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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Eleanor Jane Blair Hilty entitled "Moonlighting Teachers: A Thematic Analysis of Personal Meanings." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

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MOONLIGHTING TEACHERS:
A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL MEANINGS

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
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Eleanor Jane Blair Hilty
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ABSTRACT

The primary goal of this research project was to describe the experience of teachers who work two or more jobs--a phenomenon that was referred to as moonlighting for the purposes of this study. The high incidence of moonlighting activities by teachers is well-documented. Previous research suggests that teachers moonlight for economic reasons, but little else is known about the moonlighting experience.

An objective of this study was to construct a category system capable of describing the moonlighting experience. Unstructured interviews were conducted with twelve moonlighting teachers. Interview statements were analyzed according to phenomenological guidelines. As part of the data analysis, the interviews were reduced to key themes that were necessary for a description of the moonlighting experience. This process produced two category systems.

The first system consists of three categories that describe the experience of moonlighting by defining the relationship between two or more jobs and a person's identity. These categories are: continuous, complementary and contrasting. This category system describes the context for moonlighting activity.

In addition to the categories just described, a second system emerged. This category system describes the personal meaning of the moonlighting experience. These categories are: (1) autonomy and independence meanings, (2) self-esteem meanings, (3) social meanings, and (4) self-actualization meanings. These meanings reflect the perceived motivations and needs of moonlighting teachers.

The two category systems describe facets of the moonlighting experience that are both unique and universal. They reflect the personal meanings of moonlighting for the twelve teachers in this study; however, the researcher made the assumption that interviews with other moonlighting teachers would produce a similar description of the experience.

The results were discussed in terms of relevance to previous research on moonlighting teachers and to theories of symbolic interactionism and motivation. The implications of these findings for the teaching profession were also considered.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The high incidence of moonlighting activities by teachers is well-documented. The most recent National Education Association Report, Status of the American Teacher 1985-86, indicates that nearly half (49%) of all teachers reported sources of income beyond their basic teaching salaries. This figure is consistent with previous findings.

Previous research suggests that teachers moonlight for economic reasons, but little else is known about the experience of moonlighting. Despite increases in teaching salaries, teachers appear to be moonlighting in ever-increasing numbers (Henderson & Henderson, 1986). While every other variable affecting the profession is discussed by policymakers, moonlighting is virtually ignored.

The Need for the Study

In the interest of educational excellence, national attention has been focused on the public schools. Teachers are an important part of efforts to reform the schools. The ability of the public schools to attract and maintain a competent teaching force is integral to any attempt to achieve excellence in the schools. Yet, teachers have historically struggled with problems related to low status and little professional recognition. Many individuals unthinkingly accept George

Bernard Shaw's frequently repeated maxim, "He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches " (1903, p. 230). Perceptions such as this affect the experience of being a teacher.

A teacher shortage in the near future is predicted. Albert Shankar, President of the American Federation of Teachers, recently stated, "without enough teachers, all this reform, all this movement toward excellence in our schools, doesn't mean anything" (The Wall Street Journal, 1987, January 15, p. 1). The Metropolitan Life Survey of the American Teacher 1985 cited poor salaries and poor working conditions as the main reasons why teachers consider leaving teaching (Harris & Associates, Inc., 1985, p. 6). Rosenholtz, Bassler and Hoover-Dempsey (1986) reported that four out of ten teachers will leave the profession during their first seven years and that fewer teachers than ever before plan to stay until retirement (p. 9).

Discussions about the realities of the profession, however, rarely include references to the high incidence of teacher moonlighting. Wisniewski and Hilty (1987) suggest that expectations for excellence in education are not often accompanied by recommendations for providing "the moral and financial support needed to recruit and retain high quality teachers" (p. 2). The growth of a stronger teaching profession would be facilitated by recognition of the problems that afflict moonlighting and non-moonlighting teachers alike.

Previous literature on moonlighting is of limited utility. The study of moonlighting has typically been approached with the assumption that moonlighting has negative implications for the profession. Most of the studies have utilized questionnaires that assessed the incidence

of moonlighting among geographically diverse groups of teachers. These findings provided data that described the parameters of the phenomenon, but included little information about the experience of being a moonlighting teacher. Few studies have addressed the personal motivations or needs of moonlighting teachers beyond that of economic necessity.

The Purposes of the Study

The primary goal of this research project was to describe the experience of teachers who work two or more jobs--a phenomenon that will be referred to as moonlighting for the purposes of this study. This study contributes to the literature on moonlighting teachers by interviewing teachers who hold second jobs and describing their experience of that phenomenon. This investigation furnishes information about the perceived motivations and needs of teachers who moonlight.

An existential phenomenological methodology was selected as the most appropriate means for achieving the purposes of this study. The goal of this type of research is to produce an "exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon" (Colaizzi, 1973, p. 61). This goal was accomplished by interviewing teachers about their moonlighting experiences. The transcripts from those interviews were then reduced to key themes and categories that seemed to describe the moonlighting experience.

The Definition of Terms

Previous studies of teachers who have second jobs have used the terms "multiple jobholding," "supplemental employment" and "moonlighting" to describe the activities of teachers who had additional sources of income. Some of these studies have specifically examined sources of income earned outside the school system in the evening and during the summer. Other studies included any income earned beyond the basic teaching salary, i.e., inside or outside the school system. The difficulty of agreeing on what should be included in a definition of moonlighting has contributed to problems in comparing the results from various studies of moonlighting teachers.

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (1977) defined moonlighting as "the holding of a second job along with one's main job" (p. 391). Wisniewski and Kleine (1984) expressed the idea that teaching school is a full-time occupation. They proposed that "to leave anything out of the definition would ignore the importance of some kinds of monetary rewards for some individuals" (p. 553). For the purposes of this study, moonlighting will be defined as it was in Wisniewski and Kleine's study,

- 1) Any service to school districts beyond basic teaching duties (during the evenings, weekends, or summers);
- 2) Jobs on evenings or weekends outside of the school district;
- 3) Summer employment outside of the school district;
- 4) Self-owned or family business (p. 553).

For each individual, however, the term "moonlighting" will have a personal meaning. Just as the definition of moonlighting has various

meanings to researchers, it is certain to be defined in different ways among teachers. The intent of this researcher was to tap all of those experiences of teachers who work additional jobs. While this researcher may call these additional jobs moonlighting, it was an important aspect of this study to ascertain what teachers call their "other jobs." For the purposes of soliciting teachers to participate in this study, it was requested that they have a second source of income beyond their basic teaching responsibilities. Colaizzi (1978) stated "experience with the investigated topic and articulateness suffice as criteria for selecting subjects" (p. 58). Thus, any teacher who received income for work outside their basic teaching responsibilities was a potential subject for this study. The type of job and number of hours worked were variables of the experience that were of interest to this researcher.

The Theoretical and Conceptual Framework, Assumptions, and Limitations

The subject of this study was teachers who moonlight. The purpose of this study was to understand the meaning of moonlighting among teachers. A methodology was chosen that would facilitate the identification of key aspects of the moonlighting experience. This method of analysis was phenomenological. Data were collected in such a way that the "life-world" and experiences of human beings were recognized as the "essential and indispensable constituent" of the phenomenon under investigation (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 57). By necessity, the study was a descriptive one.

Many methods exist for collecting descriptive data. Giorgi (1975) utilized the interview as one example of the phenomenological method (cited in Kvale, 1983, p. 185). For the purposes of this study, interviews were conducted with teachers who moonlight. These interviews were analyzed according to the phenomenological guidelines described by Kvale (1983) and Colaizzi (1978). This process entailed the reduction of each interview to central themes and categories. The final product of this analysis was a category system capable of describing the structure of the moonlighting experience.

While it is not wise to limit the parameters of the study by proposing one theoretical or conceptual framework, it was possible to hypothesize that such a framework might be found in symbolic interactionism. Tammivaara and Enright (1986) described symbolic interactionism as focusing "the researcher's attention upon discovering the actor's assessment of his or her circumstances and combining this with knowledge of institutional forces and constraints" (p. 112).

One of the earliest symbolic interactionists was George Herbert Mead. He utilized this theory in his analysis of social interaction. According to Mead, "any given physical object, for example, can have an array of meanings imposed upon it depending upon the personal biography of the perceiver" (cited in Tammivaara and Enright, 1986, p. 112). Herbert Blumer, a student of Mead's, built upon his work. Blumer (1969) proposed that symbolic interactionism rested on three simple premises:

- (1) The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

- (2) The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.
- (3) The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (p. 2)

Blumer (1969) also suggested, "the meaning sets the way in which he sees the object, the way in which he is prepared to act toward it, and the way in which he is ready to talk about it" (p. 11). Utilizing Blumer's ideas and applying them directly to the problem under investigation, it appeared likely that the essence of the moonlighting experience rested upon the personal meaning of that activity to an individual. According to this perspective, moonlighting may have very different meanings for different individuals.

Additionally, Blumer (1969) stated, "the meaning of objects for a person arises fundamentally out of the way they are defined to him by others with whom he interacts" (p. 11). If moonlighting is indeed embedded in the culture of schoolteaching as suggested by Wisniewski and Hilty (1987), then it is possible that teachers define for one another their role as a moonlighter (p. 1). Blumer suggested that "people may be living side by side yet be living in different worlds" (p. 11). Teaching may be a very different profession for those who moonlight.

Any conceptual treatment of the moonlighting phenomenon must also consider the meaning of work for teachers. Work is an important source of identity and self-esteem. The low status of the teaching profession has an impact upon a teacher's identity and level of self-esteem. The findings from The Metropolitan Life Survey of the American Teacher 1985

suggested that "policymakers should recognize that the very real satisfactions of teaching are undermined by dissatisfaction with low salaries, lack of prestige, lack of independence, and inadequate equipment and working conditions" (Harris & Associates, Inc., 1985, p. 7). Teachers are motivated to moonlight for many reasons: economic, professional and personal. It is possible that teachers look for additional jobs in order to make them feel better about the work they do.

Theories of motivation, such as Maslow's (1970), suggest that needs direct the behavior of individuals. Other theorists, such as Herzberg (1959), have suggested that the meaning of work is closely related to attitudes associated with the satisfactions and dissatisfactions resulting from the content and context of work. Maslow's and Herzberg's theories have implications for teachers and their work environments. Neither theory provides a model for discussing moonlighting; however, each theory contributes to an understanding of the phenomenon.

Implications

Moonlighting is significant to any discussion of teaching as a profession. Obviously the explanations for the persistence of moonlighting among teachers are complex. Research of this nature makes clearer the significance of moonlighting to teachers, and its implications for the profession. The most important issue, regardless of why teachers moonlight, is the meaning that moonlighting has for these teachers. The speculation of researchers about teacher

moonlighting is extensive; however, the most significant contribution must come from the teachers themselves. Only they can articulate the significance of the moonlighting.

Moonlighting has implications for reform in education. This topic has long been ignored by those making decisions about the future of public education. In the present forum of debate and discussion about educational issues, a consideration of teacher moonlighting seems timely and appropriate. It is possible that a better understanding of teacher moonlighting may lead to important changes within the profession.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Moonlighting among teachers has been a subject of interest to researchers for at least forty years. The breadth and scope of these studies, however, were narrow. The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with previous studies of moonlighting teachers. This review is organized according to the following five major categories:

- (1) Historical background on the status of teachers,
- (2) Economics and professionalism: The negative implications of moonlighting,
- (3) Teaching as a deprived profession: The positive implications of moonlighting,
- (4) The National Education Association Research, and
- (5) Summary and conclusions: Implications of past research for the present study.

Previous research on moonlighting was usually guided by the contemporary concerns of the period in which it was done. This review, therefore, is to some degree historical and chronological. It illustrates the diversity of earlier studies of moonlighting teachers, as well as the context in which they were completed.

Historical Background

Throughout history the status of teachers, with few exceptions, was low. The evidence suggests that the problems facing teachers who

moonlight today are problems that have always characterized the profession. Historians of education cite multiple references to the status of teachers in earlier times. Brubacher (1947) in A History of the Problems of Education referred to the status of teachers in Rome:

As the status of teachers deteriorated rather than improved in the ancient world, their lot came to be a veritable byword for misery. Thus, the Greco-Roman author Lucian made the claim that whom the gods hate they make schoolmasters. On another occasion, he thought no punishment in the afterworld more fitted the sins committed in this one than being compelled by poverty to teach the elements of reading and writing. (p. 495)

Brubacher suggested that while Washington Irving's Ichabod Crane was probably a stereotype,

Few people looked on teaching the rudiments as a full-time job. Such teaching either was combined with church duties like those of the sexton, organist, or gravedigger or was a side occupation of some good dame while engaged in the sedentary duties of her household. Consequently, elementary teaching was only a little more respectable than manual labor. To the ambitious it was a stepping stone rather than a capstone in a career. (p. 506)

Tyack (1967) described the disparities in the status of teachers during the colonial period (p. 413). Typically, however, "teaching was a casual and part-time occupation which sometimes attracted the transported convict, the drunkard, and the 'low bred clown' about whom Noah Webster complained so bitterly" (Tyack, p. 413). Tyack suggested that the salaries of teachers "were below the wages paid to artisans in most communities, and often below even the earnings of scrubwomen and day laborers" (p. 414).

Margaret Haley, in a 1904 speech to the National Education Association, quoted Professor George F. James, dean of pedagogy at the State University of Minnesota:

One hundred thousand teachers will this year quit an occupation which does not yield them a living wage. Scores and hundreds of schools are this day closed in the most prosperous sections of this country because the bare pittance offered will not attract teachers of any kind. (cited in Hoffman, 1981, p. 292)

The plight of teachers did not improve with time. Ravitch (1983) quoted Benjamin Fine, the education editor of the New York Times, who wrote in 1947, "America's public school system is confronted with the most serious crisis in its history" (p. 6). Fine reported:

That three hundred and fifty thousand teachers had left the public schools since 1940 for war service or better jobs; that one of every seven teachers held an emergency ("substandard") certificate; that seventy thousand teaching jobs were unfilled; that six thousand schools would close because of the teacher shortage; that sixty thousand of the nation's teachers had only a high school education or less; that the average teacher's salary was \$37 per week, which was lower than the pay of the average truck driver, garbage collector, or bartender; that 20 percent of all teachers - one hundred and seventy-five thousand - were new to the job each year, a turnover double the prewar rate; that fewer students were entering teaching, and that men were deserting the teaching profession; that twelve major teachers' strikes had taken place in the six months following September, 1946; that teacher morale was at a new low. (Ravitch, p. 7)

These descriptions portray teaching as a troubled profession. Contemporary problems in education are frequently a result of the low status of teachers in this society. These problems may deter many individuals from entering the profession. For those who do become teachers, however, moonlighting is frequently seen as an attractive activity. The reasons for this phenomenon are not clear. The following review of the literature presents some of the studies that have examined moonlighting over the last forty years.

Economics and Professionalism:

The Negative Implications of Moonlighting

Benjamin Fine's critique of education in 1947 provided a context for some of the earliest studies of moonlighting. The majority of these studies emphasized the negative implications of moonlighting for the professional status of teachers. The full-time nature of teaching was questioned, and low salaries were blamed for the retreat of males from the profession. Anderson's 1948 dissertation, "A Study of the Professional Personnel of Wisconsin Secondary Schools with special Reference to Extra-Contractual Income," is an example of one of the earliest documented studies of moonlighting teachers. Anderson sent questionnaires to 7,583 teachers and principals in 512 high schools during the 1947-48 school year. His major finding from this study was "nearly 60% of the secondary school teacher personnel had supplementary sources of income in addition to their regular contractual salary" (p. 230). He reported three-fourths of the men had extra-contractual income as compared to 41.4% of the women. Almost half of these jobs were in work related to teaching.

While both negative and positive aspects of extra employment were delineated by Anderson's (1948) subjects, almost three-fourths of the teachers who worked other jobs expressed doubt "that their part-time employment had lowered their prestige as a teacher" (p. 233). For most of these individuals, perceived economic necessity was the primary reason for seeking additional work. Anderson concluded that many of the problems teaching has faced in attaining professional status is

attributable to the social and economic restrictions that have typically characterized the profession (p. 149).

In 1951, Unruh published the results of his survey of male teachers in Missouri. He found that among 336 teachers, 92% had supplementary income. His findings revealed that more than one half of the respondents (52%) "felt their work detracted from their effectiveness in teaching" (p. 139). However, 36% felt the extra job "would not decrease their efficiency in teaching" (p. 139). Eighty-two percent of the men indicated that they would not moonlight "if their salaries were adequate to support them" (p. 139). Unruh expressed concern about the full-time nature of teaching. He asked, "are children worth the full time of professionally trained teachers?....The education system which is equal to the challenge of these times will occupy the full time of professional people" (p. 139).

Yeager (1956) reported that beginning in 1940 there was an increase in male teachers who had moonlighting jobs. Yeager was concerned about the economic problems of teachers and moonlighters. He indicated moonlighting was "a problem of increasing significance" (p. 61). Two articles by Yeager in Nation's Schools (1956) expressed concern about the professional status and economic condition of teachers; "In no sense can teaching maintain its rank among the great professions unless it is sufficiently respected for the remuneration to be comparable to that of lawyers and physicians" (p. 61). Although teacher's salaries had increased, he suggested that their economic position with respect to salaries had not risen significantly since 1940. Consequently,

Yeager speculated that many teachers were leaving the profession and others were not considering becoming teachers because of low salaries.

Yeager (1956) summarized the results of numerous state and local studies (Denbow, 1953; Kring, 1955). Based on these studies, he reported that most male (50 to 75 percent) and an increasing number of female teachers (one out of four) supplemented their teaching salaries by working additional jobs. The type of second job worked and the compensation received varied widely. While most of these teachers gave economic necessity as the main reason for seeking supplemental employment, many of the females reported that the extra job became "an emotional outlet" or a "means of releasing energies not entirely utilized during the school day" (p. 62).

Yeager (1956) argued, as had Unruh (1951), that an occupation characterized by such a high degree of outside employment could not really be called a full-time profession. He proposed that teaching was gaining higher professional status and the high rate of outside employment among teachers suggested a desire to enjoy a more professional standard of living. In a similar vein, Hirsch (1962) indicated that "if current efforts to make the profession more status-conscious are successful, and pay scales are not increased accordingly, 'moonlighting' may be accelerated rather than diminished" (p. 67).

Other studies of moonlighting teachers were conducted in the 1950's. These studies revealed an increase in the moonlighting activities of teachers. Low salaries were targeted as the primary impetus for teacher moonlighting. Researchers, almost without

exception, proposed that if teachers' salaries were raised to a level appropriate to a full-time profession, teacher moonlighting would not be necessary. This premise was the foundation of most moonlighting research during this period. The tenets of these arguments were not questioned. When the findings from these studies suggested that the meaning of moonlighting was more complex, they were generally ignored.

The United States Bureau of the Census has conducted research on moonlighting for the Bureau of Labor Statistics since 1950. This series of national surveys showed the number of individuals holding two or more jobs had increased since World War II (Wolfbein, 1959, p. 769). In 1960, Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed that among teachers 8.9% moonlight, 23.5% male, 2.5% female; a higher figure than for any other occupational category (Hirsch, 1962, p. 67). In May, 1966, moonlighting rates were highest among male teachers, 1 out of 5 held second jobs (Hamel, 1967, p. 21). Hamel suggested that "the most likely explanation is their comparatively low earnings" (p. 22). Few, if any, researchers during this period would have argued with his point of view. As one author stated, "money may not be the root of evil, but lack of it is the root of this one" (Turner, 1969, p. 30).

In 1963, a series of articles in the Journal of the National Education Association were titled "Angry Young Men in Teaching." These articles proposed that young males were angry about the low salaries and low status they received as teachers. In one such article, Lambert (1963) suggested, as Yeager had in 1956, that moonlighting jobs were an essential part of the lives of teachers and a major reason that they

left the profession. This article elicited a very large response from readers of the Journal, which led the writer to conclude:

Many teachers - women as well as men - have been able to afford being teachers only by taking jobs outside the classroom, jobs which they say all too often rob them of every vestige of leisure and deprive them of time for professional study and activity. ("Moonlighting?--Me, Too," 1963, p. 48)

Burch's 1966 dissertation, "An Investigation of the Status of the Male Secondary School Teacher in Jefferson County, Kentucky, in Relation to Additional Jobs," also expressed concern about the full-time nature of teaching and the negative implications of moonlighting by teachers. Utilizing a questionnaire-opinionnaire, Burch collected data from 263 male secondary teachers who were multiple jobholders in two Kentucky school systems. Most of these individuals had additional incomes equal to one-fifth of their contractual salaries.

In Burch's (1966) study, the primary reason given for holding these jobs was economic. The teachers in this study perceived the second jobs as harmful. Most indicated they would remain in teaching, but would not recommend it as a potential career choice to young people because of low salaries. Burch maintained that moonlighting had increasingly become the means for teachers to maintain "adequate and desirable economic positions." He argued that teaching was a full-time profession and additional job holding among teachers had "undesirable implications."

Despite evidence that moonlighting was pervasive among those in the profession, and general agreement among researchers that it had a negative impact on the profession, little was done on a national level

to improve the economic plight of teachers. Lambert (1963) suggested that in an era of increasing affluence, teachers had become tired of the sacrifices they were forced to make for the profession in order to make ends meet (p. 20). In a decade characterized by teacher shortages, Yeager (1956) indicated teaching was a part-time profession that suffered "from public apathy and complacency where economic advancement is proposed" (pp. 67-68).

Bogan and Swanstrom (1966) provided statistics that indicated only one-third of moonlighting teachers worked as professionals in their second jobs. Hirsch (1962) cited evidence that teachers were concerned that outside employment would "tarnish their professional image" (p. 68). Hirsch concluded, however, "money comes ahead of image in the minds of most people" (p. 68). He asked a basic question: "Is teaching a full-time job?" His response to this question was revealing:

If the answer is affirmative then boards obviously should not permit their teachers to pump gas after school. The teachers should be compensated as the professionals they are thought to be.

If the answer is negative, meaning that a teacher's responsibility to education ends when he leaves the schoolyard - and that he can do an adequate job of teaching on a part-time basis - then the teacher's personal life is his own. Even if he has another employer, no meddling by the board is warranted. (p. 68)

Efforts by some communities to restrict the moonlighting activities of teachers and discussions of ethics were not uncommon (Hirsch, 1962; Turner, 1969; Kern, 1970; Flygare, 1980). Hirsch suggested that these attempts might be futile without an increase in teacher salaries:

The board that tries to prevent moonlighting by decree, and the one that seeks the same result by appealing to each faculty member's conscience, probably will be equally unsuccessful. The only effective antidote, apparently, is a fatter pay envelope. (p. 68)

In 1967, Hamel reported Bureau of Labor statistics; "3.6 million workers, just under 5 percent of all employed persons, held two jobs or more in May 1966" (p. 17). He indicated that "teachers, policemen, postal workers, and farmers are most likely to moonlight" (p. 17). The findings in this study supported the basic premise of earlier moonlighting studies; the primary reason for moonlighting was economic, and the second job frequently allowed one to attain a higher standard of living (p. 17).

No explanation, other than low pay, was offered by researchers for the consistently high moonlighting rates among teachers. Some suggested that summer vacations provided the flexibility that combined with low salaries, produced a high rate of moonlighting. Turner (1962) argued that summer moonlighting among teachers was, nevertheless, unacceptable. He cited a report on the Conditions of Work for Quality Teaching produced by the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association (1965):

The extended summer vacation period has been a major factor in enabling teachers to complete their professional preparation, and whatever interferes with that interferes with advancement of the profession - as a summer job must in many instances. 'Too often,' said the report, 'opportunities for study are passed over because of the need for secondary employment.' (p. 30)

Similarly, Lambert's 1965 report, "Moonlighting in Kanawha County," reported that, among male teachers, supplemental employment during the summers was perceived as harmful to professional

development. Ninety-one percent said they would attend summer school if they did not have to work a summer job (p. 21). Despite later studies that suggested moonlighters did receive more advanced study and preparation than non-moonlighters, this perspective was popular.

Two studies of moonlighting conducted in the 1960's were Tucker's 1965 dissertation, "A Study of the Salary-Supplementing Activities of Utah Public School Teachers" and Anderson's 1966 dissertation, "Supplemental Income Survey Oklahoma Classroom Teachers and Counselors K-12." Both researchers took the position that low teaching salaries had an effect upon moonlighting activity.

Tucker's (1965) survey indicated that 90.7% of male teachers and 32.1% of female teachers supplemented their salaries through moonlighting, for an overall average of 56.5%. Over one-fourth of the second jobs were manual or unskilled labor. He reported the following:

- (1) Teachers with more teaching experience tend to moonlight more (p. 119), and
- (2) Nearly one-half of his respondents state that salary supplementing jobs have little effect on their teaching efficiency. (p. 116)

The first finding was particularly intriguing since those teachers with more experience tend to be those teachers who are higher on the pay scale, and thus, make higher salaries. If economic necessity was indeed the prime motivation for moonlighting, the beginning teacher should be the more frequent moonlighter.

The second finding was somewhat unreliable due to the nature of self-reported data. It does, however, seem that teachers might express some reservations about the impact of moonlighting on teacher

efficiency; they expressed none. Nearly all of Tucker's (1965) recommendations concerned the manner in which status and compensation for teachers might be raised. His conclusions reflected his belief that higher teacher salaries would eradicate the salary supplementing activities that acted, in his opinion, as a deterrent "to the acceptance of teaching as a full-fledged profession" (pp. 119-120).

Anderson (1966) gathered information from 13,198 teachers and counselors in Oklahoma. In this study, 69% of the male teachers reported supplemental income during the school year or during the summer compared with 19% of the female teachers. Anderson found that "the average school salary for those who moonlight is higher than for those who do not moonlight" (p. 59). He proposed, "if salaries of classroom teachers have shown a significant increase without a resulting decrease in the number of moonlighters, then one might speculate as to other causative factors in moonlighting" (p. 61). Anderson did not elaborate on the nature of these "other causative factors." The findings from both Tucker and Anderson suggest that simple explanations for moonlighting activity have revealed very little about the motivations of those who moonlight.

Smith and Cooper conducted a 1967 study of moonlighting among Georgia teachers, "A Study of Moonlighting by Public School Teachers." They expressed concern about the negative implications of moonlighting for the profession and on public school programs. In their study, questionnaires were distributed to 1,767 teachers in 133 systems in the state. They defined moonlighting as any income earned beyond the basic teaching salary.

