

*Early  
Professional  
Learning  
Project*



*An ESRC (TLRP) funded project with University of Stirling & Manchester Metropolitan University*

## **World, Class, Schools: A remodelling of motivation, choice and the market**

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There has been a great deal of recent interest in motivation of public sector workers. The PM is on record as expressing frustration at what he perceives as the resistance to change of public sector workers in comparison to those working in the private sector. Much of the debate in this area centres round the appropriateness of the market as a guiding and controlling force in the public sector. A key feature of the move to market-driven public services is the nature of user voice and the mechanism which the market is supposed to provide in enhancing the voice of users. An examination of voice and its dependence on market-driven systems has been made elsewhere (Cope et al). The impact of user voice and the market on motivation is poorly understood, and in this paper we examine the arguments relating to the motivation of individuals working in organisations using data from a study on motor cycle technicians, working in the private sector and from first year teachers working in public sector Scottish schools. We argue that the motivation of both sets of workers is related to their participation in a specific world of activity. Conventional concepts of motivation use a metaphorical schema which treats work as an activity and motivation as an energising activity, an accelerator pedal which varies work rate or output. Here, we look at what happens to motivation when work is regarded as a world, using metaphors of place, rather than as a serial activity.

Following Heidegger, we suggest that all human beings are always already in some sort of world, but that loosely bounded and multi-dimensional worlds of activity, such as schools or motorcycling, are crucially important to an understanding of work motivation. Without such an understanding, attempts to influence motivation which rely on uni-dimensional models are doomed to failure, as has been shown in the case of performance related pay (Wragg et al 2003; Chamberlin et al 2002). In fact we argue that the concept of motivation is flawed in that it attempts to describe a human process via an inappropriate mechanical metaphor.

There is a substantial literature on motivation, much of which is concerned with the motivation of individuals to carry out specific tasks. Psychological approaches have included the work of Deci et al (1966) in examining the relative importance of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in a variety of contexts. We will show below that the separation of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation within an individualistic psychology has failed to produce effective solutions in a teaching context. However, there is also a body of work which emanates from economics in which incentive factors are considered. Le Grand (2003) has attempted to synthesise much of this research in coming to a theory which regards underlying motivation as knightly or knavish. In arguing for a market solution to motivation of public sector workers, he suggests that the dangers of relying on knightly altruistic behaviour, as in the traditional welfare state, can be removed by devising a system which assumes that providers may well be knaves, motivated in their own self-interest. By introducing a system of incentives, altruistic behaviour can be rewarded and self-interest can be controlled so that knights are rewarded and knaves are motivated to behave in a way such that their own interests coincide with those of the user. Such a system also, he claims, has the virtue of treating users as queens, with agency over their own lives, rather than as pawns whose agency is ignored by possibly well-meaning providers.

Much of the evidence for the effectiveness of market-underpinned strategies comes from examination of how choice has changed the performance of institutions in relation to indicators of performance, such as, in the case of schools, examination results. The evidence is far from clear and is distorted by the imperfection of the market system as applied to education. As with most supposedly free markets, the market in education is subject to complex constraints, ranging from the distance which parents are prepared to allow their children to travel to school, through differentiated availability of information regarding school performance, to the variability of desired parent-pupil outcomes. In other words, examination results may not be the prime consideration for parents.

Although, in theory, popular schools become more successful by attracting more pupils, the source of the effect on their performance is not clear. There is evidence that it is the schools themselves which are in a position to choose, the over-subscription to their rolls allowing them to select desirable pupils (Gewirtz et al, 1995, Woods et al, 1998). Parental choice, in relation to school choice via admission criteria, is effectively reduced to the marketing of their own children to the most desirable local schools. Hence, one effect of the market might be to increase the polarisation between schools in terms of their composition of advantaged and disadvantaged pupils. Gorard & Fitz (2000) suggest that this effect is not emerging from the available data across England and Wales. Using free school meal (FSM) entitlement as a proxy for social disadvantage, they argue that the

expected polarization has not occurred. Conversely, the research relating to market effects on schools is comprehensively reviewed by Gibson and Asthana (2000) who conclude that there is a wealth of evidence to demonstrate the deleterious effects of parental choice. This is a controversial area, as demonstrated by the issue of *Research Papers in Education* in which Gorard & Fitz engage in an acrimonious debate with Gibson & Asthana over the meaning of their figures purporting to show that the introduction of parental choice has coincided with a reduction in school segregation. Haydn (2004) provides a concise history of comprehensive schooling in England & Wales, arguing that recent developments have accelerated the decline of a system which was never fully operational in the first place. Munn et al (2004) discuss the current policy situation in Scotland and show that the ideals of comprehensivisation have been upheld to a much greater extent north of the border, a view to which we will return below.

