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PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF MOONLIGHTING:
PATTERNS OF MULTIPLE EMPLOYMENT IN THE CAREERS OF
SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

A Dissertation Presented

by

JACQUELINE A. WILLIAMS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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Education

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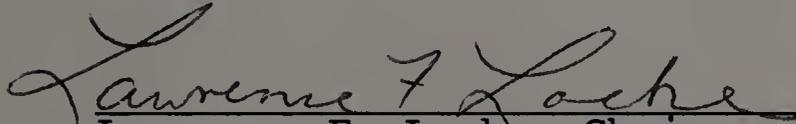
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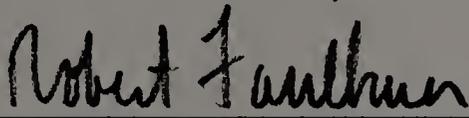
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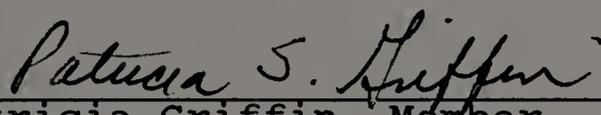
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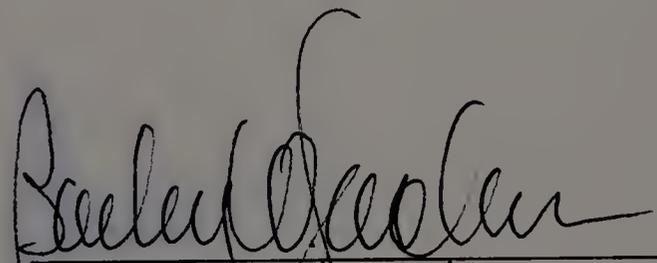
Jacqueline A. Williams

Approved as to style and content by:


Lawrence F. Locke, Chair


Robert Faulkner, Member


Patricia Griffin, Member


Marilyn Haring-Hidore
Dean
School of Education

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A B S T R A C T

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SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

FEBRUARY 1991

JACQUELINE A. WILLIAMS, B.S., CORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY

M.A., CORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor Lawrence F. Locke

The purpose of this study was to investigate the phenomenon of public school physical education teachers holding multiple jobs. Data were collected through interviews in which 17 secondary physical education teachers described their motives and perceptions concerning the combination of teaching with other forms of employment. Each teacher was interviewed twice. In the first, unstructured interview, participants were encouraged to identify what they regarded as the realities of moonlighting, the purpose being to identify questions, problems, and issues not previously encountered or understood. Prior to the second interview, participants were asked to read through an abbreviated transcript of the first interview which documented primary areas of interest and items which required amplification or exploration.

Profiles developed from the participants' own words provide a description of their moonlighting experiences and the impact of multiple employment on personal and professional lives. The profiles make clear that moonlighting is a highly individual phenomenon. Nevertheless, analysis of the transcripts served to yield a number of themes which were common to most of the participants' career patterns. Three particular themes appear to be both common and powerful in the professional lives of physical education teachers: (1) dissatisfactions with teaching and conditions in the school workplace often push teachers out into second jobs, (2) certain kinds of second jobs are regarded as part of professional responsibility, (3) some teachers spend more time in second jobs because limited time commitments in their personal lives leave a surplus of uncommitted time.

For some teachers moonlighting simply is an economic necessity. Gender, marital status and age-related life cycle factors all serve to shape the importance of supplementing teaching income through additional employment. Finally, teachers hold mixed views concerning the impact of holding second jobs on their ability to function effectively in the school.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Teachers are perpetually annoyed by the general perception that their jobs are made easy by short work days, long weekends, and frequent vacations. Comments such as "look at all the time off" and "you only have to work a seven hour day" are commonplace. The public impression of life as a teacher, however, is not borne out by the facts. Many teachers work well beyond those ten months and seven hour days. In fact, according to the National Education Association (1982), half of all teachers hold multiple jobs.

For teachers, employment in several jobs, commonly called "moonlighting," is rarely subject to restriction and has become an accepted part of the career pattern. Having an extra source of employment and income is neither a new phenomenon nor an uncommon practice among teachers (Wisniewski and Kleine, 1984). Nevertheless, moonlighting is a fact of life in education that rarely is recognized in explicit terms and which has been subject to surprisingly little study (Divoky, 1978).

Below the surface of common, unspoken acceptance and lack of formal recognition, however, there is uneasiness and

a sense that moonlighting may be dysfunctional for teachers, or that it may be symptomatic of serious and unexamined defects in education. It is assumed by many that moonlighting has a negative effect on the teacher's classroom performance. There is little direct evidence in the literature to support this assumption, although such failure may be as much the result of inadequacies in the knowledge base, as it is a reflection of what actually happens in the classroom. If we do not know even the extent of the phenomenon or the motives which lead teachers to engage in moonlighting, then debates about consequences are no more than speculation.

No doubt teachers moonlight for a variety of reasons. Although Boyer (1983) believes firmly that "for many teachers moonlighting has become essential" (p. 166), there is a wide range of attitudes about the practice of moonlighting and its effects on teachers' lives and careers. Wisniewski and Kleine (1983), for example, believe that teachers hold multiple jobs to supplement low salaries. Though the amount of money earned by moonlighting teachers usually is small, it provides an increase in disposable income that may have considerable socioeconomic significance (Wisniewski and Kleine, 1984). In a very different direction, however, Sikes (1983) believes that a second job compensates for the dissatisfaction felt in teaching.

Generally, most studies agree on the profile of a moonlighting teacher. Stewart (1981) conducted a study of

full-time teachers who held multiple jobs and found that younger, male secondary school teachers with dependents were most typical of those who moonlighted. This was further supported by Williams (1988) who found that the typical physical education teacher to moonlight was married with dependents, teaching at the secondary level in a suburban district and making more than \$30,000. On the basis of survey data she concluded that married male secondary physical educators whose spouses are not major contributors to the family income are almost universally destined to moonlight at some point in their careers.

Wilensky (1963) states three conditions that he believes maximizes moonlighting behavior: (a) flexible work schedules, (b) consumption greater than salaries, (c) people who are achievement motivated and (d) people who possess relevant skills. He also coined the term "life-cycle squeeze" as a time in one's life cycle when family needs outweigh resources, particularly for young, male, married workers with dependents. Also, predispositions are identified by Dempster-McClain and Moen (1989) in terms of capability: being young, in good health and committed to the ethics of hard work.

In addition to information about who moonlights, several studies collected information from teachers about why they held multiple jobs. Not unexpectedly, financial motives were a central factor. Historically, teachers' wages never have been competitive with earnings in other professions.

Teachers in 1841 made less than scrubwomen and day laborers (Lortie, 1975, p. 7), and although recent improvements have begun to close the gap, the distance between teaching and those with comparable education and responsibility remains substantial. One teacher commented on the situation: "the only good thing about my salary is that I qualified for a low income housing loan from FMHA" (Henderson, Darby, and Maddux, 1982, p. 10).

In 1983, Wisniewski and Kleine discovered that the two most common reasons cited for moonlighting were to pay off debts and to enhance the family standard of living. Four years later, Wisniewski (1987) found that the most frequently selected reason for teachers to moonlight was to maintain their current standard of living. Stewart (1981) reported that 43% of her respondents held extra jobs to meet the cost of supporting self and family. Similarly, Sekscenski (1980) looked at moonlighting women in the general population and found that 34% stated that they moonlighted to meet regular expenses.

From a different perspective, Sikes (1983) related the activity of moonlighting to the career stage of the teacher: "Some decide that the returns are not worth the effort and so cut down on what they do, while others build up an alternative career" (p. 49). In other words, teaching for some becomes a dead end and extra jobs can compensate for the unrest found in teaching. Ball and Goodson (1983) also suggested that work outside teaching "may provide...

psychological withdrawal from teaching" (p. 22). Bennet (1983) illustrated the dead-end feeling some teachers have and the possibilities for personal growth in an outside job with an excerpt from an interview with an art teacher.

I was fortunate, through circumstances, that I achieved promotion early and quickly. But I can really only move sideways now. So I am stuck. The only way for me to diversify is to do things outside school, which I'm starting to do. Perhaps I can see my career expanding that way (p. 127).

Although there are many studies that show financial need to be the motivating factor in moonlighting, some researchers have found that the school environment and lack of growth opportunities also contribute to pushing people out of education and into concurrent careers (Ball and Goodson, 1983; Sikes, 1983).

There also is evidence pointing to yet another motive. Some individuals actually enjoy the challenge of multiple roles and additional employment responsibilities. Williams (1988) found that the majority of physical educators who responded to her questionnaire gave favorable comments concerning their multiple jobs. While placing financial considerations into third place on their list of motivations, physical education teachers reported that they held multiple jobs because they enjoyed the second jobs, often regarding them as part of their professional responsibility.

To summarize, it is clear that many teachers hold multiple jobs to supplement salaries and maintain a standard of living. Some teachers, however, enjoy holding multiple jobs and might seek them out irrespective of financial needs or incentives. Finally, there is an additional interpretation which is less directly supported by survey data and more the result of the impressions formed by informal association of researchers with teachers. This second hypothesis suggests that the school environment may contribute to alienation in that it prompts teachers to look elsewhere for an environment that would encourage growth, relieve frustrations and reduce isolation.

If the significance of moonlighting is to be understood, the perceptions and experiences of teachers who hold multiple jobs should be the first target for investigation. This study addresses the following questions:

1. What factors do teachers identify as influential in the decision to augment their teaching salaries?
2. To what degree do teachers report a sense of control over decisions related to their multiple employment?
3. Do teachers who elect to augment their salaries express the same level of job satisfaction with their teaching position as teachers who just teach?
4. What are teachers thoughts about holding multiple jobs in relation to their personal and professional lives?

5. Do moonlighting teachers perceive positive, negative or no affect on their teaching responsibilities as a result of their other employment?
6. Do teachers see holding multiple jobs as a vocational aberration or as a normal part of their teaching career?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for the following reasons. First, there are few studies that have examined questions related to multiple jobs in the teaching workforce and most of those were limited by failure to settle definitions, inadequate sampling, potential response bias, inadequate construction of questionnaires and failure to address problems of reliability. These studies serve mostly to acknowledge the phenomenon, and to contribute a limited base of demographic information.

Second, a number of factors have been identified that maximize the probability a teacher will hold a second job. These motives should be explored to determine whether moonlighting is better understood as (a) a "squeeze in the life cycle" of young adults, a phenomenon peculiarly related to the economic context which exists at this point in our history, or (b) as a symptom of chronic dysfunction in the educational system.

Finally there are no resources which give insight into teachers' perceptions and lacking that, there is little to guide policy recommendations which might address the topic of

multiple employment in education. A topic which those who advocate year-round schools, for example, already have encountered.

In summary, there is limited research on moonlighting in education and the studies performed previously are limited by nature of their design. It is my belief that a study designed to converse with teachers, one which employs methods that encourage thoughtful, reflective and detailed responses, is the next step in expanding our understanding of this central aspect of teachers' lives.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to further our understanding of the phenomenon of public school teachers holding multiple jobs. Direct, systematic and intensive conversation with teachers who were involved in multiple jobs provided the data base from which to address the research questions. Through interviews, teachers were allowed an opportunity to elaborate on their motives and their perceptions of the contextual conditions that encourage them to hold second jobs. Through conversation shaped by a topical interview guide, teachers were encouraged to explain both their own experiences and their perceptions of moonlighting as a pervasive factor in the school workplace.

Content of the Dissertation

This study using indepth interviewing to explore the phenomenon of moonlighting in education, includes the

following chapters: Chapter II consists of a review of the literature pertaining to the topic of inquiry; Chapter III describes the methods and procedures used in selecting participants, constructing the interview guide, conducting interviews, processing and analyzing data and addressing the problem of reliability and validity; Chapter IV presents selected profiles of the participants; Chapter V describes the themes derived from analysis of the interview data; and Chapter VI provides a discussion of the findings, followed by reflections.

C H A P T E R I I

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The literature included in this review is almost exclusively descriptive in nature, telling the tale of who moonlights, what forms it takes and what types of second jobs are most common. Also included is a summary of the multitude of definitions of moonlighting that have been used by researchers. Finally, the review will address the limits of questionnaire research and provide support for use of alternative methods of data acquisition and subsequent analysis.

Definitions of Moonlighting

In the education literature, the definitions of moonlighting include (a) working for additional compensation outside the school district during the school year (Burch, 1966; Stewart, 1981), (b) supplementing salary outside the school district when school is not in session (Gumm, 1968; Tucker, 1965), and (c) working for additional compensation both inside or outside the school district at any time (Wisniewski and Kleine, 1983; Williams, 1988). It is clear that the act of establishing definition, whether set arbitrarily by the investigator or constructed as a product

of the participants' own perceptions, will be a critical step in any study.

Differences in the underlying definition of the teacher's role also complicate construction of a consistent and concise definition of moonlighting. There are conflicting perceptions about where a teacher's regular workload begins and ends. Some researchers have accepted the proposition that taking on compensated duties within the school that go beyond provision of classroom instruction nonetheless is part of "teaching responsibilities," taken in the broad sense, and thereby does not constitute a form of supplemental employment. This assumption is reinforced by many teachers and administrators who either undertake or encourage assumption of extra-curricular duties for additional compensation. Wisniewski and Kleine (1983), on the other hand, believe that teaching in the classroom is a full-time commitment and additional work of any kind must logically be regarded as an overload and thus as a second job -- albeit at the same worksite. Not surprisingly, then, they noted that the benefit of extra income obtained from other work, whether inside or outside the school setting, must be evaluated in terms of the consequences for the primary employment -- teaching.

Incidence of Teacher Moonlighting

When compared to the general population of workers over the last 20 years, teachers have comprised the largest single vocational group of moonlighters. Specifically,

teachers working below the college level have the highest rate of moonlighting activity in the United States. The National Education Association (1982) reported that over half of the surveyed teachers obtained income from sources other than teaching. Wisniewski and Kleine (1983) found that across each calendar year, 59% of their respondents received remuneration for second jobs located either inside or outside the school setting. Williams (1988) reported that 83% of the physical education teachers surveyed were involved in some sort of moonlighting activity.

Moonlighting Activities

Teachers have a variety of ways to supplement their incomes. Due to the daily and yearly school schedule, they are not engaged in tightly scheduled, obligatory school tasks during afternoons, evenings, weekends, breaks during the school year, and summer vacations. While some may have a substantial and continuing volume of out-of-school teaching tasks to perform (correcting papers, planning lessons, etc), these are mostly demands that can be moved about in time to accommodate other activities. In addition to flexibility of schedules, teachers often have the choice of working inside or outside the school district, as well as the choice of work in education or an alternate field.

Many teachers find their second jobs inside the school setting. The NEA (1982) reported that 35% of the teachers surveyed earned extra income inside the school setting. A

number of teachers in the Wisniewski and Kleine (1983) study (44%) earned extra income through their involvement with programs inside the school setting while only 31% of the teachers performed services outside the school. Coaching athletic teams was the most common means of earning income inside the school system (Gumm, 1968; Wisniewski and Kleine, 1983, 1984). Therefore, it is not surprising that 89% of the physical education teachers surveyed by Williams (1988) held secondary jobs within the school at some point in the school year.

The idea that secondary employment could lead to affluence and status is denied by the data. Most second jobs held by teachers required little education or experience, prompting Tucker (1965) and Wisniewski and Kleine (1983) to conclude that moonlighting teachers would do almost anything. Even remuneration for school-related tasks generally is limited by budgetary constraints, resulting in relatively low pay for in-house services (Divoky, 1978; McGinley, 1979).

Teachers' Thoughts About Moonlighting

Though moonlighting is a common phenomenon in the teaching profession, we know little about what teachers who moonlight think about their professional and personal lives. This section reports findings of the studies focused on investigating what teachers think about their second jobs.

Studies show that teachers have conflicting views about the effects of moonlighting on their teaching performance. On the one hand many teachers express concerns about

moonlighting. In a questionnaire distributed to teachers in Oklahoma, 44% of the respondents thought a second job was degrading to the education profession and that teachers who hold multiple jobs contribute to the deteriorating status of the teacher in our society (Wisniewski and Kleine, 1983). In a survey of Texas public school teachers (Maddux, Henderson and Darby, 1980), 64% of the respondents who moonlighted stated that their teaching would improve if they didn't hold other job responsibilities. Wisniewski and Kleine (1983) found that 20% believed moonlighting hindered teaching performance and 29% thought it hindered preparation for teaching.

There also is evidence that teachers who moonlight express relatively low commitment to teaching as a profession. For example, both Guthrie (1969) and Miller and Sniderman (1974) found reason to believe that those teachers who moonlight are less attached to teaching as a profession. One teacher illustrates this in his thoughts about the relative priorities he assigns to teaching and his second job:

It's a job (teaching) -- nothing more. I need the money but I don't put more into it than I have to. My real life is with the band. That means I often come in exhausted in the morning - my main aim is to keep the kids quiet -- off my back... I'm not the only one who sees it this way, you know...we talk about it... If society doesn't put itself out for

us, why should we bother for them? Individuals become separated from their work.