Among the teachers in Smith and Cooper's (1967) study, 25.3% reported supplemental income--26.4% of the male respondents and 5.2% of the females. "Continued increase in the cost of living (make ends meet)" was the most frequent reason for moonlighting (p. 56). Smith and Cooper also found a significant relationship between years of college education and moonlighting; those with fewest years had lower rates of moonlighting. Lack of ambition was considered a possible factor in this relationship, however, they speculated that this finding might indicate "some variable other than salary as a reason for holding second jobs since these teachers with lower professional preparation would earn less" (p. 54). They did not elaborate on the origin or identity of these other "variables."

In summarizing the professional characteristics of moonlighters, Smith and Cooper (1967) found that "they are more likely to be teachers of social studies, mathematics, physical education, and science with the least experience, more than four years of college training, and relatively low salaries with high supplements" (p. 54). These factors provided evidence "that young males with a need for extra income coupled perhaps with ambition are most likely to hold second jobs" (p. 54).

Smith and Cooper (1967) also reported that the "majority of the moonlighters of both sexes reported that there was no effect from moonlighting on family relationships (64 percent), on work as a teacher (76 percent), or on self (76 percent)" (p. 57). Of the remaining respondents, "there was a significant difference concerning the effect of moonlighting on work as a teacher with more males than expected

reporting the effect as adverse and more females than expected by chance reporting a favorable effect on work as a teacher" (p. 57). They did not discuss in-depth the nature of gender differences among moonlighters. Smith and Cooper expressed concern about the negative implications of moonlighting for the entire educational system:

Not only must consideration be given to the effect of moonlighting on the public school program by some who are engaged in teaching at the same time they are holding another job but the implications are much more far-reaching than this immediate concern. School administrators and the public must also consider the detriment to the school program because some do not choose a profession which is so poorly paid that a second job is necessary to meet the continued increased in the cost of living. The whole educational system may suffer by default. (p. 57)

Gumm's 1968 dissertation, "Salary Supplementing Activities of Male Public School Teachers in Tennessee," was based on the premise that moonlighting among teachers has negative implications for teacher effectiveness and professional growth (p. 3). He suggested that the major reason for teacher moonlighting was financial, and subsequently, the recruitment and retention of quality teachers was in danger (p. 5). Questionnaires were sent to 900 randomly selected male public school teachers during the 1966-67 school year and the summer of 1967. His study reports findings from 667 of these teachers.

Gumm's (1968) findings revealed that among the respondents, 76.91% (513) indicated that it was necessary for them to have additional income; 56.67% (378) received income from a source other than the school system, 64.32% (429) were employed during the summer, and 35.23% (235) received a supplement for duties performed for the school system during the school year (p. iv). In this study, those individuals who

moonlighted were generally older (between 30 and 49 years of age), married, and had at least three dependents.

According to Gumm (1968), most moonlighters worked in sales and the largest number reported earnings of less than \$1000. However, Gumm found that, "it was apparent from the study that financial necessity forced teachers to accept supplementary employment of almost any type" (p. 6). Among Gumm's respondents, 70% (467) indicated a willingness to give up their extra jobs if there was a sufficient increase in their teaching salaries. In conclusion Gumm (1968) stated,

If maximum benefit is to be received from this personal investment of both years and money and from Tennessee's investment in well trained professional teachers, then it appears that means must be found to enable teachers to devote the total of their productive working hours to their regular teaching. Fragmentation of effort cannot lead to the quality of performance expected of a professionally trained teacher. Education in today's world is exceedingly complex and demanding. A professional teacher should not feel compelled to worry continuously or have to become unduly concerned about his financial status. Rather, he should feel free to devote his evening hours to reading, planning and preparation of materials, professional improvement, and relaxation. (pp. 6-7)

Gumm proposed that the choice for most male teachers was to moonlight or seek "greener pastures" in private industry jobs (p. 7).

Campbell's 1970 report, "A Study of Moonlighting Activities of Male Jefferson County Teachers" was based on the premise that moonlighting had a negative effect on a teacher's classroom performance and professional status. Campbell stated, "the status of the teacher who finds it necessary to work continues at its present level, which is less desirable than what the teaching profession aspires it to be" (p. 2).

Campbell (1970) investigated the rate of moonlighting among Jefferson County, Colorado male teachers. Utilizing a questionnaire, he found that among 666 teachers, 95% had supplemental income. Fifty-nine percent of the moonlighters had second jobs during the school year and 46% had second jobs all year. His major conclusions were the following:

- (1) The age of a teacher bore no relationship to whether he moonlighted during the school year, worked in the summer, or had a working wife.
- (2) The income from teaching bore no relationship to whether the teacher moonlighted during the school year, worked in the summer, or had a working wife.
- (3) As the number of dependents increased, the teacher was more likely to (a) moonlight during the school year, (b) engage in summer work, and (c) have a working wife.
- (4) A teacher who moonlighted during the school year was also likely to work in the summer; in fact, almost 50 percent worked at a second job for the entire calendar year.
- (5) The great majority of teachers' jobs outside of school did not relate to and improve their teaching.
- (6) Most teachers found it necessary to supplement their income in order to maintain what they considered to be an adequate living standard; in fact, 95 percent of the teachers had some type of income other than their teaching salary.
- (7) Most teachers would have discontinued moonlighting and summer work if they received a significant increase in their teaching salary.
- (8) Of those teachers who worked during the summer, most would have attended a college or university if they had not worked.
(p. 5)

Among the teachers he studied, Campbell (1970) found that moonlighting teachers missed opportunities to attend school and, thus, increase their salaries. This situation created a cycle whereby a need

for continued moonlighting was perpetuated (p. 4). This conclusion, however, was seemingly refuted by his finding that income has no relationship to whether a teacher moonlighted during the school year (finding #2). Campbell did not comment on this contradiction.

Also in 1970, Howe and Aslin reported information on the moonlighting activities of Missouri Public high school teachers. Howe and Aslin defined moonlighting as "working before and/or after school and weekends" (p 74). The findings revealed that over one-fourth of the high school teachers in their study had additional employment during the 1967-68 school year -- 40% male and 12% female. Their data showed that multiple jobholders were more likely to be married and have children. Most moonlighters were also older, had advanced degrees, more teaching experience, and higher earnings.

Howe and Aslin's (1970) findings brought into question previous explanations for moonlighting. It seemed doubtful that the moonlighting behavior of these teachers was attributable solely to economic need. In conclusion, Howe and Aslin admitted the limitations of the methodology utilized by the study, "whether financial need or personal ambition was the reason for teachers holding second jobs was beyond the scope of the study" (p. 74).

By the end of the 1960's the prevalence of moonlighting among teachers was well-documented. Guthrie (1969) remarked, "moonlighting has become so commonplace among teachers that it is no longer remarkable either to teachers themselves or to the general public (p. 28). As Dan Lortie (1975) wrote, "what we have here is familiar to

sociologists - social patterns which prevail over a long period of time encourage vested interests and resistance to change" (p. 17). Many teachers -- moonlighters and non-moonlighters alike -- accepted moonlighting as commonplace and at the least a necessary, if undesirable, economic necessity.

Moonlighting teachers were still prevalent in the 1970's, but Lambert's (1963) "angry young men" were not evident. Teachers, perhaps, were no longer angry about low salaries and moonlighting because they no longer recognized as strange that which had become so familiar. Teachers had moonlighted for generations and would probably continue to do so well into the future.

The lack of attention paid to moonlighting in the education literature of the 1970's was particularly noticeable after the proliferation of research in the 1950's and 1960's. Divoky (1978) remarked on this absence in her article, "Moonlighting: Occupational Hazard or Benefit":

Although moonlighting had been a fact of life for teachers for a long time, it goes curiously unrecognized within education's own house. Literature about the profession includes studies concerning almost every variable that could possibly affect teacher performance - the color of classroom walls, the esprit in the teachers lounge, the amount of eye contact with students, the attractiveness of a textbook - but nothing about the psychological and physical fatigue that may come with juggling two or more jobs, the difficulty of being fresh and alert each morning in the classroom after working late the night before. (p. 40)

Bureau of Labor Statistics in May 1978 indicated that "an estimated 1 of every 20 employed workers held two jobs or more" (Rosenfeld, 1979, p. 59). Rosenfeld suggested that the rate of moonlighting was now higher than in the mid-1960's and early 1970's,

yet because the number of employed persons rose faster than the number of multiple jobholders, the multiple jobholding rate (the proportion of the employed who held second jobs) fell somewhat over the past decade" (p. 59).

Beginning with Unruh's (1951) dissertation, interest was frequently directed toward the plight of the male moonlighting teacher. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's articles referred to the phenomenon of male teachers who moonlighted. Most studies based this exclusive concern with the male teacher on Bureau of Labor Statistics which consistently showed moonlighting rates to be highest among men who were teachers (Hamel, 1967, pp. 21-22). This emphasis was also based on the implicit assumption that most males are the major breadwinners for their families. Noticeably absent from the literature is any consideration of the fact that most female teachers work second jobs by virtue of the tasks they perform in their homes each day. In effect, female teachers who moonlight may actually work the equivalent of three jobs.

Guthrie (1969) suggested that male teachers with non-working wives had to moonlight in order to support their families (p. 30). Thus, teaching was regarded as a "part-time profession" in which males were required to moonlight in order to supplement their meager family incomes. Unruh proposed that with regard to salaries and the cost of living per teacher, "there may be separate needs for men teachers and women teachers" (p. 141). He recommended studies which might justify "a new budget and a new salary schedule" (p. 141).

More recent data showed an increase in female moonlighters between 1970 and 1978; from 16% to 29% (Rosenfeld, 1979, p. 59). According to these data, there was an increase in multiple jobholding among married and single women. The number of moonlighting men, however, had declined. Despite this decline, multiple jobholding was highest for married men; it was lowest (2.9 percent) for married women (p. 60). Rosenfeld attributed the decline in moonlighting among married males to a decrease in family size. Nevertheless, "for men, the highest proportion with second jobs (20 percent) was among teachers below the college level" (p. 61).

Sekscenski (1980) took notice of the rise in female moonlighters. He wrote:

The most striking change in the moonlighting work force during the decade is the proportion of women in its ranks. About 3 out of every 10 multiple jobholders in May 1979 were women, nearly double the proportion of 10 years earlier. (p. 36)

He stated that "particularly large increases in moonlighting occurred among women teaching in primary and secondary schools, and persons working in health professions" (p. 36). His data indicated that moonlighting rates for men were still more than twice that of women in similar jobs (p. 36).

Earlier studies focused exclusively on males because of the historically high rates among married males who were trying to support families. However, recent figures provided by Sekscenski showed that "in the 1969-79 period, rates for married men declined and those for married women increased by about one percentage point each" (p. 38). In a 1980 survey of Texas public school teachers, Maddux, Henderson and

Darby found that 31.8% of the female respondents were the "major breadwinners in their households" (p. 7).

In 1982, Taylor and Sekscenski found that while men are far more likely than women to moonlight, the "total hours by dual jobholding women have been rising for several years" (p. 50). They found "about 2 of every 5 persons working two jobs reported they did so to meet regular expenses or pay off debts" (p. 51). Information on the relationships between age and moonlighting behavior was revealed by Taylor and Sekscenski:

For men, economic incentives to work a second job increase with age through the 25- to 34-year-old group, then decrease. For women, there is no similar pattern. More than two-fifths of women multiple jobholders reported that they worked two jobs to meet regular expenses or pay off debts. In general, more older than younger workers, both men and women, reported that enjoyment of their second job was the reason for dual jobholding. (p. 52)

Taylor and Sekscenski (1982) cited evidence from Ferman, Berndt and Selo (1978) that people who moonlight in the hidden economy were "concerned primarily with meeting actual or perceived needs" (pp. 3-13). For them, the evidence suggested that while perceived economic need must be considered a motivation for moonlighting, other perceived or unperceived needs may also be significant.

Among current research on moonlighting teachers, the most thought-provoking work has been the ongoing study of Texas teachers by Henderson and others (Maddux, Henderson, & Darby, 1980; Henderson, Darby & Maddux, 1982; Henderson, Maddux & Henderson, 1984; Henderson & Henderson, 1986). Since 1980, their "teacher moonlighting" questionnaire has provided a data base on Texas teachers. The study was initially motivated by the belief that there were morale problems

among public school teachers and many of these teachers were forced to moonlight for economic reasons (Henderson & Henderson, 1986). While these researchers have collected data on summer jobs as well as extra jobs during the school year, only the latter were considered moonlighting. The longitudinal nature of the data collected make this project particularly interesting. Table 1 presents their findings from 1980 to 1986.

The latest findings by Henderson and Henderson (1986) suggested that while fewer teachers are moonlighting (22.6% compared to 26.2% in 1984), only 50.1% felt that it was detrimental to the quality of their teaching - a drop of 20% from 1984. In 1984, 81.6% of the moonlighters indicated they would quit their second jobs if their teaching salary was increased; however, in 1986 only 60.9% indicated they would do so.

Henderson and his associates have repeatedly stated that a "crisis in education" exists. Their most recent findings, however, suggested that low salaries and moonlighting activity were not the reasons for this crisis. Salaries in Texas are up 21% since 1984; however, the survey revealed that "the most common reason for leaving is now working conditions rather than salary as found in the three previous studies" (p. 5).

Table 1

SURVEY OF TEXAS PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS 1980-1986:
TEACHERS AND MOONLIGHTING

Characteristics	1980	1982	1984	1986
Avg. Salary	\$14,113	\$17,351	\$20,259	\$24,601
Avg. Age	38.6	39.2	41.2	41.3
Sex: Male	19.9%	19.7%	14.8%	17.5%
Female	80.1%	80.3%	85.2%	82.5%
Married	76.6%	74.9%	75.3%	77.4%
Spouse Works	70.1%	69.6%	66.3%	71.8%
Degree: BA	63.9%	62.5%	55.4%	50.3%
MEd	35.7%	37.2%	44.0%	48.7%
PhD	0.3%	0.3%	0.6%	1.0%
Major Breadwinner	39.9%	39.8%	39.5%	38.5%
Districts: Urban	40.5%	43.3%	42.8%	46.2%
Suburban	32.6%	36.7%	38.9%	36.5%
Rural	26.8%	20.1%	18.4%	17.3%
Grade Taught: K-5	50.9%	49.8%	45.8%	51.5%
6-8	19.9%	19.7%	24.4%	22.9%
9-12	29.2%	30.4%	29.8%	25.6%
Years Experience	11.8	12.1	13.7	14.3
Consider Leaving	38.4%	37.3%	39.8%	41.7%
Extra Job in Summer	30.2%	36.4%	33.7%	31.2%
Summer Earnings	\$1252	\$2076	\$2205	\$1891
Moonlight	22.0%	28.8%	26.2%	22.6%
Hours Weekly	13.6	11.9	14.4	12.8
Earnings	\$2799	\$3189	\$3615	\$3522
Detrimental	64.1%	68.5%	70.1%	50.1%
Quit Moonlighting	75.0%	75.0%	81.6%	60.9%

Note. From Moonlighting, Salary, and Morale: The Texas Teachers' Story by David L. Henderson and Karen L. Henderson, 1986, Unpublished Manuscript, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas. Reprinted by permission.

In 1986, Wisniewski and Hilty reported on a survey of Tennessee teachers. This survey was designed to determine the extent of moonlighting within the state. Among the returned and usable questionnaires, 1,072 provided the data base for the study. In this study moonlighting was defined as any income earned beyond the basic teaching salary. The major findings of this study were the following:

- (1) Fifty-nine percent of the 1,072 respondents moonlighted; 28.6% provided supplementary services to the school district, 33.2% worked on evenings or weekends, 35.1% held summer jobs, and 22.6% ran self-owned or family businesses. Again, the 59% figure counts each moonlighter only once, regardless of how many jobs they may have in addition to their primary job as a teacher.
- (2) Of the 1,072 respondents, approximately eight out of ten males (84.1%) moonlighted and one out of two women (51.9%) moonlighted.
- (3) Of the 636 moonlighters, 66.8% were female and 33.2% were male.
- (4) Of the 636 moonlighters, 58.1% taught at the secondary level and 38.8% at the elementary level.
- (5) "Maintenance of current standard of living" was the most frequently selected reason for holding a second job (46.5%).
- (6) Moonlighting was perceived to have a negative impact on the personal, social, and professional lives of moonlighters; some respondents found aspects of moonlighting attractive and rewarding.
- (7) Approximately four out of ten teachers (38.9%) indicated that it is unlikely they will stay in the profession ten years or more.
- (8) Many of the respondents (40.6%) indicated that they view supplemental jobs as necessary for providing a livable income, and its impact on the teacher's primary role was not the issue. (pp. 21-22)

Among the respondents in Wisniewski and Hilty's (1987) study, it was still more likely that male teachers would moonlight; yet, their

statistics indicated a growing trend among female teachers to moonlight. They offered four generalizations based on this study:

- (1) Moonlighting is widespread among teachers;
- (2) The amount of money earned through moonlighting activities is not great but it provides the marginally higher levels of income needed by many teachers to make ends meet;
- (3) Many moonlighting jobs are not directly related to the primary role of teachers or in keeping with their professional abilities;
- (4) Teachers express a range of opinions regarding the necessity of moonlighting and its impact on their careers. (p. 22)

Wisniewski and Hilty (1987) expressed concern that moonlighting was a firmly established tradition in the teaching profession. In Deiter's 1966 study of multiple jobholding rates for Akron, Ohio rubber workers, he expressed a similar concern. While other factors were important, Deiter concluded that "the high incidence of moonlighting in Akron for many years may reflect an established custom of these workers" (cited in Hamel, 1967, p. 19).

While recognizing that low salaries may not be the only reason for teacher moonlighting, Wisniewski and Hilty (1987) suggested that "moonlighting threatens the professional status of all teachers" and is an argument for increasing teacher salaries (pp. 30-31). Additional discussion and study of teacher moonlighting was recommended by these researchers.

Several decades of research on moonlighting are described here. Although conflicting evidence appeared in many of these studies, the perspective of these researchers remained the same: moonlighting was bad for the teaching profession. Concern with the negative

implications of moonlighting was legitimate, but the narrow focus of these studies failed to provide a complete understanding of the many dimensions of the phenomenon. Beginning in the 1950's, a few researchers began to examine other aspects of teacher moonlighting. The possibility of moonlighting having positive implications for the profession was discussed. The following section considers this research.

Teaching as a Deprived Profession:

The Positive Implications of Moonlighting

Guthrie (1965) made two observations about the high levels of teacher moonlighting:

- (1) The very high rates of multiple job holding among teachers, especially male teachers, suggest that the deprivation is general rather than specific and personal. Perhaps the teaching profession is a deprived profession in which teachers realize that they must establish a second source of income in order to reach their financial goals.
- (2) The motivation for multiple job holding is too complex for simple analysis. (p. 8)

Guthrie (1965) recognized the complexity of the moonlighting issue. He suggested that low salaries represented a general deprivation that characterized the teaching profession. His perspective, however, acknowledged the possibility of a myriad of motivations for multiple jobholding among teachers.

Seven years after Anderson's 1948 dissertation, he elaborated further on the topic of teacher moonlighting. In the article, "Should Teachers Hold Summer Jobs?" (1955), he expressed the continued belief that higher salaries for teachers would attract more desirable

candidates to the profession, however, he also considered the potential benefits of summer employment. He suggested that summer employment for teachers brought both financial and professional gains. The experiences that teachers had in summer jobs helped keep them up-to-date in different fields and also provided opportunities to work with diverse groups of people (p. 7).

While most researchers discussed only the negative implications of moonlighting, Anderson (1955) proposed that moonlighting might actually complement a teacher's performance in the classroom. Ultimately, he argued that teachers who worked summer jobs were assets to the school systems. He concluded with the following sentiments, "the benefit or harm resulting from holding an extra job depends largely on the individual teacher, his attitude, his ability to learn and his willingness to apply to his own teaching what he has observed" (p. 47).

In 1959, Cohen presented another view of the moonlighting teacher -- a view that had positive implications for the profession. In a survey of teachers in the Yonkers, New York, school system, Cohen found one fifth of the respondents spending the summer months employed in a variety of jobs. Cohen suggested, "for Yonkers teachers at least, the memories of summer have been agreeable and constructive ones, pleasant enough to linger through the ten months of classroom ahead and often significant enough to add new dimension to their teaching abilities" (p. 51).

Thompson's 1961 dissertation, "Moonlighting: An Analysis of its Rationale, Practice and Possible Economic Implications" was intended to provide a reference for business executives formulating policy for

employees who held second jobs. Thompson collected data about male moonlighters from interviews with 105 "dually-employed workers" in the vicinity of Seattle, Washington. His definition of moonlighting eliminated employees who worked a second job while on vacation (i.e., teachers working summer jobs). Although, fifty-six primary occupations were represented in his sample, his interviews with 31 moonlighting public school teachers were particularly relevant to this discussion.

While many studies attributed the high incidence of moonlighting to flexible work schedules and low income, Thompson (1961) found that moonlighters did not necessarily have shorter work hours or lower incomes. Most moonlighters were able to afford a more affluent lifestyle than they could have otherwise. This led Thompson to suggest that teachers were often motivated to moonlight by status motives. While teachers were frequently satisfied with the security of their jobs, they were less pleased with the status they had in their communities (p. 322). Thompson's viewpoint was similar to Yeager's (1956): Supplemental income was a way to acquire the symbols of improved social position (pp. 320-322).

Thompson (1961) perceived the dilemma differently from other researchers. Thompson viewed moonlighting from an administrative point of view. He was concerned with whether such activities were harmful to the organization. His findings suggested that many of his respondents turned to moonlighting when they were unable to gratify basic needs through their primary jobs (p. 2). He advised administrators to use caution in discouraging moonlighting. Thompson suggested, "attempts to gratify need-deficiencies of the magnitude displayed by respondents

would be expensive if not fruitless" (pp. 2-3). In his study no relationship was found between moonlighting activity and problems with attendance, energy, health advancement or conflicts of interest.

Guthrie (1969) reported data from teachers in nine Indiana public school systems. His sample of 1,472 teachers was asked questions concerning all types of supplemental income earned beyond basic salaries; however, only work outside the school system during the school year was considered moonlighting. Guthrie did, however, recognize the importance of opportunities to gain income by after-hours work as an athletic coach, dramatics advisor, etc. He suggested that "this additional work in the school system is a form of overtime work" (p. 31).

Among the respondents in Guthrie's (1969) study, approximately 8% of the women and 29% of the men had supplemental employment. Individuals in this study worked at a diverse range of jobs with income varying from \$40 to \$3600 for the year (p. 29). He found that for three out of four moonlighters the "extra job is a continuous element of their work activity" (p. 29). He found that teachers did moonlight to improve their living standards.

Guthrie (1969) cited evidence that moonlighters regarded moonlighting less negatively than non-moonlighting teachers. Both moonlighters and non-moonlighters, however, opposed moonlighting because it was "unprofessional" or negatively affected a teacher's duties to school and family (pp. 29-30). Guthrie's perspective was similar to Thompson's (1961). He concluded:

To the extent that one can generalize from a pilot study of this nature, it appears that public criticism of multiple jobholding by school teachers is not justified. Given that teachers, as well as other public employees, have had great difficulty in achieving incomes comparable with those other workers, it is possible that moonlighting has provided a necessary escape valve against pressure to leave the teaching profession. In effect the public has gained in being able to retain qualified teachers by the fact that a large proportion of men teachers have been sufficiently resourceful and industrious to find additional income and work-outlet in jobs outside the school system. (p. 31)

More recently, Stewart's 1981 dissertation, "The Conditions Related to and the Effects of Multiple jobholding on Full-time Teachers" addressed the "differences in job-related needs and satisfaction levels of teachers who moonlight and those who do not" (p. 5). Stewart defined a moonlighter as any full-time teacher who received earnings from a source other than the school district during the year. Her study included summer work as well as after-school employment.

In Stewart's (1981) study, "males moonlighted (69.9% of the males) twice as much as females (32.5% of females)" (p. 77). Stewart found a higher percentage of female moonlighters, however, than Lambert (1965), Burch (1966), Campbell (1970), Howe and Aslin (1970) (p. 78). Stewart reported the following for teachers who moonlight:

- (1) A higher percentage of teachers moonlight than has been previously reported (32.5% during the school year itself, 47.0% overall).
- (2) The ranking of major reasons for multiple jobholding in this study closely matches the ranking in past studies: while money still ranks first, personal needs (joy and satisfaction) still follow closely. (pp. 76-77)

Stewart (1981) indicated moonlighting teachers "perceived minimal effects on their professional performance due to moonlighting" (p. 80).

"Generally speaking," she concluded, "the amount of the teaching salary received by the teachers in this study had little to do with whether or not a respondent moonlighted during the year" (p. 78). Overall, she suggested:

In light of (a) the minimal effects multiple jobholding seems to have on teacher performance, (b) the industriousness moonlighting teachers show in increasing their incomes (the Protestant work ethic), and (c) the simultaneous achievement of some needs satisfactions by moonlighters through their additional jobs (recognition of the changing function of work), the concerns that the public and educators alike seem to have about multiple jobholding teachers seems to be out of proportion to the situation. (p. 81)

Her final recommendations asked several pertinent questions:

Do schools want to adjust their bureaucratic structures to better accommodate the needs of their employees or to improve both the motivators and hygiene factors? And if so, what procedures would be most effective for implementing the change? (p. 82)

Thompson (1961) attempted to answer these questions twenty years earlier. Stewart's findings run parallel to his, yet she seemed hesitant to throw her support to moonlighting. Why? Perhaps, the implications of moonlighting for the profession were not clear to her. While many speculated that it must be negative, evidence to the contrary was difficult to document. Only a few researchers have given serious consideration to the potentially positive effects of teacher moonlighting. Many questions, however, remain unanswered due to the methodological limitations of these studies.

The National Education Association Research

The National Education Association has conducted surveys on the status of the American public school teacher every five years since

1956. This survey provides information "on the professional and personal characteristics of teachers, the current status of their teaching conditions, their attitudes toward the profession, and their community and civic activities" (The National Education Association Research, 1987, p. 3). As part of this survey, information was provided on additional income earned by teachers. The most recent survey was sent "to 1,998 of the nation's approximately 2,200,000 public school teachers" (p. 7). Among the returned questionnaires, 1,784 constituted the data base for this report.

The most recent figures from the NEA (1987) showed that beginning in the summer of 1985 and ending in the last school month of 1986, "nearly half of all teachers (49.0 percent) reported sources of income other than teaching salaries" (p. 68). Two major findings from the data collected by this survey from 1966 to 1986 are summarized in the following:

- (1) Since 1966, summer employment for teachers has more frequently been outside their school systems than within them. Percentages of teachers reporting such employment remained relatively stable from 1966 to 1981, but they were higher than ever before in 1986, and
- (2) During the school year, teachers' additional income has most frequently come from within the school system. From 14 to 31 percent of all teachers have reported such income between 1966 and 1986. In comparison, throughout the survey years, only 6 to 14 percent of all teachers have reported school year employment outside the school system. (p. 68)

The NEA (1987) data are important because they constitute the only source of information on the moonlighting activities of teachers nationally. This information becomes particularly significant because of the consistency of its findings through the years.