It is not our intention to engage directly with this debate, which is largely fruitless in the absence of detailed, large-scale school level exploration of the effects of choice from a parental perspective. What we will suggest is that consideration of the school as world can not only assist in understanding the motivation of teachers but can also explain the difficulties of applying a market model to parental choice. This is not a chance connection but an inevitable consequence of a worldly approach, and it suggests several possible ways in which teachers and parents can be brought closer together for the overall benefit of pupils.

What the economic arguments concerning the market in public services do not explain is how the so-called motivational effects percolate down to individuals working in the institutions. Although Le Grand (2003) reviews some of the evidence relating to the motivation of individuals, the studies are diverse in their contexts, including for example, blood donation, opposition to the sighting of a power station, and volunteering. It is not clear how the conclusion, that motivation for altruism is related in a complex fashion to how the degree of self-sacrifice involved interacts with financial reward, applies to public services workers. Self-sacrifice is in itself a misleading term since it conceptualises the self as composed of goods which can be disposed of and which therefore are equivalent to money, whereas the activities cited above could be regarded as self-enhancing, providing opportunities for reciprocal recognition and approval. Furthermore none of Le Grand's examples necessarily constitutes a world. The type of motivation required to give blood, as an occasional 'gift' is not necessarily generalisable to work situations, where the relevant world is pervasive over extended periods of time. The world of blood donation is occupied by professionals, and the donors constitute part of their world without themselves significantly participating in it. Giving blood is, however, a meaningful act, because it is performed in a world where it connects with the possibility of surgery, the availability of hospitals and so on. It is no more

motivated in this sense than paying taxes or driving on the correct side of the road, and is only visible as a 'self-sacrificing' act because of the low percentage of the population who donate, and the constant need for appeals etc, which constitutes a 'breakdown situation'. The question of the motivation of single issue campaigners, or regular volunteer workers, is somewhat more complex. Campaigning leads to interactions with worlds such as those of planners or property developers, but as with the blood donor example, campaigners are not full participants in the professional worlds concerned. Nor are they 'legitimate peripheral participants' in the sense developed by Lave and Wenger (1991), since they do not necessarily intend to join the world concerned. At this point we should point out that the concept of world which we are developing here is not synonymous with 'community of practice' which in our view suggests an impoverished version of what it means to be a professional. It has more in common with Bourdieu's ideas of 'field' and 'habitus'. Campaigners are setting out to alter the circumstances prevailing in their own world, normally motivated by a desire to maintain or enhance their quality of life and/or that of others. Flyvbjerg (2001) makes a similar argument in relation to gaining access to worlds, in the case of campaigners in planning decisions in Aarlborg.

Both classic motivation theory and rational choice theory are, however, lacking in insight into the role of everyday coping practices based on social consensus.

The critical literature on rational choice theory (e.g. Scott 2000) argues that RCT is based on individualistic behavioural psychology and cannot take account of collective or institutional actions without reducing these to pseudo-individual actions.

Research on performance-related pay for teachers concludes that it does not increase their motivation for the job (Dolton et al; Chamberlin et al 2002) although pay is identified as a factor in the recruitment of teachers, particularly in shortage subject areas. Money, however, is no less multi-dimensional than motivation itself. As is well-known, public sector recruitment in areas such as SE England is affected by the high price of housing and the related problems of first-time buyers. Conversely, and from our own research, the provision of housing assistance in areas such as the Highlands and Islands, where social housing is still an option, is necessary to offset other factors such as the high cost of travel. Equally, domestic circumstances, and the presence or otherwise of student debt, make it difficult to compare the effects of different financial packages on different workers. Once again, this points to money as an element in a world rather than as an isolated variable. Within worlds of work, money is involved by definition, as payment for labour power, and it is pointless to treat remuneration as an absolute value. Whilst I would be happy to earn the same salary as the chief executive of

Tesco, I have no interest in participating in his world, and there is not really an element of choice even although there is nothing in principle to stop me attempting to reach that exalted position. Money is an item of equipment which only makes sense if I can use it to cope better in the world.

