibility and...the freedom we have. (Teacher 2)

28) And, on the other hand, I like this image of school that is in a way, that we give basic upper secondary education here. I think it's great when...nowadays there has to be everything fancy

that I've turned it that since it's not that innovative here, or fine and modern, so you can say that hundred-year-long traditions. (Teacher 1)

29) Since it was my own school...I wanted to get out of there, that I got tired of there being all the time something going on, that there was not much basic teaching. I liked to teach English and not always attend some projects that sometimes even looked impossible. (Teacher 1)

30) And if you work as a language teacher in evening school you have to scrape up the students to your courses yourself. That there in a way you had to do a lot of PR...also self make efforts that the courses were carried out. [. . .] In a way the marketing of the course and developing of the school were almost...even more important than the teaching itself. (Teacher 1)

31) In English we have an assistant teacher from Hungary, he has been here the autumn and is still here. But he is now more in the comprehensive school that I've not seen him here in upper secondary general school. But in the autumn he was, among other things, on my lessons quite a lot. And it was a nice experience. [. . .] The most important thing in it is that they get into contact with an English-speaking person. (Teacher 4)

32) And the curriculum project, I'm still involved in it in the way that I update it. And I have to attend courses X, it is of course the kind of thing that works and the process continues, that there is some kind of interest in it, XX, I'm satisfied with it. (Teacher 6)

33) If I worked full-time I would not be satisfied with the terrible amount of work. Or that it makes me so tired. But since I have shorter days this is ok for me. I don't feel that I have that kind of pressure about the work anymore what certainly comes if you work full-time. And especially if you're a bit older. Maybe when you're young you have strength enough to do it, I don't know. (Teacher 4)

34) Well, it is distributed very unevenly and it is a bad thing. In the autumn and until the oldest students leave there is a lot of work and especially from Christmas to the middle of February I had so much work that sometimes I felt that there was no time for anything else. And now in the spring it is not quite as busy. It's problematic that the work piles up to same time periods. (Teacher 5)

35) And this freedom of choice and that you can proceed at your own pace and then those who loose the track in languages, they come and ask about their courses in the middle of everything that I have now this and this course and I have got two fails and I can't proceed and when can I do this. The work is very disintegrating. Well yeah, ok, I need to let this student pass so that he or she gets out of this school. There is now a lot of work we did not have before. Some students just can't use this freedom right. Most of them are of course dopes but those who don't pass the courses in time cause a lot of work. And now that it is a busy time they come to pester that I should do this and that. These kinds of topics are the ones that are annoying in general and are often discussed. (Teacher 1)

36) [. . .] when in the matriculation examination it was switched over to these open questions and others instead of mere multiple-choice questions...and open questions came also to the listening comprehensions and all kinds of extra tasks, so it has caused an enormous amount of extra work because they all need to be taken into account in the training, that already at school they get used to them, we need to make them write summaries and then we correct them. That they then have an idea of what kind of summaries there are in matriculation examination. Or other comparable test. That the paper work has increased enormously. (Teacher 2)

37) And then there are all kinds of extra things, there should be all kinds of projects and should keep in contact with different authorities and that is a strain in this work [. . .]. (Teacher 6)

38) And well, since nowadays the teaching is organized in periods there always is a terrible haste. The issues are just rushed through. And you can't thoroughly go through an issue but it is often just botched and it is just training and coaching. (Teacher 1)

39) And then I've thought that am I just slow but then I asked these colleagues of mine...and they said that it took a long time for them, too, that they also work during the weekends, XX takes a lot of time. Or they work late in the evening or at night...if they have strength. I don't have strength to work that late. I postpone them to weekend. It is in school, no matter how hard you try to avoid all this extra work you can't find a way. You need to have word tests and the essays need to be written. (Teacher 2)

40) Well, it easily happens that you feel that at times, when the school is running, that you don't have time for any other life than school. And if something a little unexpected happens, in the middle of the week for example, you get a surprise visit, so you think that oh no, when am I going to do my homework? And, as a matter of fact this week, there is of course extra work during this week since we have these oral examinations and others that...that my husband called and said that we are getting overnight guests for last night. A very nice person and his wife that I had never met before, but the first thing that crossed my mind was that, oh no, when am I going to do my homework since I'll be here until three o'clock first and then I have to get something for them and other things. That right a way a kind of organiser started to work in my head, that from where I'll snatch the time that I'll meet the guests. I knew that it will take me the whole evening, that I can't do as normally, I can start after nine then, if I don't have time to do my homework before I pick up the child from day-care, I can start doing them after nine. And now I knew that the guests won't probably go to sleep at nine, that I need to keep company with them. [. . .] To be honest, language teacher in upper secondary general school should be a single person who has no other own life than school (laughs). He or she will live during the summer, then. (Teacher 3)