When teachers in the 1985-86 NEA sample were asked to identify the variable(s) that hindered them the most in their responsibilities as teachers, only 8.9% identified lack of funds and decent salary. Heading the list of hindering factors were heavy workload and extra responsibilities (17.6%), incompetent and uncooperative administrators (15.9%), and discipline and negative attitudes of students (14.2%) (pp. 62-63). While conclusions from these data may vary, they do seem to indicate that an increase in teaching salaries alone will not solve the problems that afflict teachers.

The NEA (1987) made no attempt to interpret these findings or suggest implications. If their sample was representative, however, at the time of the survey nearly half of the teachers in the United States had second jobs. It is incredible that such a large-scale phenomenon has received so little serious attention from professional educators or policymakers. While the reasons for moonlighting remain obscure, it is obvious from the NEA study that many teachers do moonlight.

Summary and Conclusions:

Implications of Past Research for the Present Study

Many studies have documented the high rates of moonlighting among teachers. Wisniewski and Kleine (1984) were incorrect in their assertion that moonlighting was "essentially, an unstudied phenomenon among teachers" (p. 553). Moonlighting has been studied, but it has nevertheless, remained a phenomenon about which many questions are still unanswered.

Previous research on teacher moonlighting stressed the negative implications of the phenomenon for the profession. These studies produced many different conclusions about the impact of moonlighting on teachers. The meaning of teacher moonlighting for researchers is, perhaps, as complex as it is for teachers. The work of past researchers, however, does inform future investigations of moonlighting.

No other study of moonlighting has examined the phenomenon by interviewing both male and female teachers who moonlight. This type of research is important to an understanding of moonlighting. Speculation about the needs and motivations of moonlighters is of limited value if it cannot be substantiated by interview data. Questionnaire data have been inadequate to this task. The review of the literature suggests that it is appropriate at this time to examine the personal meaning of moonlighting to teachers.

In the past, researchers primarily belonged to two camps: those who focused on the negative implications of moonlighting and those who viewed moonlighting as having positive implications for teachers. Both camps viewed teaching as a deprived profession, disagreeing only over the specificity of that deprivation. Many researchers in the negative camp argued that higher salaries would raise teaching to a higher professional status. Those in the positive camp indicated that the deprivation was much more general: teachers had many needs that were not being met through their work as teachers. Salary is only one of those needs. Until the environment of teachers can be changed to meet

those needs, moonlighting may have positive implications for the profession.

In this study the researcher's only frame of reference was the perspective of the teacher who moonlights. By interviewing moonlighting teachers, the researcher attempted to understand the personal meanings of moonlighting. The interviews conducted as part of this study were unstructured. These interviews allowed teachers to discuss the issues which they perceived as important to the moonlighting experience. Thus, the findings contribute to the literature by providing a different perspective on the moonlighting phenomenon.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The purpose of this study was to describe the experiences of teachers who moonlight. This goal was accomplished by asking teachers about their moonlighting experiences and then analyzing the data according to phenomenological guidelines. Analysis of these interviews revealed the structure and meaning of the moonlighting experience.

The Subjects

Selection of subjects for this study was based on two criteria:

- (1) Current employment in a teaching capacity in the public schools, and
- (2) The receipt of additional income for the rendering of services inside or outside the school system, during the school year and/or in the summer.

Subjects were initially solicited through two sources:

(1) graduate classes at the University of Tennessee, and (2) personal contacts of the investigator. Many of the initial interviewees knew other teachers who worked second jobs, and provided the investigator with their names. These teachers were contacted and all of them agreed to be interviewed. This method was superior to simply soliciting volunteers. Many of these people would not have volunteered; they did not think they had anything to tell anyone about working a second job.

Seventeen individuals were interviewed for this study. Five of these interviews were pilot study interviews that were done with the

intention of improving the researcher's interviewing skills. These pilot interviews were listened to and critiqued by a group of individuals familiar with the methodology used. Thus, only twelve interviews were used for the final analysis. Among these twelve participants, ten were White, one was Black and one was Korean. Additionally, sixty-six percent of the subjects were females; thirty-three percent were male. All of the participants had teaching responsibilities in the public schools; five were in elementary schools, three in middle schools, and four in high schools. One of the subjects was a school librarian, but her job included teaching responsibilities. Table 2 presents demographic characteristics of the subjects.

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of Subjects

	Female	Male
<u>Age Interval</u>		
25-30	3	0
31-35	1	0
36-40	1	2
41-45	0	1
46-50	2	1
51-55	1	0
<u>Educational Level</u>		
Bachelor's	3	3
Master's	5	1
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	1	0
Married	5	4
Divorced	2	0
<u>Number of Children</u>		
0	5	0
1	0	0
2	1	3
3	2	0
4	0	1

Many of the subjects in this study had more than one source of additional income. Table 3 presents a list of second jobs and approximate income from these activities. References to other supplemental money-making activities came up in the interviews, but most of the subjects chose to elaborate on only one major source of additional income. Table 4 presents a list of additional moonlighting jobs worked by the teachers in this sample.

Table 3

Moonlighting Jobs and Income

#		Female	Male
<u>Jobs Outside School System</u>			
101	Waitress	1	0
102	Librarian	1	0
103	Writer	1	0
105	Tobacco Crop	1	0
108	Family Business	0	1
109	Painter	0	1
110	Builder	0	1
111	Hair Stylist	0	1
<u>Jobs Inside School System</u>			
104	Basic Adult Educ. Teacher	1	0
106	Basic Adult Educ. Teacher	1	0
107	Basic Adult Educ. Teacher	1	0
112	School Bus Driver	1	0
<u>Approx. Yearly Income From Moonlighting Jobs</u>			
	\$1000 and under	1	0
	1100 - 2000	3	0
	2100 - 3000	0	1
	3100 - 4000	0	0
	4100 - 5000	2	0
	5100 - 6000	0	1
	6100 - 7000	1	0
	\$10000 and over	1	1
	Varies	0	1

Table 4

Additional Moonlighting Jobs Worked By Teachers

#		Females	Male
<u>Jobs Outside School System</u>			
104	Tutor	1	0
105	Tutor	1	0
111	Auctioneer/Real Estate	0	1
<u>Jobs Inside School System</u>			
108	Coach	0	1
109	Coach	0	1
110	Cheerleader Sponsor	0	1
112	Grant/Resource Teacher (Mentor)	1	0

Data Collection

Each subject volunteered to participate in an unstructured open-ended interview. Interviews were conducted at a time and place chosen by the subject. Eight chose to be interviewed at their respective schools, two were interviewed at home, and two chose to be interviewed at the university before their evening graduate classes. Prior to the actual interview, each subject was asked to read and sign the Informed Consent Form which appears in Appendix A. This form was adapted from the one previously used by Laurence (1980).

The primary means of data collection in this study was the interview. According to Kvale (1983), the purpose of such an interview "is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (p. 174). Interviews began by asking the participants to talk about their second job. During the interview, the interviewer asked questions that were necessary to encourage the subjects to elaborate further on their experiences. Subjects were asked to describe how they felt or thought about the moonlighting experience. For example, the following question was asked in response to a subject's answer: "Can you tell me more about some of the things you specifically like or dislike about your second job?" The goal of this process was to gain a basic understanding of the subject's experience. Kvale (1983) recommended the use of interviews because "here ordinary people are able to describe their own life-world, their opinions and acts, in their own words....the interview makes it possible for the subjects to

organize their own descriptions, emphasizing what they themselves find important" (p. 173).

The interviews were audio-taped with a micro-cassette tape recorder. Each interview lasted approximately thirty to sixty minutes. At the end of the interview, each subject was asked if he or she had any additional comments to add. Each subject was thanked for participating in the interview and assured of the researcher's intent to involve them in the analysis of the interviews.

Subsequently, the data were transcribed from the tapes and checked for accuracy by the author. The complete transcripts of two interviews are included in Appendix B.

Data Reduction and Analysis

Kvale (1983) described the phenomenological reduction as "a suspension of judgment as to the existence or non-existence of the content of an experience. The reduction may be pictured as a 'bracketing,' an attempt to place the common sense and scientific foreknowledge about the phenomena into parentheses in order to arrive at the essence of the phenomena" (p. 184). Thus, the purpose of the data analysis reduction and analysis was to describe the personal hearings of the moonlighting experience. Themes and categories of themes emerged from this analysis that seemed to describe the structure of moonlighting experience. This structure made clearer the meaning of the experience.

Colaizzi (1978) described a procedure for the analysis of interview data. Data analysis for this study was accomplished by

adapting that procedure to the needs of this study. The steps that were followed are listed below:

- (1) "Making sense" of the original protocol,
- (2) Extracting significant statements,
- (3) Formulating meanings,
- (4) Organizing the aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes,
- (5) Referring the clusters of themes back to the original protocols in order to validate them,
- (6) Formulating an exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon. (p. 59)

Step 1: "Making Sense" of the Original Protocol

Initially all of the interviews were carefully listened to and read in order to acquire a feeling of what moonlighting meant to that person. Notes were taken and initial impressions were recorded. Even at this point in the analysis of the data, themes began to emerge, and categories began to take shape. Some were quickly dispelled, but others became "pieces of the puzzle" that were at first unintelligible and only later began to make sense. For example, in the beginning, teachers' discussions of the dissatisfactions of teaching did not make sense. The study was about moonlighting. Why did they keep talking about teaching? It was only later, during the analysis, that the relationship between teaching and moonlighting became understandable. In this first step of the analysis, the references to teaching were merely noted for later consideration.

Step 2: Extracting Significant Statements.

The purpose of this phase of the data analysis was to extract from the protocols phrases or sentences that were pertinent to the topic being investigated. The approach utilized in this study was slightly different from the one prescribed by Colaizzi. The approach taken in this study is similar to that used by Dapkus (1982). Significant statements were produced that retained the actual words used by the person being interviewed. In this process, the transcripts were reduced to "chunks of meaning." These "chunks" were usually the equivalent of paragraphs that varied in length. For example, the following is an excerpt from one interview where several statements were grouped together for analysis:

I was always under pressure to get more students on the bus. The conflict that I was always experiencing was that I didn't think it was safe and they said, "Well, it's just a town bus route. You don't have to go a long ways out into the country. So, you're gonna have to accept the kids onto your bus." There were only seats for sixty-three kids. So, I had to pack them in the aisles and sit them on the stairs. I made twenty stops. I ended up in a gravel pit; a place where they mined gravel and chipped it off. And I had to turn the bus around in the gravel pit. Usually in the middle of a lot of gravel-carrying trucks, which are much larger vehicles than school buses. And I had to drive back down a gravel road to the highway and back and get the bus parked in a safe place and go home. (#112)

This particular "chunk" combined four separate responses made by a teacher. All of the responses, however, were related to her description of the second job.

This procedure resulted in significant statements that were close in meaning to what teachers actually had described. In this process, each new "chunk of meaning" represented a change in subject by the person being interviewed. Each interview was reduced to a number of

significant statements that seemed to capture the overall "flavor" of the interview. The interviews were reduced to "chunks" that ranged in length from one to about ten sentences. Interviews varied in length from twelve to forty-two significant statements.

Within each significant statement interview questions were embedded. For example, the response to the question, "Will you keep on being a teacher after you get your Ed.S.?" would not make sense in isolation. Thus, the question became embedded in the participants reply as, "I doubt very seriously that I will continue being a teacher when I finish my Ed.S." The resulting statements were numbered consecutively and reflected natural breaks in the interview process.

Step 3: Formulating Meanings

The third step in the data reduction and analysis was to establish the "formulated meanings" for each interview. Theme statements were derived from each interview. These statements retained the actual words and phrases of the subjects; however, they also attempted to capture the key aspects of the interview. This stage of the analysis differed from that used by Colaizzi (1978). The researcher made no attempt to interpret the "formulated meanings" that were established for each interview.

This process involved reduction of the transcripts to a set of themes that described the most salient aspects of the interview. These theme statements were an attempt to capture the meaning of a particular interview without losing the richness of the language used by the subject. As such, the theme statements presented in a few paragraphs

each subject's description of the experience. Thus, the "formulated meanings" for each paragraph were expressed as theme statements. The product at this stage of the analysis was simply a description; no attempt was made to interpret. For example, the following theme statement was derived from an interview:

It's something social that I like to do because my grandparents come and help us, and my family, we all get together and they tell the old stories like when they were little kids and stuff. You learn a lot about the past; things they wouldn't just tell you when you're sitting there at the dinner table or something. When you're standing around all day, nothing else to do; they tell their stories. (#105)

For this teacher, statements related to the social aspects of moonlighting were captured by the theme statement. This phase of the analysis produced from nine to thirteen theme statements per interview.

At this stage in the analysis, feedback was mailed to each subject in the form of numbered theme statements. In a cover letter, each subject was requested to respond to how accurately the theme statements captured their moonlighting experiences. Their responses were returned by mail to the researcher and included in the analysis. A copy of the cover letter and all of the theme statements are included in Appendix C. The cover letter was adapted from the one used by Dapkus in her 1982 study.

Step 4: Organizing the Aggregate Formulated Meanings into Clusters of Themes

In this stage of the analysis, the "formulated meanings" were organized into clusters of themes or categories that captured the key aspects of the moonlighting experience. Kvale (1983) referred to this

as the "condensation of the meanings expressed to more and more essential meanings of the structure" of the experience (p. 185).

Themes that were common to all the subject's protocols were identified and gradually reduced to a general list of themes. For example, themes related to diverse issues began to emerge: satisfactions of moonlighting, money, control, independence, social contacts, professionalism, achievement, rewards, positive feedback, etc. The list was extensive. As larger issues emerged, the themes were collected around central themes that seemed to best describe the meaning of the moonlighting experience. These themes were generally stated in single words or short phrases. For example, themes related to self-esteem issues were clustered together. At this point, the researcher was trying to move from the specific to the general. Themes that described those things that were common to all or several of the interviews were deemed necessary for a description of the structure of the moonlighting experience. These clusters of themes were then organized into categories that intuitively made sense to the researcher.

Step 5: Referring the Clusters of Themes Back to the Original Protocols in Order to Validate Them

This step in the analysis was a continuation of the task begun in Step 4. Colaizzi (1978) described the purpose of this stage of the analysis as asking "whether there is anything contained in the original protocols that isn't accounted for in the clusters of themes, and whether the clusters of themes propose anything which isn't implied in

the original protocols" (p. 59). In order to assure that the final categories of themes accounted for all the significant statements, it was necessary to refer back to the original protocols. This process demonstrated that the themes present in all of the significant statements could be accounted for by the categories around which the themes had clustered.

Each attempt to score the significant statements led to revisions of the categories of themes. Eventually, however, the themes could be reduced no further. For example, themes related to money were clustered around various economic issues, but they were finally collapsed under autonomy and independence meanings.

Colaizzi (1978) explained that at this point discrepancies might be evident to the researcher. He suggested that one must have a certain tolerance for ambiguity and "proceed with the solid conviction that what is logically inexplicable may be existentially real and valid" (p. 61). He cautioned the researcher to resist the temptation to prematurely generate a theory which ignores themes or data that don't fit. According to Merleau-Ponty, "the main thing learned by the phenomenological reduction is the impossibility of a total reduction" (cited in Kvale, 1983, p. 184). When all of the significant statements were accounted for by the categories or clusters of themes, then the process was considered complete.

Step 6: Formulating an Exhaustive Description of the Investigated Phenomenon

In this final stage of the analysis, an effort was made to integrate everything into an "exhaustive description of the investigated phenomenon" (Colaizzi, 1978, p. 61). Once it was possible to score every protocol according to the final list of themes, this list was organized into a category system or structure that was capable of describing the meaning of the moonlighting experience. This category system or structure made it possible to discuss the manner in which teachers think and feel about the meaning of moonlighting.

The validity of this final description was further checked by presenting the final themes and categories to a research group composed of individuals interested in the methodology and the findings of this study. Their feedback and perceptions led to a reorganization and redefining of the two category systems that emerged to describe the moonlighting experience.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The findings of this study reflect the perceptions of twelve teachers who moonlight. These findings represent an attempt to describe the themes that characterize the moonlighting experience. The data were summarized in the following manner: (1) the identification and discussion of a category system that describes the experience of moonlighting by defining the relationship between the two jobs and one's personal identity, and (2) the identification and discussion of a category system that describes the personal meanings of moonlighting. These categories describe facets of the moonlighting experience that are both unique and universal. They reflect the personal meanings of moonlighting for twelve teachers, however, this researcher believes that additional interviews with other moonlighting teachers would produce a similar structure of the experience.

Quotations from the actual interviews are used throughout this chapter in order to convey the manner in which teachers discussed their moonlighting experiences. Each of these quotes is identified with a number that has been assigned to the particular protocol from which it was taken. These numbers are a way of assuring the anonymity of the people who were interviewed.

The Experience of Moonlighting

For many of the teachers in this study, moonlighting was a continuous element of their work world. Frequently the job now referred to as moonlighting was actually their first job. Among the teachers interviewed in this study, at least four of the teachers indicated that they had always worked a second job.

I've done this kind of work [remodeling] all my life. I paid my way through college doing this work. I got into the teaching business through the backdoor. It's not the field that I was interested in; nor, is it the field I'm really interested in now, but it pays better than a regular teaching job, quite a bit more. (#110)

I can't remember when I wasn't involved [in the family business]. I started actually running the business in the summertime when I was fifteen years old. I don't remember much about not doing it. I've always done it, even in the summertime, even when I was teaching, and in the evenings, except during basketball season. (#108)

All of the moonlighting jobs came first. Teaching came along later and I was already so accustomed to them. I cannot imagine life without that. It's just non-existent. I just felt like working another job was a part of life. I didn't feel like it was any different. Most everybody that lives around here that works in a factory will also come home and moonlight at a job or they will raise a tobacco crop. If you have the time, why not do it. (#111)

It has been suggested by some researchers that moonlighting activity is embedded in the culture of teaching (Wisniewski & Hilty, 1987). Among the teachers in this study, at least seven were engaged in more than one moonlighting activity.

I think it's expected that teachers will moonlight. If teachers were making thirty-five or forty thousand dollars a year, I don't think they would be [moonlighting]. I would think you would have a lot more male teachers. I think you have a lot more of them going to school in the summer to improve themselves. There's no way they can financially raise a family even today on twenty thousand dollars or twenty-five thousand dollars. You cannot do it. You have to accept the second moonlighting as a part of it.

I was older than most when I started teaching and I was quite aware of the financial situation. I felt that I could make plenty of money on the side. (#110)

Nobody thought it [moonlighting] was bad at all. It was just like that's what teachers do, they moonlight. So, if anything, I think people maybe admired me for doing it; they didn't think badly of me. I wouldn't think it was bad for anybody else to work another job, especially if you're the breadwinner in the family; I'm not, I didn't have to work. (#101)

The Relationship Between Jobs and Identity

After conducting the interviews and reading through the protocols, it became obvious that the key to understanding the moonlighting experience was in making sense of the relationship between the two jobs and how they fit together. All of the teachers in this study elaborated to varying degrees upon this relationship. The following was typical of such a description:

It fits real good with my teaching. I don't dread either job, I enjoy 'em both. One is relaxing from the other. It's kindly relaxing as long as you're feeling good. It's a total letdown from all the mental pressures that are wound up in you at school when you get to the shop. (#111)

When the "fit" or the relationship between the jobs and one's identity was not satisfactory, one particular teacher looked for another moonlighting job:

When I first started thinking about a second job I was kinda looking for something very different. I tried the little deal at the bookstore, but it didn't work out. I am not business oriented and because I am older and professional, I had problems with the woman who was the boss. We just never could talk to each other. I think she was real threatened by me. It just wasn't a positive experience. What she couldn't see was that she did have some knowledge and things that I was very interested in learning. I didn't feel threatened by the fact that she knew a lot of things I didn't know. I was really sorry that she couldn't see that we could really help each other. (#102)

The Category System

The purpose of this study was to understand the meaning of the moonlighting experience for teachers. The process of data reduction and analysis provided a structure for discussing moonlighting. The relationship between the teaching and moonlighting job accounted for what Colaizzi (1978) described as the "contextual horizon" of the person's experience. Gestalt psychologists are concerned with the factors that influence perception. The structure of the moonlighting experience is organized by those aspects of the experience that "stand out" or become figural for a person. Each of the categories that emerged revealed figural aspects of the moonlighting experience and illustrated the figure/ground relationships that existed. Each category became figural or "stood out" against the overall background of the moonlighting experience. Gestalt theorists emphasize the dependence of perception upon context. The primary focus of the gestalt point of view in considering the moonlighting experience would be an emphasis upon the overall context. The final category system that emerged from the interviews with moonlighting teachers was an attempt to describe the kind of "gestalt" that gives rise to moonlighting behavior.

The relationship between the moonlighting job and teaching provided a context for exploring the meaning of moonlighting and the nature of the moonlighting experience. Moonlighting had to do with achieving a feeling of completeness.

There are always a few teachers who moonlight. Moonlighters have other talents that they are wanting to develop and use. It seems

to me like that they wouldn't be complete people if they didn't have that second job. (#102)

Within this context, the categories described a relationship that became figural against the ground of one's identity. Ultimately, moonlighting had to do with the question, "Who am I?" The relationship between the two jobs was defined by the answer to that question. Each job contributed to the "whole," and neither can be fully understood in isolation. The experience of moonlighting can only be understood in relation to the experience of being a teacher. Three categories emerged to describe this relationship:

- (1) Continuous,
- (2) Complementary,
- (3) Contrasting.

These categories were derived from the interviews. They reflect the language used by the subjects to describe the relationship or "fit" between the two jobs. Although there may be overlap among these categories, they can be distinguished as separate and distinct relationships. It is important to note, however, that these categories describe a relationship. They do not describe the type of moonlighting job that a person works. Two teachers working the same second job may perceive different relationships between that job and teaching. The relationship between the two jobs emerges only in reference to a person's perception of the role(s) encompassed by the two jobs.

The moonlighting experience is idiosyncratic, and each category can be most clearly understood only with reference to a specific individual. All of the categories might be present in one interview,

but the emphasis varied according to the unique nature of the experience. Thus, the categories are descriptive of the full range of possible ways to experience moonlighting. Taken holistically, the categories are capable of describing all possible moonlighting experiences.

The Continuous Relationship Between Jobs. This category refers to the element of continuity or sameness that teachers perceive between the moonlighting job and teaching. Among the teachers interviewed for this study, at least four of them discussed the similarities between their teaching and moonlighting job. This category is descriptive of both the nature of the job and the individual perceptions of the teacher. The continuous relationship reflects the identity of "teacher" in both jobs. For these teachers, the answer to the question, "Who am I?", was "I am a teacher." Examples of moonlighting jobs in this category were librarian in the public library, tutor and Adult Basic Education Teacher. These jobs were part-time positions held in the evenings and weekends during the school year. The librarian and the tutor also worked in the summer. This relationship highlighted the qualities of "sameness" that teachers described.

My moonlighting job is so similar to what I do [in my day job]. I think I took it for the money at first, but I loved it, cause in a day or two, I was teaching Algebra and they were there to get it. (#106)

Moonlighting is in some ways a benefit to my job in the public schools because they are so closely related I think they dovetail very well. You learn because they are related. (#102)

In addition to these jobs, teachers also worked within their individual schools as coach, cheerleader sponsor, grant writer and resource teacher (mentor). Among the teachers in this study, at least four received supplemental income for positions within their schools. These jobs, however, were not the ones discussed by the teachers when they were asked to talk about their second jobs; a problem, perhaps, with definition that will be discussed later. Among these teachers, three out of the four were males who worked other moonlighting jobs that they perceived as quite different (contrasting) from teaching; one female worked a second job that she portrayed as complementary. Teachers described these in-school responsibilities as being quite enjoyable and, at times, similar to those in teaching.

I'm cheerleader sponsor now and it pays the same as coaching; assistant coach of basketball. The money's nice to have, but I wanted to do it because that was my first love, basketball was being my first love. I enjoyed coaching it. I wanted to coach. Money was not a factor in that, but it's, you know, if they're going to give you another hundred and ten or fifteen dollars a month, you'll take it. You wouldn't turn it down. (#110)

I started coaching because I enjoyed it. It worked out well because I enjoyed the teaching [in coaching]. You're still doing something that you like; some people would do it even if they weren't paid. I don't think I would have started -- I liked it, or I wouldn't have stayed that long. I would have forced them to go ahead and find somebody else. (#108)

All the jobs in this category were described by teachers as different from teaching, but what "stood out" in the interview were the qualities of "sameness" between the two jobs. These second jobs embodied roles and tasks that are typically associated with being a teacher. They were perceived as being similar to teaching, but with a

few differences. For example, one of the teachers in this group wanted to teach in the evenings, but with a different group of people:

I really don't want to teach handicapped students like the ones I have in elementary school, in the evenings, that would be too frustrating. It would consume everything I have. (#104)

These teachers also expressed the idea that their second job "enriched" their performance at their day job or defined them in some way to their peers.

I believe that my night job enriches me as a teacher. With eleventh and twelfth grade level, I can still do things that I might not be able to do on the ninth grade level like give them higher levels of writing and things of this nature. It keeps me up on my skills so that's why I enjoy it. (#107)

Meeting the public library people is always positive. It's good for them to see that school librarians are as qualified as they are, because many times there's some ill-feeling toward school librarians. We're the lowest on the totem pole. We're not really professional. It starts in the library school because you're not doing "real" library work. You don't do cataloging. You don't do records. What you do they just don't realize. I don't think they even think about it. (#102)

Teachers who worked second jobs in this category expressed satisfaction with their roles as teachers. Among these teachers, three out of four believed they have found their "niche;" they enjoyed their primary jobs in the public schools. Only two of these teachers indicated an interest in making a career change. These changes were described as moves into administration, supervision, or a job with very similar tasks and responsibilities.

My training and talents are in library work so I have to stick with something related. I guess that's where I am happiest because I am not unhappy with the job in the public schools. I really like the job. I am doing what I think I ought to be doing. I've found my niche, but that doesn't mean that you can't take a little different direction with it and have it be just as satisfying. (#102)

I doubt very seriously that I will keep on being a teacher, after I get my Ed.S. I enjoy doing it, but I'm like anybody else I'd like to go on to higher heights. Higher heights would be either an administrator on a secondary level or on a college level.
(#107)

Although all of the moonlighting jobs described in this section are similar to the primary job, it is important to remember that the perceived relationship between the two jobs is the basis for placement in one of these categories. The nature of the second job is not highly significant. Under different circumstances, the Adult Basic Education Teacher (#107) could have perceived that job as having a very different kind of relationship to the teaching job and her identity.