Many of the incentives put in place in public services are concerned with attempting to change policy direction in some way. Improved performance thus reflects, to some extent at least, the degree to which the institution in which the individual works, has conformed and adapted to policy requirements. Changes in policy direction may not be welcomed by individual professionals. For example, Martin et al (2004) describe how social workers have been subject to policy changes which attempt to harness the self-interest of professionals in the context of community care. The introduction of care management means that social workers have to comply with organisational priorities which conflict with their advocacy role and which diverts much of their attention away from the client towards coping with the bureaucratic demand of the system. The motivation of the professionals here are, in Le Grand's terms, knightly, but at odds with the interests of managers who are trying to implement policy and achieve targets. It therefore seems plausible that at least some of the changes which result from marketization of public services represent managers' successes at adapting their organisations to succeed within the policy environment rather than any fundamental change in approach from individual providers. Further, one of the features of the market approach is that it provides managers with a justification for change in the face of professional resistance. Quality assurance, inspection, and the reduction of professional tasks to lists of competence statements can all be seen as tools which may be brought to bear on this task. However, their effect on the motivation and performance of individuals remains contentious. (refs). Unless the underlying motivation of workers is simply reduced to compliance, we need to understand what it is about particular forms of work and their contexts that motivates participants to do a good job. We also need to understand alternative approaches to the management of change in professions so that reliance on external pressures and the enforcement of change is reduced.

The obvious criticism to be levelled at a world-based approach to policy or research is that it is not amenable to measurement. This is a circular argument since we are arguing that measurement as currently understood is precisely what de-worlds, in other words creates an impoverished representation rather than an embodied reality.

The current use of performance indicators for schools is like using record (sorry, download) sales to measure artistic merit. There is no necessary co-relation between the two, although there are those who would argue

that any other definition of merit is subjective (as indeed it is). The point is that artistic merit or school quality are categorically different from record sales or exam results, which are merely proxies for what is really going on in the worldly situation. But without these, how are parents and other concerned parties to make the necessary judgements about schools? Ironically, a clue to the answer is provided by an unimpeachable third party, Her Majesty's Inspectorate. The whole point about schools inspections is that they are visits to worlds, which do not rely on postal surveys, reported statistics or the resultant league table positions for their conclusions. The use of such evidence, and parent questionnaires etc, as part of the inspection process, does not detract from the embodied presence required to form a judgement about a world. Even more ironically, the embodied reaction frequently experienced by teachers before or during HMI visits reinforces the argument.

Commentators such as Le Grand, by promoting the market, are also supporting the use of performance indicators as proxies for school efficiency and desirability, to be used by potential clients (queens, parents etc). There are not always equivalent performance indicators in the private sector. I have no idea when buying (or attempting to buy) a pair of trousers, whether the firm concerned has a good record in terms of trouser life, freedom from creases etc. It may have a reputation, but reputations are only acquired over time, and are quickly lost, as Marks & Spencer found to their cost. Banks, for which we are constantly exhorted to shop around, are notoriously inefficient and uncompetitive, yet in commercial terms (profit) are hugely successful. What performance indicators are offered when looking for a bank? I would like to be involved in the world of my bank, with known people to talk to, persistent locations, helpful advice. I am not arguing here for a 'good old days' approach to business, since paternalistic or patronising attitudes were prevalent before the age of the call centre or on-line banking. Performance indicators are only useful when the performance is the artefact, e.g. in share dealing, the buyer would want to know the history of the relevant share in terms of dividends, share price and company returns. The share and its history is a saleable performance indicator. Exam results are only a proxy for something else, an indicator of pupil performance with no intrinsic value. Good results are desirable but few parents would be happy about sending children to an unseen or unknown institution purely on the strength of its exam results. They need access to the world of the school in order to assess its atmosphere, the behaviour of others, the attitudes of teachers and other staff. They need this even when there is no choice to be made, and they still need it if their attitude is one of letting the professionals get on with the job.