41) It is so hard that I could add that if you had Swedish and English, at the present pace it is totally killing for any language teacher. (Teacher 1)

42) It is of course, that I could do the work less precisely (laughs), that it would not be so much, you could reduce it that way. But, on the other hand, I would not feel good if I hadn't done by best. Maybe it is a bit my own fault that the work load is heavy. (Teacher 5)

43) But all in all, for teachers in this school there are no offices where you could work if your own classroom is not free. Like mine is a language laboratory, any other language teacher can, of course, go there if I have a free period, so the facilities in the teachers' room are miserable. And in my present classroom there is very little storage so that I have most of the material at home and then I physically carry them always here in my briefcase which is absurdly heavy. (Teacher 3)

44) The only thing is that if you thought about using computers in teaching, it's not easy to get there since there aren't computers in every classroom. That you should have the class reserved and then the computer class is often engaged so I haven't done it much. (Teacher 4)

45) The only thing is that the air conditioning is not sufficient in this class, there is no proper...I think the air is stale. When you are here for an hour...you'll almost faint. And then you can't keep the window open since...the traffic there. That you can't open it during lessons. Then in the spring the sun shines in here and it can be 28-30 degrees here. And then if you have several hours running, it is very exhausting. (Teacher 2)

46) Well, this school needs renovation, of course, and...it would almost be simplest to tear down the whole school and build a new one. We have here all the typical problems that can be in a school building. Lack of space and chipped and decayed places and mould and who knows what water damage it's been here. And the equipment in the classrooms is...very varied, starting from desks. To some classrooms we have got good desks, like in this classroom, but then there are absolutely desks below standard that can even be dangerous to students. That are too small for health's point of view. (Teacher 1)

47) And then the salary isn't proportional to the amount of work as I already mentioned, that I feel that in the same...same teaching time can be included a huge amount extra duties and still the salary stays the same. (Teacher 1)

48) In comprehensive school, it is very demanding work although many people disparage it, but it is at least as demanding as in upper secondary general school X. There, the salary could be revised upwards when teaching younger students. (Teacher 6)

49) Well the headmaster is fairly, authoritarian, he makes decisions himself and we are there just as stamps. If we have tried to get through some reforms or something, asked if we couldn't do this way. If he's of the opinion that it is not a good thing he strictly just says no and does not give any reasons for it. (Teacher 3)

50) Teacher 6: Our working atmosphere or working culture, XX the kind of way of working does not promote...discussion. Many things are pushed through and things are passed over in silence.

Interviewer: I see. Who is the one that pushes through then, certain teachers or the headmaster or?

Teacher 6: Yes, both especially the headmaster and the school board close to him. Sometimes it, in some cases it is a bit annoying, because it is so obvious, but nobody has the nerve to say anything. (Teacher 6)

51) [. .] if I want that somebody visits my classes...somebody from somewhere or something that I'd take my class somewhere...things like that. Or something...that I feel that, this is just a feeling but this is what we are talking about here, that since we have an authoritarian leader...the ideas of the group and...projects don't have a chance to blossom when you know that...it may be that well...that the things are not accepted. That you feel that in many things there is only one single truth and...this is the way we do. (Teacher 1)

52) And then of course you can say that...that it is not very easy to approach the headmaster...if you have a problem situation...for example it is quite difficult to get substitutes...and a sour attitude is taken up towards absences, that if a teacher has to be absent because of child being ill or some other obligatory thing so...bureaucratic and stiff and still you have to take care of the lessons although you're not even obliged on sick leave...so you still need to think the lessons for a substitute in the best case or at least is expected that teacher brings to school or otherwise informs what the substitute will do. I think it is horrible that...that we don't have the possibility to also self arrange these substitutes that...that if you have a situation that you'd need somebody for only a couple of hours when you can't take care of it otherwise so you could flexibly, say somebody that...a colleague or a qualified substitute or other person at school that could you take care of this. It is distressing since you are afraid that what now, will I get this now. Or during exam period, what if my child gets sick, what if I myself get sick or something. (Teacher 1)