The Complementary Relationship Between Jobs. This category refers to moonlighting jobs that teachers perceive as complementary to teaching. Among the teachers interviewed for this study, at least two of them discussed second jobs that fit into this category. Figural in this category are the elements of the moonlighting job that distinguish it as being both the "same" as teaching yet "different." This category is descriptive of both the nature of the job and individual perceptions. Examples of jobs worked by teachers in this category were school bus driver and hair stylist. These teachers described a balance between the sameness and differentness that can be described as complementary.

In one way the jobs are very different. In both jobs you come in contact with a lot of different people. I am a fairly social person, I like meeting people. I like meeting different people. I like talking about a variety of different things. That comes in handy in the classroom because if you try to talk about one thing, you're not going to hit the interest of nearly all the kids, but if you enter in everything which you can, somewhere along the line, you'll hit on something that's interesting to about every kid. With the hair styling, most everyone that comes in, we can

talk about something of interest to me that's of interest to them. So in some ways it's similar. (#111)

Somehow bus driving is related to teaching. A lot of my little students rode on my bus. Sometimes I would stop the bus completely, and I'd go back and help them get off and get to their front doors. I just sort of felt good about having finished that little child for the day. There is continuity. There is no derogatory implication to the moonlighting job. It's just not related to the growth and development part, even though with that particular one [bus driving], there was a continuity. (#112)

The tasks, as well as the rewards, of moonlighting were perceived by these teachers as complementary to their roles as teachers.

I don't have to think when I am driving a bus. When I'm teaching, I'm going down my list of what you do to teach the concept. When I drove a bus, I didn't have to think like a teacher. As a bus driver, I had a lot responsibility and it was much more physical. The last year I lost interest in driving a bus because my teaching job became so physical. I found it satisfying to use that kind of energy in the classroom. (#112)

Working my second jobs is positive for me. It's not negative at all. 'Course teaching is not a real high paying job. Probably if all I did was teach, then the money factor might enter into the situation a little more because I'd know that there would be a lot of shortages on what I like to do. I probably wouldn't be as happy with teaching. Because of the supplementary income, teaching is very enjoyable. (#111)

For these teachers, the answer to the question, "Who am I?" was "I am a teacher and a moonlighter." Each job was important and essential to the gestalt. These teachers also expressed the idea that the second job "enriched" their performance as a teacher or defined them in some way to their peers and/or students. However, the definition, in this instance, was that of both a teacher and a different role.

The only times I ever felt a little strange about it would be when I would go to parties where people didn't know me in a professional sense. They would ask me what I do for a living and I would say, "Well, I'm a teacher and I'm also a bus driver." (#112)

Because I taught such a small group of children, many of the children in the school did not realize I was a teacher until I began to drive a bus and I told them that I was also a teacher. Being a bus driver helped maintain crowd control in the halls. The children knew who I was. It sort of defined me for some of the children that could present behavior problems in the halls, in the cafeterias, things like that. (#112)

Most all my customers are people that know me and realize that I am a teacher. Most of the kids know I cut hair before they get here. Used to work out to where every year I would go to an 8th grade class where they talk about other professions and all. I would talk about the barber school and hair styling and do someone's hair while I as talking to them. I would always take my class with me and they enjoyed that. (#115)

Among the teachers in this group, one (the school bus driver) also received supplemental income within her school for acting as a resource teacher (mentor) to a new teacher, and from a grant she was working on for the school system -- jobs that she described as related to her professional growth and development. The other teacher (the hairdresser) also worked as an auctioneer and in real estate; he chose not to elaborate on these jobs.

The Contrasting Relationship Between Jobs. This category refers to moonlighting jobs that teachers perceive as very different from teaching. At least six of the interviews fit into this category. This category is descriptive of both the nature of the job and individual perceptions. Examples of the jobs worked by teachers in this category were waitress, tobacco farmer, builder, painter, family business (bicycle and lawnmower sales and repairs), and writer. Jobs in this category were most often described as different or "giving one a break" from teaching.

If I don't want to shave in the morning, then I don't have to 'cause it doesn't matter if you're painting a house. In the morning you're going to school, it's different. (#109)

The last two years my [teaching] job was really bad. It was just a break to me to get outside. There was lot of times that I'd rather be digging ditches. When I'm working in the fields, I don't have to deal with people. I mean people that are giving me trouble. (#105)

I think teachers moonlight number one for money, and then number two, which becomes as important as number one, is the change. Getting to do something else. (#108)

The teachers who worked jobs in this category expressed feelings of enjoyment from working in a different environment; an environment in which the "hassles" of teaching just didn't exist.

I used to think, too, that my job was stressful, my kids, and we all know Special Ed. can be very stressful, and I would get away from there and I would forget about it. And that was the good part of it [moonlighting]. (#101)

You're pretty much in it yourself. You're just dealing with two or three people. There's not a lot of preparation or pressure or even have to fill out a lot of papers or put up with "Johnny" or something like that. (#109)

Teachers who worked jobs in this category described them as having a positive impact on their performance as a teacher. These teachers were able to benefit from the difference of their other jobs by using those differences to enrich their roles as teachers.

It gives me a good insight into the business world when I'm teaching business courses. (#108)

There are some kids that if their family raised tobacco, it gave me something to talk to them about. When otherwise I wouldn't have anything in common with them. We could talk about it. (#105)

For these teachers the answer to the question, "Who am I?" was "I am a moonlighter." The role of teacher was often of equal importance to these people, but the roles encompassed by the moonlighting jobs

were highly significant to their identities. Of the six teachers who worked jobs in this category, three were moonlighters when they began teaching, and the other three had moonlighted almost the entire time they had been teachers.

Among teachers who worked jobs in this category, five of the six, indicated they intended to remain in the profession, and three of the six also received supplemental income for additional responsibilities within their schools. It was interesting that half of the teachers interviewed chose second jobs diametrically different from teaching. Based on their descriptions, the contrasting relationship between the jobs was important to these teachers. All of these individuals expressed some degree of dissatisfaction with the conditions of teaching, but, at the same time, five of the six indicated an enjoyment of teaching and a desire to make it work out.

I like it. I really enjoy teaching people. I'm not particularly interest in what level, but I do enjoy teaching. I do enjoy teaching those who are interested. I'd like to be able to eradicate the ones that are not interested enough to go about finding something that they're interested in. (#114)

I don't feel like teachers are appreciated. And that's by the public. Our end product cannot be measured like someone who's on an assembly line. I'm working with children all day; not making a product. And my job seems more important than that of the laborer. But, still it's like counting apples and oranges. You just can't take it personal all the time. If teaching's what you ought to do, and you feel like that's what you're to do in your life, then you can't think about the money all the time. It's what you enjoy doing, besides that, you have to think, we have great hours. That's another plus even though you don't get paid that much. I accept it. (#108)

I've thought, why do I teach? I really do love my kids, I really do. And maybe I like the fact that they're real dependent on me and they love me. I guess I feel like this is the only thing I would really be happy in, some kind of helping career, even if it was social work or working down at the juvenile center. And most

of those helping careers, you don't make a lot of money. But really, I don't care, I don't really care that much about the money because along with a lot of money is a lot more of responsibility. (#101)

Among these teachers, only one indicated she would definitely leave teaching, and her reasons were personal.

I want out of teaching. I like the kids which is the strange part about it, but give 'em to me anywhere but in the class. Fact is, I am not going to come back this year. '86 was rough for me. I do not see myself doing this until I retire. I just thought after I went through a really rough time, I wanted or thought I needed to just start everything over. (#103)

Summary

In summary, the relationship between the teaching and moonlighting job and one's identity was essential to understanding the moonlighting experience. While these categories represent an attempt to clarify this relationship, it is important to remember that for each of these teachers, moonlighting is ultimately a personal response to perceived roles and responsibilities.

The Meaning of Moonlighting

The meaning of moonlighting is related to the meaning of work. The work that one does is "an important source of identity, self-esteem, and self-actualization" (Steers & Porter, 1979, p. 556). Steers and Porter suggested,

It can provide a sense of fulfillment by giving an employee a sense of purpose and clarifying his value to society. Conversely, however, it can also be a source of frustration, boredom, and feelings of meaninglessness, depending on the characteristics of the individual and on the nature of the task. People tend to evaluate themselves according to what they have been able to accomplish. (p. 556)

The personal meaning of moonlighting was important to an overall understanding of the moonlighting experience. Vroom (1964) suggested, "it is reasonable to assume that most of the behavior exhibited by individuals on their jobs as well as their behavior in the 'job market' is voluntary, and consequently motivated" (p. 9). Psychologists have generally agreed that individuals work as a means of satisfying basic human needs. Maslow postulated a theory of human motivation based upon the dynamics of basic needs. Maslow's hierarchy of needs consisted of the following: Physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization. He distinguished between lower and higher order needs. Lower-order needs were identified as those needs common to both animals and humans; i.e., the physiological and safety needs.

Both Thompson (1961) and Stewart (1981) studied moonlighting from the premise that it was motivated by unmet needs. Stewart's findings suggested that the lower needs have "given way to higher needs as motivation factors;" teacher's roles were least satisfying in the dimensions of self-actualization and autonomy (p. 75). She stated, "moonlighters engage in other work situations which enhance their esteem, allow them more autonomy, and give them a sense of self-actualization" (p. 79).

The Category System

Previous studies of needs defined them in an impersonal manner. The category system that emerged in this study is similar to Maslow's hierarchy, but it is important to distinguish between the two. The

category system presented here represents the personal meaning of moonlighting described by the twelve teachers interviewed. These meanings were unique, and many times reflected the perceived needs and motivations of specific teachers. However, as stated earlier, it is likely that additional interviews with moonlighting teachers would produce a similar structure of the experience.

The analysis of the interviews revealed clusters of themes related to needs. It became apparent that some teachers "need" to moonlight, and that they are motivated by these needs. Four pairs of categories emerged to summarize the major themes that appeared in the interviews. The categories are the following:

- (1) Autonomy and Independence Meanings
- (2) Self-Esteem Meanings
- (3) Social Meanings
- (4) Self-Actualization Meanings

These categories are related, and yet, they represent distinct clusters of themes that appeared in the interviews.

The meaning of moonlighting for these teachers was related to personal dissatisfaction with teaching and satisfaction with the moonlighting experience. Each of these categories was a function of individual perceptions as well as individual needs. Some interviews were dominated by a particular category of meaning, while others were a combination of several. Thus, these issues emerged to varying degrees in each interview.

Autonomy and Independence Meanings. This category refers to perceived needs related to the issues of autonomy and independence. Teachers frequently described this need to be in control, to be self-governing and functioning independently. Themes that clustered together in this category reflected a motivation to moonlight in jobs that provided some measure of control and independence. More themes fit into this category than any other.

Among the teachers interviewed, at least eight of them expressed concern over the dissatisfying nature of their work and its tasks and responsibilities. These teachers discussed feelings of powerlessness with regard to what they do each day, with whom they do it, and in what environment.

I'm frustrated on my main job because it is overloaded. I'm teaching two schools and I think it's ineffective if we have to travel. I know very well that with the handicapped children it would be much better for us to have a smaller load. I'm always lacking in materials, in independent work materials because my students just cannot read. I'm always thinking of individualizing, but it's very difficult to do. (#104)..

You're expected to do so much and you feel, it's just like well, can't you individualize for these seventeen people here, and there's no way you can individualize all day long. You're going to have to have a group, and some of them are going to get it and some of them aren't going to get it. You know, I get really frustrated with the numbers that we have. Seems like every time I turn around, there's somebody else coming in, but no more help. You get real frustrated. Most teachers, I think, would do away with money, if they could have fewer children in their room. (#101)

I was teaching Special Education and it was CDC and Resource combined. I had a caseload of fifty-four students and most of them were in there three hours a day. I had one aide. The paperwork of Special Education, keeping up with all the M-Teams, I would say the main thing that depressed me was the kids' low motivations. They didn't want to be there at all. (#105)

In contrast, moonlighting jobs were perceived differently. Teachers who moonlighted expressed a strong sense of "being your own boss" or simply being in control of the environment and the tasks and responsibilities of the moonlighting jobs. In this study, at least six of the interviews contained themes related to this issue. Teachers who discussed themes in this category worked second jobs that they perceived as being complementary or contrasting to their roles as teachers.

Another reason why I enjoy it so much is cause I do get to work on it at home. I can drop this whenever I want, I'm still at home. At least with my job, I can do it in private; just away from everybody and everything. I can pick it up and take it with me, work on it, here or there. I set my own hours. I'm my own boss. (#103)

I am pretty much my own boss. I can schedule what I want to schedule and if I want an hour off, or want a day off, or want a month off, I just take it. With my personality that helps a lot because I'm kindly independent in my thinking, so that all helps go along with just my style of life that I like. (#111)

The experience of moonlighting also had to do with not being in control. In this study, at least two teachers expressed the feeling that moonlighting meant not being in control of large numbers of students.

I think probably they [teachers] need the change to something where you're not responsible for one hundred and fifty young people a day. That is so draining. (#108)

The discipline thing needs to be mentioned. I think it is one that every teacher will tell you is a real problem, something they worry about doing well. I guess it just goes with the job and so I don't ever think about not having to do it because it's just so much a part of having a large group together at one time and it just kinda goes right along with it. At the public library, discipline is not a part of the job. I think that's the thing I worry about most here [school]. I think that's hard for me to do and it's hard for me to really be a good disciplinarian. When I

go to the public library that whole worry or concern is removed. It doesn't exist anymore. It's more low key. (#102)

Many of the teachers in this study expressed a desire to control their time, to stay busy, to avoid boredom. It has been speculated in earlier studies that large numbers of teachers moonlight because of the time they have off in the summer. These interviews did not dispel that notion. They indicated, however, that "doing something different" may be more important than just "doing." Analysis of the interviews revealed issues related to the control of time present in at least six of the protocols.

You can stay fairly busy painting houses. The main reason for doing this is more money. Of course, you've got all this time off in the summer, that may be part of it. You have a block of time like June or July. You can always use a couple hundred here or an extra hundred there for something. (#109)

I like a lot of moonlighting. I don't like dead time. I want something going on. Doing nothing but teaching everyday sounds boring to me. Not from the teaching aspect, but what do you do with all the rest of your time? (#111)

I think a lot of moonlighters want something to do in the summers. Some, too, may even say "need" something to do in the summer. I like my second job. I like it very much. It will also offer me some work time in the summer; which will be good. (#102)

Among the teachers in this study, the most dissatisfying aspect of moonlighting was related to a loss of control over time. Several teachers discussed this issue, but none saw it as a reason to discontinue moonlighting.

The thing I dislike about having a second job is time. Not having enough time to be with the family or not having the afternoons to do the yardwork and the work around the house. It's not bad at all and if I need another day, I just take it. So, really there's nothing major I totally dislike. (#111)

I was noticing that more and more of my free time was going away, but then he [her boss] was paying me more too. It [moonlighting]

cuts into what I do a lot. It doesn't bother me that much because that's two or three nights that I'll be staying at home. Other wise I'd be going out and spending money somewhere. I don't like it when it cuts me out from doing something and that's usually on the weekend. I don't do a lot of things that I really used to enjoy doing and the main thing is reading. I just don't have time. I've got so many things to do. (#103)

Other teachers expressed the idea that moonlighting provided a sense of freedom; freedom from the influence or control of others. One teacher indicated that he felt a need to quit coaching when he no longer felt a sense of freedom in the second job.

I didn't mind the responsibility [of coaching]. The only part about coaching, as the years went along, coaches have more and more rules to abide by. The freedom, selecting your own schedules and things of that nature are gradually being taken out of your hands. The fact that I was at a big school was good. I usually had good material, we made money. I could buy the things I wanted. I had a free hand in purchasing and then we began girl's basketball. Again all that was slipped by me too, and I resented that because their program made no money and lived off of mine, but of course I am over that now. (#108)

This freedom was also demonstrated in a teacher's knowledge that one is independent and can leave teaching at any time.

I've heard a lot of people say, "I wish I'd had your knowledge and ability, I'd be out doing that." I don't know whether it's pride or not. I feel I always have a door open. If teaching becomes so oppressive that it's just becoming an administrative burden...I feel if it gets so burdensome that I don't like it, I can quit; go back to building full-time. (#110)

I think I did it [moonlighting] with the possibility of considering a job change. I was also doing it thinking about the future and the fact that I want to work, but I'm not sure I want to work this hard five or six years down the road. (#102)

A sense of freedom was also related to financial independence--not depending on others for financial support. Teachers have traditionally moonlighted in order to satisfy financial needs. For some in this study, the need for money was frequently perceived as temporary, but

for others the perceived need for extra income extended over a longer period of time. Money was mentioned as a motivator in at least eleven of the twelve interviews, at least nine of the teachers discussed financial need as the primary reason for moonlighting. Regardless of whether the money was perceived as being critical to one's well-being, the extra money from moonlighting frequently provided a level of independence that would not otherwise be possible.

At that time, I thought money was the primary motivation for being a bus driver, but I bought things I wanted rather than groceries and paying the mortgage. So, maybe it was so I wouldn't feel so completely strapped financially. Maybe it was so I could experience a little financial freedom during a rather difficult period. (#112)

I think some teachers work other jobs for the money. We wouldn't do it if it wasn't for the money. I think we have so many moonlighting because the pay that you get. If you're going to have a family, you want them to live in a nice environment and for them to have the things, not only that they want, but that they need. Usually that they want; not the needs. Then you have to have some other income or your couldn't make it. (#105)

Self-Esteem Meanings. Maslow (1970) theorized that "all people in our society (with a few pathological exceptions) have a need or desire for a stable, firmly based, (usually) high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, and for the esteem of others" (p. 43). Among the teachers in this study, at least nine discussed self-esteem issues in the course of their interviews. Themes related to self-esteem occurred with nearly as much frequency as autonomy and independence issues. For these teachers, their roles as teachers frequently leave them with feelings of low self-esteem.

Teaching is not what I expected. When I grew up in rural West Virginia and went to school, I remember what teachers did and I remember the role that they played. There was pride in teaching. High school teachers were looked at as leaders in the community

and people that you looked up to. Those days are gone. People feel, and I didn't realize this until I was teaching, it's kinda degrading to say, "I'm a high school teacher." You have to say it under your breath. I used to think people had a lot of respect for high school teachers, but I feel that they don't anymore. It's just a guy who wants to teach school is just the attitude I get now. That's kind of an embarrassment to me because I do enjoy it. (#110)

I always say I do these things for money. I wonder if we, as teachers, don't really feel like we're professionals; it's like you try a little bit harder. (#112)

I would just love to work with new Special Education teachers and help them avoid the kinds of pitfalls that lead to nothing but frustration and feelings of doubt and lack of self-worth and all the things that go with being Special Education. The retarded teacher does become the retarded teacher rather than the teacher of children who are limited. (#112)

In contrast to teaching, teachers indicated that they enjoyed their second jobs; these jobs made them feel good about themselves.

I feel much more like a professional at my other job and it's much lower keyed. It's more relaxed. It's a much more professional kind of feeling. At my second job they treat me in a very professional way. It says they believe I know what I'm doing and that is an important part of my work as a librarian. (#102)

I do it because I want to. Well, I do it primarily to supplement my first job; for financial purposes, but I also enjoy it. I wouldn't attempt to do it if I didn't really enjoy it, and I do enjoy it. That's the thing that keeps me going when I see them [the students in night school] eager and ready to do what I want them to do. (#107)

I think if you're going to give up your time off from your full-time job I think it would have to be something you enjoyed; particularly, if you're not so crazy about your full-time job. (#103)

Being a resource teacher [mentor] has helped me to see some abilities and potential within myself that I hadn't really recognized before. It's an amazing thing to watch a person bloom the way the intern has bloomed. I think that's pretty exciting; to know that I must have said something positive somewhere that has helped her. (#112)

Enjoyment is the main reason that I continue to do it, and of course the financial aid does have a bearing. But when I took the

year off and didn't teach, I didn't cut a lot of hair either. I saw that I could make it on a lot less money and I think money is not the answer to really any job that I've ever had. (#111)

Moonlighting often left teachers feeling physically tired.

Several teachers discussed ways that they attempted to manage this tiredness, but ultimately, moonlighting was a physically demanding activity that required careful management of one's time.

My second job doesn't hurt my job during the day because I'm not gonna let it hurt it. It tires me out, but if I know I have some work that I need to do when I go home; if I'm too tired to do it when I go home then I will go to bed and get some hours sleep and get up at three or four o'clock and do it and have it ready for them. (#107)

Moonlighting is taking a second job. It is above and beyond what I do regularly. You feel that sometimes. Sometimes you're very tired. You feel it. I finally had to drop the Saturday because I need time to recoup for the next week, for this job [teaching], because it is very emotionally demanding. (#102)

Satisfaction of needs related to one's self-esteem frequently led to feelings of self-confidence and strength. These feelings were buttressed by the recognition and commendation of others. The meaning of moonlighting for many teachers was achievement -- a sense of working hard, meeting a challenge, and being recognized for that feat.

I never felt embarrassed that I was a bus driver. People would say to me, "I just don't know how you do that. That seems like it would be such a hard job." When people said that I felt a little bit stronger, and this occurred during a period when I needed to feel strong. That was a real important thing for me. (#112)

I never felt uncomfortable about working two jobs. I felt I was different [from teachers who didn't have other jobs]. I felt like that I was actually proud of myself for working another. I felt like that a lot of them said, "_____, I don't see how you do it. There is no way I would do it." And I really was proud of myself for wanting to make \$8-9,000 more a year. I guess I did feel a little bit more "gung ho" or maybe I felt like I had more ambition even though a lot of those teachers were going back and getting their Master's, that was their way of having ambition, I guess. But at the time, I really wanted the monetary gain. (#101)

I've got lots of friends that have told me if you ever want to quit that job, I'll take it. There's a little bit of pride in what I do, my second job, because I go in the grocery store or convenient or anywhere, and I see people pick it up and start reading and I just sit there and think, "Hmmmmmm...I did that." There's lots of teachers, but I guess it's just when people know what it is, and they will ask a lot of questions. They're more inquisitive about that than they are teaching. (#103)

It might be hypothesized that, in moonlighting, teachers were able to get immediate positive feedback about their performance. Many of the moonlighting jobs discussed by the teachers in this study were structured in such a way that one could very quickly see the product of one's labors, e.g., waitress, raising tobacco, remodeling, painting, writer, etc. A sense of achievement was possible in the knowledge that one had successfully completed a task. In teaching, this type of feedback is seldom possible. Only a few teachers expressed this idea. Their remarks, however, support its veracity.

Usually the thing about it [painting], you can go in most places and it really looks better. It makes a house look better and most people like it. It's fun. (#109)

It's a pretty clean job [hair styling]. It's something I can do and in twenty to thirty minutes, I'm through doing it and ready for a new challenge. (#111)

The tutoring has an effect on me as a teacher. It gives a break and I can see somebody really progress. Last year, I couldn't see much progression in those kids in sixth, seventh, and eighth grade, who were in resource. But the kids I tutored were not in special education; working with them was a break. You could see them learning more and more. (#105)

Social Meanings. This category refers to an individual's perceived need to have satisfying interpersonal relationships and interactions with others. Vroom (1964) wrote, "it is difficult to take issue with the view that social interaction can be highly rewarding to most

persons or that experiences with one's co-workers may be a major satisfaction in work" (p. 119). Among the teachers in this study, at least nine of them discussed themes related to social motives. The meaning of moonlighting was frequently related to sharing or being with others.

It's something social that I like to do because my grandparents come and help us, and my family, we all get together and they tell the old stories like when they were little kids and stuff. You learn a lot about the past. Things they wouldn't just tell you when you're sitting there at the dinner table or something. But when you're standing around all day, nothing else to do, they tell their stories. (#105)

I wanted to stay on there [the restaurant] just because of my friends. If somebody had offered me more money, I probably would have wanted to stay on anyway. (#101)

There are some kids that if their family raised tobacco, it gave me something to talk to them about. When otherwise I wouldn't have anything in common with them. We would talk about it. (#105)

Teachers in this study expressed the idea that teaching was enjoyable when the students were motivated. This situation was not often the case in their classrooms. Thus, moonlighting was often a way to practice one's "trade," but in a much more satisfying environment -- an environment in which it was possible to share and to help someone learn.

At first I volunteered to teach them because I was gonna share with them whatever I have learned. I have learned and when I came to this country in the 1950's there was no one for me to get help from. I decided that now I could help them, and they started coming, and that's how it started. I'm teaching them whatever they want to know. I feel good about it. I have a really good time. (#104)

I was surprised the kids were so human at night school. We would help each other. I was surprised they were willing to share. (#106)

At my night job I sort of get rejuvenated when they're there and they're so receptive to what I have to offer them and they're really there for a purpose. I have very bright students at night school for the most part, and it's very nice to see students say, "Oh, Ms. _____, I'm proud of this." I really enjoy my night school job. I enjoy my day school job, it's just a little more taxing. (#107)

I've learned a lot because the intern [teacher] does a different job than I do. I've learned what her job is, we have learned a lot together....I know how to teach a concept and I know correct discipline procedures and crowd control procedures, but I really didn't know that much about fourth grade so I had no way to do anything other than to say, "We're going to learn together. I'm here to help you." (#112)

Interpersonal relationships were important to the teachers in this study. Frequently their daily interactions were almost solely with students. A need for adult interaction was discussed by at least five of the teachers interviewed.

Adults have different problems I think than kids. Kids think of their own self interests; whereas these adults, being in a different country, want to please the others, after all they have to communicate their desires without offending the party. Whereas the elementary school students always have self-centered ideas, as "I got to do this," "I want this," [or] "I feel bad." (#104)

I increase the number of adults that I have regular contact with...professionals. I can't really talk library stuff to teachers. I need somebody I can talk to; somebody who understands professionally what I am doing; what my goals are, and just to chat. (#102)

Among the teachers in this study, at least three discussed feelings of alienation in their teaching jobs. For these teachers, moonlighting was a means for acquiring companionship, group acceptance, and at times, even admiration.

I have sometimes felt like as a Special Education teacher, that the administrators are forced to have us in the school. The administrators didn't really appreciate my efforts and the children don't provide a lot of the warm fuzzies that children in a more normal setting would provide. My second job gives me a lot of warm fuzzies. When I was a bus driver, even with people that

thought or implied it might be inappropriate, they just couldn't believe that I was able to do that. (#112)

You're a librarian at the public library; here you're not. They don't quite know what to do with you lots of times in the public schools. Teachers feel real threatened by you because you don't have kids all the time even though you have the same chores that a public librarian does. In a public library you just do library work. (#102)

Self-Actualization Meanings. Moonlighting was also an opportunity for growth, something Maslow (1970) described as self-actualization.