### **What does 'access to the world of the school' mean?**

As with the EPL model, access is multi-dimensional and dynamic.

- Social dimension – the possibility of interactions with staff, other parents, other children
- Institutional dimension – the factoring-in of parent voice and access to school policy at various levels
- Physical dimension – access to school buildings in an appropriate way, including community use of facilities
- Emotional dimension – feeling that the school welcomes them into its world and is concerned with them as individuals and as a group
- Cognitive dimension – knowledge of curriculum, assessment, pedagogy as they affect the child
- Ethical dimension – parental rights and responsibilities
- Temporal dimension – access as and when required by parents, not as convenient to the school

There is a sense in which this starts to become a ‘parents’ charter’ as with the emerging policy area represented by (SEED 2004). This is partly fortuitous. There is also a danger that such ‘parents’ charters’ result in the expectation of high levels of involvement by parents who do not have the necessary time or knowledge resources, and the consequent over-involvement of those groups who do have these resources, the oft-disparaged middle class parents. The point here is that providing access to the world of the school in a multi-dimensional way ought to be regarded as a natural function of schools and not as a bolt-on accessory.

### **The failure of conventional theories of motivation in the schools context**

The EPL research has shown that what are perceived as un-motivated pupils disrupting classroom activity are a major cause of anxiety and frustration for new teachers, but that there are huge variations in the prevalence of such disruption. These variations are across subject areas, across LEA areas and even across cohorts or year groups. Disaffected pupils are expressing ‘user voice’, albeit in a way which is not always considered socially acceptable. A market philosophy would indicate that this voice should be taken into account, since the ‘product’ is clearly not meeting these users’ needs. There are also arguments from a social justice perspective (e.g. Rudduck et al 2003, etc) that pupil voice should be a significant input into school governance. Research in this area, such as that of Postlethwaite and Haggarty (2002) and Corbin et al (??) supports the idea that positive valuation of pupil voice can be an effective way of improving classroom interaction. Within the EPL project, we have incorporated a pupil opinion instrument (CEPSATI<sup>1</sup>) into our investigation of the new teacher experience.

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<sup>1</sup> Combined classroom Environment & Pupil Satisfaction & Achievement Index

The existing work on pupil voice has shown that it is not helpful to raise expectations by soliciting pupil voice or opinion and then to frustrate those expectations through a failure to act on the views thus expressed. This could be seen as a failure to bring those views into the world of school. The market-driven view is that providers should respond to customer demand, but worlds do not operate simply on the basis of information flows, but of re-interpretations of meanings.

Within the world of motorcycling, access by customers to the world is made easier by the absence of an authoritarian hangover and the small size of most of the firms involved. Even the large manufacturers such as Honda were seen to be relatively receptive to feedback from technicians and customers via dealers. The motorcycle provides a similar function to that of the child in school, as an artefact around which the world and its discourse revolves. Changes brought about by feedback loops are re-interpretations of the meaning of artefacts.

This is not to belittle children as autonomous agents, and the NTs in our study were quick to point out that children could not be seen as passive recipients of services. Nevertheless, it is easy to forget that children are boundary-spanners, linking the school and domestic worlds, and that the boundary is easier for them to cross than for parents.

***(PG comments)***

We have the following strands here:

1. Motivation of PS workers
2. Marketisation, choice and their relationship to (1)
3. Ideas drawn from EPL/Evabcom work which alter the party line on the above

The SE report “Motivations for undertaking the New Social Work Degree” (Scottish Executive 2005) gives us a topical reference for this, particularly reinforcing the point that it isn’t the money which motivates – they have an incentive scheme for HTF posts which adds £9k to first year salary, but most students aren’t even aware of it, and those that are don’t seem bothered to follow up on it. Equally, the jobsat results tell us much the same for NTs, as does what we know re. take up of the incentive for induction placements in remote or HTF areas. In any case, the relationship between financial reward and motivation cannot be a linear one. £25k is not an absolute figure but is relative to what others are getting and to one’s financial starting point (e.g. student debt,

affordable housing etc). In many cases, as we have seen with the NTs, the need for money is not an absolute need but relates to when and where it is delivered. Most of them really needed financial help either during ITE or at the point of transition to new areas, whereas (with the incentive bonus) it arrived too late to be much use.