(Nias, 1983, p. 111)

If the suggestion that moonlighting is associated with low commitment is true, we still do not know whether moonlighting causes detachment or detachment encourages moonlighting.

In any case, there is evidence that contradicts the proposition that teachers uniformly view moonlighting with alarm. Stewart (1981) contradicted any such conclusion on the basis of her study of full-time teachers holding multiple jobs. These teachers generally perceived minimal effects on their commitment or on performance of their teaching responsibilities. They believed that supplemental employment had a negative effect on their mental health and recreation time, but created only minimal effects on teaching performance. The majority of physical education teachers surveyed in Williams' (1988) study also indicated the belief that their teaching was completely unaffected.

Even though teachers may have a sanguine view of the price exerted by moonlighting on their performance, it nonetheless is possible that there are consequences that influence either performance or the composition of the professional workforce. Bennet (1983), in a study of art teachers, suggested that though moonlighting may promote an increase in the teacher's general knowledge about the world, it could also lead teachers out of the profession. Divoky (1978) supports this perspective in concluding that when the

moonlighting job becomes more important than the teaching position, this may motivate the teacher to leave the classroom, to consider teaching a part-time position, or to abuse the autonomy enjoyed in a profession where there is little direct supervision of work performance.

Clearly, the studies conducted on teacher moonlighting show that it exists as an option for the majority and that it must be considered part of a broad career pattern for many teachers. That same research literature, however, raises more questions than it resolves concerning the phenomenon of moonlighting in education. The following are areas that have yet to be addressed or that demand more attention.

1. There is little known about teachers' perceptions of and concerns about moonlighting. Research provides nothing substantial that allows us to understand what teachers regard as motives to engage in or eschew multiple employment, no clear indications of rewards to be sought or negative consequences to be borne, or, finally, no measure of the degree of control teachers believe they possess over this aspect of their career.
2. Little research has been conducted that pertains to the possibilities for role conflict or role reinforcement between work performed within the teacher's personal life and professional life.

3. Defining moonlighting in education has not been approached through the eyes of the teachers. Researchers have assigned definitions, but some may be contradictory to the role dimensions of "teaching" as assigned by teachers themselves.
4. We know little concerning how the act of moonlighting may supplement what teachers discover to be missing in their teaching positions.
5. A closely related question which remains unanswered is whether teachers tend to resent, regret or simply accept the fact that teaching may not provide enough income.
6. At the level of fundamental causes, it is unclear as to whether moonlighting is best regarded as the transitory effect of personal finances (linked to a particular career stage, or the demands of a life-cycle squeeze) or, in education, is something more pervasive and ubiquitous, an outcome of contextual forces which surround teaching and which may make second jobs attractive or even necessary for any teacher at any time.
7. Job satisfaction among teachers who moonlight and those who do not is an area yet to be explored.
8. Lastly, little is known about those teachers who resist or don't experience the lures of moonlighting.

This study was not designed to answer all of those questions. It does provide, however, a base of information about

teachers perceptions of how their personal and professional lives are affected by moonlighting. With that in hand, we should be closer to a useful understanding of this complex phenomenon.

Conceptual Orientation

In the process of seeking to understand teachers' perceptions, and describing the exact nature of those perceptions, it was useful to develop a foreshadowing of the ways in which teachers would tell their stories. Such anticipatory thinking served several purposes. First, it clarified and made fully conscious some of the perceptions and expectations I already had accumulated through my own career experience, and through previous study of the topic. Second, it provided a basis for initial formulation of both the interview guide and the subsequent analytic procedures. Final identification of constructs for interpretation were derived from the data, but several broad frameworks had commended themselves as potentially useful from the outset.

The first of these frameworks was the construct of life-cycle squeeze, as identified by Wilensky (1963). Such a "squeeze" occurs when changing family needs reach a level at which their cost exceeds available financial resources. Under such conditions someone in the household must supplement total income. In many family units the male, as "head of the household" is compelled to moonlight.

The typical cycle of family life includes such variables as: number of children, home financing, care of aging

parents, health crises, and continued education, all of which serve to determine the level of financial need at a given point in time. Therefore, it was anticipated that interview data about such topics as age of children, mortgage payments, and graduate study might signal that participants were talking about being squeezed out of an exclusive commitment to teaching. That is, they were compelled to moonlight by circumstances in their personal lives.

A second foreshadowing was provided by Wilensky (1963) who also identified work history as a construct related to moonlighting behavior. He found that certain elements in an individual's past work history serve to increase the probability of moonlighting. Chaotic work histories, in particular, may cause feelings of insecurity and a corresponding need to build protection against loss of employment. Thus, the second job for some moonlighters may provide a sense of security. The possibility of such a mechanism thus required sensitive inquiry into the work history of each participant.

The hypothesis concerning the relevance of past employment patterns was related to a third expectation about moonlighting -- the theory of blocked mobility. Although noted by Lortie (1975), this was based most directly on my own work experience. The sense of being in an unchallenging, unchanging, dead-end job may increase the likelihood of moonlighting for teachers with strong achievement needs who desire advancement and upward mobility.

From the outset it seemed unlikely that any single explanation would provide a perfect accounting for moonlighting experiences of the participants. Both the pilot study and my own experiences as a teacher suggested that combinations of causal factors would be present in many cases. It seemed possible for example, that some teachers might simultaneously be pushed out of teaching due to the lack of mobility, and pulled out due to their own work histories and consequent need for employment security.

C H A P T E R I I I

METHOD

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to further our understanding of the phenomenon of public school teachers holding multiple jobs. Data were collected through interviews in which teachers were allowed an opportunity to elaborate on their motives and perceptions concerning the combination of teaching with other employment.

An earlier survey study (Williams, 1988) made apparent the limitations of quantitative data acquired through questionnaires. Although explicit and relatively narrow points could be addressed through frequency counts and percentage tables, the wider and more complex questions remained unanswered. Knowing the answers to "how many?" and "what kind?" served only to underscore the centrality of questions dealing with the participants' perceptions of motive and consequences. To achieve insight into such matters, a qualitative approach is more appropriate.

Indepth Interviewing

For this study, extended and multiple interviews were used to allow teachers to describe their perception of moonlighting. Such conversations with teachers were guided

only by a broad topical outline, were audio-taped and constituted the primary data source for this study.

Each teacher was interviewed twice, the first interview was largely unstructured, using only an opening question and a short list of key topical areas to be probed over the course of an otherwise open conversation (see Appendix A). The participants were encouraged to elaborate and to identify what they regard as the realities of moonlighting, the deliberate purpose being to identify questions, problems and issues not previously encountered or understood. Prior to the first interview the participants completed an occupational history chart which required the individual to recreate both their teaching history and their "other job" history along a temporal continuum (see Appendix B). In addition to providing a data source, this helped the individual refresh their memory concerning past employment prior to elaborating on it during the first interview.

The second interview focused more specifically on points raised through preliminary analysis of data from the first interview. Participants reviewed, in advance, an abbreviated transcript which documented primary areas of interest, concern, issues, or items which required amplification or exploration.

Participants

The participants for this study were physical education teachers selected from a complete list of faculty members

employed in all school districts in three counties in western Massachusetts. The participants were teaching full time at the secondary level and also were involved in a second job outside the school system during the school year, summers, or both. The teachers also were selected to insure representation by gender, marital status, extra-curricular responsibilities, years of teaching experience and school level. Because of present conditions in public education, however, there were no participants who had taught less than seven years.

To accommodate these variables, 17 participants (nine females and eight males) were selected for the study. The investigator also interviewed two physical education teachers who have moonlighted in the past, but no longer do so. Data from these latter interviews were used to provide a basis for exploratory comparisons with information gathered from the teachers who moonlight. A full protocol for informed consent was followed and the identity and place of employment of all participants was kept confidential (see Appendix C).

Access

In gaining access to participants, a letter was sent to secondary physical education teachers in western Massachusetts (see Appendix D). This letter was designed to introduce the investigator and to obtain permission to call the teacher. Once a response was received from the teacher (stamped, self-addressed postcards were used), the respondent was contacted by phone to schedule the first interview date.

Working with the Data

Appendix E presents the major steps for data collection. In this study, each interview was audio-taped. These tapes, in their complete, unedited and untranscribed form were the primary source of data for analysis. In addition, segments were selectively transcribed from the first interview both for use by the researcher, and for review by participants prior to the second interview.

The process of selection in creating the abbreviated transcripts followed an explicit plan for extraction of data (Appendix F). The transcribed segments include all references related to primary areas of interest, as well as unclear statements that required further explanation or special attention in a second interview. In this way, information generated in the first interview was utilized to provide a basis for the second interview.

The follow-up interviews were audio-taped and then fully transcribed. Both the original tapes and the transcripts were then reviewed to identify thematic elements which appeared to be common to all or to particular sub-groups of teachers. Quoted segments were extracted to illustrate and expand each theme. In addition, lists of ideas, diagrams, categories and tentative hypotheses about relationships were developed as the intermediate products of inductive reasoning. With the common themes, these materials provided the basis for developing analytical assertions in the concluding chapter.

Establishing Trustworthiness

It was imperative that the researcher establish the trustworthiness of procedures used while conducting the investigation. Toward that end, the study incorporated two procedures described by Lincoln and Guba (1985): Peer Debriefing, and Member Checking.

1. Peer Debriefing employed an individual not associated with the study to periodically review data and other study materials for the purpose of engaging the investigator in a continuing dialogue intended to probe problems that became apparent, raise questions which should be addressed, and encourage reexamination of procedures and emerging interpretations. The peer debriefer helped the researcher be accountable for the quality of data, fairness to the participants, and consistency in application of rules for procedures and analysis. As an informed colleague and sympathetic listener, the peer debriefer also served to relieve the researcher of frustrations which could cause poor judgement. The peer debriefer met with the researcher once each week to review study materials and discuss progress of data acquisition and analysis.

2. Member Checking was possible given the strategy of using follow-up interviews. It was possible to assure the accuracy of both transcribed material and, to some extent, my understanding of those data. Selected portions from the first interview were transcribed using direct quotes and returned to the participants for review prior to the second

interview. The last interview allowed participants to confirm issues and perceptions discussed in the first conversation, while the investigator had the opportunity to raise specific points that were unclear from the initial encounter.

In addition to member checking and peer debriefing, the dissertation committee served as a review board during the analysis phase. When the preliminary analysis was completed, I shared my intermediate products such as theme statements, and emerging interpretations of the interview material. Methods of analysis were a primary topic of discussion during these meetings. The overall goal of this procedure was to insure that the findings were grounded in the data.

Personal Records

In addition to the interviews, a personal log was kept throughout the inquiry process. Two topics were addressed and recorded: (a) speculative ideas and interpretations that developed during the interview process, and (b) thoughts about the research process itself. Aspects such as, the investigator's changing perceptions of the participants and their responses, personal feelings that surface during interviews, and comments about needed adjustments in the interview guide, were included in the personal log. The log was shared with the peer debriefer and the Committee Chair.

Along with the personal log, a biographical account was developed which clearly states my background, concerns, and thoughts about moonlighting (see Appendix G). As a former

public school teacher and moonlighter, I have some strong opinions and assumptions concerning the issue at hand. The purpose was for me to become aware of my own assumptions and beliefs. It also was imperative to understand how these might influence my analysis of the data. The biographical account was read by both the peer debriefer and committee members. As an appendix to the dissertation itself, it gives the reader an informed understanding of the researcher as the primary instrument of investigation.

Analysis of the Data

The analysis was a continual process beginning with the pilot study and continuing throughout the investigation. To begin, the transcripts of both interviews were reviewed, once by reading and the second time by listening to the original audio-tapes while reading the transcript, to assure accuracy of the transcripts. During this process, concept units were identified and sorted into simple categories. Based on previous research findings and literature in this area, the following categories were used to sort the data, allowing room for subdivisions and new categories to develop as the analysis proceeded.

1. Thoughts on why the participant does or does not moonlight.
2. Factors that led participant to hold multiple jobs.
3. Comments on participant's satisfaction with teaching.

4. Comments on participant's satisfaction with supplemental job.
5. Opinion concerning the positive or negative influence of second job on teaching.
6. Opinion concerning the positive or negative influence of second job on personal life.
7. Perceptions of control over holding a second job.
8. Identification of multiple jobs as either a vocational aberration or as a normal part of the teaching career.
9. Personal demographics.

Simultaneously, the data were examined to identify and extract themes which appeared to be common to some or all of the participants. Also, as part of this process, careful note was made of negative cases: those individuals who appeared to be exceptions to the regularities captured in the common themes.

C H A P T E R I V

SELECTED PROFILES

In this chapter, nine of the 17 profiles will be presented. The profiles are designed to give background information and describe both the personal and professional lives of the participants as they relate to moonlighting. Those selected for this report include participants who represent the full range of variables such as teaching experience, marital status, gender, and type of moonlighting activity.

Each of the selected profiles presents information concerning the primary variables. There are four males, David being the only single male teacher, while the remaining three, John, Doug and Peter are married. Their teaching experience ranges from seven to 26 years. Of the females, two are single, Judy and Ann, while three are married, Carol, Barb and Alice. Their teaching experience ranges from 14 to 20 years.

Doug

Doug has been teaching in the junior high school for 26 years, and is married with two children. One child is in college and the other is deciding which college to attend. His wife has a half-time teaching position. Doug coaches

varsity boys' basketball and is physical education coordinator. He gets 40% release time for his administrative responsibilities. In addition to his school responsibilities, he and his wife own and manage 60 rental apartments. Prior to this he coached high school soccer for 16 years. In the past, he worked for six weeks each summer at a basketball camp, doing coaching, and administrative tasks. In recent years, however, he has reduced summer camp work to one or two weeks.

I discussed it with my guidance counsellor at the high school level and I basically always knew because of coaching that I wanted to teach. I knew it had to be physical education because that's what I really most enjoyed so that's what I went after....It always seemed like when I was playing and when I would talk to my teammates they would always listen to me. And my coach and counsellors at the high school, kept saying to me, "gee you'd make a great teacher."

My father had a tremendous amount of success with athletics and I knew that was always something that was very important to me when I was younger and I was hoping too that I could impart some of the skills that my dad left with me to other people. That always seemed to be a motivating force behind wanting to go into coaching and teaching.

I really enjoy my teaching at this level, because they're very responsive and enthusiastic, they do what

you ask them to do, they really want to learn things, and they don't have that feeling of apathy that sometime pervades the high school level. So this age group is very easy for me to motivate as a teacher.

All I can say is that coaching has been a major part of my life. So when the day comes that I give it up, there's going to be a void [in my life].

This is my main job, teaching, my main job is not real estate, but yet, I can generate far more money from real estate than I can in here, so you have to catch yourself in terms of where your priorities are. When I go home for lunch, if I don't eat and just spend a half hour there, what am I doing there, I'm on the telephone, I mean I have an answering machine that's just ringing off [the hook].

My basic responsibility I feel is I'm a teacher and coaching is teaching and I enjoy doing that. But I also enjoy some of the side effect that you get with success being a coach. It's nice to be looked upon by the community as someone who's [had] an influence.

Coaches can be very dynamic personalities within the community and people look at me after a win, I know exactly what they're thinking. After a loss, I know exactly what they're thinking, they're not thinking about my gymnastics class that I just got out of. I'm looked at here as a coach then a teacher, and I don't know if I really care for that. I consider myself a

teacher first. I think any good coach is a teacher first and that's what coaching is, it's teaching! So I look at it differently. I know how I'm deemed through the eyes of other people, it's not as a teacher first.

It comes from the importance the community sees your work to be; unfortunately they look at coaching to be far more important than physical education teacher. And it's not to say that what I'm doing as a physical education teacher is not important, but this [coaching] is more important, because this has a means of getting kids to college.

I think the general public especially those people who have children in the schools know why we're doing the extra work, I mean they just know what we're being paid is not enough to support a home and kids going to college and the whole bit. So what basically has to happen is you have to find other means of employment or other means of making money.

You don't make a lot of money being a teacher so you have to get some fulfillment My fulfillment is to transfer skills to my students and to my players and if I can see that they're getting something and they're making themselves a little bit better then I get a tremendous amount of accomplishment from that. I've been able to keep my enthusiasm, because I know I can teach. I know I can transfer my skills to my students

and as long as can do that and I see that makes them feel good then that makes me feel good.

But I could sell one of my apartment buildings and make 40 times the money that I make in coaching so you wonder why you give the \$2500 job [coaching] so much more of your time than you do a building that's out there worth \$100,000 or whatever.

John

John has been teaching for 22 years. He is married with one child. For ten years he owned and operated a gymnastics school for all ages. During the summer months he coordinates lifeguards at a national seashore. John has been involved in coaching on and off for years, mainly gymnastics and swimming. He also is active in school politics, whether it be union contract negotiations, or representing teachers in other ways. The impression he gives is one of enormous energy and powerful motivation.

Where I went to high school, it was really small, there were 35 kids in my graduating class. We didn't have a gymnasium, we had to use another gym in one of the other buildings. There was no physical education class, the requirement was met by PT, physical training class.

I still like what I'm doing. I guess I'm one of those few people that get up in the morning and enjoy going to work, because I like what I do. I can't

really recall taking a day off because I was sick. I'm in the pool here teaching before I'll let somebody else come in and do it for me. I'll come in half dead.