It refers to the desire for self-fulfillment, namely, to the tendency for one to become actualized in what one is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming. (cited in Steers & Porter, p. 44)

Opportunities in the schools for growth and fulfillment are limited. For at least two of the teachers in this study, moonlighting was a chance to grow, to be fulfilled. Both of these individuals worked moonlighting jobs that they perceived as congruent and continuous to their roles as teachers. These teachers described moonlighting as an important part of their lives, an opportunity to reach their full potential.

I think if we just think and work and live with one job without any other interests, then I think it would be terribly boring. Whereas, I come to graduate school and I tutor Koreans and I teach through the daytime and having diverse interests. It just gives me a richer background and rich rewards and I really enjoy doing all this. I think I have more goals which somehow summons my energy. I think there are some goals I like to achieve, and so I have to have more energy to achieve them and the time to...I think if we [stay] with the one job, 12 months a year, year after year, I don't believe teachers would grow. I'd like to see teachers having a broader education. I like to see teachers taking courses in different areas. (#104)

I've always been an achiever, so I think it's been an inward thing. I think a lot of it is where I was given adult-like roles

at an early age and I was told that I had to do the best at whatever I did and it has just become a part of me. I tell my students that I have always been an independent thinker and this is one reason why I wanted to achieve. It isn't just money; it's kind of fulfillment that I have in doing the best job that I can, although it is also material reason. I guess you could say it's not just all for monetary reasons, but it's also because I like doing what I do. When I get to the point where I totally hate it, I will leave because I won't be doing anybody any good. (#107)

Participant Characteristics and the Moonlighting Experience

The two category systems presented summarize and describe the personal meaning of the moonlighting experience. It is assumed by this researcher that these categories can account for any possible moonlighting experience described by a teacher. However, the manner in which each of these categories emerged for individual teachers was a significant aspect of the experience. In this section examples of how specific participant characteristics affected the moonlighting experience will be examined.

Developmental Stages and Moonlighting

The meaning of moonlighting for some individuals was related to developmental issues that were figural in their lives. For one beginning teacher, moonlighting helped her make the transition to the teacher role. This woman was not, in her mind, ready to "grow up" and be a teacher. She had very firm ideas about the role and behavior of a teacher, and she could not identify with that role for herself at this time.

I think in the teaching profession you're supposed to be angelic or something like that. But I didn't want to, I just never, I always acted angelic, not that I'm and alcoholic or anything, I think, but I really, I just didn't, I never really let anybody know what kind of a lifestyle I led. I'd be a totally different person, probably my real self, I guess. (#101)

This teacher discussed the relationship between the roles of teacher and waitress and her self-concept. Somehow, in her mind, being a teacher by day made it more acceptable to work her fun job at night as a waitress.

Once I became a teacher, then it was fine being a waitress and teacher, but not just a waitress, not when I was twenty-one, twenty-three years old. I didn't feel very good. I had a real low self-concept. (#101)

For this individual, moonlighting was a vehicle for not "growing up." Moonlighting was a "second shift kind of life," different people, different ways of behaving.

It [the teaching job] made me grow up and I didn't like it. So, I usually worked on the weekends at the _____ and after we got off work, we would sit around and have a couple of drinks. We'd talk and laugh and I'd get back to my "real" job on Mondays, which was my nice decent job, but yet, I had much much more fun at my other job. (#101)

It is interesting that after years of being a teacher and a waitress, this person finally quit the moonlighting job. Moonlighting no longer "fit" or made sense in her life. She indicated that she now enjoys just being a teacher. For her, moonlighting helped make the transition to adulthood. She expressed regret that she had perceived a need to moonlight for so long.

I paid for it [moonlighting] because I didn't feel good the next day. I missed a lot of time with a lot of my friends because of it. I had friends at work, but that's about all I ever saw. I pretty much cut off my family during those seven or eight years. I was too tired the next day to do anything. Even now, I regret what I did. I feel like I missed out now. I regret what I did.

I feel like I missed out on a lot over those years. I felt kind of like a martyr sometimes. It was like I have to work, but yet, I didn't have to. I was torn. I really was torn. (#101)

For two females in this study, ages forty and forty-seven, moonlighting came later in their lives. The issues surrounding these times were figural because of the life circumstances confronting each of these subjects. Moonlighting for these individuals was a transition to new roles, a new way of being. These women no longer felt consumed by the role of "mother" or "wife." Each of them had time and energy that previously had been expended on duties related to the home and family. Moonlighting was perceived by them as a way to stay busy and to consider new challenges.

As the children have gotten older, I have the energy. The energy that I once used to keep their lives going with bottles and diapers and trips to the doctors with ear infections and that kind of thing, I can use for something else. (#112)

Part of this was to help fill up those evenings when he [my husband] has night classes and I am home alone. I don't like to do that. The kids aren't home anymore. When I had children at home, I think it made a big difference because I had a lot of demands on my time. Now they're all gone, and it's just the two of us at home. There aren't those same demands and I still need to channel my time wisely. I don't want to just waste it. I didn't have time to moonlight before. I never thought about it. (#102)

One of these women had moonlighted for several years and each job had had a different meaning for her. During one period of time, driving the school bus had been a means of feeling strong and confident. She currently works jobs within the school system that she describes as "continuous" to the teaching role. During each of these times, perceived needs emerged that were met through moonlighting jobs, thus she was motivated to seek out very specific kinds of activities in

each case that would meet those needs. Her story demonstrated the fluidity of the relationship between teaching and moonlighting. It is a relationship that responds to changing perceptions of needs.

Gender and Moonlighting

Only four males were interviewed for the purposes of this study; however, the findings seem to reveal few differences in the experience of moonlighting that might be attributed to gender. Among the males, three out of four were paid for extra duties and responsibilities within the school system, but all four also had jobs outside the school system. Among these males, three worked second jobs that had a "contrasting" relationship with the teaching job, and one worked a job that was "complementary" to teaching. At least two of these males perceived their experiences as somewhat different from females.

I think it's a lot easier for men to have a second job. Of course, most all the ladies have another job even though it doesn't bring in a paycheck. (#111)

Most teachers are second incomes to a family anyway. If you go through the school and check with female teachers, you would find eighty percent of them are married to professional men who make a good living. [The teacher provides] a second income to pay for vacations, nice cars and things like that. I don't want to sound like a male chauvinist, but that's really what they're doing. (#110)

A Definition of Moonlighting

The issue of what will be called moonlighting activity has engendered debate among researchers. Many of the studies done throughout the years have defined moonlighting in different ways. Thus, it has been difficult to ascertain the actual rate of

moonlighting among teachers. The problem lies in whether extra jobs within the school system and summer employment should be counted as moonlighting. All of the teachers who participated in this study were asked if their activities would be considered moonlighting. Their responses were revealing.

I just think it's [moonlighting] just working a second job; a part-time job. Course, with moonlighting, your full-time job is normally during the day. 'Cause when you think of moonlighting, you think of your evening job as your part-time job. I wouldn't think of working a job in the evening as a full-time job, and then picking up something in the day. It's just anybody who works a job in the day, of course, the only other time they've got to work at another job is at night. Teachers who work in the summertime are moonlighting; it's just a second job. (#103)

Yeah, I moonlight [coaching and family business], if I understand moonlighting. I mean you get an extra job to make ends meet or because you want to. So I guess I'd call it moonlighting. (#108)

I guess what I do is moonlighting [tobacco farmer] To me, moonlighting is just having a second job. (#105)

Teachers who worked jobs within their individual schools were less likely to call their activities moonlighting.

I've never really thought of what I do as moonlighting, maybe it is. Moonlighting is like you work at [name of a school] and then you leave and go somewhere else and have another employer, working from like say six to ten or something at a department store or at another company. Like I know one of our teachers here used to work for [a department store] four or five hours a day. So that's what I've always thought of it, like if you went somewhere else and drew another paycheck. Since a lot of this [coaching] is kind of on your own. I've never looked at it exactly that way...It used to be, maybe, like you got one job and your second job is maybe taking away from your first job. Coaching or teaching is all different. If I painted like during the year, too, it probably would be moonlighting. I've done that mostly twice, sorta like a friend who was going to move and he wanted me to paint his house once they moved or something, but it's awfully hard to do that. I've done it a couple times. I don't like to do that. It just pushes you too thin. Some people may do it more than others. (#109)

This study does not attempt to put forth an absolute definition of moonlighting. It does, however, highlight the problems of definition as teachers see them. For most of the teachers in this study, moonlighting was simply a job over and beyond their teaching jobs. Working in the evenings and on weekends, as well as working a second job in the summer were all considered moonlighting activity. Among the teachers interviewed, a distinction was made between those jobs they did strictly for money and those they enjoyed. Some teachers were reluctant to call the latter moonlighting, but in the end they agreed that they would fit the definition they had provided.

The problem, however, lay in how to define the jobs within the schools. These jobs were extra duties for which teachers received income; however, most hesitated to call them moonlighting. Perhaps, as professionals, teachers expected to assume these positions regardless of the amounts of money involved. Nevertheless, this distinction was one for researchers to consider, and it is an area in which questions remain unanswered.

Summary

The findings of this study are an attempt to analyze, and thus, better understand the moonlighting experiences of teachers. Two category systems emerged as necessary for a description of the structure of that experience. However, in addition to the two category systems, several important conclusions about the moonlighting experience were drawn.

- (1) Moonlighting among teachers was related to being a teacher.
- (2) The teachers in this study experienced dissatisfaction with the tasks and responsibilities of teaching. Moonlighting was related to the particular perceived needs and dissatisfactions that these teachers experienced.
- (3) These teachers struggled with the "fit" between the moonlighting job and teaching. If the second job didn't "fit" or when it ceased to make sense, they quit or moved on to another type of job.
- (4) Teachers moonlighted for the money, but the money alone was not enough motivation for most to continue moonlighting.
- (5) There were dissatisfactions associated with moonlighting, but most teachers expressed enjoyment of their moonlighting activities.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This research project was motivated by the experience of conducting a survey of the moonlighting activities of Tennessee teachers in 1985 (Wisniewski & Hilty, 1987). A questionnaire was utilized in that survey and the findings revealed that 59% of the respondents moonlighted. The results showed a high rate of moonlighting activity among teachers, but very little else about the dynamics of the phenomenon. Teachers indicated that "maintenance of current standard of living" (46.5%) and "desire for an improved living standard" (35.4%) were the primary reasons for taking a second job. The response to the following question was interesting:

If your teaching salary was increased by the same amount of money that you made on your second job, would you continue to moonlight?

Among the moonlighters in that study, approximately 38% answered "yes." Those who indicated they would continue to moonlight were certainly not the majority, but there were enough of them to cause one to question the meaning of teacher moonlighting among those who would continue to moonlight despite salary increases. If not money, what were the reasons for teacher moonlighting? Dialogue with teachers about the experience of moonlighting seemed to be the most appropriate means for acquiring this information.

Previous studies of moonlighting among teachers relied almost exclusively upon methodologies that revealed the parameters of the

phenomenon but provided very little personal information about the meaning of moonlighting activity or its impact upon the lives of teachers. At least two studies of moonlighting utilized methodologies that were of a more qualitative nature; i.e., interview data and opinionnaires (Thompson, 1961; Stewart, 1981). None, however, utilized a phenomenological approach to the analysis of interview data obtained from moonlighting teachers.

The Category System

A goal of this study was to construct a category system that could be used to describe the moonlighting experiences of teachers. From the beginning, it seemed that the only way to fully understand the moonlighting activity of teachers was to ask them to discuss their understanding of the phenomenon. The open-ended interview process allowed this to happen. Interviews with twelve teachers were the source of data for this study.

A phenomenological approach was used in the analysis of these interviews. The basic outline of the method was adapted from Colaizzi (1978). The topic and procedure, however, required that the researcher adapt many of the fine points of the analysis. Dapkus (1982) suggested that this methodology was most successful when the researcher had three qualities: "(1) a tolerance for the initial ambiguity of the topic, (2) a desire to find the basic, comprehensive structure of a phenomenon, and (3) a belief that accomplishing such an endeavor is possible" (p. 74). The interview process was quite successful in achieving the purposes of this study. Teachers who initially felt they

had nothing to say about working a second job expressed surprise at the amount of information elicited through the interview process.

Data reduction and analysis of the interviews produced theme statements that summarized each subject's moonlighting experience. These themes provided a way of describing the key elements of each interview while retaining the richness of the language used by the subject. The themes were collected and organized from all the interviews and then collapsed into category systems that described the structure of the experience.

For a description of the moonlighting experience, it was necessary to utilize two category systems. The first system produced three categories that described the experience of moonlighting by defining the relationship between the two jobs and one's identity. The categories describing this relationship were the following: continuous, complementary and contrasting. These categories described the underlying structure or context for moonlighting. This category system presented, in summary form, the kind of "gestalt" that gives rise to a diverse range of moonlighting activity among teachers.

These categories described figure/ground relationships that emerged in the descriptions of the moonlighting experience. When people worked two jobs, they perceived a relationship between the two jobs, and that relationship had to do with the question, "Who am I?" This relationship was idiosyncratic; it might change according to experiences and developments that arose in a person's life. If a teacher perceived the second job as having a continuous relationship to his/her identity as a teacher, the qualities of sameness were figural

and the qualities of difference receded in awareness. When the contrasting relationship was evident, the moonlighting job was experienced in terms of differences; similarities might exist, but they receded in awareness in this relationship. When a teacher perceived the two jobs as complementary, there was a balance between the sameness and differences. These qualities concurrently created a balance between the two roles. As one quality emerged, the other receded, and vice versa.

This research was an attempt to describe the world of meanings for moonlighting teachers. Thus, in addition to the categories just described, four major categories of meanings emerged that were necessary for a description of the personal meaning of the moonlighting experience. These categories were the following:

- (1) Autonomy and Independence Meanings
- (2) Self-Esteem Meanings
- (3) Social Meanings
- (4) Self-Actualization Meanings

These categories described teachers' perceptions of the meaning of moonlighting. Teachers' descriptions of the moonlighting experience were frequently accompanied by discussion of the dissatisfying nature of teaching.

This researcher found that the meaning of moonlighting for teachers was related to their general view of teaching as a profession. The perceived needs and motivations of moonlighting teachers were a response to perceived dissatisfactions with teaching. Moonlighting might, at times, also be dissatisfying; but overall, teachers perceived

their second jobs as rewarding. This category system summarized the personal meanings of moonlighting for teachers. These meanings were present in all of the interviews to varying degrees. They occurred in isolation or combination in the theme statements that were reduced from each interview. The meanings, however, represented distinct categories that described universal qualities of the moonlighting experience.

Relevance to Previous Research

Moonlighting and Symbolic Interactionism

As expressed earlier, moonlighting had to do with the answer to the question, "Who am I?" Mead (1934) "saw the human being as an organism having a self" (Blumer, 1975, p. 62). Mead defined the "self" as "a process and not as a structure" (Blumer, p. 62). According to this framework, individuals acquire this sense of self through social interaction. Based on these tenets, it can be proposed that teachers act toward moonlighting according to the meaning it has for them. This meaning arises from interactions between the self and others. Blumer observed, "Individuals, also groups, occupying or living in the same spatial location may have, accordingly, very different environments; as we say, people may be living side by side yet be living in different worlds" (p. 11). Teaching might well be a very different profession for those who moonlight.

According to the symbolic interactionist framework, people communicate and assimilate the values and needs of that culture through social interactions. Through interaction, the individual comes to understand the world and construct appropriate action. Blumer (1975)

recommended: "one has to get inside of the defining process of the actor in order to understand his action" (p. 16). Thus, the focus in the study of moonlighting should be on how teachers perceive their roles, as well as how their perceptions evolve. Moonlighting should be viewed as something constructed by a person, rather than as something evoked.

The meaning of moonlighting develops from the way it is defined to a person through interactions with culture, self and others. These interactions produce a self that functions in relationship to many different roles. The perception a person has of a role is connected to their personal feelings of success in that role. Teachers who evaluated themselves as successful in the teacher role would most likely choose a second job that was a continuation of that role. It was not surprising that those who were unsuccessful or frustrated in the role as a teacher might seek second jobs that were different. Obviously, teachers in this study were not exposed to the same experiences. Each one had acquired expectations for the teacher role that were unique. Perceptions about the meaning of moonlighting for at least two teachers in this study were revealing.

The females that I know who work two jobs are achievers. I see myself as an achiever. I don't necessarily mean degree-wise. These people are good teachers and they are unique individuals. They're independent thinkers and they are not the average run-of-the-mill teachers. They are not the ones to be satisfied with their students being mediocre students. They want their students to achieve and to do well. (#107)

Teachers that I know personally that work second jobs are teachers who in the classroom and in committees are more creative, more cooperative, more able to work as a part of the group, who are willing to be followers and leaders. People that I, if they were children, would probably label them "gifted" or at least very high

achieving types. People with a lot of different interests.
People who see life as it could be, rather than as it is. (#112)

For these two teachers interactions with moonlighting teachers had produced very favorable perceptions of what it means to be a moonlighting teacher.

Teachers are important in this society; however, their role is fraught with ambiguity. Teaching has a tradition of being an "unbalanced" profession; its demands and dissatisfactions are often far greater than its rewards. Low pay and poor working conditions are frequently cited as the chief reasons why teachers leave teaching. Expectations for the teacher role are unique to each teacher. It is not unusual for teachers to enter the profession with high expectations and then find themselves in a role with a large gap between what is expected and what is received; thus, conflict arises. This conflict may result in feelings of incompetence and of dissatisfaction with the "self" as teacher. Conflict is resolved by redefining role expectations. This redefining process occurs through interaction with one's self and others. Moonlighting, here, is an attempt to balance expectations with reality.

As discussed earlier, moonlighting may be an integral component of the culture of teaching. Teachers expect other teachers to moonlight. Blumer (1975) described this process in the following:

Through this process the participants fit their own acts to the ongoing acts of one another and guide others in doing so....The fitting together of the lines of conduct is done though the dual process of definition and interpretation. This dual process operates both to sustain established patterns of joint conduct and to open them to transformation. Established patterns of group life exist and persist only through the continued use of the same schemes of interpretation; and such schemes of interpretation are

maintained only through their continued confirmation by the defining acts of others. It is highly important to recognize that the established patterns of group life just do not carry on by themselves but are dependent for their continuity on recurrent affirmative definition..... Redefinition imparts a formative character to human interaction, giving rise at this or that point to new objects, new conceptions, new relations, and new types of behavior. (p. 67)

Utilizing this perspective, it is possible to view the high rates of teacher moonlighting as patterns of behavior that sustain themselves through group interaction and affirmation. As such, the moonlighting behavior of teachers will not change until there is some change in the workplace or within the profession that will cause a reinterpretation or redefinition by this group of what it means to be a teacher.

Moonlighting and Theories of Motivation

In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1930), Weber proposed that the Protestant work ethic was the foundation for the growth of capitalism. According to Weber,

The sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Protestant believed that continuous bodily or mental labor increased the glory of God. Time which he devoted to leisure and enjoyment was wasted and worthy of moral condemnation. The route to salvation and to escape eternal damnation was a laborious one and involved conscientious dedication to this calling. (cited in Vroom, 1964, p. 35)

While this ethic may not be the dominant theme of present-day American culture, vestiges of its influence are evident in the moonlighting behavior of teachers. Individuals are motivated to work for a multitude of reasons, economic need being only one of them. The motivation to work two jobs is more complex than that.

Among the participants in this study, the motivation to moonlight was frequently an attempt to meet perceived needs. Teachers could be involved in a multitude of unpaid activities or hobbies that would meet needs not met through teaching, but instead they chose to work in jobs for which they were paid some income. In our society, wages denote the value of an activity. While these teachers often moonlighted for rather small sums of money, that money was symbolic of the importance of the task. As such, moonlighting met two important criteria: it kept one busy and it was labor for which one was paid income. Previous research revealed that teachers were frequently criticized for having easy jobs with lots of time off. It is the perspective of this researcher that moonlighting is a reply to that criticism; not only do teachers teach, but they are industrious--they work two jobs.

Theories of motivation assume that all behavior is motivated. Steers and Porter (1979) summarized the three common denominators that characterize all definitions of motivation:

(1) What energizes human behavior; (2) what directs or channels such behavior; and (3) how this behavior is maintained or sustained. Each of these three components represents an important factor in our understanding of human behavior at work. (p. 557)

Many theories of motivation exist. For the purposes of this study, however, the discussion will focus on the theories of Maslow (1970) and Herzberg (1959).

Maslow's need hierarchy theory was introduced in the mid-1940's. Maslow was interested in self-actualizing human beings. His theory posited the existence of impersonal needs and goals toward which all

behavior is directed. This theory was described by Steers and Porter (1979):

According to Maslow, those needs that are largely unsatisfied tend to create tension within people that leads them to behave in ways that are aimed at reducing the tension and restoring internal equilibrium. Once a certain need or set of needs become satisfied, it loses its potency as a motivating force until it again becomes manifest (or activated). (p. 32)

Maslow suggested a hierarchical relationship between the various needs where lower order needs (physical and safety) must be satisfied before higher order needs (belongingness, esteem and self-actualization) become potent.

Utilizing Maslow's theory, one can hypothesize that teachers moonlight in order to meet perceived personal needs. Lower order needs appear to be met through teaching, but opportunities to meet higher order needs are frequently absent or limited in the teaching job. Certainly the categories of meaning that emerged in this study are similar to Maslow's higher order needs. Based on his theory, it is possible that moonlighting is an attempt to meet perceived needs that are unmet in teaching.

Maslow suggested that self-actualizing individuals had satisfied their lower needs. While not all the teachers in this study could be called self-actualizing, it was the observation of this researcher that they were seemingly exceptional teachers. For the most part, they were individuals who were full of energy and curiosity. They were goal-oriented. Despite the perceived necessity of moonlighting, most were quite accepting of their situations. According to Maslow's hierarchy, self-actualization is at the top of the hierarchy, and thus,

it is the need most easily impeded by other needs. Thus, for those who are not self-actualized, concern with meeting the belongingness and self-esteem needs was usually evident.

In contrast to Maslow, Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959) were concerned with job attitudes. They suggested that the factors that make people happy with their jobs are different from the factors that make people unhappy with their jobs (p. 111). According to these writers, satisfaction with work was related to the content of work or the doing of the job. Dissatisfaction, however, was related to the context of the job (pp. 113-114). According to this framework, the satisfiers were called motivators; the dissatisfiers, hygiene factors. Herzberg et al. described the relationship between the two factors in the following:

When the job context can be characterized as optimal, we will not get dissatisfaction, but neither will we get much in the way of positive attitudes....both kinds of factors meet the needs of the employees; but it is primarily the "motivators" that serve to bring about the kind of job satisfaction and....the kind of improvement in performance that industry is seeking from its work force. (pp 113-114).

Vroom (1964) observed, "work provides many sources of satisfaction which are not economic in nature" (p. 45). Economic needs may be important in the second job, but the findings from this study suggested other contributing factors. Opportunities for feelings of satisfaction in teaching were limited for the teachers in this study. Moonlighting was often akin to a hobby; it became a substitute for the primary job. Herzberg et al. suggested,

An individual living in such a world is debarred from seeking real satisfactions in his work. Interpersonal relationships outside work are overloaded; the hobby often becomes a substitute for the

job. But the hobby cannot give the complete sense of growth, the sense of striving towards a meaningful goal, that can be found in one's life work. (p. 130)

For the teachers in this study, moonlighting was a means for gaining a sense of personal growth and achievement. Herzberg et al. proposed that "the factors that lead to positive job attitudes do so because they satisfy the individual's need for self-actualization in his work....Man tends to actualize himself in every area of his life, and his job is one of the most important areas" (p. 114).

The findings of this study revealed that moonlighting was related to satisfactions and dissatisfactions. Many teachers expressed dissatisfaction with their roles and responsibilities as teachers. While moonlighting did not make these dissatisfactions go away, it did appear to lower the general level of dissatisfaction. Most teachers perceived moonlighting as a satisfying activity, and in this way it actually contributed to more positive job attitudes and better job performance.

Festinger and Aronson (1960) proposed "that when individuals receive 'insufficient rewards' following an expenditure of energy, there is a tendency to attribute additional value to the consequences of the energy expenditure" (cited in Vroom, 1964, p. 36). Teaching was perceived by the teachers in this study as a valuable and potentially satisfying activity. Society offers few rewards, economic or otherwise, for those who chose to teach. Moonlighting has become an activity in which goals and tangible rewards were more easily attained.

Vroom (1964) suggested that wages are "an almost universal form of inducement for individuals to perform work" (p. 252). However, Miller and Form (1951) examined the complexity of these inducements:

The motives for working cannot be assigned only to economic needs, for men may continue to work even though they have no need for material goods. Even when their security and that of their children is assured, they continue to labor. Obviously this is so because the rewards they get from work are social, such as respect and admiration from their fellow men....For all, work activity provides fellowship and social life. (cited in Vroom, p. 40)

Herzberg et al. (1959) classified salary as a hygiene factor because of its potency as a job dissatisfier (p. 82). More recent studies have indicated that salary and wages were frequently at the top of the list in response to the question "What do you not like about your job?" (Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, p. 116). Herzberg et al. were careful to point out, though, that the meaning of salary is complex. They explained,

Money thus earned as a direct reward for outstanding individual performance is a reinforcement of the motivators of recognition and achievement. It is not hygiene as is the money given in across-the-board wage increases. (p. 117)

Salary may often be a subset of other needs. For example, the extra money gained through moonlighting may provide a measure of control over one's finances and living conditions that might not otherwise be possible. Thus, in this situation the perceived meaning of moonlighting has more to do with autonomy and independence meanings than economic need. Teachers may indeed perceive income as the primary motivation for moonlighting, but other needs, of which they are not immediately conscious, may also serve as motivators. Stewart (1981) observed:

In light of the complex nature of pay (compensations) in terms of its fulfillment of different workers' needs, there may not be a contradiction in the evidence that moonlighters do so for both needs satisfaction and increased income: the increase in income may be as much a way of keeping score of success, of fulfilling needs, as of supplementing salary. (p. 79)

At least two teachers in this study discussed their perceptions of the complex relationship between money and moonlighting activities.

I don't mean to really imply that I ignored the money, but I didn't start coaching so I could have the money. I was glad to get it when I got it. I don't keep the [family] business because the money it brings, but when it has a good year, I'm glad to get it. So money's important to me, but I guess that wasn't why I got started doing those things. (#108)

I thought it was money at the time, but the things I bought were things I wanted rather than groceries and paying the mortgage. So maybe it was so I wouldn't feel so completely strapped financially. Maybe it was so I could experience a little financial freedom during a rather difficult period. (#112)

For these teachers, there were economic motives for moonlighting but these motives were subsumed under larger, more encompassing perceived needs.