From the perspective of our Heideggerian take on 'worlds' and the empirical evidence for this, from Evabcom and EPL, we could argue that it is only openings- into-worlds which can provide a rich enough source of motivation. Furthermore, we can argue that choice and motivation are necessarily related via 'world'. And even better, we know that Rational choice theory also assumes this but does not make the right sort of connections due to its individualistic tendencies.

The necessary characteristics of a world here are:

- **Social relationships – being with others**
  - **Institutional relationships – being with rules**
- **Equipmental relationships – doing with things**
- **Spatial relationships**
  - **Knowing where – proximity**
  - **Moving in – mobility**
  - **Staying in – possession**
- **Emotional relationships – having a particular [set of] disposition[s] towards the world**
- **Cognitive relationships – knowing (explicitly) about the world**
- **Ethical relationships – caring about the world**
- **Temporal relationships – having a historical and futural relationship to the world**

More simply, worlds have to be

- **on a human scale**
- **multi-dimensional**
- **extended in time**

Funnily enough, the characteristics of a world emerge neatly from the EPL model and from Heidegger (and also Bourdieu, as PC and Phil Hodkinson have suggested).

The argument about car choice which the (PG/RR correspondence) started is relevant here. Cars are measurable, rational devices which depend on established scientific principles. Or are they? For a start, rationality is subjective. The current (Guardian 25/10/05) UK popularity of SUVs is only rational from the point of view (or in the situated knowledge) of people who imagine that they are safer or sexier than ordinary cars. From an environmental p-o-v they are highly irrational. It is possible to show that there is no single, transcendent rationality which makes sense of car choice, as Schwarz (2003). Otherwise car magazines would test cars and publish figures which would entirely dictate what sells and what doesn't. Fortunately for manufacturers, the press don't entirely dictate what people buy. Even in the event of some buyers listening to media opinion, others won't like the colour. Others will have heard that there is a bargain to be had (Gary!) and will have bought something which in other circumstances they would not. Sales technique is about optimising the fit of car to customer's world, not about providing information for rational decision making. But the problem for us is to show that all the entailments of rational choice theory ultimately collapse into an acknowledgement that 'world' is important. The hypothesis would thus be something like: Both choice and motivation are dependent on the availability of world

Even in the (you would imagine) more rational world of trucking, where every penny counts and figures would seem to be more important than emotion, decisions are rarely, if ever, rational in the true economic sense. The friendly local dealer, the image, the driver's bad experience ten years ago and word-of-mouth knowledge all make a contribution<sup>2</sup>

Is there any example of rational choice out there? You would think that power tools were devoid of emotional connection, but there are websites out there full of impassioned discussions as to the relative merits of Bosch, Makita and Panasonic. I'm a Panasonic fan and would never buy a Bosch, because of two minor incidents and a desire to be different. Computers? Obviously not, since no two PCs are the same and this is being written on an Apple. Beer? How do you define taste?

Potatoes?

The point about getting Heidegger involved in this is his insistence that 'world' is necessary for there to be human being at all. We are always already in a world and there is no possible way of existing outside a world. As embodied beings, we are dependent on materiality, spatiality and (via Lakoff & Johnson (1999)) on metaphors based on our material and spatial existence for our thought processes. Obviously, choice, as a

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<sup>2</sup> See any trucking magazine of the last thirty years

human possibility, has to be realised within a world. Choice is also (arguably) an expression of (em)power(ment), which is why it so popular with Blairite politicians (See Morriss 2000 for a useful analysis of power and agency). This also links choice to agency. Heidegger's point about agency is that one either does what one (i.e. everyone else) does, or one takes a different path and becomes 'authentic', albeit within a historical context.

The argument about school choice revolves around these factors:

1. The reduction of school worlds (and pupils) to 'information' in the form of performance indicators – the product
2. The availability of this information to parents, pupils and schools – the market stall
3. The use of this information to gain access to a (school) world – the choice

Our point is that information alone cannot gain access to a world. The EPL data suggest that NTs have problems with the induction scheme because they have no access to the world of the destination school before completing the placement form. Where there is some form of access, e.g. through having done a student placement there or even from being there as a pupil, then access to the world is facilitated and in almost all cases the experience is better. Exactly the same thing applied in TW. New apprentices without involvement in the world of motorcycling were much less likely to succeed than those who had that involvement. Inside knowledge of the appropriate world is almost essential.