I like the activity, that's one of the reasons. I like the movement. The other is I get an awful lot of personal satisfaction out of watching kids progress and seeing them succeed at what they do and I think that's what drives me to be a good teacher.

I watch that door opening when those kids come through here and you watch them beat feet in here just as fast as they can, the dust is flying up from underneath their feet, because they can't wait to get here and there's got to be a reason for that. It's not all play here, it's hard work for them, because I make them work. I work on their skills, I work on their drills, but they're obviously successful because they can't wait to get here and they enjoy it.

The frustrations of having to deal with public education [are] the frustrations of not being able to do what is in the best interest of a student because it's public education and administration sometimes stands in your way. [Sometimes] you don't get their support, but in general we do, but there are those little moments that seem to magnify themselves, that are negative, that certainly outweigh a lot of positive things that happen. They sort of sit in your mind and

they grind on you and grind on you and they get [to] you.

[I] Taught nine years at the elementary level and decided I wanted something more, something different, something challenging, so I came to this level [junior high]. And the opportunity was there so I jumped on it. I also did that from the high school level. I didn't like the particular high school I was working at for some of the reasons I just told you: the administration, no support, poor schedule, a lot of administrative duties, inequities, being treated as a gym teacher in comparison to other teachers. So I left and I wasn't afraid to go to elementary level, so I've taught K-12 and it's been fun and I think that it's kept me fresh and alive in the field today.

It seems like I've got everything in place, maybe it's just me, it seems like everything is organized and going really well and then I say this is enough. I've worked real hard in the pool to get the program that I've got under control, where I like it. And I'm one of those philosophers that says if it ain't broke don't fix it...met the challenge, made my accomplishments, and then time to move. The whole curriculum here has been completely revamped from the day I started. I've changed it since I've been here and maybe I'll change it again, but I don't believe in

change just for the sake of changing it, there has got to be a justifiable reason.

There's a lot of committees that I get involved with, that I feel professionally are my responsibility to be part of. Not only the teaching community and the professional community within the school or within the system, but for me to do because that's the way I feel. I'm the vice-president of the teachers' association, I do that on my own free will, because I feel it's my responsibility to get involved in those professional programs that support your program.

I couldn't survive with just teaching...I had to make a decision here on whether I was going to pursue a masters degree or do the extra work. I had to look at it from a very objective point of view; dollars and cents wise what does it mean? And when you sat down and figured it out on paper, to get a masters degree it was going to cost me approximately eight to 10,000 dollars over a period of maybe three years. And the masters degree was going to make a difference of \$1,200 a year in my paycheck, so financially it didn't make sense to me to do that. With the gymnastics school opening plus the job on the island, I was making 12-15,000 dollars extra, so what was the point?

I once signed a contract when I first got into teaching for \$5,650 and the contract stipulated that I would teach physical education, organize sports at club levels,

and coach basketball and baseball. I was up all hours of the night and I was playing basketball on my own in a league. It was like: go to bed at two get up at six or seven, be at work before eight o'clock, and teach all day. I coach all afternoon or get ready to go to a basketball game or baseball game, and sometimes during the day there was an activity period [so] I'd set up a wrestling club or gymnastics club. I think I understood what that meant because I was standing in the middle of the fire.

The gymnastics school was really a difference as to whether I could afford to buy the house I am living in now or not. It made a difference when the bank looked at it, well can this guy afford this mortgage? You add 4,000, 5,000, 6,000 here and you add another 1,500 there and you add another 2,000 over here and all of a sudden you're making five to 8,000 dollars beyond your [teaching] contract.

I have a hobby that works a lot like that too and the hobby has become a money making proposition for me. It's really interesting, it involves training bird dogs. [To] get a dog finished, I mean really really finished, it takes three or four years. Then you sit there with your hands in your pocket and I look at the dog and say, well now what? So I get another dog and start over again, that's really demanding. I think I've learned more about teaching kids from working with those animals. About

being specific and being consistent and repetitious if you need to be, never giving them an inch. It's helped my teaching.

I have this inner drive to be active, and I really enjoy doing what I do. Money talks to me and if it's something that I like to do and it will make my standard of living better, or it will give me the opportunity to buy another bird dog, I'll do it.

That's a big word, control. I'm in control of myself, my own program, and my own destiny really.

Barb

Barb has been teaching for 20 years, and is married with one child. At the time of the interview she had just received her pink slip, so she was under stress concerning her future job status. As the primary bread-winner, this news created some tension since Barb's husband is on disability. In the fall Barb is involved in coaching varsity soccer and in the past has been a class advisor.

My father used to teach, this is going back quite a few years, because my father is now 79 and my mother is 75, but when he was teaching, it was around World War II, he didn't have enough money. I think his salary was like \$2,000, I don't even think it was \$3,000 at that point. And so he gave it up, but he has a masters degree and my mother has always been a teacher.

What I like is to be able to work with kids. I love

working with kids and as I've gotten older and as I've taught all levels, I have found the importance of working with kids in a natural atmosphere where they aren't required to be still in a classroom situation.

Before I would say if someone were to ask me, "Well what do you teach?" I would say, "I teach physical education." I don't say it that way anymore. I say, "I teach students through physical education." I feel that physical education offers me a natural setting where the kids can let their hair down and be more themselves.

The challenge on the higher end of the scale is in the coaching and that's why I do it. It's extremely tiring, even if you are a single person I think it's tiring, but I think it's easier to cope with. I have a young son, I have a husband, and so as soon as I'm through coming back from a game at 6:30, there's a family to take care of and I'm not through. I may have to help my son with homework. The day isn't over until maybe nine so it's the constant pace, it's tiring, and that is a drawback, but I only do one sport. That was the deal and my husband was very receptive to it [he said], "If this is what you need in order to feel good about your job then by all means do it."

I feel because I'm in the educational environment and I enjoy the coaching even though it puts extra pressure or stress on a particular situation, I enjoy that level,

so I would try to do this as long as I possibly could. The coaching helps my ego, I think, because number one you're dealing with girls who want to be there.

I am more of an educator than I am a recreational director. I want to teach and I know how to teach, and I'm teaching on the coaching level. Whereas I am not teaching as much as I would like to in the classroom situation.

My family is very important to me, and I love being with my family. I also feel that I have another life that as long as I can be a part of that I want to, because to me it isn't enough just taking care of things at home, I have to do something else.

Judy

Judy has been teaching for 16 years. She is single with no children. In the past she has coached, but decided to give the coaching responsibilities up once she was granted tenure. She once worked in a delicatessen for a brief period during the school year and now works in a battered woman's shelter. In the summers she frequently works doing carpentry.

I think it's [teaching] very challenging. I enjoy it! I think I'm now at a place and have been probably for about the last five or six years where I really appreciate being able to teach kids and meet the challenges of: this kid is not motivated, figuring out

ways of how to deal with [him/her], utilizing different teaching approaches to get kids to be more comfortable with their bodies and who they are. I think it's real enjoyable when you have kids that recognize they have made progress, that they report to you they recognize the difference.

I would like to have a safe, equitable P.E. class, it just seems like [its] not even something that is recognized by P.E. programs. They want to have a safe program, but they're not necessarily equitable. I've been working very specifically with issues of oppression in P.E. I mean any student that's had me or will have me will know clearly from class one what's expected of them in terms of the way they will effectively respond to one another.

We just recently hired someone two years ago, and it was real important to get someone who had a background in sports. I no longer coach. But I waited until after I got tenure before I left all my coaching responsibilities.

I was always coming into classes first thing in the morning, being tired, being stressed out over whether it was a game or whether it was dealing with another 45 minutes after practice talking with a student that was having problems, related to basketball or not related to basketball. I think what happened was I just sort of short-changed the kids that I had in class.

There was sort of a wall there. I didn't have time to open up and hear a whole lot, because I didn't have any more room. I didn't have anymore time. I didn't have any more tolerance. It was sort of, I taught the class, but I didn't go out of my way. If someone had been out for two days in a row, [I didn't] walk up and say, so where have you been? And I think that that's something I definitely do now.

I was one of two P.E. teachers at the time and the other P.E. teacher was a mother so that was almost like a waiver and she wasn't pressured to coach. I feel very strongly that it was the other woman's marital status that made a difference and I think that's what's hard for the AD [athletic director]. What could she be doing with her time? I think with men coaching it's not an issue with dinner or not because there's someone home to deal with all those things that happen around dinner time.

I think it just wasn't a very wise move, [working in the delicatessen] it definitely had an impact on my teaching, because I was too tired. Again the energy level kinda dropped off and just sort of justified it all with, "Well I'm not being supported here, I'm not recognized as a professional so they get what they pay for."

And we're wrapping up negotiations for our most recent contract and it's so frustrating to hear what

they [parents] want to put down in writing because they are so sure we aren't doing these things or they want to be guaranteed that it's happening and the reality is they are already getting more than that, unwritten. Now you start writing it, people are going to start to back off.

Ann

Ann has been teaching for 15 years, she is single with no dependents. At this time she is coaching varsity field hockey and teaches driver education for a private firm, three days a week after school. There was a time when Ann was coaching two sports during the year, either basketball and field hockey or softball and field hockey.

I was active in athletics so I just thought maybe this would be a good opportunity. I wasn't a very good student because I never applied myself. So people kept saying well maybe it would be easier to go into phys. ed. Which when I think back on it, it was terrible advice to give anybody because it just puts the program physical education down and it's too bad.

I like kids and my philosophy is I like to try and make a difference and not necessarily what I'm teaching but the way I'm teaching...It's basically the kids and the hours [I enjoy about teaching].

I always feel like when somebody hires me I owe them. I still feel that today after 15 years. I feel I'm going to do the best I can for this system, because they gave me the opportunity to prove myself and if I don't do my job I want them to let me know and give me time to correct it or get rid of me.

I think if you're coaching you have an extra edge on other teachers. I think it's important as a phys. ed. person that I coach because kids know that I'm the varsity field hockey coach. Kids have something about athletics and coaches, they look up to them. They respect them and I think that filters down to this age level, because I'm coaching at the high school so as the kids are coming up they know who I am and it's kind of an extra. It helps and I feel in my coaching, I'm a teacher first there, so it definitely adds.

When I have student teachers now, that's what I want to see, the kid that [says] I'll do it for nothing, I'll do the extras. I think that makes the person and I [still] think that after 15 years. After all, nobody is doing anything anymore for free, and that's just society. I'll still put in my one hundred-percent, but in coaching you don't get paid.

I've taken them [summers] off and I'm single so I can really budget my money and do exactly what I want to do. I travel, I do bike trips...I come back here and I can't wait to see the kids, I can't wait to share, I can't wait

to hear what they've done. If I worked I would be bogged down, I need those 2 months to do what I want to do, and that's why I've chosen not to work.

I know I've gotten a little bit lazier. I feel I'm a motivator in my classes and when I'm coaching because I've had a lot of time off. Now, [however,] I feel like I'm going through the motions. When I go pick up my paycheck I'm not always sure, I feel guilty sometimes. I think that happens after a while It's not that I'm getting burned out, it's just that once you have time to yourself to do what you want to do, it's hard to go back to what you're so used to doing for so many years. You kinda enjoy that space of not having to have to do something.

People are in contract disputes now and education isn't looked on right now in Massachusetts as a priority. It kinda cracks your heart in half. Any love that you had before, you were giving. Now people look ahead and say, "Wait a minute." No matter what we give in return, not that we need a monetary thing, but we just want [them] to say, "Yeah, you're doing a good job." You don't get that.

Alice

Alice is one of the two teachers interviewed who does not moonlight in any way at the present time. Alice has been teaching for 14 years, and is married with three children.

Since having the children, she stopped coaching and now spends her spare time with her family.

Sometimes I wonder too, if I enjoyed my high school so much that I didn't feel [teaching] was a way to always be connected with a time in my life that I really enjoyed.

I enjoy the schedule. I mean you can't beat it for the hours of the day and the number of days in the year. It can't be beat in any other profession, as far as that goes, especially being a mother and a wife and not a highly motivated career woman that wants to work 20 hours a day. That fits into my lifestyle really well.

In phys. ed. I think it's assumed that you should be a coach and I would probably say that's where I feel most inadequate in choosing this profession. I really don't feel comfortable in a coaching position. I did take it on when I first got out of college, I was gung ho and I did feel I should take on extra things. I took a pep club and cheerleading advisor and we tried to have a gymnastics club. That pretty much fizzled, but I did that for a few years and I was coaching track so I had four extracurricular positions when I first came on. I got married the next year and had my first child the year after that so I've started letting go of things.

I mean I don't think they [coaches] neglected their classes, but I think their hearts and heads were more into the coaching aspect and the teaching was more or less incidental. They have to do that to get their salaries or their paycheck. This all reflects on our phys. ed. curriculum, our whole department needs updating, inspiration, and motivation. It's become pretty blase at times and like, "Oh well lets just..." I wouldn't say we're as bad as what we used to hear; people throwing out the ball, but sometimes in certain units and at certain times of the year, that's what it almost feels. Then I'm not happy with me or anything up there. I feel very guilty collecting that paycheck. Especially when you compare what we do to the academic level I mean we come in and play games and have fun and we get as much pay as the academic teachers do. They don't really get a chance to sort of just sit back and let it flow. So I feel as though we're not really taking advantage of some of these newer activities coming out and trying to get some of these things in and we're really falling down [on] just striving for the best possible program for the kids.

I didn't go into phys. ed. teaching, as a lot of phys. ed. teachers, because of the coaching aspect. But at that time there were not as many girls sports in high school so that was not one of the goals I set out for. I think that's one of the big eye opening shocks I

hit at the university. I really don't want to coach, and phys. ed. teachers are really expected to want to coach.

It's very important to me as a mother with three children now, even with one, because it gives me time to be there for them when they come home and then if they want to be involved in different activities after school, they can. It's terrific during vacation time, when they're off from school, I'm off from school. Who wouldn't want to work from 7:30-2:00 anyway, I mean if you want a little selfish motivation it's nice not to have to work long hours. And long years, you always know there's a break coming up, a little bit down the road we have a vacation coming.

One of us has to be here so I think in our family it tends to be more of a traditional house roles where the mother does a lot of, this is awful...I mean he has come out more of the old type father who works nine to five and comes home and he does help around the house more and he does do more things with the children, but it isn't always natural for him. I think we fit the old stereotype of where the mommy does this and the daddy does this. Although I've been trying to drag him tooth and nail into the 80's that's probably right, because the male, the old structure is still there. Cooking is my role.

But it is a nice benefit, I can always have this really great out and say, well I have all these kids that I have to run here and there and I just don't have time for that....But if the teachers don't do it who would?

I still don't want to do it [coaching], I do feel guilty. I think a lot of that is lack [of] self confidence. There's a little part of me that's saying I'd like to get my teeth in it once and see if I could do it...I hate feeling down on myself, I hate feeling inadequate. I feel like I don't know how to coach and supposedly I'm in phys. ed. and that's supposed to be something you're able to do if you're in phys. ed., so I feel like a mediocre phys. ed. teacher. That basically sums it up and I guess I'd like to know that I'm not a mediocre phys. ed. teacher and part of it would be the coaching, I'd like to know I could do it successfully.

Carol

Carol has been teaching for 14 years. Her husband also works full-time and they have one child who is pre-school age. Before their child, Carol coached volleyball at her school in the fall, officiated swimming in the winter and coached at a prep school in the spring. Since having the child, however, she now only coaches in the spring and officiates on and off in the winter, although this spring she

may not coach at all. Outside of school Carol has worked at summer camps, directed outdoor programs, directed a cross country ski program, and trained one summer full time for rowing. Now she takes the summers off and no longer holds other jobs.

What keeps me in the profession is knowing that I can make a difference in one kid's life in an entire year. Primarily I'm here to teach kids how to be a good person, and then almost secondarily, and we argue about this as teachers a lot now, have we forgotten the subject matter in return for teaching people how to be good people.

One thing that I never thought of when I went into the profession is you have a kid and the hours are convenient. You get home by 3:30, now at least, and you have some time to spend with your kid and you have summers with them, vacations with them.

I coached up until the point that I became a mother and at that point, I decided to pick a new priority in my life. As I try to tell kids, you need to keep re-prioritizing and I did. And at this point in time I prioritized to be a mother. At least two seasons out of the year. I left one season open to still coach, but I was coaching two seasons out of the year and officiating the third. And that just wasn't conducive to raising a kid. At least for me.

Coaching is not part of my teaching responsibility. Personally, when I first started I felt like I had to be a coach, just because that's what you did. You were a phys. ed. teacher, sounds silly but there were no other females in the building with any athletic background and I do get sick of seeing males always coaching females and I mean that's just what you do so I did it, without expertise even. I coached basketball only having had a skills course, having played it in high school, but that was it.

When I first started coaching basketball, I made \$300 and the boys coach made \$1300. I filed a class action suit before I was tenured. Once it was filed they upped mine within \$100. So yeah, in a sense it does matter that I was getting paid, I would not coach for free. Whether it's fair pay, that's another thing. I don't think in coaching, unless you're at an elite level, you're ever gonna get paid what you're worth for the amount of time that you put in because it's high school kids and that's just what they require and they [the school] can't afford it.