Moonlighting had many meanings for the teachers in this study. Theories of motivation do not specifically examine the motivators for moonlighting behavior, but they do have relevance to this discussion. These theories acknowledge the impact of economic motivators, and they also consider perceived needs and satisfactions/dissatisfactions of work as motivating factors. Motivation theory contributes to an understanding of the meaning ascribed to moonlighting by teachers.

Research on Moonlighting

Previous research on moonlighting has utilized two major perspectives. The relevance of this work to the findings of this study will be considered in the following:

(1) Economics and Professionalism: The Negative Implications of Moonlighting.

Previous research on moonlighting emphasized the negative implications of moonlighting for the professional status of teachers. All but a few of these studies concluded that teachers moonlight for economic reasons. Many were concerned that fewer and fewer males were attracted to teaching because of low salaries and the necessity of moonlighting in order to support a family. Additionally, it was suggested that teachers were increasingly fleeing a profession in which moonlighting was a fact of life.

This current research is an attempt to refocus the issue from the perceptions of researchers to those of teachers. The meanings of moonlighting described by these teachers have little to do with researchers concerns with professional status. This does not mean that the concerns of earlier researchers do not have validity; it simply means that moonlighting, as teachers experience it, is quite different from previous descriptions based on researchers' surveys.

(2) Teaching as a Deprived Profession: The Positive Implications of Moonlighting.

Guthrie (1965) proposed that moonlighting among teachers indicated a general deprivation within the profession. Economic need was an important aspect of that deprivation. In this study, economic deprivation was not the primary impetus for moonlighting behavior. Moonlighting was more frequently a response to perceived needs and dissatisfactions that arose from their roles as teachers. These teachers had, in effect, established a second source of satisfaction in order to reach their psychological goals.

As revealed in this study, the positive implications of moonlighting outweigh the negative. This researcher agrees with Thompson's (1961) finding that until lasting changes are made in the workplace of teachers, moonlighting is probably a very cost-effective way to keep teachers from leaving. Moonlighting may, as Guthrie (1969) found, provide "a necessary escape valve against pressure to leave the teaching profession" (p. 31).

Limitations

Questions can be asked about the generalizability of this study because of the small number of subjects who were interviewed. The researcher assumes that additional interviews with other moonlighting teachers would reveal a similar structure of the experience. However, until future studies of the phenomenon demonstrate the usefulness of the two category systems discussed in this study, the results should be viewed with caution.

Additionally, the findings reported from this study depend on the following: (1) researcher's ability to summarize and reduce the data obtained, and (2) the researcher's ability to engage each of the subjects in a thoughtful discussion of their moonlighting experiences. Efforts were made throughout the analysis to check the validity of the analysis, however, it was inevitable that some important aspects of the moonlighting experience would be missed or not understood by the researcher.

Despite these limitations, these interviews revealed important information about the moonlighting experience. This study does not necessarily respond to the contradictions and questions of earlier studies, but it does provide insight into the personal meanings of the moonlighting experience.

Suggestions for Future Research

The two category systems that emerged in this study provide a structure for discussions of the moonlighting experience. This is only a first step, however, in investigating the meaning of teacher moonlighting. Future research on this topic must look at other aspects of the phenomenon.

- (1) There is a need to know more about the differences between teachers who moonlight and those who do not.

Little is known about the extent to which the perceived needs and dissatisfactions of moonlighting teachers are different from teachers who do not moonlight. The most obvious question would be, "Why do some teachers become moonlighters and not others?" The meaning of being a

teacher, as well as the meaning of moonlighting, might be quite different between these two groups. Previous research has indicated that non-moonlighting teachers view moonlighting far more negatively than do moonlighting teachers (Guthrie, 1969, p. 29). Many reasons for these differences may exist, but at present very little is known about the phenomenological differences between these two groups.

- (2) A case study of a moonlighting teacher would provide valuable information on the relationship between teaching and moonlighting behavior.

This study revealed that moonlighting among teachers is closely related to the experience of being a teacher. A case study approach would reveal rich information about the nature of that relationship.

Additionally, very little is known about the impact of moonlighting on the personal or professional responsibilities of teachers. An in-depth study of one teacher would provide rich information about the impact of moonlighting on the teaching profession.

- (3) The meaning of moonlighting is socially constructed, and thus, dialogue with administrators, non-moonlighting teachers, and people in the community would reveal valuable information about cultural expectations for teachers.

Very little is known about the perceptions of others concerning moonlighting teachers. The degree to which these influences affect the decision of a teacher to become a moonlighter. Do other groups recognize the extent to which moonlighting has permeated the profession? Are teachers simply expected to moonlight? Why is teacher moonlighting so seldom discussed or used as argument for higher teacher salaries? These questions and others are pertinent to the discussion of the moonlighting phenomenon.

- (4) A similar study should be done with other groups of teachers using this methodology to explore questions that are related to the category system delineated in this study.

The ability of this category system to describe and capture the essential elements of the moonlighting experience can only be verified if this study is replicated by other populations of teachers. Such a study would provide an opportunity to make a more structured probe into the specific meanings of moonlighting that were generated by this study.

- (5) There is a need to know more about how the teaching profession differs from other professions.

Ultimately, the meaning of moonlighting is quite different from the "why" of moonlighting. This research provides a better understanding of what it means to be moonlighting teacher. Yet, it still does not explain why teaching is different from other professions? A methodology that can better answer this question may exist.

Summary and Conclusions

Recent figures indicate that increasingly large numbers of teachers are leaving the profession. As stated earlier, low pay and working conditions are the chief reasons why teachers leave the profession (Harris & Associates, Inc., 1985, p. 6). Many questions remain unanswered about moonlighting. However, it is the opinion of this researcher that the negative effects of multiple jobholding by teachers is minimal compared to the benefits. Moonlighting has to do with the experience of being a teacher. This author believes that,

until we can make lasting changes in the profession, moonlighting serves several important functions.

Moonlighting is essential to the psyche of many teachers. It does not make the dissatisfaction of teaching go away, for at times there are dissatisfactions that accompany moonlighting. However, moonlighting is generally a satisfying activity, and it may lead to positive job attitudes. Additionally, teachers gain valuable experiences in the workplaces of their other jobs. They often bring these experiences back to the classroom. Their second job frequently provides enrichment and may actually make them better teachers. Higher order needs of some teachers may be met by moonlighting.

The two category systems that emerged from this study revealed information about the meanings and motivators of moonlighting. If moonlighting is indeed a response to perceived deficits in the teaching profession, then these findings have implications for policy and practice in the schools. One important contribution of this study is to emphasize that the raising of teacher's salaries in isolation from changes in the workplace will not stop teacher moonlighting. Herzberg et al. (1959) cautioned against making changes which only affect the dissatisfiers or job context. Lasting changes in the teaching profession should emphasize motivators or the factors that affect the content or "doing" of the job.

Teaching is structured in such a way that teachers have little control over the way in which they do their jobs or the environment in which they work. Teachers are seldom involved in the setting of goals

or given opportunities for realizing a sense of achievement or personal growth in their jobs. To be more specific, teaching is a lonely job and opportunities to nurture a sense of professionalism or simply to share and talk to other adults is limited. Increases in salary are frequently across-the-board and have little to do with the products of a teacher's hard labor. Moonlighting is a response to these problems. Until structural changes occur, some teachers will continue to find in moonlighting compensation for the weaknesses of their profession.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Presently I am in the process of collecting data for my dissertation. It is toward this end that I am requesting your participation as a subject. The purpose of this research is to learn about the experience of being a teacher who works another job in addition to teaching. By talking to teachers who work second jobs, I hope that I can learn more about this phenomenon.

Your agreement to participate in this study will indicate a willingness to participate in an unstructured interview that will last approximately forty-five minutes. During this interview you will be asked to discuss and describe your experience as a teacher working two jobs. This interview will be recorded on a cassette tape to eliminate the need for note-taking and for data collection purposes at a later date.

Strict confidentiality will be maintained throughout this study. No records of names nor any potentially revealing information will be kept.

Each interview will be taped and numbered in such a manner that the subjects cannot be identified directly. Moreover, no identifying information will be used in the reporting of this research project. Personal identifying data will be removed from the protocols so that complete anonymity and confidentiality can be guaranteed to all subjects. The tapes will be held in secure storage for a period of five years before being destroyed.

The researcher will gladly answer any questions regarding this project. Participants are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

Eleanor Blair Hilty
Educational & Counseling
Psychology Graduate
Student

I have read the above information and consent form, and agree to participate in this project.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

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QUESTION: You were talking about why that you had initially taken the job, that they had come to you.

RESPONSE: Oh, oh OK. What it was, was one of the teachers that used to be here, of course, he's at another school now, was still teaching himself. He had another publication, well he owns Cable TV Digest. And he had another publication at the time which was, oh, what was it, is it Bargain Mart, the one that's so popular now? What's the one that's real popular? Uh, you know the little newspaper thing you can buy and you can put a little ad in it, is it Bargain Mart?

QUESTION: That's Bargain Mart, uh-huh.

RESPONSE: OK, well, he had another one, what was it called, it was similar to uh, oh, what was it? It was another publication that was just identical to it but it had a different name. I can't even remember what it was now because he's since sold it and I don't know if, apparently it's even gone out of business. But what he had asked me to do is if I just want to make a few, you know, few extra dollars. And so I was going out there, what was it? I think about one day a week just for about three or four hours in the afternoon which was fine and typing up the ads for him. You know, that went in, the new ones. So, uh, then when he sold that I guess he kinda felt like well, you know, not that it was any money I depended on, it wasn't that much. It was just something to do. You know, it was just one day a week and I didn't even miss that at the time. Well then he added another few publications and he would ask me to do drawings and illustrations for 'em. And I got into that. Then, uh, his cable TV digest which he has had for really, he's had it, I guess, probably at least about ten years, I'd say. But it's just kinda growing in popularity. When it first started out nobody, probably for about the first, you know, seven years, nobody even knew what it was, I guess. But, uh, it had started growing about the time that I was starting to do little various jobs for him and, and his wife was really doing all of it. So, he wanted her out of the editing part and more into the business, you know, taking care, you know, just the office work. So he asked me if I'd be interested and I took on, oh, I did like, I'd, I started out with like maybe HBO and Channel 17, you know, WTBS, and I did that for a week or so and then he'd add on one more about every week or two. We're gradually, you know, I was, I didn't notice it at the time, I was just noticing that more and more of my free time was going away, but then he was paying me more, too. And so, that...

QUESTION: How much work does it take to do all of that?

RESPONSE: It takes me, I guess, on the average of about, it's really a part-time job, you know, because it takes me, I'd say, about twenty hours a week. It's quite a bit, you know, it's like another, I mean if you're talking of forty hour job, this is another twenty. So.....

QUESTION: Uh-huh. Do you have to watch all those shows?

RESPONSE: No, oh no, no, no, no. Huh-uh, no. What it is, is each of the pay cables uh right now I do, uh, HBO, Showtime, Cinemax, Movie Channel, Disney and I used to do HTN, Home Theater, but the Home Theater went out of business, you know, the end, well, the last week they ran was the last week of January. So I picked up, what's called select TV. And I do, what is it, six? You know, I do the editing for the six of those. I don't do the networks, you know, ABC, CBS or NBC and I don't do, I used to do uh, uh, Channel 9 out of Chicago and, like I say, WTBS from Atlanta but they, they start sending their schedules in a week after I needed it which instead of sending it to me and having me get it back that same week that they were typing it up and, you know, doing the layouts, they just did it themselves.

QUESTION: You said that you uh do it now for different reasons?

RESPONSE: Right.

QUESTION: What are your reasons now for working other jobs?

RESPONSE: Well, OK, like I say, at first when I was married it was just, you know, extra money was mine. Uh, now I have to do it really because, I mean I have to have the money.

QUESTION: How do you... Does that make you feel differently about this other job? Having different reasons now for doing it?

RESPONSE: No, because I really enjoy it, you know, I mean, sometimes like on Sunday nights or Sundays, you know, when I kinda put it off, I really haven't put it off, I don't feel like I have, I mean I've just got a lot to do. And I still want to get out and have somewhat, you know, of a social life, but, and I do have lots of friends for that, but uh on Sunday afternoons when people want to do something, or you know, like on Sunday night, you know, you just kinda want to mellow out and you want to go to a movie and then get something to eat, I'm sitting here thinking "Oh, Gee, you know, I've got, I kinda know how long it takes me and how much I've got left according to how many write-ups I have left and so, you know, I think "Well, I've got about two hours or I've got about six hours" so it cuts into what I do a lot. Which in a way is good and in a way it's not, you know, if I get it done at the first of the week it doesn't, you know, the biggest part of it done at the first of the week, it doesn't bother me that much, because I figure, you know, well, that's two or three nights that I'll be staying at home. You know, otherwise, I'd be going out and spending money somewhere. So, but yeah, now it's completely different, because I need.... That \$600 a month adds up.

QUESTION: That's a lot.

RESPONSE: It is a lot.

QUESTION: Um-hum, yeah, it really is.

RESPONSE: You know, yeah, because I've moved into an apartment that I really probably, I shouldn't have done it, but I did it for convenience, you know, I mean, I, I work South, I grew up South, my parents live out here in South Knoxville and I knew I didn't want to go west. I didn't want to drive thirty minutes to work. And so I moved down barely off Kingston Pike into uh Sequoyah Square, do you know where that's at? And I like them real well, but you know my rent is what, \$475 a month, for me, you know, I have no roommate. So.

QUESTION: You expressed that you, you enjoy your other job.

RESPONSE: Uh-huh.

QUESTION: So you don't mind doing it?

RESPONSE: No, oh, no, I mean I really don't. I kinda enjoy it, it does, like I say, it does give me something to, something, like I, I don't like it when it cuts me out from doing something and that's usually on the weekend, during the week if somebody calls and says "let's do something" then I'll think oh, well, I can do it tomorrow. But then when Saturday and Sunday roll around and usually it doesn't bother me on Saturday either. I guess Sunday's the main day.

QUESTION: Uh-huh. Do you feel like uh working your other job is a positive thing for you as a teacher?

RESPONSE: Um-hum, Well, I don't know how it really helps me in art, teaching art. You know, except it is another form of creativity.

QUESTION: How do you, uh, how do you feel about teaching? If you're going to talk about this job, how do you feel about it?

RESPONSE: Well, (laughter)

QUESTION: No one's ever gonna know who you are. (laughter)

RESPONSE: Uh... I want out of this, you know, I like the kids which is the strange part about it, but give 'em to me anywhere but in the class. You know, I'll love 'em one-on-one, I like 'em in bunches, take 'em on field trips, you know, they are, they're fun, and, course, I don't know how long, I guess it's part, partly because they think of me as kinda being young. And I think that's how come they kinda relate to me and get along with me and kid around with me, but put 'em in the class and, you know, I guess maybe that's where my age might come to a disadvantage.

QUESTION: Why? What happens when they're in a classroom?

RESPONSE: Oh, they're just.... Course, I mean, all teachers, I, you know, even the men teachers, you know, and the young ones and the older ones, it's just a kinda of a wild and woolly age, you know, middle school - 6th, 7th and 8th. It is, it really is.

QUESTION: But you've been in middle school for ten years?

RESPONSE: Uh-huh, this same school. Same position.

QUESTION: Do you think there's any relationship between the fact that you would like out of teaching and yet, you have this other job that you really enjoy and that you kinda like, do you think it, it, it uh provides something for you, provides a different kind of feeling, a better feeling, uh, that it's something, maybe a diversion perhaps, or.....

RESPONSE: What? Teaching or my second job?

QUESTION: The other job, the other job. Do you think that it really kind of helps you survive here uh in a way? You've been here for ten years, you uh, that this is really a stressful age for us, I think.

RESPONSE: What I do, like I say, I do enjoy it, you know, I mean, of course, I don't think I could really make ends meet without that other income now.

QUESTION: So you would say that money is the primary motivator for you working the other job?

RESPONSE: Yeah, but I enjoy it, too. See? About, what, four years ago, three or four years ago, he offered it to me full-time, but what he was going to do was just match my teaching salary.

QUESTION: Oh, OK.

RESPONSE: And he wasn't, you know, course we're talking, you know, twelve months out of the year to match my teaching salary? Well, you know, I mean, even though money wasn't the prime factor at that time, it's just that I thought, "God, why do I want to get, you know, I'm making, I think I was just making, oh, I don't remember at that time how much more I was making 'cause I've gotten a raise since then. You know, I don't remember how much more it was but, I mean not only was, was I going to give up my summers, but I was also going to give up that extra income that I was making from him, he was just going to match my teaching salary.

QUESTION: So that wouldn't have been good enough? I guess another way of asking that question.....

RESPONSE: So I just told him, you know, I said, I would love to do this full-time, but, you know, I'm not going to, not going to do it for nothing.

QUESTION: And so he wasn't willing to pay you that much?

RESPONSE: No, but, I'd, you know, I'd tell him don't, you know, in a nice way, I mean I'm not rude, but I just told him, you know, whenever he could make that offer let me know.

QUESTION: I guess another way of putting that then would be if they offered you a teaching salary that paid you \$600 more a month, would you continue working your other job?

RESPONSE: I don't know. (laughter) Maybe not, it'd be nice to have weekends free, I, I don't do a lot that because of my second job, I don't do a lot of things that I really used to enjoy doing and the main thing, I guess, is reading. Oh, I used to read, I used to always have a book. I hadn't even picked up a book now in, I guess, it's been two or three years -- since I've picked up a book to read for pleasure. And I miss that. And I even, I even joined back into a book club -- DoubleDay Book Club -- you know, thinking that, you know if I started getting them in and they started looking good, that maybe I would start reading and I just don't have time. You know, twenty hours a week, we're talking, even if I worked Monday through Friday, and usually I don't work on Fridays, you know, I get in and, you know, got something to do, get out for the weekend. So we're talking like Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, I try to get twenty hours a week, you know, working when I get home. And it just doesn't.... I mean, you get home and uh, it just, you get home and you've got so much to do, you know, you've either got to wash or do some ironing and I've got pets, gotta get them fed. And you know, sometimes depending on, depending on how grunchie I feel, I'll, I'll take a shower or the phone, the phone starts ringing or my parents want me to come for supper or you know, its, and I've got so many things to do, you know, I've even got my little list made out here the things I've, look at this for things I've got to do after school, you know. And, 'course, they're all little quick-stop things, you know, stop at the dry cleaners, stop and get gas, and go to the tanning bed, and you know....

QUESTION: All the very important things.....

RESPONSE: Yeah, but I mean it's stuff that I, you know, whereas used to, gracious, I could, you know, tell my ex-husband, you know, would you stop and pick up my dress at the cleaners, you know.

QUESTION: So how does this make you feel? Do you feel real stressed? Do you feel that it really pushes you to, to use all the energy that you possibly have?

RESPONSE: Yeah. Oh, definitely, I mean, I, I don't, thank goodness, I don't require a lot of sleep because I, I couldn't even tell you, now I've done real good this week, you know, and I guess maybe, I mean, pretty soon it kinda catches up with you though. But normally, I mean, if I get four or five hours of sleep at night, that's good. You know, if I go to bed and it's uh 2:30 and get up at 6:30 or 7, that's, that'll get me by.

QUESTION: Do you think that working your other job or uh with all the things that you have to do that it affects you as a teacher. . . . in any way?

RESPONSE: Yes.

QUESTION: How?

RESPONSE: Uh, I don't know, I just, you know, I, I kinda push myself, I do push myself. I don't kinda. I mean I do. But I, I just feel like sometimes it cuts into what I need to be doing, you know, for school.

QUESTION: Like what kinds of things, would you be doing?

RESPONSE: Planning, you know, just, because a lot of times I find myself, you know, kinda in a lull, you know, so far as what, you know, like with the 8th grade, what I want them to do next or something. And, and so I'll do something that I did this semester before, the year before when really what I'd like to do is something different. . . . not to them 'cause they've never done it before, you know, but just for me. Yeah, I mean it's, to teach the same thing over and over, I don't really enjoy, I mean, there are some things that I will teach over and over and over because it's the basics. But so far as applying those basics into some, you know, other art project, I find myself a lot repeating things from year to year.

QUESTION: Do you foresee this changing in the future or do you think you're going to be, this is the way it's going to be for you? Do you think you'll eventually get out of teaching.

RESPONSE: No, No.

QUESTION: You do not want it to be this way then for ever?

RESPONSE: Oh, no. Fact is, I was not going to come back this year. You know, I, I went through really, '86 was rough for me. 'Cause uh, we separated in uh February; he moved back in April; it was about the middle of February he moved out; moved back in the middle of April. Filed for divorce the first of May. And the divorce was final the first of July, but we lived together the rest of the summer. It was the strangest, I mean, we're still the best of friends. The guy I'm seeing now, he was a friend of ours, you know, a mutual friend of ours

before. And they're good friends. It's really, it's a strange....Of course, this doesn't have anything to do with that. But I, it was just, back to your question, do I see this, you know, until I retire, no. I just thought after that because I went through a really tough time, like I said. I wanted or thought I needed to just start everything over, you know. I was going to be living on my own for the first time in my life; thirty-two years old and living on your own, you know. That's traum....., I mean, that's really kinda....

QUESTION: It's frightening.

RESPONSE: It is. I mean, I really didn't have any doubts about whether I could do it or not, I knew I could do it, but I just wondered how I would adapt to it, you know. What kinda person, I didn't wanna chan.... be a changed person. You know, I still wanted to be me.

QUESTION: So you thought about leaving teaching?

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah. Because I thought, you know, it's going to be a new lifestyle, start over with a new job, you know, I knew I was going to have new friends, which is sad, I mean, my, our, I've still got friends that I had when we were married, but its different, you don't run around with married friends. You know, you still talk to them on the telephone, but you don't call and say, "hey, look, let's meet for dinner or let's get together and go to a movie." I mean, you know, you just don't.

QUESTION: It's different.

RESPONSE: Yeah, my friends are single. But I mean I still keep in touch with the others, but not so far as social

QUESTION: So what made you decide not to get another job?

RESPONSE: My father told me, "Betsy, next year'll be your tenth year and you'll be vested. You know, so why would you quit? At least go back and get that tenth year in." So I did. And that was good 'cause I didn't need it, I didn't need to go, you know, out and be looking for another job last summer, I was just wanting to enjoy my summer. Enjoy myself....after what I'd been through, I deserved it.

QUESTION: So you don't see yourself continuing.....

RESPONSE: No, no. I want to get....I would give anything to think, course, at first, when I first started teaching, you know, I really thought I probably wouldn't teach more than about three or four years. And then, three or four went into five or six, then eight and nine, then.... here I'm still sitting.

QUESTION: It's easy to keep staying on.

RESPONSE: But I don't want to. After this, I really feel like if I start getting more years in, you know. I'll have so many years into it, it would be, you know, it would be ridiculous to, you know, get out, but yet God....I mean I've been teaching ten years, retirement thirty years? If I think, you know, I'm just a third of the way through and I'm, you know, I can't imagine. I'll not, you know.....

QUESTION: But in some ways, that's why I guess it occurs to me that uh you're able to continue doing this, but having this other job kinda gives you something else to do, to feel like you're not just a teacher. That (response: right) you have (response: right) another way of meeting.....

RESPONSE: Well now, it's definitely my other job, thank goodness, I do enjoy it; not only do I need the extra money, but thank goodness it's a second job that I enjoy.

QUESTION: Do you ever not enjoy it?

RESPONSE: But I mean the reason why I enjoy it is because it's, I don't know, it, it, it gives me something to do, and I like it, it's fun, you know, movies, you know. Everybody likes movies. And so it's just fun, you know, I know what's coming on in advance, you know, and it's just, I, I enjoy it, I really do. It's, it's different. And it does give me something to do. I think about the nights, you know, when I am sitting at home and I really don't care about getting out, but I've got something there to do. I mean, it's not like I'm going to sit at home and be bored.

QUESTION: Yeah. Yeah that could be a problem, you know.

RESPONSE: Oh yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: You feel like you're doing something and you're making money doing it, too, while you're at home.

RESPONSE: Right, and then, you know.

QUESTION: Which makes it real convenient.

RESPONSE: But, then, like, and bringing that back up, yeah, that's another reason why I enjoy it so much is cause I do get to work on it at home. It's not like I'm working part-time at Miller's and have to work, you know, 6-10. And I have to be there.....

QUESTION: On time.....

RESPONSE: Yeah, I mean, I can drop this whenever I want; I'm still at home; and, you know, I can listen to the radio, and sit down, and, you know.

QUESTION: Do you ever feel uncomfortable about this other job? About other people knowing that you work another job or uh....?

RESPONSE: Huh-uh. No.

QUESTION: You've never felt like you wouldn't want anyone to know about it?

RESPONSE: Never.

QUESTION: OK. That's something that's interesting to me; it seems like so many teachers work other jobs but nobody ever talks about it; nobody ever does use that as an argument for why teachers need to make more money. Uh...the TEA, or none of these groups, they never talk about uh look at all these teachers who have to work other jobs in order to make ends meet. Uh...shouldn't we pay them enough so that teaching could be their profession? Their primary profession and that they wouldn't have to go out and do anything else, but yet, you know, I guess everyone seems to know that people work other jobs and it just seems to be accepted. I.... Do you feel that uh a lot of..... Have you ever had the impression that a lot of teachers work other jobs or did you not really think about it?

RESPONSE: Huh-uh.

QUESTION: I think Ginny told me that uh you and her and uh there was at one time one other person that she knew of in this school that moonlighted. But there were not that many people that she knew of who worked other jobs.

RESPONSE: That's probably true. I'm trying to think of who does.
(Pause) Course, most of them here are married, you know. And with two incomes; that's....

QUESTION: But you were married. And (garbled)

RESPONSE: Well, yeah. But like I say, it was different. You know, I, I just, I just enjoyed the extra money.

QUESTION: Uh-hum.

RESPONSE: Cause I, I would go out; I, I felt I like could go out and buy clothes or, like I say, jewelry and not, you know, not have to worry about it if it would fit into our finances.

QUESTION: There's only one more question I want to ask you. A lot of people would call what you do moonlighting; do you call it moonlighting, have you ever used that term before? I know Ginny used it when she uh asked you if you'd do this. Uh, do you think that's an, what would you call it?

RESPONSE: No. I'd say I work, work a second job.

QUESTION: What do you think uh, I guess one of the things that I'm interested in is how people define what moonlighting is, and I feel like a lot of people uh....