53) If now, for example, I had the kind of situation that I should on Friday...like I have two hours free in between and then two lessons that if I sometime would like to go somewhere and in principle I could arrange with another language teacher that would you take my lessons and I will take yours some other time, so these kinds of arrangements are absolutely forbidden. That at least...they absolutely have to be taken through the headmaster and I believe that despite that it would be no, but you should officially apply for leave, and then you'll lose the salary for the two lessons yourself and the other will get the two hours' salary and so on. Sometimes it feels that it is forbidden to use common sense, that how the things could be done more flexible. But in a way I understand it from his point of view that, it is easier when it is so clear that, these kinds of arrangements are not done, so you don't need to think if it is done this time. But of course from the point of view of job satisfaction, if a bit more a teacher's own judgment and wits were trusted so...it would of course make it more pleasant. I don't think that there even are any shirkers or skiver...that in that sense, too, I think nobody would have to be afraid of...somebody using this kind of freedom in a wrong way. (Teacher 3)

54) And the complementing, since we are always a bit, that we, nevertheless, are not so satisfied with what the authors of the books have thought. In our opinion they do books for too good students. Although the material itself is good, the supposed reader for the book is a little...above the average in our opinion. (Teacher 3)

55) And a terrible amount of oral...oral exercises...considerably more. But I wouldn't say that it would lead to better results. Now I was astonished at one group that has had In Touch six, seven and eight, in other words three courses of In Touch, their written production is not that good...as expected. That...it prepares speaking fairly well but then no such exactness which came through Passwords in written production. This is only my first...observation, but I'm not sure if it is correct, but when you go through several courses you can see if the group just was the kind that they weren't that precise. It was quite a big group with only girls. That...in essay writing, although it was practised they did not reach as good a level as usually has been reached. (Teacher 2)

56) Not respected. You can see it in newspaper articles and elsewhere, and in other people's attitude that, we don't do much, get a lot of money. We were just discussing about skiing and somebody said to me, a person, that teachers have [time] to keep in good condition, that it is the common impression that XX. And then it is always discussed that people think that, that we just go and say something in the class and then we go home. It's not that. And those who have nothing to do with school don't understand. Even people with higher education, XX. That in that sense [respect] has probably decreased. I don't have any delusions about it. (Teacher 6)

57) Let me say that feedback that you get from parents...actually I can say that, two...two people I can remember...while being here from whom I have got...nice support...support and encouragement for the teacher. Two or three...parents, during this career that, the positive feedback never comes to us and the negative comes immediately. That is part of this job. But you just have to get used to that...let me say, the work rewards. There you can get the praise if it goes well and...you do the best you can and...trust that it yields results. Maybe you don't expect any praise from anywhere. [. . .] No matter what job it is today so you probably don't get amazing praise. Work is work. (Teacher 2)

58) [. . .] in some young people you can see the influence of television and...and Internet and all this media. From some children you can almost see that they watch a lot of television and...are on the Internet. That their parents are not present. They are almost like from another world. And they don't understand other students so well. That they're communication skills are not good. That you can almost see which student comes from a good home. And surprisingly, a home can be good financially and in other ways, too, but somehow...Parents' presence is missing. And it is a bad thing for a child. They can get totally off the track. That I have noticed a few such. Or if somebody is...a computer freak or a nerd, so he or she may be all alone. That I've noticed a few who can't get into contact with other people. These are modern phenomena. (Teacher 2)

59) I think that my personal horrifying picture happened...when a boy shot himself. A boy from whom I as a teacher would have never believed that could do something like that, who seemed totally...a perfect guy, student...who was considered a model student. And then...in a way...unhappily I took a huge burden of it to myself as a teacher, that he was the kind of student who did not do well in languages, in his own opinion, although I thought he was doing well. [. . .] That after this incidence I always think that what if I indirectly cause a trauma for someone or a catastrophe by giving grade five or six, ruining somebody's life. Although it is totally unrealistic thought. (Teacher 1)

60) Our principle is very authoritarian and it suits for those who want to work...in accordance with orders and not so much think themselves. That...it of course...kills enthusiasm if you know that if you get an idea it needs to be approved in the office. That, in my opinion, there are no flexibility in this school. That fairly, fairly, in a way rules given from the above and...strict control. (Teacher 1)