That's [coaching] even a more emotionally draining situation than teaching is, and once again you pick your priorities and I think if you probably spoke to all coaches, even if they coach three seasons, they have a favorite sport. And you'll find that during their favorite season the amount of emotional commit-

ment that they can give their students is a lot less because they're giving all their emotions to the team. You can't be up a hundred percent of the time and given the priority, I think most coaches during their season probably give more of an emotional commitment to their team than they would their students. And that doesn't mean time, and when you go to all your classes, you do your thing, you know you play, I mean I don't think you physically do anything differently. But emotionally you do. Just you're less apt to sit down with a kid, I mean at 2:00 in the afternoon and say, "so you didn't get dressed today what's the story?" you know? When you know at 2:30 [with the team] you're going to sit down with 20 kids and say, "listen we've got a real problem here." When you coach there's definitely a drain. It's [personal life] non-existent...There's just not enough room within myself to coach and have a son and have a husband.

But yet when you get to know kids in an after school experience, you get to know them in such a different light that you do become a better teacher. I think you have to have both maybe at different times. In other words, I think yes, you really do need to put in the extra time after school to learn to know kids in an out-of-classroom experience. You really do see kids in a different light. And then take that experience and go back into a classroom. I'm a better

classroom teacher now having coached for ten years here, because I can bring some of that experience back and how I dealt with situations I can now deal with in the classroom. Yet I can probably be a better classroom teacher now because I'm not being emotionally drained by coaching a team.

Dave

Dave has been teaching for 11 years, is single with no dependents and teaches in a small rural district where he is the sole physical educator for grades K-12. Besides his teaching responsibilities, Dave is athletic director and involved in coaching two junior high teams and officiating one season. Out of school, he instructs a yoga class, and works as a ski lift operator, painter and carpenter.

I really enjoy working with children in general no matter what grade level they're at, each kid and each age group has wonderful things to offer. I just enjoy being around them, and there was one year when I wasn't teaching and I really missed them a lot, and that reassured me that that's what I wanted to do.

I'm the athletic director...that's a full time job on top of a full time job, even though it's a small school. I have to schedule as many games and as many sports as a larger school....I'm really not crazy about the hours. You're supervising the gym for basketball games, there's just a lot to do. I'd actual-

ly say I put in more time as in preparing and doing my athletic director work than I do as being a teacher. But of course I get evaluated in my primary responsibility which is phys. ed. so I feel like sometimes it's frustrating, because in that school I'm doing so many things, that I can't do as well a job in all of them as I'd like.

I'm also coaching and so I'm busy, when a vacation comes, I'm really ready for one, I need it....My personal time, I really haven't had any especially since I've been teaching in this school and it's becoming more important to me. I'd really like to do some things on my own. I just don't happen to have that opportunity because of all the things that I'm involved with, but I really need the money. Money is one reason as well as I enjoy it, but I absolutely need the money. Considering I'm really not getting paid that much money, and I need to supplement my income in as many ways as I can.

I do volunteer work within the school day, sometimes it runs into evenings with programs like dances. Just showing up at events that the school is having like an honor banquet or a senior banquet or anything that has to do with honoring students in anyway that you just show up at is volunteering your personal time to be there.

As long as I've been teaching I've been coaching at least two seasons, and some years three, and if I wasn't coaching in that season, I would be officiating that sport. Right now I'm coaching junior high basketball, junior high baseball and I officiate soccer, that's what has happened the past three years. So I've been doing officiating as well, but I've been doing most things and that's a great way to pick up some extra money, because it fits in perfectly with the school day. Also, during the summers I've been involved painting houses or doing carpentry pretty much since I've been teaching. A couple summers I've done some camp work as a volunteer. Last summer I didn't take any [time] off and I've been working right through the breaks this year. Vacations I've been working at the local ski slope for the past three years on weekends and holidays.

There are a lot of things that I really enjoy doing that I don't do enough. Playing tennis, playing guitar, I use to play guitar and sing at weddings all the time. I haven't picked up my guitar maybe once or twice in the last two years, I just haven't had time to play it or sing. And I'd like to travel a little bit more, go out to dinner a little bit more often, I'd like to buy a car, so I didn't have to keep my foot on the brake and the clutch at the same time, while I'm trying to keep it running.

I think it [multiple jobs] takes away from planning time and I also think it takes away from my own personal energy that I can offer the students. I think a lot [of], how a class goes has a lot to do with how I'm feeling, awake, when I'm feeling energetic, whether I feel I have enough money in the bank to pay this bill....I do well with it most of the time, but every once in a while it catches up with me, and I go to class just a little bit tired and I might not react in ways I want to. I'm not sure if I could be a perfect teacher whether or not I was working or not.

I really enjoy most things I do in life. I just try and stay up, but my primary reason for doing it [working other jobs] is for the money. Some of my friends might tell you that they just think I have one of those personality types who just works a lot, but if you looked in my bank account, that's the primary reason why I need to work.

I really don't do anything else. That's it, that's basically my life and I don't do a great job at everything, it's very difficult, it's not easy, it's a lot of work!

Bruce

Bruce has been teaching for seven years. He is married and his wife works full-time as a legal secretary. He is involved as athletic director, class advisor, jv soccer coach

and varsity basketball coach. Besides his in-school responsibilities, Bruce is involved in owning a woodshop, working on construction and in sport camps in the summer. In the past he worked as a part time police officer.

I don't think the school committee members exactly know what the job is worth, they've never followed me around one day. They don't appreciate it, it would be fun to have school committee members come into the school for a day and be in the classroom.

I worked for a construction company out in the village in return for the septic system. He offered me a job, full-time, to get out of teaching, and I thought about it. It was middle manager, first year would be in the trenches, down with the laborers, to learn the job. Second year would be like 50% if you needed somebody out there and get computer work. The third year all computer work and estimate jobs. See what's out there for opportunities. It was a little bit more than the teaching salary would bring, but no summers off. I could make money in the summer to help out the P.E. teaching salary.

Sometimes it gets to be a hassle. Sometimes I don't get home and see my wife until 9:00 at night. During basketball season I'd be up here from say 7:00, 7:30 in the morning and if I had an away game, got home at 11:30 at night. And then you turn right around and you sleep six hours and you come back up. That's tough.

It's a grind. When I first started teaching, I said, I want to be the head coach each season, I was pumped up, I wanted to do it. I could do it, I can do it. And after about three years of that, not being the head coach, but a junior varsity coach here, a varsity coach, I got tired. I couldn't wait till the end of the season, it was like, "Get me out of here." Not that the kids were bad, it was just a drain.

I resent the fact that people don't understand what teachers are about and what teachers are worth. I'd just love to have a bunch of parents come in and go through a day and see how long they could handle it. I would definitely say they'd give us a raise.

C H A P T E R V

PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF MOONLIGHTING

Several interpretive frameworks are useful for analyzing the descriptions presented in the interview data. The construct of life cycle squeeze identified in Chapter II appears to accommodate many of the reasons teachers give for holding multiple jobs. In contrast, the chaotic work histories construct discussed in Chapter II did not appear helpful in understanding the participants' words. The most fruitful basis for analysis was provided by four themes which emerged from the data, each of which allows some interpretation of how physical education teacher perceive moonlighting.

The first theme reveals a variety of frustrations within the school environment that push individuals out of the school setting and into second jobs. The second theme involves an individual being pulled into moonlighting positions particularly after-school activities based on past experience. The third thematic construct has its origins in the limited commitments which characterize the personal lives of some teachers, thereby allowing and encouraging those individuals to spend more time in other jobs. The fourth and final theme involves individual beliefs about professional

responsibility, a factor which increases the likelihood of holding extra jobs. In the following, each theme is defined and illustrated by the actual words of the participants.

While such logical categories may sound intellectually satisfying, the reader should be cautioned that the lives of teachers are far from tidy, their perceptions far from absolute consistency, and their accounts often tangled in the complexities of memory and ambiguity. At the least, it is clear that particular themes would apply to some of the teachers only at particular points in their careers -- and not at others. It also is apparent that a participant may provide accounts that fit clearly into several categories at the same time. Finally, there is no doubt that the themes are not mutually exclusive and non-overlapping. Nevertheless, that such clusters of the participants' own stories exist, is without question. The themes are validated by the participant's own conscious assessment of why moonlighting was, or was not, an option within their lives.

In addition to the themes, the data analysis process produced patterns based on gender and marital status. These presage variables allowed an alternative way of looking at the interview data. Married females viewed their personal and professional lives in ways that were quite different from the perspective of married males. Single females, on the other hand, had a viewpoint that was distinct from either of their married counterparts. Moonlighting is not a self-conscious choice in the lives of these teachers. It evolves.

And it evolves from a number of subtle and not so subtle factors.

Life-cycle Squeeze

The financial squeeze occurs when family needs outrun available resources. It is then that someone in the household must supplement the total income. This circumstance in the life-cycle is created by a variety of variables such as: number of dependents, home payments, household bills, the expense of continued education, and other factors which determine financial need. Some individuals may feel the squeeze early in the life-cycle, for instance: the initial down payments for a house, and the sudden demands that come with growth of the family unit. Others may feel the squeeze later in life with: college bills, parents becoming dependent, and planning for the fiscal demands of retirement.

Some of the teachers reflected on the experience of an early squeeze when their financial commitments were growing and salary lagged behind. Michael talks of some of his financial responsibilities:

Right now, I have a son, I've just moved into a new house, so now the financial strappings are starting to burden me a little bit, so I have to look elsewhere. When I was single making \$13-14,000, living at home, that's not too bad, I wasn't starving...but now the burdens are a little more.

Linda relates how she depends on the income from her extra job, since her teaching salary is not enough:

Financially speaking I own a home, I own it by myself, I have a car, I have a mortgage and those coaching checks do help, I mean there's no doubt about it. If somebody came in here tomorrow and said: I'm sorry the budget is cut so badly that we want you to coach for half of what you were getting. I'd have to start thinking about doing some of the other things like painting [work outside the school]. I mean I make pretty good money coaching, but its been over a period of eight years, right now, so it's not fantastic but it does help pay some of the bills.

Pam who has been teaching for eight years found that if she is to live in the style she desires, she must make certain sacrifices which go even beyond the demands of holding coaching positions:

Right now I'm trying to buy a house and there's no way I can afford a house. That's what's on my mind is being able to buy something that I can live in, that will suit me. Now actually I'm going to move home at the end of the month, and really save money because I'm going to buy some land.

Bruce describes what a paycheck without the supplement of extra employment will mean as he tries to meet expenses:

This will be the first paycheck, I get at the end of the month, that does not have something added onto it like a coaching position; soccer or basketball, or the AD's [athletic director's] extra money, or advisorship so this month it will be tough.

Although more established and settled financially, some teachers talked about their sense of being squeezed during the later stages of the life-cycle. Doug for instance is concerned that his two sons attain a college education without accumulating a large loan debt:

When you have a family, a house and education [two sons in college] you can't basically do it. I could not support my kids in a four year private institution on what I make here, I would have to do other things. And I'm not talking about just the coaching part of it, because that's very nominal too.

At the same time, Doug also is concerned about his retirement:

We have probably one of the poorest retirement systems. This might be the third reason why I got into other things. You can't retire

early in Massachusetts. To get 80% of the best three years, you've got to wait until you're 62...A lot of teachers, what they're doing now it seems especially [those who] teach in Massachusetts, because of the retirement system the way it is set up, people are trying to get quarters in their social security to try and supplement their retirement. So that might allow them to get away from this situation a few years earlier.

Cathy commented on her aspirations for her son in the light of her financial experience with teaching:

I would feel terrible if Eddie said he wanted to be a teacher because I know that he would always have financial problems. If he wanted to be comfortable, he would have to go out and get another job and that would hurt me as his mother.

Contrary to those who responded to an early or late squeeze by engaging in moonlighting, several participants apparently did not feel the financial pinch sharply enough to seek a second job. Alice and Ann both talk about their time during the summer vacation:

Alice. One or two summers, I part-time life-guarded up at Windy Lake. I guess that was for the money, but it was part-time, because

I wasn't willing [to do more] at that point. I said: I've got a full-time job now, I don't need to work. I was single, didn't have as many expenses so I didn't really need it for the money. I only did it two summers. Once I got my full-time job it was like, why work?

Ann. I've taken them off [summers] and I'm single so I can really budget my money and do exactly what I want to do and I travel, I do bike trips...I come back here and I can't wait to see the kids.

Of the 17 participants, 13 mentioned the inadequacy of their teaching salary relative to their needs as one of the primary reasons for holding multiple jobs. All of the males mentioned something about feeling financially squeezed, while fewer than half of the female participants cited financial need as the motive for an extra job. Not surprisingly, the transcripts which betrayed little or no evidence of life-cycle squeeze were from interviews with women who were either married, with their salary representing a second family income, or single with more limited financial needs.

Pushed Out of Teaching

There are aspects of the teaching job that are perceived as negative by teachers, and which therefore serve to push them out into other jobs, often as compensation for satisfaction which participants report to be lacking in

teaching. In other instances, participants appear to be saying that moonlighting is a way to find release from frustrations which accumulate in the school context.

Some teachers identified specific school-related factors that create frustrations, for instance: the lack of mobility within the school structure with consequent feelings of boredom and restriction of personal and professional growth, and the feeling of low professional self-esteem associated with physical education. Tension with students within classes also created concern and a steady undertone of aggravation in the workplace.

Other teachers reflected on the problem of teaching pedagogically sound classes within the constraints of limited resources. It is ironic that the same teachers discovered that the purely mechanical aspect of teaching became easier as their experience increased, creating a surplus of free time. The combination of these two factors creates a situation in which teachers spend less time doing work which in itself becomes less satisfying in terms of personal standards.

The resulting absence of job related satisfactions on the one hand, and stimulating challenge on the other, is a condition which may lead teachers to search out different (and sometimes complex) demands on their ability. Often, this is achieved by acquisition of more responsibilities and multiple roles within the school. In other cases, teachers

achieve the same goal by finding outlets in vocations and avocations beyond the school grounds.

Most of the physical educators in this study reported having had to learn to cope with being regarded as second class citizens within the school environment. Whether it be administrators who hold lower expectations for the physical education curriculum, or the often negative stereotype of the dumb jock held by the general public, this causes a significant strain for some professionals. Some participants appear to seek compensatory ways to promote their personal and professional self-esteem. This is clear in Doug's decision to take on other jobs:

I always live I think with the stigma, that, "what are you?" "A teacher." "What do you teach?" "Physical education." [The] stigma, that you can't do anything else. So I had to prove to myself that there's other things out there that I can do besides teach and coach and work with kids -- that's what I enjoy doing the most and I still do. I had to prove to myself that there are other things out there [I could do].

Ann cites limited support from her administrators as a continuing tension within her teaching role:

I get frustrated sometimes [with] the administration. You're only as good as the people above you, I think, and sometimes that

[support is] not always there and that makes it difficult to feel they hold the same expectations in phys. ed. as they do for other subject matter.

In contrast, Michael blames the low status of physical educators on the teachers themselves, but he appears to experience the same pain as those who identify other sources:

I think we're looked down on as professionals and a lot of that is of our own doing because there are so many people out there now who are kind of going through the motions, people who have been in teaching for a while. Lets take for example the guy I work with. He's not here to teach, he's here to coach. This is just a nice little avenue to pick up some extra cash and he can get away with this, because again, people aren't really scrutinizing us.

Some teachers discussed the more particular constraints of school environment and problems associated with pupils as the sources of tension. Tom compares his frustrations in the classroom with the relative pleasures of his coaching role:

In a normal teaching day, you have a lot of people that you really don't want to be associated with. But when coaching, you want to be around those type of kids. That's why I do

it. In teaching during the scheduled hours, you're told here are the kids that you are going to be working with and you will do this. Whereas coaching there's quite a bit of flexibility and I can pick the kids who I want to be with, that kind of thing. I love to coach, that's my essence for existence in terms of my teaching job. And yet, it's something that holds me too. If I want to get the standards that I have anticipated for my family in terms of what [we] expect we can gain out of my profession financially.

Ann also compares her frustrations in teaching with her experience in coaching:

When you're teaching, there's not just the motivation, but the discipline too. [This] is challenging when you're coaching; the kids want to be there, so it's a satisfaction that you don't get all the time when you're teaching, because you don't always have the opportunity to teach. The other things that you need are found in coaching...well you don't have to worry about [for example] Johnny has a pass today and he can't take it, Betty is not dressed, [and] Billy wants to chew gum, all the little elements that you have to get through

before you can actually get into your 20-25 minutes of accomplishing goals.

For some, the role of teacher became much easier to fill once experience provided basic coping skills. The school day became a familiar routine, for which preparation was simple to execute or even unnecessary altogether. Some of the participants mentioned that this sense of facile command did more than simply allow additional time, it invited the accumulation of extra responsibilities. For instance, Linda is confident in her role as a teacher and has voluntarily taken on other responsibilities:

I think now that I've been [teaching] for quite an extensive period of time, I feel comfortable in preparing. I know phys. ed., I know daily what I'm going to be doing. Health wise that's more paper work in preparation. Coaching wise, that's [a] day to day thing that I sometimes can't plan on. I probably wouldn't have taken this basketball coaching job two years ago, if I didn't feel good about my softball, field hockey and the fact that I was doing a good job in the classroom too.