This is of course blindingly obvious. The argument for performance indicators is the level playing field, the need for comparability. How can contingent, partial inside knowledge be made portable and accessible to all those who might want or need it? Bourdieu's argument is that social class distinction is maintained through precisely this mechanism.

### **Doing what comes naturally: why motivation (theory) doesn't need to provide a motive**

Motivation, in connection with human activity, is a metaphorical schema (Lakoff & Johnson 1999) in which persons or selves are caused to engage in goal-directed activity by some initiating force. Under this schema, motivation has the following characteristics:

- It can be increased or decreased by various means, i.e. it is a quantity

- It has a source domain and a target domain
- The source can be internal to the person motivated (intrinsic motivation), thus the source domain is person-as-container
- The source can be external to the person motivated (extrinsic motivation) thus the source domain is person-as-object
- The target domain is person-in-action, where motivation can increase the quantity, rate or quality of the action.
- Since motivation is a force, it can be generated in various ways, some of which are cost-free (renewable motivation, such as morale-boosting harangues). Others (financial motivation) are less sustainable.
- Motivation can comprise multiple forces which may interact, but this interaction is, in principle, measurable or calculable
- The simplest form of motivation is a kick in the backside. All other forms are degenerate. (*Temporary bullet point*)

Whilst this schema has the attraction of simplicity, it fails to grasp the real nature of work. In idiomatic English (and Scots) expression, work is as much a place ('she's at her work', 'he's gone to work') as an activity. This is not just a semantic pedantry, but incorporates the idea of separate spheres or [life] worlds, however much these may bleed into each other. It also expresses the idea that work is more than the sum of the tasks or activities involved, an idea which Boreham et al (2003) have developed as work-process knowledge. Work-process knowledge is concerned with understandings of the purposes and principles of a particular field of work and the inter-relationship of the individual tasks which are performed within that field. It is most easily expressed in spatial terms, as flows, confluences and gateways.

***(Evabcom diagram)***

Being at work is therefore not simply about a physical location but is about a location within very specific flows of activity. Teachers are especially placed within this metaphorical schema of work-understanding because of the well-defined and familiar form of schools. Part of the induction process for teachers is the acquisition of knowledge about, and experimentation with participation in, flows around the school, whether spatially, towards the staffroom at coffee time or temporally, as children develop and grow within their classes. The nature of schools as unique places is not about static form but about the work which takes place there. The metaphorical

schema of energising motivation thus begins to lose its grip, since pushing someone into place is not the issue. In Heidegger's terminology, one is thrown into place, but there is no thrower. Rather, 'thrown' has the sense of 'I was thrown by that remark', a sense of finding oneself in an unexpected situation. Heidegger is referring to being-in-the-world in general, and we are not suggesting that teachers end up in schools by accident (although frequently NTs are mis-placed in schools by the induction system). Neither, however, can a single motivational factor account for any given trajectory into school. All work is by [most] definition[s] paid work, as distinct from volunteering. Very few people have the luxury of working for no financial reward. We are not suggesting that domestic or voluntary care work should be disregarded, but what we are discussing here is motivation in paid work. What we are suggesting is that work is a place and that coping with places such as work is what people do. Coping with work enables coping with life, via wages or salaries. There are, of course, ways of coping with life without work, but these do not involve work motivation.

By 'coping' here we do not use the term with the sense of 'only just...' which it sometimes carries. We use it in the Dreyfusard sense of 'concernful coping' (Dreyfus 1991) as the way in which humans engage with the everyday world

As Heidegger (1962), via Dreyfus (1991) suggests, humans are able to cope with an extremely complex world (or worlds, as we will suggest) without explicitly considering each and every action. I am currently sitting on a chair, but I don't have a motive for doing so. I am sitting on it as part of a system involving chairs, tables, computers and work. This could be put as "my motive for sitting on a chair is to keep my bum off the floor" but it is a facile and unnecessary attribution of motive. I sit on the chair to do some work, in order to fulfil some other in-order-to, which at the same time encompasses the ends of educational research and being able to afford to go to Tesco on Saturdays.