RESPONSE: I think, yeah, a lot, I think a lot of people think of moonlighting as, you know, out, you know, midnighting it, you know. You know what I'm saying.

QUESTION: That there's something derogatory about (garbled) ...

RESPONSE: Maybe, maybe, but I mean I know what it means. You know,

QUESTION: Tell me what you think it means.

RESPONSE: Oh, I know what, I mean, I know it, I'm just thinking how I think a lot of other people think.

QUESTION: Which is what? Try to tell me what you think moonlighting would be.

RESPONSE: Oh, I just think it's just working a second job. A part-time job.

QUESTION: But you said when you

RESPONSE: Course, with moonlighting, you know your, your full-time job is normally during the day, you know. Most jobs.

QUESTION: But when you use the expression "midnighting it".....

RESPONSE: I mean, 'cause when you think of moonlighting, you think of your, your evening job as your part-time job. You know, I mean, I wouldn't think of working a job in the evening as a full-time job. And then picking up something in the day, do you know what I'm saying?

QUESTION: Oh, yeah, oh, yeah. But you said you never called what you did moonlighting and you do it in the evening, don't you? Generally.

RESPONSE: Yeah, I mean that's what I'm saying. I mean to me, I mean I know what it.... yeah, I know what that, what it means. I think of moonlighting as, you know, when, when Ginny wrote me a note and said she's got a friend that wants to interview me about moonlighting, I mean, to me, it's just anybody who works a job in the day, of course, the only other time they've got to work at another job is at night.

QUESTION: Do you think that teachers who work in the summer time are moonlighting?

RESPONSE: Uh-hum. It's just a second job.

QUESTION: It's a second job, that teaching is their primary job and so their second job in the summer is still moonlighting....

RESPONSE: Is a part-time.

QUESTION: is part-time.

RESPONSE: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

QUESTION: Do you think there's uh, you don't mind then having what you do called moonlighting?

RESPONSE: I'm probably going to work another job this summer.

QUESTION: There's a lot of people who do that.

RESPONSE: Oh, I would do it for fun, I want to do it, I'm excited about it.

QUESTION: Because what else is there to do in the summertime? I think.....

RESPONSE: Yeah, really, well, I mean, what, I mean it's just gonna, I'm just going to work at kind of what you and Ginny do, uh, probably a waitress, but you know the new marina that's opening up down on Tellico, Nine Mile Marina? Uh, it's going to be at Nine Mile, it's called Tellico Harbor.

QUESTION: Seems like I've heard someone mention that, but I wasn't sure it was going to be a restaurant.

RESPONSE: Yeah, it's a, well, course they've got the slips for boats and they're going to have, you know, homes and condos down there. They're building the restaurant now; well, I date the guy who's doing the construction.

QUESTION: Oh, OK. So that'll be something

RESPONSE: Oh yeah, yeah real different. Go down there and be out on the boat all day and then come in, go in, you know, just, because it's going to be a neat little restaurant. It's not going to be big, but it's just going to be neat. You know, they're going to have the restaurant with its tables and booths downstairs and then upstairs it's going to be kinda like just a bar, a cabanna type area that uh, it's going to be roofed but the walls, the sides are going to be open, you know, part of the way open.

QUESTION: That'll be a lot of fun.

RESPONSE: Oh, I think it will be a blast.

QUESTION: Do you think that so many teachers moonlight because they do have their summers off and they do have time like that or that you do get off at 3:30 in the afternoon and you've got a lot of time in the evening? Do you think that's the reason, teachers.....

RESPONSE: I don't think people do it to, you know, keep from being bored. I think people do it, you know, just as an income supplement.

QUESTION: You think that's the primary reason they do it?

RESPONSE: Yeah, Oh, yeah, I've never been bored a day in my life. Never.

QUESTION: But it sounds like, it sounds to me like the thing there that you're going to do this summer that you are going to do it, not to alleviate boredom, but because it would be something fun to do.

RESPONSE: Uh-huh.

QUESTION: That it's not that, that you're not doing it 'cause you're bored and it's sounds like you're not even doing it because you need the money; that it's something that.....

RESPONSE: I just want to....yeah!

QUESTION: that it's fun for you to do.

RESPONSE: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: And teaching is probably not something that's just fun to do...every day. (Laughter) Any day...

RESPONSE: Any day. No. Yeah, I guess....you're right.

QUESTION: When you were saying that you think all teachers, I mean I'm just talking right now, this is not that important.....

RESPONSE: Am I contradicting myself?

QUESTION: No, no you haven't. But you did tell me, you said that you thought teachers did it because they needed the money, if I'm not mistaken, that teachers moonlight.....

RESPONSE: Right. Oh, yes, Definitely.

QUESTION: because they need the money. I guess a hunch that I have, and I told Ginny about this, is that, that teachers sometimes do it because it's fun, too. And that's, and the job you're talking about this summer sounds like it's going to be fun.

RESPONSE: I think that if you're going to give..... Yeah, oh yeah. But I think if you're going to give up your time off from your full-time job, I think it would have to be something you enjoyed. Particularly, if you're not so crazy about your full-time job. You know what I'm saying?

QUESTION: Yeah.

RESPONSE: It would have to be or, I mean, you'd just go nuts. I don't think you..... Mentally, you could, you just couldn't take it.

QUESTION: Although some teachers argue that they are crazy about teaching. I, I think different levels, like middle school. Well, let me tell you...

RESPONSE: (laughter) where are they?

QUESTION: I look at an elementary school - and I never taught elementary - I taught secondary so I was in the same boat with you and Ginny. I went out to an elementary school a couple of weeks ago and I did five interviews. I did not find a single person who told me they were ready to leave teaching. They love their jobs; they love those little children; they love what they're doing and they go out to their other jobs for other reasons. But that is something that I think is interesting. That some people maybe do it for other reasons. Not just the money. And I was hearing that from you, too. That, uh, that you were going to do something this summer that was fun and I hear that you really do enjoy your second job. I.... Some people do work second jobs that they don't enjoy. Uh, Ginny made a lot of money at her other job and she enjoyed being with the people a lot that she was with, but that was extremely hard work.

RESPONSE: Well, she was, she, her job was completely different from mine. She was around other people again. You know, at least with my job, I can do it in privacy, you know, you know, just away from everybody and everything. I can pick it up and take it with me, you know, work on it, you know, here or there. I did last summer when we'd go to the lake. You know, I'd pick it up and I'd take it with me.

QUESTION: And so you like, you like being able to be away from people uh, when you do your second job? You're not trying to go out and be with adults or to be uh, I mean, that's one of the things I hear from some people and that's what I kinda heard from Ginny a little bit; uh, that you need to be around adults. When you teach, it's kind of lonely. You're in a classroom all by yourself and you're with kids and uh, uh, I think some teachers really get lonely at times to go out and be with other adults. Uh, and not be around these kids so much. Uh....

RESPONSE: I don't notice it so much now, you know, because I'm with, you know, my friends all the time that range anywhere from 22 to their 40s. Into their 40's.

QUESTION: Whereas your job, that you have your second job, uh, you're not getting out into a different environment, you're not getting around other people.

RESPONSE: No, I do it at home.

QUESTION: Uh-hum, which is, in a way, is something that's particularly nice about the second job that you have.

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah, I mean, I set my own hours. I mean, I'll go home tonight and it's not like I have to be at work somewhere, you know, at like six or seven.

QUESTION: If you feel like doing it, you can do it.

RESPONSE: Yeah, and I can pick it up and I can work on it for two hours here or two hours there and I can stop, and I can talk on the telephone and I can go out; I can run to the store and come back. Yeah.

QUESTION: It seems that time is a real important element there; that if you had to go to another environment where the time was being very restricted or where you had bells ringing or, or all that, that you really seem to enjoy not having those restraints on you in this other job. That (garbled)

RESPONSE: Oh, I do, definitely. Definitely. I mean, it just, it's, I mean, I'm not, really, I'm my own boss. I hadn't even seen my boss (laughter) in, oh gosh, well, I talked to him back around Christmas.

QUESTION: Do you feel like you're your own boss here (school)?

RESPONSE: More or less, yeah. I mean, I know I've got my, you know, superiors.

QUESTION: Yeah. But you probably don't have them come in your classroom or interfere with you very often either.

RESPONSE: Huh-uh.

QUESTION: Do you think that teachers working other jobs is a good thing?

RESPONSE: I don't know. Uh.... I think it just depends if it affects your attitude....toward teaching....in a negative way.

QUESTION: In a negative way.

RESPONSE: And, course, you know like I say, it, it cuts in, I feel like sometimes it cuts into my uh - what's the word I'm trying to think of - (interruption) uh I just feel like sometimes it kind of cuts into my performance a little, you know, as I told you earlier.

QUESTION: Your performance here?

RESPONSE: Yeah.

QUESTION: Yeah. Then it's hard. One other idea I had which isn't even really related to that, Ginny had something to me I thought was interesting. She said that she was really proud that she had another job when she had it. And she was really proud of going out and doing that other job. Do you ever have that, that sense, or that feeling? Uh, have you ever thought really.....

RESPONSE: Oh yeah, I mean it does not make me feel, I mean, I don't, I'm not a lazy person to begin with. But, oh, no, I mean I do feel good about having, I mean it doesn't, like, it really doesn't bother me.

QUESTION: Uh-huh. And so in that sense, it really is kind of a, a positive thing.

RESPONSE: For me, yes, definitely. Definitely.

QUESTION: So if you were going to say should teachers have another job or not, for you it really has been an OK thing for you to do.

RESPONSE: Oh, definitely. Yeah.

QUESTION: OK. Is there anything else you think you should tell me about teachers who work other jobs?

RESPONSE: Course, I've got more free time than somebody, you know, like Ms. Bryson, you know, Pat Bryson, who teaches next door. My word, she's married and got three kids. You know, now that would be tough....

QUESTION: To have another job in that sort of a sense....

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah. You know, I'm single and have a cat and a dog. Nobody to answer to, you know, when..... Even if you think well you still have to do certain things in the afternoon. You know, you're talking about she has to go home though and have a meal and she had, I've, I've got to do washing and ironing for one and she's got five! You know, there, it would be a big difference. I mean, it's, it's enough for me, I guess more or less, but I don't see how somebody like, you know, like Pat or anybody you know with a family could work a second job.

QUESTION: Would be able to do it?

RESPONSE: Oh, no. Talk about never being at home, unless of course they had a job like mine.

QUESTION: That they

RESPONSE: Even Pat next door told me, "If you ever decide to quit that job, let me know." It would be ideal, be ideal. Oh, I've got lots of friends that have told me if you ever want to quit that job, I'll take it.

QUESTION: Although it could get kinda lonely, if that was the only job you were doing. And you were at home by yourself working, uh most of the day. Right now, I work by myself at home all day long and I just get really "antsy" and toward the afternoon sometimes to have lunch with somebody or do something with somebody else, because I get so tired of just being there all alone and not having any other commitments or not having any reason for that point to even get up and put any clothes on. You're just there. And uh, I, I think it could get kind of lonely. Uh, doing that, but maybe not. You, you said you had lots of friends.

RESPONSE: Well, now, if I were ever to take this job over full-time, I would, they would not, I mean they would give me more responsibilities besides this, you know, twenty hours.

RESPONSE: They would give me more to do and

QUESTION: It wouldn't do (garbled)..... much of what you're doing.

RESPONSE: It might be, it might be. They'd probably then give me, you know, the networks, and all the others. And, I mean, there's not that many movies on the networks, maybe one, one each night. You know, where....

QUESTION: They could increase the number of networks. (laughter)

RESPONSE: Well, that true, too. But they would give me something else and I would report to an office, so it wouldn't be like I would have a job where I worked at home all day, by myself. No, I would be expected to report to, you know, the office.

QUESTION: OK. Well, that's all I wanted to ask you.

RESPONSE: Well, I don't know, it has been different; it's definitely been different, but I, I enjoy my second job.

QUESTION: Yeah. Oh, I think I did, too, I was also single when I worked a, a, a second job and with teaching, and I, it was real important to me. Maybe that's just a real issue with me is getting out

and being around other people but I really enjoyed, uh, that and I really felt that in some ways the money was great, but also I just got so tired of being around those kids all the time, those kids that you had to discipline constantly and, uh, they were just such a pain, uh, day-in and day-out, it was really nice to go somewhere and be an adult for me.

RESPONSE: Uh-huh.

QUESTION: And to be able to go somewhere, make a little money and to be around people, uh, who were like myself and that I had a really good time with. I don't think teaching school is just really very fun and I think it can be very stressful when the, the only adult in a room for a long period of time.....

RESPONSE: Well..... There's..... Right. Well, another thing, I don't, is there's a little bit of pride in what I do, too, you know, my second job, because I go in the grocery store or convenient or anywhere, I mean they sell 'em at all the grocery stores in town.

QUESTION: um-hum... And so you see what you've done.

RESPONSE: And I think..... Yeah! You know, I see people pick it up and, you know, start reading and I just sit there and think, "Hummmm... I did that." So.....

QUESTION: Do, do you feel, do you think that maybe you don't get those kinds of feelings here in the classroom? That you don't see stuff that you can say, "Hey, I did that."

RESPONSE: Any accomplishments or something you mean?

QUESTION: Yeah. Yeah.

RESPONSE: I see accomplishments, you know, with the kids.

QUESTION: But you're getting real instant feed-back on your accomplishments with the cable thing.

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah. Yeah.

QUESTION: That that's something you do and you immediately get rewarded for it; it's on the newsstand, people read it, that, uh,.....

RESPONSE: Right, right. Oh, and whenever I've told, you know, whenever I've told people what I do, "Oh, I ta... We subscribe to that. You do that?" You know. "You're kidding. Part-time?"

QUESTION: How did people react when you tell them you're a teacher?

RESPONSE: Oh, (laughter) Seriously, I mean there's lots of teacher, you know, but I guess it's just when people know what it is and they can relate and they say, "Oh, I buy that every week." You know. Or they subscribe to it, one or the other. But they know what it is, and they, you know, lot of 'em, you know, will ask a lot of quest.... Though, they're more inquisitive about that than they are teaching. You know, "Oh, where do you do that?" You know, "Who owns it?" And then, you know, when I tell them it's owned locally, you know, of course, they're in about, what, thirteen states or something like that now. So it's grown quite a bit, quite a bit.

QUESTION: Has your income grown?

RESPONSE: Not to what I think it should be, but, I mean, \$150 a week is not bad. And twenty hours, I would say, I, it can be done in less. It just depends on what week of the month it is. You know, because the first week of the month, like this week, I'm working on, what's, oh, this is what February 20th, and I'm working on the week of March 14-20. So I work three weeks ahead. So, like now, I'm kinda in the middle of the month; the next week which will be the 21st-27th, for seven days, will be the last full week of the month, that'll be the easiest. Because, you know, all of them start showing all the new movies at the beginning of the month and then they, you know, run around. They'll pick-up a few new ones in the middle.

QUESTION: something that people like myself don't know.

RESPONSE: Oh, well that's true. Yeah. You know, like Out of Africa started in January, of course, they're still showing it. But, I mean, all of them started with Out of Africa, you know, the first of January. One, two, fact is, oh it's really kinda funny 'cause I think it was, uh, what if February, they had it in January, 'cause they, it was like, oh, February 1st it was Homesteader, I mean, no, it was HBO, at prime time - 8:00. January 2nd it was Showtime - 8:00. January 4th it was Cinemax - 8:00. So, yeah, and then by the time you get to the end of the month, all the movies, and I can cutout and glue down. I don't have to write 'em every time. I run off copies of my work and keep them to where I can just look back and find them, you know, when I know it's been on. So that's why, yeah, towards the end of the month, the last full week in the month, I could probably get it done in, you know, I don't know about twelve, but probably anywhere between twelve and fifteen.

QUESTION: You're not paid by the hour, are you?

RESPONSE: No.

QUESTION: You're paid for the mind...

RESPONSE: Yeah, which, you know, if I wasn't, it might come out, you know, advantageous to me. Because

QUESTION: If you were paid by the hour?

RESPONSE: Yeah, because the first of the month is much harder. By the end of the month, with all six of my, you know, pay cables that I do, I might have the last full week of the month, I might have, oh, 40-50 write-ups. But the first full week of the month, I've had as many as 180.

QUESTION: And that can be a lot of hours. That can be much more than twenty, can't it?

RESPONSE: Yeah, yeah.

QUESTION: 'Cause some weeks you actually might work more than twenty.

RESPONSE: Yeah.

QUESTION: Do you ever work forty?

RESPONSE: No, no, I, it could never take me forty, I don't think.

QUESTION: Thirty?

RESPONSE: Maybe.

QUESTION: Yeah. Do you.....

RESPONSE: That's a lot of hours to put in.

QUESTION: Yeah, that is. A lot of hours to be working.

RESPONSE: It is.

QUESTION: And having to be here every day in the mornings. Well, that's everything, I really do appreciate it.

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QUESTION: Could you tell me about your other job and when you started doing it?

RESPONSE: OK. I began in 1968. I went to barber school in Louisville, Kentucky College of Barbering, some approximately 9 months, 1500 clock hour school. And then, uh, when I, uh, graduated from there, I spent a year and a half apprenticeship, the first part of that was here in Taylorsville with another, uh, barber and then I went to Louisville, uh, to a place called Whispering Hills, spent approximately three and a half years working there and since 1973, September, '73 or 4, it's, uh, seventy...., I guess, uh, '73, I've been in Shelbyville. I work in a shop with another guy and two girls. And, uh, what other types of things?

QUESTION: How many hours a week do you work?

RESPONSE: Now, about, let's see, four, five, six, about nine hours a week.

QUESTION: Do you work more in the summer?

RESPONSE: Uh, yeah, I usually in the summer, I work, uh, Thursday and Friday, say 8 - 4, probably 22-25 hours a week during the summer, but I usually take an extended time off and don't work at all.

QUESTION: So you got your training as a barber before you ever became a teacher?

RESPONSE: Um-hum, sure did.

QUESTION: OK.

RESPONSE: Uh, since I was an elementary student myself, I've had a desire to teach. Went to college one year after I got out of high school and had a good time and played around and partied and basically flunked out. And stayed out for, uh, about six years. Then went back and got my Bachelor's degree while I was cutting hair at the same time I was going to school. Then I started teaching in the Fall of '78 and taught, uh, continuously up until this is my second year back - I took a year off and worked on my Master's and got my Master's the year I was off while I was cutting hair. So, uh, it served as a, a supplementary and my wife's a teacher. So we did have an income while I was off the year. Otherwise, we'd took..... I was able to work some while, while I was in school.

QUESTION: So, that's just been, cutting hair has always been something that you've done so it was real natural for you to continue doing it even though you'd begun teaching.

RESPONSE: Right.

QUESTION: Did you ever think about teaching, uh, in, in a barber school or whatever?

RESPONSE: Yes, when I was, uh, (cleared his throat), excuse me, little ol' allergies. When I was in barber school, I became good friends with a guy who was in charge of the school and he was originally from this part of the country. And he mentioned with my year of schooling that I did have with another year I could have taught in the barber school and have a science class that you'd have to, uh, be instructed on and you have to pass a school test and you have to pass a state board test and, uh, 'course, you teach the science as well as the practical arts of the cutting of hair. And, yes, I was confronted with that, but it would have to pay somewhere around a million year for me to go to Louisville every day 'cause I'm country at heart and plan to stay. So I would drive to Louisville everyday for nothing. You know, it just doesn't mean that much to me.

QUESTION: Obviously, the two jobs that you have are very, very different.

RESPONSE: In one way they are, they, uh, the meeting of, uh, 'course, both of them you're come in contact with a lot of different people. I, uh, fairly social person - I like meeting people, I like meeting different people, I like talking about a variety of different things. Well, that goes in handy in the classroom because if you try to talk about one thing, you're not going to hit the interest of nearly all the kids, but if you enter in everything, which you can, somewhere along the line, you'll hit on something that's interesting to about every kid. Same way with the hair styling, most everyone that comes in, we can, uh, talk about something of interest to me that's of interest to them. So in some ways it's similar.

QUESTION: Do, uh, when you cut people's hair, they know you're a full time teacher?

RESPONSE: Um, yes. Most all my customers are people that know me, you know, now and realize that I am a teacher. 'Course every once in a while, you'll get someone new, that's, uh, we work by appointment and if, uh, someone just happens to come in or call in and I'll be the one that has the opening, I may have somebody new. Probably 95% or more of my customers are people that know what I do.

QUESTION: Are people ever surprised that you're a teacher?

RESPONSE: Ummmm. Possibly they were, you know, back at the beginning, but I can't remember, right now, anybody passing out when they heard it. But, uh...

QUESTION: But they're not surprised to find a teacher doing something else in addition, uh, to doing that.

RESPONSE: No.

QUESTION: The kids know that you, uh, cut hair, don't they?

RESPONSE: Um-hum, oh, yeah.

QUESTION: What do they think of that?

RESPONSE: Uh, most of them know it before they get here. So I don't really know what their initial feeling was. Uh, used to work out to where every year I would go down and, uh - when the high school was still in the same building here with us - I would go to an 8th grade class and, uh, during their, what do they call it? Uh, class where they talk about other professions and all. And I would go and talk about the barber school and hair styling and do someone's hair while I was talking to them. And I would always take my class with me and they enjoyed that. Now the last year or so, I haven't done that.

QUESTION: Can you tell me about some things that you like about your other job? Or, or (cough) when you've really thought that you, uh, uh, enjoyed doing, uh, the, uh, being a barber?

RESPONSE: Huh.... It's not boring to me, I guess, so that means that I have to like it. I would probably do it no matter if I was rich or poor. The, uh, probably the best part is the meeting of the different people and the, uh, gaining of information from those people. I collect a lot of things; I'm a collector of many items. And, uh, by talking to people, you get leads on things and maybe, uh, makes it possible to collect something as well as just some good conversation. It's a pretty clean job. And I shampoo everybody before I start on it, so it's something I can do and in 20 to 30 minutes, I'm through doing it and ready for a new challenge; it's not like working an assembly line to where you're punching out parts, the exact same part all day long. Uh, pretty much my own boss, I can schedule what I want to schedule and if I want an hour off, or want a day off, or want a month off, I just take it. With my personality, that helps a lot because I'm kindly independent in my thinking, so that, that all helps go along with just my style of life that I like. Is that what you want me to do?

QUESTION: Yeah, how did that style of life, uh, fit with your teaching?

RESPONSE: Real good. Having the time off in the summer is excellent. Uh, I have no drudgery of getting out of going to work either job, uh, there are days you don't feel as good as others and there's days you'd probably rather be somewhere besides at work, but I never get up thinking, "Oh, today's the day I've got to teach, or all the days that

I've got to cut hair." I don't dread either job, I enjoy 'em both. And one is relaxing from the other. Uh, 'course a lot of my customers would be school teachers also, not just in this county but other counties, and I a lot of them say "Well, I don't see how you come and do this after teaching all day." Well, it's kindly relaxing as long as you're feeling good. Of course, if you have a virus or you're ailing some way, it's a little bit of a drudgery, but it's a total let down from all the, uh, mental pressures that are wound up in you at school when you get to the shop.

QUESTION: What would you say is the main reason that you continue to do it?

RESPONSE: Uh, enjoying it. Really is. And of course the financial aid does have a, a bearing, but, uh, when I took the year off and didn't teach, I didn't cut a lot of hair either. I saw that I could make it on a lot less money and, uh, I think money is not the answer to really any job that I've ever had. Uh, I'm a person I feel like that if I was by myself and had a cabin in the woods and enough money to buy a little food and a little ammunition, I could survive from now on. So I, I have no desires of being rich and famous and if I did, I wouldn't be teaching or cutting hair either. I'd be striving, so I don't think money's the answer. I think it's the enjoyment of it.

QUESTION: Do you, do you.... You enjoy teaching though, don't you?

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah, yeah. Oh, I wouldn't come in tomorrow if I didn't enjoy it.

QUESTION: Ok. Is there anything you dislike about, uh, having a second job?

RESPONSE: Time. Not having enough time to be with the family or not having the afternoons to do the yard work and the work around the house, BUT since I'm just working Thursday, Friday and Saturdays now, that does give me Monday, Tuesday and Wednesdays after school to do a little bit of work, which makes it, it's not bad at all and if I need another day, I just take it. So, uh, really there's nothing major I totally dislike.

QUESTION: Yeah. So it works out pretty well for you... to have your second job. Uh, some people would call what you do "moonlighting." Would you consider it to be moonlighting?

RESPONSE: Well, since it came before the teaching, I've never looked at it as moonlighting, it was just the way of life. But I would say if it had to be qualified for a definition, yes, it, I would say it would be OK to call it moonlighting.

QUESTION: What would you call moonlighting? How would you define that term if you were going to give a definition of it?

RESPONSE: Standing in a full moon. No, (laughter), mooning. Moonlighting? Oh, I guess my job would fit the description, it's, uh, having, uh, supplementary, uh, income from some job other than your major source of income. So, so, yes, it would fall under the guidelines of that.

QUESTION: Do you, uh.....

RESPONSE: I'm an auctioneer also, now.

QUESTION: Are you really? How often do you do that?

RESPONSE: Well, I haven't done it a lot. The last two or three years I've had major problems with throat and voice through the winter months because of allergies and, uh, whatever, and the hoarseness just holds me back there. So as far as saying it's one of my forms of income now, it's not, but, uh, it's setting on the backburner ready to go anytime.

QUESTION: But at one time you did do that more?

RESPONSE: Well, I have done it more than what I'm doing it now, yes. And I have my own, I went on and got my, not just my license to work with someone else but to where that I have my own auction name and company, even though it's like I say, kindly stagnated at the moment. But, then I have my real estate license which I'm not using at all. But I, I like a lot of options. I like a lot of moonlighting if you'd like to say it. I, uh, don't like dead time. I want something going on.

QUESTION: That's interesting to me because a lot of these people, uh, I mean I had no idea that you were an auctioneer or that you had a real estate license, but it seems in talking to a lot of people who are teachers who have other jobs that when I'm talking to them they start telling me these other things they do, too, not just one job but they have two or three other things going. What do you think that's all about? There are a lot of teachers who do absolutely nothing but teach every day. And certainly that is a lot

RESPONSE: Sounds boring though to me. Not from the teaching aspect, but what do you do with all the rest of your time? Now like I say, if I was financially strong, I probably would still do the things that I do because I enjoy them. But I would be able to, uh, probably farther my collecting a lot more because any time you do collect, uh, money becomes involved in it; it takes a little bit of fun out when you can't buy it. But, uh, so those people that don't do anything else, either... I couldn't do that. And it either would be because I wouldn't be able to buy the things that I wanted to or, excuse me - I'm having all kinds of funny sounds come out of this - uh, or I would be bored. And, I don't like boredom.