David has organized his commitments so that little effort is spent on pre-planning:

I basically have an idea of what I'm going to be teaching every year, and I have a curriculum that rotates on a three year basis, so it just depends on what happens, which one comes up. And some years things go really well and sometimes you just have to make some changes depending on the chemistry of your class.

Teaching has become a routine for Carol, one that allows her more time for other interests:

Once teaching became a pattern, once again sad but true, but once you've established a routine you can go off and do other things. You can go off and do something during your prep period that when you first started you might not have been able to [do]. And you might be able to spend some time planning your team practice during your prep rather than your lesson plan during your prep. [Teaching] gets easier. The coaching end never gets easier in a sense, because the bodies change constantly and once again, that's the emotional commitment you have to coaching.

Talk about teaching becoming easier sometimes is accompanied by paradoxical evidence that once in command of their work, teachers may seek ways to break up their comfortable routine. At first Don found his coaching added

a needed challenge, but later required other responsibilities both inside and outside the school to escape from a growing sense of emptiness:

Granted the coaching is a little bit better than the actual phys. ed. teaching these days, with these kids. I still have no problem, I still try teaching the kids, the basic fundamentals. I think maybe the real reason that [I am] constantly searching, or have been for six years, is I'm frustrated because I'm not challenged, its become so-called rote. I do the same thing year in and year out, maybe in different order, but the same thing. I think there was a challenge there [in the second job], "how do I juggle this night?" When I first started doing the bartending in particular, that was strictly extra money. That's all it was, then that became a challenge.

Barb is frustrated by the absence of what she regards as genuine teaching in her physical education classes. She looks to her supplemental coaching job as a vehicle for satisfying her need to actually teach:

I want to teach and I know how to teach, and I'm teaching on the coaching level whereas I am not teaching as much as I would like to in the classroom situation.. I was [feeling] a little bit frustrated in a recreational

setting...[Coaching is] saving me, I swear, because if I were just a physical educator [the students] don't look at it as education.

John talks of the positive experiences he finds in coaching, experiences that for him are not commonplace in teaching his assigned classes:

So that part of it [coaching] I get a lot of positive feedback from, the successes that I've had. You take a kid, you coach them in gymnastics and you bring them up to the state level, they win at the state tournament, there's a good feeling of satisfaction. That isn't always possible in public education, to get those kind of activities out of a class.

The lack of recognition for what Judy achieves in her regular teaching job is highlighted when she describes the greater emphasis on her coaching:

This year was the second year I've had an administrator observe a class of mine. So, I've been there for 16 years and the first time it happened it was the vice principal came down and sat through an entire class, from beginning to end...so I definitely put more concentration and energy into my coaching, and much more interaction with the kids. Again, it's a small group and our classes at

that time were huge, I had some classes of like 46 students.

Doug views coaching as a way to have an impact on the students -- and to have the community recognize this:

My basic responsibility I feel is I'm a teacher and coaching is teaching and I enjoy doing that. But I also enjoy some of the side effect that you get with success being a coach. It's nice to be looked upon by the community as some one who's made an influence.

Pulled by the Past

Some teachers report being pulled out of teaching into moonlighting jobs by the residues of past experience. Many teachers who occupied themselves with after school activities such as coaching athletic teams, also spoke of their own high school days as student athletes. Their school days didn't end at 2:30 or 3:00, but were prolonged by other activities. This extended student role appears to form a habitual pattern of engagement when these students become teachers and accept or seek responsibilities beyond the limits of their regular assignment. These past routines of studenthood may not easily be extinguished by the role transformation of becoming a teacher in the same environment. Subsequently, the need for holding multiple jobs may continue even though all financial commitments can be met out of base salary. Listening to their voices, it is not difficult to imagine

that some of the participants are compelled by just such addiction to multiple employment.

This "after-school syndrome" may have been modelled by mentors and significant people in the lives of these participants, thereby paving what some teachers may see as the appropriate path for their role as teacher. Long days and hectic schedules may appear to be appropriate expectations for the teacher's role -- expectations that might easily be learned during long apprenticeship of observation as a student.

Linda provides a graphic illustration of a lifelong history of crowded schedules and frenetic involvement in school activities:

For as long as I can remember when school was over I was involved in a sport. I played all three sports in high school. I played two in college and then as soon as I started teaching here I got involved with field hockey and officiating. Then I went to the university and coached softball.

Tom talks of being bored when he wasn't engaged in activities beyond the regular hours of school:

Since I was 12 years [old], I can remember in junior high school playing three sports. Fall, winter, and spring, all the way through junior high and high school and then when I went to

college I played football. The time that I wasn't playing football I was bored; what do I do now, homework again?

Alice, however, cited the ties between being physically active as a child, and the continuation of that engagement through teaching physical education:

Having been active all my life with gymnastics, swimming, diving -- any lessons that my parents could give me at that time -- so I started looking into colleges that had phys. ed. majors... Today, I [still] don't know why phys. ed. other than maybe I had been a more active female than others... My goal was never to be a coach. It's just that I enjoyed [sports] and therefore would enjoy [teaching] and helping others enjoy it.

Michael, on the other hand, was involved in sports as a student, which led naturally to additional work in coaching. Now, at a later career stage, he has left that secondary vocation only to encounter a familiar need -- the need to fill all the after-school space in his life:

I can remember, always having somewhere to go as far as athletics are concerned: baseball, basketball, football. I played soccer when I was young, summertime baseball -- there was always something to do after school, it was

football, basketball, baseball for four years in college. It was baseball in Virginia. Back up here I played football and baseball. So I had a basketball season off, and I would have played then too if I really wanted to try three sports. But there was always something to do after school, always. Now it's not coaching. I can do some reconditioning and now I can spend time with my son. If he wasn't there I'd probably be coaching and doing the reconditioning.

Pam spoke of her father having a direct influence on her own pattern of work. He was a teacher who himself was involved in school assignments far beyond the regular teaching day, and this appears to be a major push:

I've followed [my father's] example. He's been always active in school. He's the one who tells me; are you gonna chaperone these dances, are you gonna do this are you gonna do that? There's more than just coming to school and leaving and that's the end of it.

Linda remembers one of her physical education teachers as a model for extended time commitment:

She [former physical educator] coached three sports. She put a lot of time and effort into

all of us, she cared about us as people... I learned a lot of the rules about teaching from her.

Some of these accounts may indicate no more than the simple belief that all teachers should expect to do a bit of extra duty after school -- as part of the basic contract. Others, however, seem to represent part of a wider fabric of needs and disposition, part of, or precursors to, a life of moonlighting.

Two remaining themes emerged from the transcripts as elements characteristic of some teachers who are more likely to take a second job. While these themes are less widely represented in this participant group, they seem sufficiently coherent and persuasive to be noted in this report. The first is limited commitments in personal, out-of-school life. Because of the lower financial demand of a less complex lifestyle, this circumstance might not appear to encourage moonlighting. Participant's accounts, however, point to the opposite effect of being pulled back into the work environment. The second theme is the belief that extra-curricular activities within the school are part of a teacher's professional responsibility -- a perception which, implicitly or explicitly, may be reinforced by peers, administrators, and the community at large.

Limited Commitments in Personal Life

Teaching and coaching for some of the teachers filled their work day and much of their free time. These teachers often spoke of limited personal commitments which allowed more time to be spent with teams, at sports camps, chaperoning and attending school functions, and a variety of non-teaching jobs within the school. Some, but not all of these, are directly related to their subject matter and role as teacher. Pam describes her freedom from responsibilities at home:

I think the big thing is I don't have anything else to do. I don't have to go home. It's only me so when I get home I get home -- it doesn't matter. I don't have to worry because there are kids or a husband at home. So my time is my own.

In contrast, Doug has responsibilities in his personal life which are reduced or abdicated by means of a partner who allows him to disconnect -- making space for extra work just as surely as Pam's solitary status yields freedom:

I married a girl [who is] really athletic herself, and so are our two kids, so it's very important to her too. I think if you ever got married into a situation where someone didn't understand that, boy you'd have some problems because it is very time consuming. Basketball is a 12 month job for me.

It's not just during the winter time. We have a banquet coming up this week, for example, and as soon as that's over we run a golf tournament in September and as soon as that's over we'll be right back in season again. There are bits and pieces of it going all the way through. Last year, our basketball group raised \$2,500. So that's a lot of money for just a little high school program. We have a cocktail party in January -- a dress up affair at the Hilltop and we run a basketball tournament for fifth and sixth and seventh and eighth graders. Then our team got into the tournament this year, so that's another week and a half, that extends your season.

The same strategy, though perhaps more deliberately and consciously executed, is seen in Bill's reflection on the time when he held two jobs and saw little of his young family:

With one person working you have to struggle if you have children, to have a decent living. If you want to have the extras on your vacations and what nots, you must have two people working. I wouldn't let [my wife] work when the two children were young. Once they got

into school she went to work, but we sacrificed in those early years. It worked better for us, because she used to read to the children all the time and do things like that. Take care of them, see them when they were young and I did the work. I didn't see my kids, that was the hard part, that was very difficult.

Sending children off to school allows the same vacation from personal commitments. Once Cathy's children left the nest, there was space for her "second job" to assert its only temporarily submerged authority:

My family is my first job, my teaching is my second job and my family takes priority. It's neat to get to a point where you can take a deep breath and you know your kids are happy and while they're in school you can be doing something and totally focus on that.

Professional Commitment

In the particular cases of coaching or extra curricular work inside the school, many physical education teachers think of these as an appropriate and expected extension of their teaching -- not as an addition to regular work. Many feel it's part of their job even though not required by the district, and despite the fact that additional compensation may be earned. Many of these supplemental duties demand large amounts of extra time at school, after the school day,

in the evening, and on weekends. Teachers consistently report spending far more time involved in these activities than in the routine work of teaching their classes. Some of the teachers talked of being hired to teach and coach as though one were synonymous with the other. Doug looks back to when he was first hired and describes his career goals:

Coaching I feel is a direct responsibility to my teaching. I knew when I took the teaching job here 25 years ago, they wanted me to coach and of course I wanted to coach. I also knew back then that if you went into education you had a very good chance of coaching which is also something I wanted to do. So I look at those two as being teaching assignments and I look at coaching as teaching.

Michael sees his teaching and coaching as a natural progression within his career:

I'm teaching basketball even though I'm coaching it, you're really teaching, you're always teaching, maybe I can't as a teacher break myself away from that teacher coach thing.

I just consider it as a natural progression of teaching, so that's why I can't break it off as a second job even though it's not my primary job, it's a secondary job, and I am gaining income from it. I'm having that

problem breaking it off, where other people might not.

Bill also views his coaching as an extension of his teaching responsibilities and believes all physical educators should be involved in extracurricular activities:

I think coaching is an extension of the education process and even though we compensate a little extra for it, it's not that much. If we do it on an hourly basis we're getting very little of it anyway and I just think that's just an extra part of the job. I think every physical educator should be involved in sports. Somewhere in extra-curricular, that's just my philosophy.

Cathy suggests that the administration shares the view that coaching is automatically a part of the physical educator's responsibility, and not an add-on:

When I started teaching, I really went into teaching to teach. Back when I was hired, we were hired with the understanding that we would coach three sports. There were two of us, and I coached field hockey which I knew nothing about, basketball and softball... And part of being hired was that you could coach.

Gender and Marital Status

One distinction found when analyzing the data was related to gender and marital status. Married females, married men, and single females often gave different accounts of vocational patterns and influences in their teaching careers. Two contrasting patterns were found. The demands that come with marriage are used by women to explain their lives and their vocational decisions, while for men the demands of work often are used to explain their roles within the home.

Married females had strong commitments as homemakers, wives and mothers. The traditional roles and role priorities were very much in place. Females might work full-time outside the home, but that was subordinate to expectations for full-time work inside the home. Males work full-time outside the home, often holding second jobs, and it is clear that it is the home (not the supplemental work) which functions as the part-time commitment.

For men, family responsibilities are somehow met through their work. Taking care of children and the home is defined by money earned. For women, taking care of husband, home and children is a major hands-on responsibility, not accomplished through outside employment. Males spoke less about family and home responsibilities. They gave no reason to doubt that they were committed to their families, but (in contrast to women) their side of the social contract was met by making a living.

The single females reported a distinctly different sense of the balance between home and work. They obviously didn't have the tugging of heavy home responsibilities. They often are confronted with expectations from school administrators and peers to take on extra jobs beyond their teaching -- expectations that clearly are linked to their marital status. People appear to assume that a void exists within the single woman's life, and therefore that they will be available (if not outright grateful) for opportunities to moonlight. The males, on the other hand, often are expected to take on added responsibilities even though they have a family. The general assumption in this case, however, is that their wives are taking care of things at home. Influences from within the school thus reinforce traditional sex-roles.

Motherhood, however, appeared to be the largest burden for women and for some resulted in giving up extra jobs within the school. Although the school schedule is described as allowing the dual role of parent and teacher, the accommodation is not without significant consequence. All of the married women reported that teaching was no longer a priority in their lives, it had been replaced by busy schedules and demands at home. A distinct difference from the male teachers.

Cathy talked of her struggles during the time her children were pre-school, juggling schedules and worrying about the logistics of babysitters and getting home in time.

Having the kids I had a couple months off, but then you change your outlook your job is not your top priority.

It was about eight years of stress where your focal point is your kids. You've got to rush home and you've got the babysitter and there are a lot of logistics. Last year Sue [my daughter] was full-time school and it was like this big weight was lifted off my shoulders. Now I've been able to focus back on, when I'm in school, I'm really in school with those kids and when I'm home, I'm really home.

I think that when those kids are little, I just don't think that you can do justice to your teaching job. I think it's very difficult.

Financially, Cathy's family is quite secure with her second income to supplement the family budget, but she clearly sees the conflicts which entangle teaching and marriage. Moreover, as she reflects on her own son's occupational future, she betrays the degree to which those conflicts are without any clear means of resolution:

I would feel terrible if [my son] Eddie said he wanted to be a teacher because I know that he would always have financial problems. If

he wanted to be comfortable he would have to go out and get another job and that would hurt me as his mother. I wouldn't want him to do that. Now on the other hand, if he was a workaholic, I mean there's nothing I can do about that, that's his priority and that's different. I think the fact that you have to go out and moonlight perhaps sheds more of a blue collar image on teachers, we're supposed to be professionals.

The men teachers and all the jobs, it's awful. I just feel so sorry for them and they'll never get ahead. It's got to be awful. You don't want your wife just going out working nine to five and bringing kids up. I used to think you could do it all. You can't do it all, something has to give.

I have been very very fortunate at how things have worked out, but kids need their mother, they need a mother and a father. If I were a guy and if I knew I was going to make 2% to 3% increase every year and not keep up with the cost of living, there's no way it's going to get any better, I'd be pretty depressed. I know they have their summers off, but then they don't, they go out and find another job.

In sharp contrast, her thoughts about her daughter revealed a different picture. Here, parenthood and teaching are seen as the ideal match:

I always wanted to be a teacher. Why I suppose every little kid wants to be a teacher at some point. Like [my daughter] Sue, she wants to be an elementary school teacher, she's wanted to be that since she was two years old and she'll probably end up being that. Which is good with motherhood, it's a wonderful profession, when you're trying to do both.

Cathy is comfortable in viewing teaching as a subordinate role, the source of a second income and a means of escaping the financial squeeze:

We certainly couldn't live on my salary, not the lifestyle we're accustomed to. I'm sure you look at things differently when it's your second job. I think that your outlook is different when you know you're not absolutely, positively locked into it. I had the freedom to be able to take some time to go part-time and we could still afford it. So I think that changes your outlook when you're not scrimping for every paycheck.

The same set of relative priorities for home and school do not always resolve the problem of conflicting obligations.

Carol, for example, talked of feeling cramped and squeezed by her various professional and personal roles.

I coached up until the point that I became a mother and at that point, I decided to pick a new priority in my life. As I try to tell kids, you need to keep re-prioritizing and I did. I prioritized to be a mother.

I just happen to be a coach who emotionally commits myself to a team as well as time. There's just not enough room within myself to coach and have a son and have a husband.

I think once you have a family it's a little bit different because summers are time to spend more time with your children. Before I had a kid, summer was a time to dabble in all of those things that I had no time for during the school year because you're exhausted.

Alice talked about how motherhood changed the way she viewed extra responsibilities within the school. She experienced no pressure to continue moonlighting once she became a mother as well as a wife and homemaker. It is interesting to note that she is aware of the priority assigned to motherhood by school officials. One wonders if the same would apply to a man who just became a father?

I enjoy the [school] schedule, you can't beat it for the hours of the day, and the number of days in the year, especially being a mother and a wife and not [a] highly motivated career woman who wants to work 20 hours a day.

I had four extra curricular positions when I first came on and then I got married the next year and had my first child the year after that so I've started letting go of things. After I came back from my first daughter I did one more year [of coaching]. After that, I started letting go of things. It was hard, to be mother, wife and trying to coach and have any energy to do any of it, so I just resigned [from coaching] after that year.