Choosing where to sit, what to do and how hard or quickly or well to do it are part of the coping process. Rather than ask about motivation, we need to ask a different question, about the conditions for coping. Some of our research in EPL, and that of others such as Postlethwaite & Haggarty (200

The psychologically-inclined (RR) will become apprehensive here and will suggest that we are giving in – motivation is complex so we can't measure/experiment/analyse in a scientific way. What we are suggesting is that attempting to measure motivation as a varying factor for work output, or some other quantity, is an impoverished and empirically unsuccessful strategy. When we don't really know what it is we want teachers to

be doing, it is even less likely to work. What we can say, based on the EPL data, is that successful entry into a world is recognised for what it is by the NTs concerned, is facilitated by a range of relatively simple conditions and is likely to have positive outcomes for pupils. These conditions are not goal-oriented and are not pushy. Again, Heidegger provides a useful term in 'dwelling', which has the sense of a positive relationship with place. Whilst the overall metaphor of the journey is still powerful in relation to the growth or becoming of NTs, there are parts of the journey where 'dwelling' is necessary. In this context, dwelling is both noun and verb. Schools need to shelter and nurture NTs, and NTs have to dwell on what it is they are doing. Teaching arises out of their dwelling.

This is not mere 'windy mysticism' (Ryle 1929) but has practical connotations. NTs need their own spaces, usually but not always their own classroom, to facilitate organisation of materials, provide a sense of belonging, enable displays of pupil work and to keep unwanted others at bay or to welcome supporters. 'Having one's own classroom' could be seen as a motivational 'hygiene factor' (Hertzberg 1966) and is surveyed as such in our *jobsat* instrument. In no way, however, does it explain or drive the altruism of NTs in and of itself. Rather, it is a piece of (necessary) equipment within the world of school, just as pens, computers, desks and all the other pieces of equipment are necessary. It is important to note that Heidegger intends equipment (*das Zeug*) to be collective – we should not refer to 'an equipment' meaning a single item, since all equipment has a relational element. Our motives in using equipment are, likewise, always relational, which is why computers became much more interesting when networks opened up. And if using equipment is always relational, then the associated activity is relational also. And if that is the case, then motivation *for the activity* should relate to the overall purpose of the relational system. This does not mean, however, that individual motivation follows from activity motivation. In writing on the whiteboard, as a teacher, I am using the pen, whiteboard, curriculum and so forth towards the ultimate purpose of increasing pupil learning, whether it works for that purpose or not. I am there to cope with the equipment and to motivate or activate it to fulfil the above purpose. I am not part of the equipment, but I have to be there. I know my place in the world. NTs, for the most part, know their place(s), they acknowledge that they have made the right decision, to be teachers, at least for the time being.

Motivation has been of interest to those studying work for some considerable time, since work output is a) variable and b) valuable to those other than the workers involved. Increasing motivation is seen as a way of increasing productivity. Le Grand (2003:67) states that 'individual motivation is complex, especially where those working in the public sector are concerned'. Not only is it complex, however, but it is also not at all clearly understood, as otherwise there would be no need for academics such as Le Grand (and ourselves) to address

the issue. What we are attempting here is a reframing of motivation in order to accommodate evidence from the research mentioned earlier, and to provide ways of addressing the perceived problems of motivation in the public sector. Ironically, we draw on evidence from the private sector to argue that simple dichotomies of the knight/knave variety have little explanatory power even in industrial and commercial situations where one might expect altruism to be absent.

In order to do this without contortion or the semantic regress of psychological concepts ('a learned behaviour will not occur unless it is energised'), we will suggest that persons work in order to cope with worlds in which they find themselves. Being in such worlds can be more or less deliberate, and we know that [seemingly] deliberate choices of world are often made. We also know, however, that these choices can be the result of contingency as well as deliberate planning. We also know that the concept of goals is insufficient to account for coping behaviours. For one thing, the goalposts are always moving. Humans are always emerging or becoming and to envisage a single endpoint towards which activity is directed is to allow the point to obscure the line. States have to at least be maintained, even if they cannot be improved. The alternative is death, or at least school closure.