61) I can and I can't. In the classroom I can, otherwise in no way. Full of dates and orders and schedules. I don't know if a teacher's work is free when compared to other jobs since I haven't done much else, only short employments. That, of course what I myself carry out, X in that sense yes, XX. And of course there are schedules in every job and you need to find the time to do this and that. I don't know if any normal paid labour is that free. That in a way it is and in a way not. (Teacher 6)

62) The only thing that I could wish a bit more is, maybe we could be more open to some new things. Sometimes we could try something new. Sometimes I feel that everything is done in a good old way how it has always been done and is still done. It is of course valuable, that reform is not an end in itself but...still it could be done a little sometimes, or think about it at least. [. . .] some new things could maybe be tried more often. Open up a bit more to the world outside. (Teacher 5)

63) [. . .] to our culture belongs a bit the kind of isolation from others that, we're not willingly in co-operation, for example here in [name of a town] region X, in principle we should be. A clammy attitude is taken up towards all this. (Teacher 6)

64) [. . .] this present upper secondary school...it is the kind that...the job description is so vague that, there are so many single things that need to be taken care of. All the time you need to keep a record of, that you have these basic lessons, then you have all these students who need to do examination, students have a lot more problems than earlier when we had a normal upper secondary general school. And this freedom of choice and that you can proceed at your own pace and then those who loose the track in languages, they come and ask about their courses in the middle of everything that I have now this and this course and I have got two fails and I can't proceed and when can I do this. The work is very disintegrating. (Teacher 1)

65) But then what comes to the atmosphere in the teachers' room, it is said that the atmosphere, everybody thinks that is very well. That it is exceptionally good maybe but, but in my opinion it is not quite true, that beneath the surface there is all kinds of things, as in every workplace. And I disapprove it that in this kind of teacher community, if people fall into speaking evil of others. In my opinion, this kind of working community where it clearly can be seen would definitely need working guidance. That's my opinion. And of course in every workplace and in teachers' room in particular, there has been a lot of talk of how teachers' rooms are, that there is formed little coteries, of course, and cliquing. And it isn't necessary a bad thing that they are formed, it can be a support for a person. But if it goes to that direction that in the small group people start to determine in what position another person is in the working community. And there starts the speaking behind people' backs, it can be seen right away in the atmosphere and it starts to affect it insidiously. That it is maybe the only thing that should have been paid attention to earlier. It feels like the information is passed on although you yourself wouldn't say a thing, (laughs) everyone knows everything. (Teacher 4)

66) Maybe the only thing is...criticism from outside and maybe from students' parents. Or I don't know if it comes from them but the kind of...came via the school board that...our school is not...the image of our school is not good enough. That nobody wants to come here. We have, nevertheless, had amazingly lot of students...and it feels bad that it was said by the school board. Those who, on the other hand, self should support and...that in a positive way...developing. (Teacher 2)

67) I think we get training all the time. And it all happens on our own time. That we can't take it from our working hours...but we compromise over our weekends. The weekend for Spanish teachers would last from Friday evening to Sunday afternoon. Of course you don't have to be there the whole time, but still. (Teacher 2)

68) [. . .] then, on the other hand, the fact that students' skills get worse all the time. The level of skills. Their interest is divided into so many things that there isn't always enough of it for school. (Teacher 6)

69) Then we had a internationalizing project to Sweden. It was then cancelled at the last moment. But I worked for it the whole autumn. Then these smaller ones. XX these kinds of projects, the Swedish project, a lot of time was put into it and then it did not get enough interest so XX frustrating experience then. These kinds of frustrating experiences still add to the feeling of strain. (Teacher 6)

70) Not much. That of course now, let me say, I have gained a little credibility over the years and I dare to say and dare to influence. Since I compiled the curriculum which I've mentioned

several times, I felt that I gained trust from the headmaster and then from the head of local education and culture department. In some things can influence but in many things can't. A current issue is changing the textbook in Swedish X, the headmaster would like to have one series and we another so let us see how it goes. (Teacher 6)

71) The most disgusting part of this job is the correcting of the long papers and evaluating, turning and twisting. That the most difficult thing is...in addition to these problems is still the evaluation, the evaluation work. That you need to take into account every aspect of the language equally...there in the midst of the rush. I think that sometimes the busy examination period it takes credibility from the evaluation if you have five-twenty seconds time to think about somebody's grade. I would feel much more satisfied if I had more time to do it, but I always feel a bit false, that did I give the right grade. (Teacher 1)