The reasons I dropped them [her coaching jobs] were because of the time with the family, I don't care how much money they had paid me. One of us has to be here.

It's hard to argue that the man should be doing the same amount of things if he is at a nine to five job and I'm at a 7:30 to 2:00 type job. It just isn't equal, it won't ever be because I'm home before he is, therefore,

it's only logical that I will probably prepare the dinners, which I hate.

I wasn't in it [coaching] for the money anyway and I had a perfect out at that point. I had my child so I could gracefully say I don't want to do this anymore, nobody questioned me. I never get challenged at school about not coaching, because I've added on this other child. I can always have this really great out and say, well I have all these kids that I have to run here and there and I just don't have time for that.

Some married women opt to continue the dual role, but it is clear that the price may be high. Barb who is married with one child remains involved in one season of coaching each year. Her day's work goes well beyond 3:00 p.m., and may extend to 12 or even 15 continuous hours:

So the challenge on the higher end of the scale is in the coaching and that's why I do it, it's extremely tiring. Even if you are a single person I think it's tiring, but I think it's easier to cope with. I have a young son, I have a husband and so as soon as I'm through coming back from a game at 6:30 there's family to take care of and I'm not through and I may have to help my son with homework. The day

isn't over until maybe 9 so it's the constant pace, it's tiring and that's a drawback, but I only do one sport.

Given the assumption of limited responsibilities at home, some single woman may encounter the expectation for taking on extra jobs within the school setting. For others, the decision is more clearly their own. In the quotation which follows Pam reflects on her limited commitments at home. It is interesting to ask whether these words reflect a celebration of her freedom, or a sense of void which must be filled:

The big thing is I don't have anything else to do, I mean I don't have to go home, it's only me, so when I get home I get home, it doesn't matter. I don't have to worry about going home because there's kids at home or a husband at home or something. So my time is my own. I always said my coaching is more important than going out with whomever, whatever, the kids come first or the coaching comes first, teaching and coaching comes first.

Unlike Pam, Judy found these in-school responsibilities to be draining and a negative influence on her teaching. Moreover, she did not describe the choice as a free option. She reported that school administrators assumed a single woman would have plenty of free time -- time which should be

spent on other jobs within the school setting. She resented the fact that her marital status was the determining factor in the expectations which shaped her job:

I was one of two p.e. teachers at the time and the other p.e. teacher was a mother so that was almost like a waiver, she wasn't pressured to coach.

I remember during the interview process they were very interested in [what] my commitment to outside activities would be. It was to my advantage that I wasn't married, at that point in time, the two that had been there before me were both married and [the school] had lost them mid-year because she went on a pregnancy leave and one husband had a transfer.

I feel very strongly that it's the other woman's marital status that made a difference. I think with men coaching it's not an issue, because there's someone home to deal with all those things that happen around dinner time and the child rearing.

In contrast, when Ann compares her single life with that of married male teachers, she finds much reason for satisfaction:

There are a lot of the male teachers now; they are into construction or building or painting

houses or some of them are musicians [who] play in bands and stuff like that.

I give men a lot of credit if they are a teacher. I think it's tough to have a family and to be paid what you're being paid and then to have to go work. A lot of them do work another 8 hour job when they leave here, so I give them a lot of credit. They could get out of here and can this job and go and get into something and make more money working 10 hours a day at just one job. I give them credit for sticking to a profession that they love. Obviously kids do something for you.

I'm single so I can really budget my money and do exactly what I want to do and I travel, [and] I do bike trips. I come back here and I can't wait to see the kids, I can't wait to share, I can't wait to hear what they've done. If I worked I would be bogged down, I need those two months to do what I want to do and that's why I've chosen not to work.

Whether by explicit admission, or through the tacit form of omission, the married men in this study portrayed lives with limited domestic responsibilities. They spoke as the primary breadwinner with wives who remain home, or who work

at various points in the life-cycle to accommodate their husbands' careers. Bill recounts the earlier years when his wife remained home with the children and he carried the total financial burden:

If you don't have two breadwinners if you're married, if you don't have both people working, it is tough, it's very difficult. I think that with one person working you have to struggle if you have children, to have a decent living. My wife, I wouldn't let her work when the two children were young and once they got into school and basically on their own, then she went to work. We sacrificed in those early years, it worked better for us, because she use to read to the children all the time and do things like that. [She would] take care of them, see them when they were young and I did the work. I didn't see my kids too [much], that was the hard part, that was a very difficult way of doing that.

I didn't see my children as much as I should, which I do regret and that was one of the reasons I gave it up, because I was missing them growing up. They were getting to be 10 or 11 and my boy John was going into high school and you know I missed a lot.

Male teachers did not often report giving up anything professionally when family responsibilities expanded. Peter's wife devotes most of her day to the family and has limited responsibilities outside the home. Peter, on the other hand, spends the majority of his time working at his professional career:

She [my wife] works what we would call a part-time job, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon as a bookkeeper.

Don's wife elected to remain home which enabled him to moonlight:

Well she made the decision. I mean I didn't tell her she had to, I always said you can always go to teaching. She's certified and had the offers, she preferred to be home with the kids [about] which I have no complaints. The kids have turned out very well because mom's there.

Doug, however, reflects on a compromise in career aspirations:

I wanted to coach at the collegiate level, but then when you get married and you have children and a family, you don't want to be moving everywhere. Everything fell in place for me in Bennetsville so I've been here for 27 years.

For Tom, spending time during the summer months with his family was most important. Tom prefers to take summers off while his wife works:

I have a daughter she is four. My wife works once in a while selling real estate in the summer. To me those two months I cherish more than anything in my life. I can be with [my daughter], I can take her fishing, I do all the things I really want to do and the days fly by.

To me the family is the key and if I can't spend that quality time with the people you love the most, then you're robbing, you're stealing your own, stealing from your kids and your family and I just don't think that's right.

For some men, it appeared that the cultural definition of masculinity plays a part in what motivates their teaching and coaching. For them, measuring success and winning appear to provide vital personal gratification. John talks about his feelings as a male and how masculinity plays a role in his job:

I talked about masculinity last week, men and masculinity and the element of competition with men and the definition about masculinity with men. [Men] are always measured according to their successes. That's probably part of

it with me, in that I want to be measured by my successes and this in my business, this is my field and whether I get personal gratification or gratification from outside, it's still positive reinforcement that I get from my job. An extension of that also comes from the jobs that I do moonlighting and that I get personal gratification by compliments from people outside who say, "gee you did a great job coaching." I mean it comes back to you.

Tom discusses his achievements in teaching in terms of winning and losing:

Because I keep score and when you keep score you're either going to win or you're going to lose. If a kid gets 60 on an exam, he's passing. It's not winning or losing, he beat the system, whatever the teacher's expectations might be for that class. But when you're going against head to head against somebody it's winning or losing, did you coach your kids better than the other guy, did you get your kids to do the right thing at the right time and win the game? It's all in winning or losing. Whereas in education it's where's the win? Is it cause the kid didn't pass, did they even come close to meeting their own expectations or your expectations?

Although the personal and professional lives of the participants in this study were both complex and individual in nature, there were regularities within their stories. Moonlighting for some is an unquestioned necessity, unavoidable and often permanent. For others it is an option, often transitory, and no more than a minor tactic in the wider game of living well. For a final group it is the natural extension of the teaching role, not so much necessary as it is simply proper. Economics, personal history, spouses, school administrators, parents, pupils, and most clearly for these 17 teachers, subject matter, all play a part in determining whether, when, and how moonlighting will occur.

C H A P T E R V I

DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS

Introduction

The saying, "the three best things about teaching are June, July and August," should be followed by, "to earn extra money from moonlighting." The general assumption is that this is vacation time for teachers to recuperate and to gear up for the next group of children who will enter their classes in September. This is not the case for most teachers.

To illustrate this, last summer I happened to be in a jewelry store having my watch repaired. The middle aged woman who was helping me was most friendly and we began chatting. I assumed she was either the owner or a full-time employee. After several minutes of becoming acquainted, we realized we had more in common than initially thought. She was a teacher in one of the local schools and worked in the jewelry store each summer for extra money and to secure quarters of social security benefits for retirement. I told her about my research interests and she immediately applauded the work. She was pleased that someone was going to be telling the story, the true story about the lives of teachers, their personal as well as their professional

concerns. She was frustrated by the lack of information that the public has about the lives of teachers and the misconceptions perpetuated by their such ignorance. Her summer months are not spent on vacation, nor recuperating from the last year, instead she spends her time repairing and selling jewelry to obtain financial security for the present and future.

The profession of teaching is not just working 180 days from 8:00 to 3:00. The lives of teachers are far more complicated and demanding. Moonlighting is a necessary part of many teachers' jobs and many view it as a significant source of frustration.

This chapter will focus on what has been learned from listening to the 17 physical education teachers who spent many hours talking openly about their personal and professional lives in relation to moonlighting. Their willingness to do so clearly was related to the centrality of this experience in their lives. Many of the teachers, for example, expressed an interest in comparing their thoughts with those of others in order to examine similarities and differences. The pattern of isolation peculiar to teachers had left them unsure about the extent to which their experience was shared, or unique. Also, some of the participants saw the interview as a chance to tell their story, to inform others about the hard reality of teaching and all it involves.

Although the interviews were individual in nature, the transcripts reveal that teachers share similar motivations, frustrations, and experiences. The unique detail of individual lives is embedded in a matrix of shared patterns. Moonlighting behaviors appear to be influenced by a number of personal variables that are strikingly similar from one teacher to the next. There also are common contextual factors that exist within the public schools, and yet other regularities which appear to be typical of the subject matter of physical education. To return to the directing research questions posed in Chapter I, as I will below, a generic answer is apparent from the outset: "Yes," moonlighting is a central phenomenon in the lives of physical educators, and "yes" there are patterns in teachers' lives which will help us begin to understand.

Returning to the original research questions, I became aware of the fact that given what I have learned, some of them (such as number 4 below) no longer seem particularly useful, while it also has become clear that others (such as number 3 below) may have been overly ambitious given the nature of the study. The questions that helped to formulate and guide this study were:

1. What factors do teachers identify as influential in the decision to augment their teaching salaries?
2. To what degree do teachers report a sense of control over decisions related to their multiple employment?

3. Do teachers who elect to augment their salaries express the same level of job satisfaction with their teaching position as teachers who just teach?
4. What are teachers' thoughts about holding multiple jobs in relation to their personal and professional lives?
5. Do moonlighting teachers perceive positive, negative or no affect on their teaching responsibilities as a result of their other employment?
6. Do teachers see holding multiple jobs as a vocational aberration or as a normal part of their teaching career?

Although the text which follows is not explicitly organized around these preliminary questions, the answer to some (notably numbers 1, 2, 5, and 6) will be easily apparent.

Variables Affecting Moonlighting Behavior

It appears from listening to these teachers that there are a number of variables which make an individual more susceptible to moonlighting. These variables are gender, marital status, life-cycle squeeze, work place expectations, personal need for achievement, and the personal definition of what constitutes professional responsibilities. Cutting across the complex matrix through which these factors interact in shaping individual careers, is the question of self-perception and choice. Do teachers feel a sense of freedom to hold or not to hold extra jobs, or is their perception that of being controlled by external factors?

Further, to what degree are they aware of and concerned about the patterns of vocation? To what extent are teachers driven implacably by variables that, while obvious to the outside observer, are largely opaque to the participant, leaving teachers with little basis for conscious questioning of their vocational decisions, and how their lives may be affected by moonlighting?

Gender and marital status. Men and women have been socialized into gender-roles and thereby play out moonlighting behavior in different ways. For the most part, men identified work as their primary responsibility, while the home was the highest priority for the women, especially those who were married with children. As the self-perceived breadwinners, men gave financial support to the family unit by cultivating and protecting their careers, while women gave the labors of homemaking and child rearing, often at the expense of their careers.

School administrators may play a role in reinforcing the double standard of gendered teaching careers. They were portrayed by some participants as holding the expectation that male and single female teachers will automatically have the time and desire to take on other responsibilities within the school (athletic coaching is the primary example here) while married females are excused with the rationale, tacit or explicit, that their responsibilities at home should properly take precedence over vocational demand -- and possibly over career opportunities.

It is worth noting in this regard that non-moonlighting teachers who were interviewed, were married mothers who's home life responsibilities had become a priority and who therefore left their moonlighting positions. They spoke of eventually taking on extra duties, but at this time their first responsibility was to their family and home. Just as female teachers once lost their jobs when they married --to a lesser extent this still prevails, since their family becomes the main priority. This traditional role is recognized and reinforced by schools.

The male teachers among the participants did not appear to have given up extra responsibilities when family involvements grew. Paradoxically, that often was cause for an increase in the time spent outside the home, as the need to earn more money was translated into extended school responsibilities and second or third jobs. Some of the males spoke of difficult periods in their lives with little time spent with children who were quickly growing up. With their wives at home caring for the children they might resent missing out, but the gendered structure and salary of teaching gave little encouragement to alternatives. To them moonlighting was not only a normal part of the teaching career, but a necessity.

Life-cycle squeeze. Maintaining financial security throughout one's life is a difficult task for many teachers. The participants in this study had a variety of financial pressures such as preparing for a first home mortgage,

planning for retirement, sending children to college and expanding the family. These financial pressures ebb and flow based on the variables that individuals face in life. It was not uncommon for the married men interviewed to report that over time there were shifting patterns of summer, weekend and after school work, each change being attributed to demands originating in their personal lives. Some of the single women also spoke of changing financial pressures for obtaining and maintaining the standard of living to which they were accustomed. For the most part, however, these women were able to budget their money and not feel either the intense stress or the sharp changes in demand that the married males faced.

Teachers' salaries have been a concern for many years. Due to the work schedule of teachers it becomes apparent that the public looks at teaching as a part-time job and expects teachers to be ambitious and motivated to go out and find another job to supplement the income from their profession. While teaching as a profession is demanding more from teachers in terms of inservice programs and continued professional development, the extrinsic rewards of teaching remain limited. Moonlighting activities may help pay for the added expenses of children's winter clothing and a vacation for the family, or may simply assist in paying the bills accrued from everyday life. One potential problem in this vocational arrangement is the impact of additional work on the capacity to perform both the tasks of primary

professional responsibility and those of professional development. A second problem, of course, is the impact on quality of life experienced by teachers who must hold multiple jobs.

Workplace expectations. The apparently reflexive expectation by some school administrators that single women will assume extra school tasks, produced several different kinds of response. Some women said they were pleased to have extra responsibilities which were rarely in competition with their relatively undemanding home life. Other single women resented such differential treatment. The issue for these participants clearly was one of equity. Several of the single women resented the pressure for extra school work because such tasks would be in conflict with other interests outside the school. Finally, there was some indication that women could perceive extra school work as a competitor for the time and energy required for preparation and instruction, tasks which women (more commonly than men) regarded as their primary school duties. For nearly all single women, tenure, with the power it gave to safely ignore unwelcome expectations, seemed to be the means with which such conflicts were escaped.

Personal need for achievement. The inherent isolation and low professional status of physical education as a valid curriculum in schools leads some teachers to look elsewhere to find recognition and achievement. Teachers who are observed once in 12 years and are expected to produce little

significant student learning from their physical education classes are confronted by feelings of dissonance and, ultimately, disenchantment. Many teachers then find themselves looking elsewhere to obtain recognition for their efforts. Hence, coaching appears to be the ideal place to fulfill the need to be perceived as doing significant and socially useful work. It is there that some of the participants discovered the sense of achievement and recognition they found so lacking in their daily round of physical education classes. Coaching for some became the mainstay of their role within the schools, while their teaching responsibilities became secondary --although many of the participants who coached would argue that their coaching role allowed them to teach in ways not allowed for in their physical education classes.

For some, the need for personal achievement was exacerbated by the general public stereotype of the physical education teacher as a person of limited abilities. They expressed a strong need to prove to themselves and others their ability to succeed in other forms of endeavor. Some of the participants viewed out of school employment as a way of conveying the message that they were capable of being successful in many things other than "just teaching gym."

Professional responsibility. Despite the desire of some to limit school demands, many teachers interviewed did believe that their in-school moonlighting (most commonly coaching) was actually part of their teaching duties, a

professional responsibility even though they were compensated for it above and beyond their contracted teaching salary. In fact, some of the teachers who do not hold extra duties at the present time expressed a sense of guilt over the fact they were not involved in after school sports, feeling less adequate as physical education professionals since they "only" teach.

Such feelings underscore the importance and status associated with the position of coach within the dual role. Many of the teachers had role models in their lives who were teacher/coaches and the pattern was consciously adopted for their own lifestyle. By requiring coaching courses, offering special training, and imbedding coaching in the practicum, teacher education programs also work to perpetuate the perception that coaching after school is part of being a physical education teacher. In that sense, one version of moonlighting is built into the very definition of teaching in this subject field. All of this is complicated by a professional rhetoric that holds teaching physical education classes, not after school coaching, to be the real basis for bringing such teachers into the school community.