Since, in this paper, we are interested in the effects of quasi-market or similar arrangements on schools, we turn to a detailed consideration of Le Grand's views (2003, ch.8). His conclusion is that quasi-markets succeed in improving school outcomes, whether providers are knights or knaves. The market provides mechanisms to even out the effects of knightly or knave-ish behaviour (p.117) and thus in effect provides the benefits of knightly altruism to all, regardless of circumstances. The market also begins to even out the balance between 'pawns' and 'queens' by providing choices. 'The parents are the active agents in charge of [school] budgets, making choices on behalf of their children' (ibid).

The underlying questions for us are, therefore, 1) what does this do to the motivation of the teachers involved, and following our suggestion above, 2) is motivation is a useful construct in this situation.

As an economist, Le Grand is concerned with the efficiency of resource allocation and makes the assumption that better outcomes in terms of attainment equate to more efficient resource allocation. Nor is it clear that this is 'real efficiency', since there is little evidence that improving educational attainment is 'efficient' in terms of GDP, economic growth rates or international competitiveness. The motivation of teachers, from our evidence and from that of other projects in this area (Day et al 2005), if it is outcome related at all, is about the progress

and well-being of pupils as individuals first, as classes second and as factors in economic success, zero. Le Grand does not take account of the chronic problems of teacher retention which are currently being experienced in some English LEAs. Nor does he address the question of externalised costs borne by parents and others as a result of the market, although he is obviously aware of the concept.

## **Knights of the road: motorcycle technicians in the world?**

Our research with motorcycle technicians in the EVABCOM project<sup>3</sup> was originally intended to devise evaluation tasks which would reveal deficiencies in the VET system used to train them. It quickly became apparent that formal VET was largely irrelevant to their activity within the firm, and that their reasons for being there were, not surprisingly, connected with their personal enthusiasm for motorcycles and everything to do with them. Their work was located at a key node in the referential totality of motorcycling, connecting customers with manufacturers via the workshop and other parts of the firm. Their knowledge of the work process was extensive, even to the extent of being sensitive to the different outsourcing strategies of manufacturers. Their loyalty to the firm was bolstered by the recognition given to them by customers and manufacturers, whilst the firm provided temporal and spatial continuity, and the authority of scale, for their opinions regarding different models of machine and problems experienced with them. Their over-riding loyalty, however, was to the motorcycle itself as expressive artefact.

From Le Grand's perspective, they could not be categorised either as knights, acting purely for the public good, nor as knaves, acting in their own self interest. It was clearly in the public interest, directly and indirectly, that motorcycle maintenance was carried out in a safe and reliable manner, to high technical standards. It was also in the self-interest of the firm to provide a service which customers valued, at reasonable cost, since repeat business was important in maintaining the firm's dominant position. There was no great element of sacrifice in this since all parties were doing pretty much what they wanted to do, albeit within the standard professional constraints of carrying out instructions and turning up on time. In one sense this supports Le Grand's advocacy of the market as a motivator for quality provision. In another sense, however, the motivation of the workers, as distinct from that of the firm, was to maintain a certain craft tradition which was seen as being a public good, albeit with a specific section of the public in mind. In this situation, knaves might be those who detested motorcycles and who wished, through performing unsafe acts of maintenance, or being unhelpful, to see motorcycling killed off. But knaves of this sort would not be tolerated by the knights who wished motorcycling to continue, and they would come to an (undoubtedly unpleasant) end as technicians. Even at the level of the firm, the knight/knave distinction was hard to sustain, since the pursuit of quality led both to the fulfilment of the partners' self-interest (large profits) and to the public good of satisfied customers.

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<sup>3</sup> A summary of the project is available at <<http://www.ioe.stir.ac.uk/research/projects>>

To be fair, Le Grand is aware of the problems of his binarisms, and devotes a whole chapter (2003:ch.2) to an informed and balanced discussion of the problems created by it. Our position is that it is an awkward metaphor which says little about motivation in the public sector, or elsewhere, and which perpetuates a false distinction between professional and vocational work.

## **References**

Le Grand, Julian (2003) *Motivation, Agency and Public Policy: Of Knights and Knaves, Pawns and Queens* Oxford, OUP.