Such discrepancies raise questions which lie beyond the competence of this study. At the least, however, it is important to note several alternative ways of understanding what sustains the dual role, with its peculiarly unequal priorities. One explanation is that coaching enhances both present salary, and the possibilities for career advancement

-- both being necessary to recruit young males into a predominantly female vocation. A second factor, may be the tacit recognition that anyone who really wants an opportunity to teach the subject matter of physically active play will need the opportunity to coach after school, because the context of required classes provides no serious opportunity to do such work. Finally, it may be that physical education exists only as the socially acceptable excuse for the full-time employment of coaches whose real work is understood by all to be outside both the school curriculum and the educational mission of the school. From such a tangle of personal motives and tacit social agreements, comes the complexities of moonlighting in physical education.

One conclusion seems well supported by the participants. The relatively modest salary of teachers (with its characteristic front end loading, restricted ceiling, insensitivity to rising living costs, and justification as a nine month job) is a major factor in perpetuating the existence of moonlighting. Further, the stories told by these teachers make clear that once such behaviors surface in a career, they are likely to continue. It is increasingly difficult to step out of the pattern once it has been set. Although the demands of a particular financial squeeze may abate, the expectations which make up a day to day lifestyle may persist. In that manner, moonlighting may become its own motive and live beyond its original impulse.

Aspects that Facilitate Moonlighting

It is apparent that there are aspects of the role of a physical education teacher which are unique and not commonly represented in other teaching roles within the school environment. Three of these appear to function to increase the likelihood of moonlighting behavior.

The first characteristic is role transfer -- in physical education the daily shift from teacher to coach is a comfortable and ubiquitous feature of professional life. Not only is the subject matter common to the two roles, physical education teachers generally don't even have to leave their primary work site to coach. In addition, physical educators often are expected to coach as a condition of their appointment -- and many want to do so. Classroom teachers, on the other hand, do not often have easy access to other positions within the school which allow transfer of their skills to a different work role.

The second unique aspect of the physical educator's role is that this position allows for a considerable degree of internal mobility. Based on certification and job descriptions, a physical educator may teach both a variety of grade levels and one or several classroom subjects. Such exposure to large numbers of students at various ages increases the potential for assignment to secondary tasks within the system.

The third factor which is peculiar to physical education is the perception of the role by significant others. The low

social status of teachers may persist in society, but within the profession of education, physical education is at the absolute bottom of the barrel. Administrators, parents and teacher colleagues often perceive the position to be little more than that of a recreation director with no serious responsibility for student learning. The dissonance and consequent frustrations which are created by such marginal status within school society provide the impetus for escape into less stressful and more rewarding employment -- even if only on a part-time basis.

The double life of teaching physical education and holding another job is facilitated by easy access to the adjacent role of coaching, by the versatility which often is developed, and by the low esteem awarded performance in the primary role. Moonlighting is not unique to physical education teachers, but the forces which promote its occurrence among them are pervasive -- and often have no parallel in the lives of classroom teachers.

Teaching vs Coaching

Often schools expect more of teachers acting in their coaching role than when performing their physical education duties. The high visibility and importance placed on interscholastic sports by the community pressures administrators into granting more support to coaches who teach elite athletes than to the physical educators who teach majority of children. This creates the potential for conflict between the roles of teacher and coach (Locke and

Massengale, 1971). Success can be measured much more precisely, and is measured more frequently, in the coaching situation than in physical education.

It became evident from listening to the participants that they suffer feelings of inferiority associated with the low status of physical education within the school. Limited support for programs is evident, for example, when physical education is the last subject area to be placed in student schedules, leading to dysfunctional assignment patterns. Even more telling is the general absence of serious evaluation for teacher performance and student achievement in physical education. An illustration is the participant who taught for over ten years and could recall only one observation by the principal. Whatever arguments may be made to justify such treatment, it is clear that physical education teachers get the message about their value in the enterprise with all of its implications. That some of the participants actually questioned whether it was fair that their salary be comparable to academic teachers, suggests how thoroughly self doubt has been internalized.

Several of the teachers expressed the belief that it was their feelings of isolation and personal devaluation that led them to look elsewhere for stimulation, recognition, and work of genuine consequence. After school coaching fills those needs perfectly for many teachers. With the possibility of visible impact on young athletes and the typically high level

of administrative attention and support, coaching appears to serve perfectly in meeting both fiscal and psychological needs.

Nearly all of the physical education teachers recognized the greater opportunity to teach in the coaching situation and the sharp contrast with the limitations imposed by conditions in their physical education classes. Some considered themselves to be teachers only while coaching, and described themselves as mere recreation directors in their physical education classes. To the degree, then, that opportunity to teach was a primary vocational motive, they were forced to add coaching to their workday as the only source of that satisfaction.

In contrast, however, there were those teachers, primarily male, who reported choosing the teaching profession, from the outset, because it would allow them the opportunity to moonlight as coaches. They are not frustrated physical education teachers because they never regarded that aspect of their role as a serious source of satisfaction. Teaching simply was the price to be paid to be allowed to coach.

As a form of moonlighting, coaching provides a different dynamic than work outside the school. Coaching often is considered a job expectation, a professional responsibility and a way of building professional self-esteem. In addition, coaching allows the opportunity to supplement income without the inconvenience of leaving the primary workplace. Many

teachers discovered that their professional teacher training programs encouraged them to believe that to teach is to coach and to coach is to teach. This blurring of distinction between the two roles makes it easy to accept them as a single package, and a single professional obligation -- despite the fact that school contracts almost never do so.

Teaching and Out of School Employment

The school schedule -- daily hours, school holidays, and summers off -- allow teachers the opportunity to obtain employment outside the school. Although often not as convenient as is school work, the majority of participants work at extra jobs during the school year and summers. Ten of the participants work outside the school in addition to coaching. Six of the participants work outside the school both during the school year and throughout the summer in addition to their coaching. The participants who did not work outside the school dedicated their spare time to family or extra-curricular activities in school.

The majority of jobs held outside the school were related to physical education, for instance: owner of a gymnastics school, sports official and coach at a sports camp. Other jobs included occupations such as construction, carpentry, ski lift operator, and managing and owning rental property. In addition, two of the male participants were involved in running small family businesses year round.

Five of the eight females held jobs outside the schools, but only three both coached and worked at such jobs con-

currently. As would be expected, the married females were the least likely to hold a job outside the school. In contrast to this varied pattern for women, eight of the nine male participants held positions outside the realm of teaching.

Out of school jobs allow the teacher the opportunity to make more income when not involved with the school community. In many instances these positions extended the length of the day for the teachers and absorbed vacation time. Often, participants explicitly noted that this took away time spent on teaching responsibilities -- although only a few would agree that this had a detrimental effect on the quality of their work. It appears that teachers looked upon these jobs primarily as a source of money to supplement teaching salary whereas, coaching positions were thought of as part of professional obligations in which salary was entirely secondary.

The summer months when a teacher is unemployed are a time for individuals to take advantage of the opportunity to supplement their incomes. If checks actually stop in June and money has not been saved for the three month hiatus, summer income is not a supplement, of course, it is basic income -- essential for economic survival.

Some of the teachers did not regard their jobs in the summer as moonlighting, while others agreed with the definition which placed it in that category. The difference was, in part, a function of volitionality, and in part a

matter of quality of experience in the summer job. The summer could be a time to relax and continue professional development programs, or it could be a time when work demands prevented such satisfactions. On the other hand, working at non-school jobs may offer an opportunity to recharge away from the realm of the teaching profession, while at the same time allowing an opportunity to supplement income. As Pajak and Blase (1989) suggest, teachers who are involved in fulfilling activities outside of teaching may prosper more in the teaching setting. For some, probably a minority of these participants, moonlighting may enhance teaching and do more than occupy spare time.

For those few teachers who took summers off as true vacations, some expressed feelings of guilt and rationalized this by suggesting that they deserve this time off since they worked overtime during the year in extra-curricular activities. These teachers believe that they require the full summer vacation which allows them to return in September refreshed.

For most, the added income was the important component in working summers. In contrast, for those coaching during the school year money was not the salient objective. Coaching was a means to increase visibility and respect within the school community and to accumulate intrinsic rewards that were lacking from the teaching role.

Reflections

It now is appropriate for me to step back from the analysis of data to point out a number of issues in education and physical education that have become apparent at the conclusion of the study. In addition to illuminating the lives of the participating teachers, this investigation has both redefined old dilemmas and led to new questions which warrant attention. Before proceeding, however, I want to reiterate an earlier caution. The generalizability of this study is a matter to be determined by the reader. Each must reflect on their own experiences and decide whether the descriptions provided here might apply to their situation.

Close examination of the autobiographical account (see Appendix G) prepared at the outset of this investigation reveals that I was not, and did not pretend to be, a wholly disinterested observer of physical education teachers' moonlighting activity. While I honestly intended to exert great care in allowing the participants to speak for themselves and, insofar as possible, was prepared to give full voice to findings which were contrary to my own dispositions, it also was true that my own experiences as a teacher did make some outcomes seem more likely than others.

Looking back at this later point, I believe the participants were respected and that their voices have been heard without the introduction of significant distortions. That another investigator might have made somewhat different selections from the transcripts, constructed other thematic

categories for analysis, or underscored alternative sets of issues, is undoubtedly true. The story told here, however, is a coherent one that is well supported by the data, even if it is only one among several possible interpretations.

My own response to what I have heard and concluded is to feel at once informed and disconcerted. I know more now about the complexity of the phenomenon of moonlighting, and certainly more about what questions call out for further inquiry. At the same time, I feel distinctly less sure about the implications of my findings for educational practice, and thereby have less confidence in the political utility of the descriptions painted by the participants' words.

It now is clear that simply paying higher salaries, for example, will not eliminate the holding of second jobs. Given the experience of this study, I find myself not even sure that such an outcome is, in all cases, to be desired. Neither simple cause and effect relationships, nor simple ameliorative interventions match well with the web of social forces revealed here.

None of this discredits the financial strains commonly expressed by the participants, since moonlighting to supplement salaries certainly exists, but I am convinced that for some teachers raising salaries would not diminish their involvement in other jobs. All of which reinforces what has become obvious -- moonlighting is a much more complex phenomenon than I originally thought.

The quality of teaching produced by teachers who hold multiple jobs was beyond the scope of this study, but it beckons further examination. It is apparent that teachers' lives outside the classroom do indeed influence their professional job performance in both positive and negative ways (Pajak and Blase, 1989). How and to what extent this is also true in the gymnasium must not be ignored. The personal lives of teachers should no longer be a separate piece from their professional role -- certainly the quality of one has an influence on the success of the other.

The education of children is considered a priority in our society, although many of our actions indicate that rhetoric often takes the place of action. Teaching remains a profession characterized by salaries that are low when considered relative to the great responsibilities and to the substantial investment demanded in professional preparation. This, in turn, is related to easy entry, low social status, and moonlighting as an accepted if not actively encouraged vocational pattern.

Thoughtful consideration of those conditions leads to a series of hard questions. Who's needs are being served by an educational system such as this? Who is likely to be attracted to a profession that offers very modest salary, little respect and small chance for advancement? Do individuals who enter the profession now believe teaching to be an easy, part-time job with low demands and high security?

Is this a system really designed to protect the best interests of our children?

At the same time, we not only need to think about who is attracted into the profession, but about ways to keep promising young teachers interested in the work required to become expert teachers. Administrators and staff developers must be aware of the social and personal pressures that teachers face daily, and design programs that encourage and support teachers in their quest for excellence.

At the individual level, problems of social policy become personal tragedy. Physical education teachers presented with negative stereotypes may internalize the message to the point that they believe it and begin to devalue themselves. Alice highlighted this concern when she stated:

I feel very guilty collecting that paycheck. Especially when you compare what we do to the academic level. I mean we come in and play games and have fun and we get as much pay as the academic teachers do.

To further exacerbate such low professional self-esteem, physical educators at the secondary level often find that there are limited satisfactions to be obtained in their daily teaching assignments. In comparison to teaching, however, the satisfactions of coaching often outweigh those occasionally discovered in physical education classes. Moonlighting teacher/coaches soak up the rewards of their

after-school work from players, peers, administrators, community and the media. Such conditions make it inevitable that moonlighting will be used to fill the void in the professional lives of physical educators.

The issue of gender differences is a central issue for many of the participants. School systems perpetuate the traditional expectation that males will be involved not only in teaching, but in extra-curricular activities as well. In contrast, married females may be excused from these responsibilities to act in their primary role as homemaker and caregiver. Likewise, stereotypical gender expectations may dictate that single women will have plenty of time and automatically desire extra responsibilities within the school.

About all of this, there is a general lack of awareness and what I could only feel was complacent acceptance. Where inequities do exist, they can be questioned and addressed only by those directly involved. From my own vantage point as both an outside listener to my participants' stories, and an inside actor in the same drama, this points to the urgent need for considerable consciousness raising as part of preparation for life in the educational workplace.

There is no clear, simple, single recommendation to be made concerning moonlighting among teachers. The fact that this phenomenon continues to exist with little or no attention or concern by teachers themselves poses several interesting questions. Is moonlighting now so much a

commonplace in the lives of teachers that no one recognizes it? Alternately, is it simply too embarrassing for a vocational group with aspirations to professional status to admit that most practitioners can't make a living at their primary job?

After listening to the words of these teachers it becomes obvious that there are many different reasons for holding second and third jobs -- and such jobs may constitute either negative or positive factors in the life and work of a teacher. For some individuals the elimination of moonlighting might make them better teachers and happier people. For others, the loss of a second job would yield no such benefits and might well serve to force them out of education altogether.

If moonlighting is an embarrassment, a blemish on an aspiring profession, it might serve us better to confront its existence and investigate ways to control the phenomenon. It is not impossible to imagine that the teaching profession could benefit from teachers holding multiple jobs. This has been the case for recruits in the Math English Science Technology Education Project (MESTEP) at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (Clark, 1987). This project was set up to recruit professionals into teaching who might otherwise seek employment in the private sector. The lure was multiple employment made possible by linking schools, teacher education programs and private industry.

Using the MESTEP model, it might be possible to develop a variety of personnel-sharing contracts between schools and both the private sector and other public agencies. Such arrangements would share the special knowledge and skills that teachers possess, while at the same time addressing some of the needs that teachers have which are not adequately met through teaching alone. Such joint positions could help to: decrease the financial squeeze, counter or diminish some of the frustrations experienced within the school, and create another avenue for professional development.

When I first became interested in multiple employment by teachers I never anticipated that I would become an advocate for "controlled moonlighting." Given the realities of public education, however, it seems better to light a candle than simply curse the darkness. Until teaching requires full time efforts from all its teachers, is perceived by the public as a full-time position, and, in turn, is compensated as one, teachers will continue to have multiple reasons for securing other jobs. Until those fundamental social and economic advances are achieved, working with school districts and teacher organizations to develop innovative approaches which confront and control moonlighting is a potentially fruitful course of action.

Moonlighting is only a small piece of the complicated lives of teachers, but it represents an aspect that is central in the many of their biographies. Administrators, staff developers, teacher educators and teacher unions must

confront policies and institutional traditions that lie at the interface between lives inside and outside the school.

The participants in this study provided diverse perceptions of teacher moonlighting, both in their own lives and those of their colleagues. These contrasted with my initial characterization of moonlighting as a second job that earns income above and beyond the contracted teaching salary. The phenomenon as played out in teachers' lives is nothing like that simplistic and sterile definition. Accordingly, I end with more questions than I began. That they are less naive, sharper in focus, and better ordered seems a modest but satisfactory outcome -- but only for this early stage of the game.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

We are here to discuss your role as a teacher who holds multiple jobs. Please feel free to refer to your occupation form that you filled out prior to this interview.

1. How did you become interested in teaching? What attracted you into the teaching profession?
2. What do you enjoy/dislike about your teaching job?
3. Are you satisfied/dissatisfied with teaching?
4. What types of second jobs do you have or have you had? Include in and out of school and both during school year and summers.
5. What are you actually required to do in your present teaching job? Are there any work tasks you consider to be part of your teaching job even though they are not actually required by your contract or job description? If so, what are they? Why do you feel they are a real part of your job and not an extra added on? Are your extra-curricular activities part of your teaching role? Does it make a difference if you receive extra pay for extra work, or extra work without extra pay.
6. Age, marital status and number of dependents.

APPENDIX B
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF OCCUPATIONS

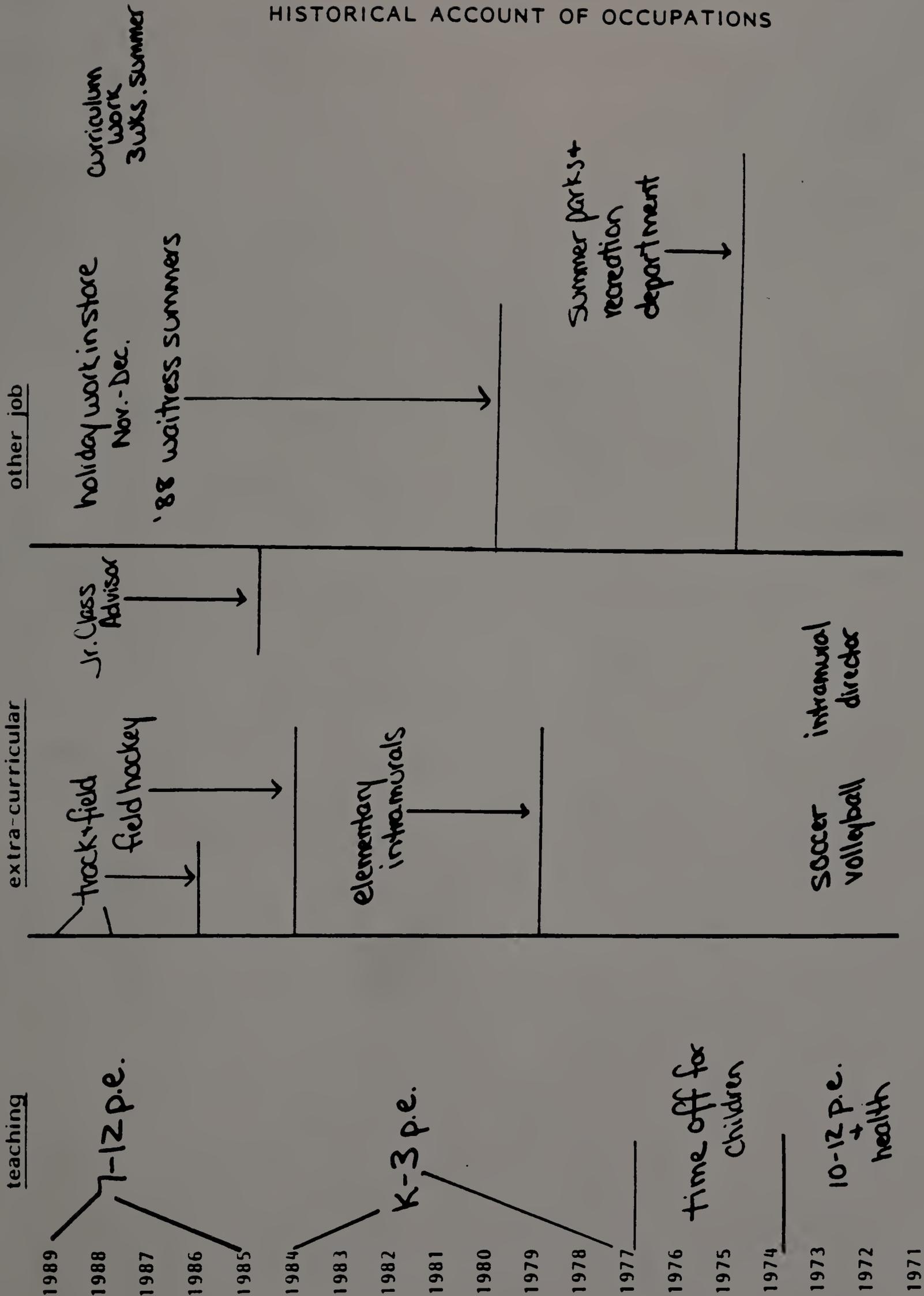
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF OCCUPATIONS

To help you discuss your occupational history, take a few minutes to jot down the different jobs you held at various times in your life. There are three areas I am most interested in, teaching responsibilities, extra-curricular activities within the school, and other jobs outside of school that are either professionally related or completely, unrelated to education. Please include summer and part-time jobs; short span full-time jobs and part-time jobs that you have held for long periods should be included.

I am particularly interested in times when you held more than one job, draw a line from one job to the other when this occurs. Please only go as far back as graduating from college. This will act as a guide for you during the interview. Don't worry about remembering everything, you may think of things as we talk.

The first sheet is a sample page.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF OCCUPATIONS



HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF OCCUPATIONS

other job

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APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

"Teachers' Perceptions of Multiple Employment"

I. My name is, Jacqueline Williams, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Professional Preparation for Physical Education at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. I am doing research which will be based on interviews with physical education teachers in Western Massachusetts.

II. You are being asked to participate in this study. I will conduct two interviews with you, each about one hour in length. The first interview will focus on aspects of your professional and personal life that relate to multiple employment -- the fact that you now have or in the past have had employment both in teaching and in other jobs. To refresh your memory and serve as a guide for the second interview, you will receive a transcript of selected quotes from the first interview. The second interview will be conducted within ten days and will extend the discussion of topics identified in the first interview.

III. The interviews will be audio taped and later selectively transcribed by myself or a professional secretary. My goal is to analyze the materials from the interviews (you will be one of approximately 10-15 participants) using them to develop an understanding of why, under what conditions and with what professional and personal consequences physical education teachers hold multiple jobs. This understanding would be used in

- (a) my dissertation,
- (b) journal articles,
- (c) presentations to professional groups,
- (d) other purposes related to my work as a teacher educator.

In all written material and oral presentations in which I may use materials from your interviews, I will use neither your name, names of people mentioned by you, nor the name of your school or school system. Transcripts will be typed with pseudonyms substituted for all names. Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity.

IV. While consenting at this time to participate in these interviews, you may at any time withdraw from the actual interview process.

If you need to contact me at any time, please call the University during the day at (413) 545-2323. If I am not available please leave a message with the secretary and I will return your call. In the evening, I can be reached at (413) 665-8158.

V. Once the study is complete an executive summary of the dissertation will be mailed to you.

VI. In signing this form you are agreeing to the use of materials from your interviews as indicated in III. If I wish to use the materials from your interviews in any ways not consistent with what is stated in III, I will contact you to explain and request your further consent.

VII. In signing this form, you also are assuring me that you will make no financial claims for the use of the material from your interviews.

I, _____, have read the above statement and agree to be interviewed under the conditions stated above.

Signature of participant

Date

Interviewer

APPENDIX D

COVER LETTER

COVER LETTER

February 15, 1989

Name
Address

I am a former physical education teacher who presently is pursuing a career working with undergraduate physical education majors and teachers in schools. At this time, I also am working on my doctoral dissertation which focuses on physical education teachers who do or have done several kinds of work at the same time.

I am soliciting your help as a participant in an interview study. This study is primarily concerned with teachers' perceptions of holding other jobs while teaching. As a participant you will be asked to fill out a short historical account of occupations, and take part in two, one hour interviews, approximately one week apart. These interviews will take place at a time and place convenient for you.

The interviews will be audio taped and later transcribed. My goal is to analyze the materials from the interviews (you will be one of approximately 10-15 participants) using them to develop an understanding of why, under what conditions and with what professional and personal consequences physical education teachers hold multiple jobs.

Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity. I will use neither your name, names of people mentioned by you, nor the name of your school or school system. In all records and reports pseudonyms will be substituted for all names.

Please complete the enclosed card and return it to me if you would be willing to assist by participating or I will contact you. I will be in touch to arrange a time for the first interview. If you have any questions please feel free to call me during the daytime at (413) 545-2323, or evenings at (413) 665-8158.

Thank you for your time. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

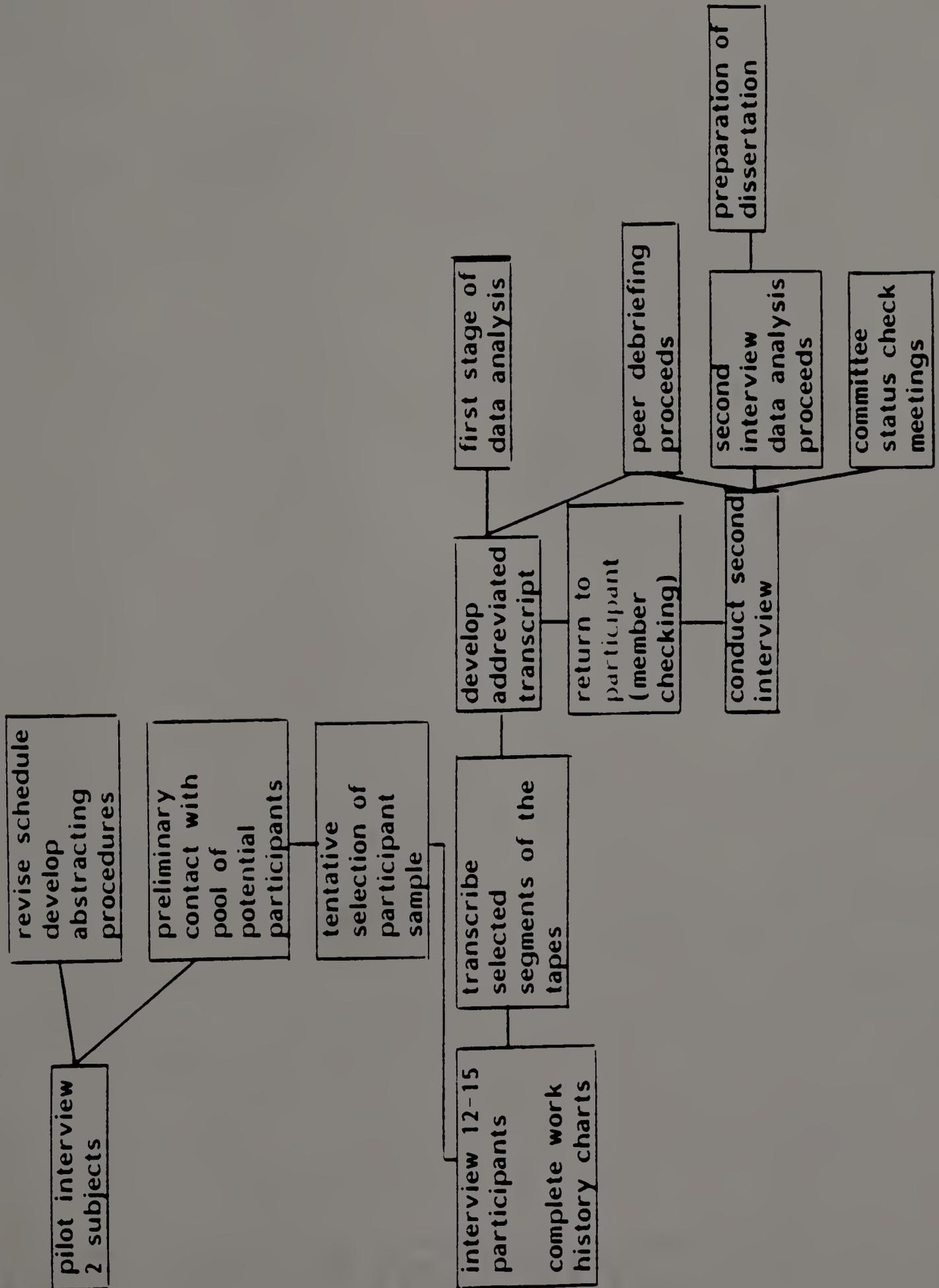
Jacqueline Williams

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APPENDIX E

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSES SEQUENCE

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSES SEQUENCE



APPENDIX F

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING DATA

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING DATA

Criteria for selecting data from first interview to establish outline for the final interview.

1. comments/thoughts unclear
2. comments that require further detail
3. statements about personal free time
4. conflicts between free time/professional responsibilities/personal responsibilities
5. economic pressures
6. problems/benefits associated with holding multiple jobs
7. reasons for holding other jobs
8. job satisfaction/dissatisfaction
9. thoughts about why they became a teacher
10. like/dislike about teaching
11. explanations about why in school after hours work is or is not regarded as "part of job."
12. comments on meaning of extra compensation relative to item 11

APPENDIX G

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

My interest in teacher moonlighting was sparked when I attended a presentation by Richard Wisniewski on moonlighting in education at the AERA conference in Washington D.C. He approached the topic as an unstudied phenomenon. In reflecting upon my own past, I realized that it not only is unstudied, but largely an "unconscious" activity as well -- I had done it, but never thought about it as an event of any significance whatsoever.

Growing up I was influenced by my mother who was a single parent and teacher. For the most part, my mother was involved in her teaching and spent several hours a week running intramurals. Summer months usually consisted of leisure activities or graduate courses needed to acquire a permanent state certification. Without supplemental employment, my mother was able to maintain a comfortable middle class status in a suburban community.

My Grandmother, also a teacher, was a strong force in my life. For her, teaching was time consuming and she found no extra time outside of school to engage in a second job. What free time she had either was spent on extra-curricular activities in the school, which she thought to be part of her teaching role, or on tending to domestic responsibilities. During the summer months, she was involved with her personal hobbies and community service work. Her teaching salary was

considered a second salary since my Grandfather worked for the postal service.

I then proceeded down the path of professional preparation in physical education and in 1977 graduated from the SUNY at Cortland. At that time teaching positions were extremely hard to find let alone obtain. Accordingly, I decided to coach, substitute teach, (which is a story in itself) and tend bar. This began my chaotic work history.

The following year I moved to Colorado and worked as a ski lift operator, hotel maid, restaurant hostess, waitress, and ski equipment sales. I never found it very difficult to land a job (or, even multiple jobs).

Finally, in 1981, after a year at graduate school completing a masters degree, I began my first full-time teaching job. As a first year teacher, I was swamped, working 18 hour days just to survive. My responsibilities also included coaching three sports (for extra pay) which ate up my free time, but supplemented my teaching salary. The following summer I discovered my financial situation to be serious, so in order to eat and pay rent I had to get a summer job. For the next three summers I worked at the race track in Saratoga, ushering people to their seats. I didn't make enough to buy a new car or get a mortgage on a house, but it got me through the summer and I found it a nice change of pace.

Subsequently, the school system employed me for three summers to develop curriculum or to teach summer school. The

salary was just enough money to float me until the check in September. At first, I resented having to work summers, I had grown up thinking that a teacher's summers were for recreation and personal growth. That may have been the big attraction which drew me to teaching.

Now that I have returned to the university, I have again found it necessary to rely on such talents as waitressing and computer work to supplement my pay as a teaching assistant. To make ends meet, I have taken part-time work in a teacher's center, a restaurant, a summer sports camp office and as an assistant curriculum development specialist. I continue to hold jobs other than my primary one and this has been for financial reasons.

Last year I conducted a survey of moonlighting by physical education teachers, a study which asked: who moonlights, and why? Moonlighting was defined as any occupation beyond teaching for which an individual receives extra remuneration. This could occur either inside or outside the school setting/ during the school year or summers. I entered the study assuming that moonlighting was a negative aspect of teaching and if teachers would only get more pay they wouldn't be so inclined to hold second jobs. This assumption was not borne out by my respondents. Instead, many indicated that they enjoyed their second jobs and believed that such employment does not detract from their teaching performance.

With that bit of personal biography as background, it is now possible to identify a number of general assumptions and more specific beliefs which have become part of my intellectual baggage as I undertake this investigation. While I fully intend to exert every effort to understand the professional lives and employment experiences of the participants as they are explained and, as nearly as possible, as they are perceived, it remains true that all of this will be filtered through the accumulation of my own beliefs and dispositions. These, then, are the points at which I (my peer debriefer and my committee) must exercise special vigilance to insure that expectation does not, by inattention, become the reality described.

As a teacher educator, I can't help but strongly believe that teaching is a profession which demands an extreme amount of dedicated involvement, allowing little time for outside employment. And yet, I empathize with teachers who can't make ends meet and must secure another job to supplement their teaching salary. The frightening aspect of this is confronting the effects this phenomenon may have on teaching performance. My inclination is to believe that holding other jobs will have a negative effect on the teacher's effectiveness as an educator.

I have some friends who believe teachers deserve what they get, its a cake job and they only work ten months out of the year and seven hour work days, so they don't deserve more money, and they (teachers) should quit complaining. This is

extremely irritating to me because I know at first hand the stress inherent in the job, and the inordinate amount of time consumed by "just teaching." The fact that over 50% of teachers hold other jobs adds to my irritation, because I believe that in many cases they are forced to do so.

The topic of moonlighting has a great deal of personal interest for me. Before undertaking any research in this area, I had hoped to create policy changes within the education system, by developing an awareness in people outside the realm of education. Most people are completely unaware of the professional demands and personal sacrifices that are the reality of teachers' lives.

In my first study I had expected to hear teachers complain about the fact they often must hold multiple jobs; that these other responsibilities take valuable time away from their classroom tasks, that the teaching profession is nothing more than a blue collar job, and that holding multiple jobs negatively affects the personal lives and social status of teachers. Particularly, I wanted to hear teachers say that they would spend more time on their teaching responsibilities if they were paid like other professionals.

Not all of my expectations were fulfilled. Many teachers indicated that they liked moonlighting whether it be in school or outside the school setting. Many even reported that the moonlighting activities helped rather than undermined their teaching.

From all of this has come a growing sense of uneasiness which betrays the conflict between my own values and idealized vision of the teaching profession -- and what the data may reveal. I fear that teachers, be it some or many, will admit that teaching is a part-time job for them and that they need something else to fill their free-time and their need for challenge and stimulation. My concern is that instead of supporting teachers and underscoring their inadequate support, the data may actually suggest problems that lie in how teachers define teaching and their degree of commitment to their work.

I am genuinely concerned about what moonlighting says regarding teachers and teaching as a profession. Is teaching really nothing more than a blue collar part time job, which we have disguised with fancy words about "a profession" and "a career of service to children and society."

In this concern and the growing possibility that my findings may not support my "preferred" understanding of the world, lies the disposition which could put honest inquiry at risk. I want to make my experiences and my concerns work for me by providing a vantage point for study and learning. Understanding that they also could blind me to uncongenial evidence is a risk that with careful planning and the assistance of mentors and colleagues I now feel ready to take.

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