QUESTION: Do you think that, uh, teachers who don't do other kinds of things that they just, uh, are not easily bored or, uh, that you have a lot of interesting....?

RESPONSE: Oh, no, it just, no I'm not a hyper person at all, I'm really more laid back and I can sit down and not do hardly anything; I want my mind to be working, though, while I'm sitting. I don't think that I have excessive energy; I just think it's what it takes to suit me. And if they're happy with not doing moonlighting jobs, if they're happy with just reading a book or watching a VCR, that's, there's nothing wrong with that what-so-ever; it's just not me. That's the reason I'm doing it.

QUESTION: It sounds to me like you really couldn't imagine just teaching and nothing else; not having these other things that you're involved in.

RESPONSE: Well, no. Because all of them came first. Teaching came along later and I was already so accustomed to them, if it meant not, not doing any of the others, uh, no, I cannot imagine life without that. It's just non-existent.

QUESTION: So if you were given all the money you make from your other jobs, you would continue to do your other jobs, it sounds like.

RESPONSE: I feel like I would. Yeah, 'course you never know what you're going to do 'til your put into a situation. I had a friend who on his 26th birthday and heard he'd inherited \$4.3 million dollars and for two weeks he kept going to Blue Cross and Blue Shield, but he said it just wasn't the same. So he quit after that. Now I don't know, I won't say that I would, uh, probably work every afternoon, I don't know that I would work every Saturday, but as far as never cutting another head of hair, I hope to not, unless it was a health reason, that would never happen because I enjoy doing it. But, uh, saying I would keep my same hours, no, I couldn't say that 'cause I don't know. I doubt that I would.

QUESTION: What do you think, uh, the impact, uh, on the profession of teaching is when people work their second jobs? It sounds to me like it's really a positive kind of thing for you? Do you feel that's true?

RESPONSE: Well, it's positive for me. Yeah, it's not negative at all. Uh, 'course teaching is not a real high paying job. And probably if all I did was teach, uh, then the money factor might enter into the situation a little more because I'd know that there would be a lot of shortages on what I like to do so, uh, I probably wouldn't be as happy with teaching. So, because of the supplementary, uh, teaching is very enjoyable. Now it got to be where it wasn't. I had a pretty rough year or two in a row and I had enough, and that's why I took the year off. Got my master's and right now I'm gung-ho. I mean, as long as I feel like I do now, I'll teach 'til I'm 150. But if I feel like that I

don't, it's not beyond me to quit the next day. I, that's a little independent maybe, but that's the way I feel. And that I feel there's a thousand other jobs out there that I could have by this time next time year. So, far as you don't like job security is, is dangerous for me, it doesn't bother me. So, I'm not worried about losing a job, I'm doing it because I enjoy it and of course you have to have some pay for it. Does that answer what, is that what you want?

QUESTION: Oh yeah, oh yeah.

RESPONSE: Sometime I get beating around the bush just straighten me out.

QUESTION: Well, no, I just, I, I just, uh, I just want to hear you talk about it. Uh, did you ever feel like there was some pressure, uh, for you, or was it expected for you to have other kinds of jobs because you were a male, a male teacher?

RESPONSE: No.

QUESTION: It seems that 8 out of 10 male teachers have other kinds of jobs and that much more than females. But you didn't ever feel like it was just expected, that males don't make enough money and that you need to make more money and that you need to something else?

RESPONSE: No, I've never had that feeling. And, uh, before I became a teacher, my wife was teaching.

QUESTION: So you went into it with your eyes open. You knew....

RESPONSE: Yeah, I knew what was going to be expected. The monies situation, uh, never, I never felt pressured along those lines at all. I come from a fairly good situation; I've always had a lot of help from family. And, uh, I'm not dependent upon 'em by no means, but I know that if I was put in a bind they would be there to help. I think that takes a lot of your worries of that problem you're talking about away from it. And, uh, I'm fairly good manager of my funds, and I try not to over spend unless I can see the leeway so therefore without putting myself in a bind, no, I can do with a lot less money than what I make now. So, no, I don't have that problem.

QUESTION: Have you ever, uh, thought that it was unusual that you had a second job or that that was, uh.....?

RESPONSE: No, it's never, it's just a way of life. I never thought as it being..... Because most everybody I know had the same job.

QUESTION: Do they really?

RESPONSE: 'Course, up until two or three years ago, added on to that one, I was still farming some cattle and whatever, my father and I

would do it together. And he got to where his health didn't permit and we sold the cattle out so we still have the farms, but, uh, we have a tenant that takes care of the raising of the crops, whatever. So basically, I'm a non-farmer now, but while all this other was going on, I was also feeding cattle and taking care of the cows and fencing and things of that nature. So, that was another.... And I just felt like that was a part of life. No, I didn't feel like it was any different. Most everybody that lives around here that works in a factory will also come home and moonlight at a job or they will raise a tobacco crop or....

QUESTION: Do you know a lot of teachers who have second jobs also?

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah. Sure.

QUESTION: So that's not really surprising to anyone?

RESPONSE: I don't really think anybody looks at it and say, "yeah, it's a poor teacher; they have to have another job." It's just that you have the time, why not do it? So...

QUESTION: It, it seems like there's almost a note of admiration in that, too. You have the time, uh, well everyone has the time, but you're doing it, that you're making use of your time, and that you're, you're, uh, you have the skill and you're able to, to, uh, bring in this extra money. Do you feel a sense of pride in being able to do that?

RESPONSE: Oh, I feel a sense of pride in just being, uh, conducting my life the way I do. But I never have looked at it from that direction. No, I haven't, uh, in - while ago you mentioned that a lot of, uh, 80% of the men, I think it's lot easier for men to have a second job. The ladies, most all the ladies, especially the ones, well, even the single ones, they have another job also even though it doesn't bring in a paycheck. So I don't really feel....

QUESTION: You mean by being a mother? Or keeping house?

RESPONSE: Right. In housekeeping, the whole bit. So I don't feel like that I work, is my moonlighting, I don't work a bit more than my counterpart would by just bringing home the one check. So.....

QUESTION: Well, that's, that's an interesting way to look at it.

RESPONSE: But no, I think that probably more, more women that are teachers have a major second job than men would even though your statistics may not show it. Now as far as bringing a paycheck, no. But when you consider-in the amount of work that goes through the, uh, four loads of laundry a day and the cooking of three meals and the whole bit and the keeping the house clean and transporting to the

doctors and back and forth, yeah, I think that there's probably more hours put in there than I put in.

QUESTION: Well, it is, uh, uh, the group of individuals that have the fastest growing rate of working second jobs, uh, that would be women. Uh, 5 out of 10 right now, uh, have second jobs who are teachers, yes. Twenty years ago you wouldn't have found that.

RESPONSE: (garbled) public job

QUESTION: What do you mean?

RESPONSE: Twenty years ago?

QUESTION: Yes, that's what I meant to say....

RESPONSE: 1 out of 5 out of ten didn't even have the first job that was a public job.

QUESTION: Yeah, yeah. And, uh, I think there's more opportunities perhaps for women to have second jobs.

RESPONSE: There's more need though, too, with all the single parents and....

QUESTION: And I think a lot of, yeah, I think that's a issue and I think a lot of women are in a situation where they're working their second job and also doing all the stuff at home and they're staying extremely busy. But still men do it more often and, uh, I, I'm not certain why that is except perhaps a lot of men still do feel, uh, that they are the breadwinners for the family. And, uh, that, well I've heard men say, in order to teach they have to have a second job in order to be able to afford to be a teacher. Uh, they really feel the financial burden. You sound, though, as, even though salaries are low for teachers that you went into it knowing that and that it doesn't seem to disturb you.

RESPONSE: No,....

QUESTION: That you manage your money and that your able to.....

RESPONSE: I've heard of people that did have a problem also with their wife made more money than they did. Which tickle me to death if she could make a half million a year, it wouldn't bother me in the least. Uh, she has fifteen years experience and a Master's degree. So therefore, her paycheck is much greater than mine and I don't work my other jobs so that my pay scale passes her's up. It's just..... That's not the reason behind it and, uh.....

QUESTION: You work your other job because you enjoy it.

RESPONSE: I want to. Yeah. Yeah, I wish she could make a half million a year and I didn't make but \$500, it would be fine, I wouldn't care.

QUESTION: As long as you're doing something you enjoy?

RESPONSE: Right.

QUESTION: Do you think you'll keep teaching?

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah. At, as of this moment, I do. And I

QUESTION: And you'll keep working your second job?

RESPONSE: Oh, yeah. 'Course there are factors that could change either one of those, but my intentions of right now, yes, that's true.

QUESTION: Do you have any other thoughts that you would express about people who work, teachers who work second jobs?

RESPONSE: You, I wish I was as close as having my doctorate.

QUESTION: Do you think you'll go back and get your doctorate?

RESPONSE: Oh, I don't know. If I hit a, a spell where I feel like I need another break, I'll probably take a year off, and if I do, uh, last couple of classes I had, uh, working on my Master's were under a art instructor who was just one of the finest humans on earth as far as I'm concerned. And, uh, he talked to me considerable amount about going back and getting a doctorate in Art. Which would be, of probably very little use because I have no intention of teaching here where I would in elementary school. So I don't know whether I will or not. Maybe it would be time ill-spent. I may go back with intent to do a rank one just for pay scale.

APPENDIX C
FEEDBACK COVER LETTER
AND
THEMATIC REDUCTIONS

FEEDBACK COVER LETTER

Eleanor Blair Hilty
University of Tennessee
212 Claxton Education Building
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996

July 7, 1987

Dear _____:

Earlier this year you allowed me to interview you. At that time we discussed your experience with moonlighting activities. An important part of the research I am doing is to provide feedback to the subjects. The purpose of providing this feedback is to help determine if I have accurately understood your experience.

I've enclosed a summary of what I see as the most salient themes that you mentioned in the interview. Would you go over the list, and see if this is an accurate description of your experience? Please write any additions, changes, or comments, or questions you might have on the enclosed sheets. Whether you have anything to add or not, would you please return the pages to me in the enclosed, self-addressed envelope.

Once again, I thank you for your participation in my study.

Sincerely,

Eleanor Blair Hilty

#101

This subject is 31 years old; married with no children. She is a secondary special education teacher with a Bachelor's degree and 8 years experience in the public schools. For 7 of the 8 years that she taught, she also worked as a waitress. She worked 20-30 hours a week for approximately \$10,000 a year. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) I wanted to stay on there [the restaurant] just because of my friends. If somebody had offered me more money, I probably would have wanted to stay on anyway. When my friends started going, leaving, I decided that it wasn't worth it anymore, that I looked around and everybody was nineteen and eighteen years old and so it just didn't do anything for me. I wasn't having any fun anymore, so I quit. I miss it a lot. The money was great and I took a cut in pay whenever I took the teaching job. I'd go back tomorrow if everybody else was the same.
- (2) We all let our hair down at the waitress job. We were closer, just a lot closer. We worked all night long, side by side, and with a teaching profession, you're so afraid, really to say anything wrong and you don't really develop the friendships that you have with your friends at the restaurant. I always felt that that was true. I think in the teaching profession you're supposed to be angelic or something like that. But I didn't want to, I just never, I always acted angelic, not that I'm an alcoholic or anything, I think, but I really, I just didn't, I never really let anybody know what kind of a lifestyle I led. I really was [a different kind of person at the other job]. I'd be a totally different person, probably my real self, I guess.
- (3) I never felt uncomfortable about working two jobs. I felt I was different [from teachers who didn't have other jobs]. I felt like that I was actually proud of myself for working another job. I felt like that a lot of them said, "_____", I don't see how you do it. There is no way I would do it." And I really was proud of myself for wanting to make \$8-9,000 more a year. I guess I did feel a little bit more "gung-ho" or maybe I felt like I had more ambition even though a lot of those teachers were going back and getting their Master's. That was their way of having ambition, I guess. But at the time, I really wanted the monetary gain.
- (4) I worked for the social life part of it, but also worked for the money, too. I took a cut in pay to leave [the restaurant]. I felt like I had to leave. I couldn't keep it up forever. I couldn't have stayed there until I was forty. I couldn't stand the thought of them having to tell me that it was time for me to leave. So I decided to leave before they told me to leave. Even though, sometimes I think when I get to feeling a little burned out and had a really bad day, I think that I might like to manage

a restaurant. I don't know. It's just that the type of people in a restaurant business, you're "a second shift kind of life," and I like it, I like it, except you can get into a bad, you can get into a rut. I feel a lot better just teaching my forty, forty-five hours or just working that forty, forty-five hour week. I feel a lot better.

- (5) Once I became a teacher, then it was fine being a waitress and a teacher, but not just a waitress, not when I was 21, 23 years old. I didn't feel very good, I had a real low self-concept. I really don't think [I would never have gone out looking for a job]. The job I have now is exhausting.
- (6) I really wanted to pursue a Master's degree, but I decided that I could make a lot more money just going ahead and working twenty-five to thirty hours a week rather than work on my Master's because I couldn't quit teaching; I could only do one or the other. Now here I am nine years later with no Master's degree. You only make about \$1500 more dollars a year. If I work for twenty more years, I'll still benefit from what I did. Maybe it's just part of a rebel in me or maybe something like that. There's a part that wants to just say, "screw you. I'm not going to conform."
- (7) I think waitress people, in general, a lot of them just don't want to grow up. I really do. I think they like to talk dirty and things like that. And I don't know if it was just the way I was at my waitress job, but I don't know. I really and truly, since I left the waitress job, I don't act like I used to either. Maybe, like I said, I think I just wasn't ready to grow up. It [the teaching job] made me grow up and I didn't like it. So, I usually worked on the weekends at the Copper Cellar and after we got off work, we would sit around and have a couple of drinks. We'd talk and laugh and I'd get back to my real job on Mondays which was my nice decent job, but yet, I had much, much more fun at my other job.
- (8) I've thought why do I teach? I really do love my kids, I really do. And maybe I like the fact that they're real dependent on my and they love me. I guess I feel like that this is the only thing I would really be happy in, some kind of helping career even if it was social work or working down at the juvenile center. And most of those helping careers you don't make a lot of money. But really, I don't care, I don't really care that much about the money because along with a lot of money is a lot more of responsibility. The older I get, which I'm not real old, but the older I get then the more I see where I like my free time, and I thought about going on and maybe thinking about being a principal. But I realized the headaches principals have and I don't think I'm willing to have parents call me at home.

- (9) I used to think too that my job was stressful, my kids, and we all know Special Ed. can be very stressful. And I would get away from there and I would forget about it. And that was the good part of it, but there were other ways I could have forgotten about my kids like going out and doing exercise and do more things with friends and family.
- (10) Well, I'll tell you one thing that's one of the biggest problems in my job is I teach resource and usually a class of ten is a nice class with kids with seriously, mostly disturbed, learning problems, we've got mentally retarded, educable mentally retarded, all those, hearing impaired, now they are all in one classroom. You're expected to do so much and you feel, it's just like well, can't you individualize for these seventeen people here, and there's no way you can individualize all day long. You're going to have to have a group, and some of them are going to get it and some of them aren't going to get it. You know, I get really frustrated with the numbers that we have. Seems like everytime I turn around there's somebody else comes in. We have more and more children coming out, but no more help. You get real frustrated. Most teachers I think would do away with money if they could have fewer children in their room.
- (11) Now that I've quit my second job, I feel like I do as well as I possibly can. I mean, I feel good, too. I feel physically and mentally good and I know I don't have, also I have better control of my classes because I feel so good, on top of things. And I do really enjoy my job now. I enjoy it a lot more, enjoy it a lot more in the last year than I have the whole time I've been there. Which is what is a sad thing about moonlighting because I don't think that you realize how much you can enjoy your teaching job.
- (12) Nobody thought it [moonlighting] was bad at all. It was just like, you know, it was, it was that's what teachers do, they moonlight. So, if anything, I think people maybe admired me for doing it. They didn't think badly of me. I wouldn't think it was bad for anybody else to work another job especially if you're the breadwinner in the family. Like I'm not. I didn't have to work.
- (13) I paid for it [moonlighting] because I didn't feel good the next day. I missed a lot time with a lot of my friends because of it; I had friends at work, but that's about all I ever saw. I pretty much cut off my family during those seven or eight years. I was too tired the next day to do anything. Even now, I regret what I did. I feel like I missed out on a lot over those years. I felt kind of like a martyr sometimes. It was like I have to work. But yet, I didn't have to. I was torn, I really was torn.

#102

This subject is 48 years old; married with three grown children. She is a librarian at an elementary school with a Master's degree and 12 years experience in the public schools. Her second job is working in the Children's Room of the Lawson McGhee Public Library. She does this job two days a month for \$3.50 an hour. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) My moonlighting job is essentially what I do at my day job. It's doing real library work; rather than schoolwork. My training and talents are in library work, so I have to stick with something related. I guess that's where I am happiest because I am not unhappy with the job in the public schools. I really like the job. I am doing what I think I ought to be doing. I've found my niche, but that doesn't mean that you can't take a little different direction with it and have it be just as satisfying.
- (2) Moonlighting is in some ways a benefit to my job in the public schools. Because they are so closely related I think they dovetail very well. You learn because they are related. I've learned some techniques that I didn't have and that's been good. We never get a chance to go to another library. This is a good opportunity for that.
- (3) You're a librarian at the public library; here you're not. They don't quite know what to do with you lots of times in the public schools. Teachers feel real threatened by you because you don't have kids all the time even though you have the same chores that a public librarian does. In a public library you just do library work.
- (4) I feel much more like a professional at my other job and it's much lower keyed. It's more relaxed. It's a much more professional kind of feeling. At my second job they treat me in a very professional way. It says they believe I know what I'm doing, and that is an important part of my work as a librarian.
- (5) Meeting the public library people is always positive. It's good for them to see that school librarians are as qualified as they are because many times there's some ill-feeling toward school librarians. We're the lowest on the totem pole. We're not really professional. It starts in the library school because you're not doing real library work. Anytime I have a chance to work with public or academic librarians it is always positive to the school library. It's a good thing.
- (6) I think I did it (moonlighting) with the possibility of considering a job change. I was also doing it thinking about the future and the fact that I want to work but I am not sure I want to work this hard five or six years down the road.

- (7) When I first started thinking about a second job I was kinda looking for something very different. I tried the little deal at the bookstore, but it didn't work out. I am not business oriented and because I am older and professional, I had problems with the woman who was the boss. We just never could talk to each other. I think she was real threatened by me. It just wasn't a positive experience. What she couldn't see was that she did have some knowledge and things that I was very interested in learning. I didn't feel threatened by the fact that she knew a lot of things I didn't know. I was really sorry that she couldn't see that we could really help each other.
- (8) I do not moonlight for the money. Even though I am paid, I don't do it for the money. I am doing it to have something to do, and its just that it worked out so well that still sometimes kind of surprises me.
- (9) I was really looking for something where you would be dealing more with adults. It didn't work out that way, but it's still different enough that it does give me a break. I look forward to going down there. I do have some adult contacts in the public library. That is something I don't get in the public schools. That's another reason for doing something else; I increase the number of adults that I have regular contact with...professionals. I can't really talk library stuff to teachers. I need somebody I can talk to. Somebody who understands professionally what I am doing; what my goals are, and just to chat.
- (10) I think I get bored just sitting at home. Part of this was to help fill up those evenings when he (my husband) has night classes and I am home alone. I don't like to do that. The kids aren't home anymore. When I had children at home, I think it made a big difference because I had a lot of demands on my time. Now they're all gone, and it's just the two of us at home. There aren't those same demands and I still need to channel my time wisely. I don't want to just waste it. I didn't have time to moonlight before. I never thought about it.
- (11) The discipline thing needs to be mentioned. I think it is one that every teacher will tell you is a real problem, something they worry about doing well. I guess it just goes with the job and so I don't ever think about not having to d it because it's just so much a part of having a large group together at one time and it just kinds goes right along with it. At the public library, discipline is not a part of the job. I think that's the thing I worry about most here. I think that's hard for me to do and it's hard for me to really be a good disciplinarian. When I go to the public library that whole worry or concern is removed. It doesn't exist anymore. It's more low key.

- (12) Moonlighting is taking a second job. It is above and beyond what I do regularly. You feel that sometimes. Sometimes you're very tired. You feel it. I finally had to drop the Saturday because I need time to recoup for the next week, for this job, because it is very emotionally demanding. I don't find the second job nearly as emotionally demanding. You just relax.
- (13) There are always a few teachers who moonlight. Moonlighters have other talents that they are wanting to develop and use. It seems to me like that they wouldn't be complete people if they didn't have that second job. I think a lot of moonlighters want something to do in the summers. Some, too, may even say "need" something to do in the summer. I like my second job. I like it very much. It will also offer me some work time in the summer; which will be good.

#103

This subject is 32 years old; divorced with no children. She is a secondary art teacher with a Bachelor's degree and 10 years experience in the public schools. In her second job she does movie reviews for Cable TV Digest. She works on this approximately 20 hours a week for \$150 / \$600 monthly. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) At first when I was married it was just extra money that was mine. Now, I have to do it because I have to have the money. I don't think I could really make ends meet without that other income now. Money is the primary motivator, but I enjoy it, too. Not only do I need the extra money, but thank goodness it's a second job that I enjoy.
- (2) The reason why I enjoy it is because it gives me something to do, and I like it; it's fun. It's different. It's not like I'm going to sit at home and be bored. It's just working a second job; a part-time job. I really enjoy it.
- (3) I was noticing that more and more of my free time was going away, but then he was paying me more, too. It cuts into what I do a lot. It doesn't bother me that much because that's two or three nights that I'll be staying at home. Otherwise, I'd be going out and spending money somewhere. I don't like it when it cuts me out from doing something and that's usually on the weekend. I don't do a lot of things that I really used to enjoy doing and the main thing is reading. I just don't have time. I've got so many things to do.
- (4) I want out of teaching. I like the kids which is the strange part about it, but give 'em to me anywhere but in the class. Fact is, I was not going to come back this year. Eighty-six was rough for me. I do not see myself doing this until I retire. I just thought after I went through a really rough time, I wanted or thought I needed to just start everything over.
- (5) He offered it to me full-time, but what he was going to do was just match my teaching salary. Even though money wasn't the prime factor at that time, I mean not only was I going to give up my summers, but I was also going to give up that extra income that I was making from him. I would love to do this full-time, but I'm not going to do it for nothing. Whenever he can make a better offer I would like to know.
- (6) Thank goodness, I don't require a lot of sleep. I kinda push myself. I do push myself. I just feel like sometimes it cuts into what I need to be doing for school; like planning. I'll do something that I did this semester before, the year before when really what I'd like to do is something different. I find myself a lot repeating things from year to year. I just feel like

sometimes it kind of cuts into my performance [as a teacher] a little. I don't know how it really helps me in art, teaching art. Except it is another form of creativity.

- (7) Another reason why I enjoy it so much is cause I do get to work on it at home. I can drop this whenever I want; I'm still at home. At least with my job, I can do it in privacy. Just away from everybody and everything. I can pick it up and take it with me, work on it, here or there. I set my own hours. I'm my own boss.
- (8) I've got lots of friends that have told me if you ever want to quit that job, I'll take it. There's a little bit of pride in what I do, my second job, because I go in the grocery store or convenient or anywhere, and I see people pick it up and start reading and I just sit there and think, "Hummmmm.... I did that." There's lot of teachers, but I guess it's just when people know what it is, and they will ask a lot of questions. They're more inquisitive about that than they are teaching.
- (9) I think if you're going to give up your time off from your full-time job, I think it would have to be something you enjoyed. Particularly, if you're not so crazy about your full-time job. It would have to be or you'd just go nuts. I don't think, mentally, you just couldn't take it.
- (10) I'm probably going to work another job this summer. I would do it for fun. I want to do it. I'm excited about it. It will be a blast. I don't think people do it [moonlighting] to keep from being bored. I think people do it just as an income supplement. I've never been bored a day in my life. I just want to do it because it's fun.

#104

This subject is 52 years old; divorced with 3 grown children (two in college). She is an elementary special education teacher with 11 years experience. She is currently working on a Master's degree. In her second job she is a teacher for the Basic Adult Education / English as a Second Language Program. She does this second job on evenings and weekends, 5 hours a week for \$11 an hour. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) At first I volunteered to teach them because I was gonna share with them whatever I have learned. I have learned and when I came to this country in the 1950's there was no one for me to get help from. I decided that now I could help them and they started coming, and that's how it started. I'm teaching them whatever they want to know. I feel good about it. I have a really good time.
- (2) The only time I'm frustrated (at the second job) is because they want to learn so much. I've gone through the same experience and I wish [I] could have the magic word to say to them, but there isn't. Now that's the only found drawback. No, [they do not consume me], in fact, we just have best time; we speak both the languages. I really enjoy having those Koreans. That's really the only time I speak Korean, too.
- (3) I'm frustrated on my main job because it is overloaded. I'm teaching two schools and I think it's ineffective if we have to travel. I know very well that with the handicapped children it would be much better for us to have a smaller load. I'm always lacking in materials, in independent work materials because my students just cannot read. I'm always thinking of individualizing, but it's very difficult to do. I think every special teacher needs to be away from that kind of class situation. It is just a lot better for the children.
- (4) I can see my students progress (in day school). I think that's the most rewarding thing. Most of my students have pretty good motivation. I feel good about that.
- (5) My students enjoy my writing different languages on the board and they ask questions. They seem to like those things and I tell them they learn more differently, and they want to know, and they seem to be fascinated.
- (6) As far as parallels, my students in elementary school need explanation many, many times just as that's true of learning a foreign language. I think that is the same. My students at the elementary schools are going to struggle with the one language whereas the others are going to learn the second language. There is a difference.

- (7) I really don't want to teach handicapped students like the ones I have in elementary school, in the evenings, that would be too frustrating. It would consume everything I have. It's just a nice change when I have these adults.
- (8) There isn't anymore I could give really [to the day students]. If I had like five more hours a week trying to teach them I probably would be terribly frustrated. Whereas these Koreans, this is their fourth language and so they're interested. Their background is broader; their educational background is broader, and their way of thinking, of considering different issues, is a higher level.
- (9) Adults have different problems I think than kids. Kids think of their own self interests; whereas these adults, being in a different country want to please the others, after all they have to communicate their desires without offending the party. Whereas the elementary school students always have self-centered ideas, as "I got to do this," "I want this," "I feel bad," doesn't matter what others are....
- (10) I call it moonlighting. My teaching job was not offering enough economical opportunities. So, this is supplementary and I need it. I do this to save money. It's just extra income I can put it in the bank, my savings account. I wish teachers can be paid more. In Asian countries they pay a lot more than civil servants.
- (11) I think if we just think and work and live with one job without any other interests then I think it would be terribly boring. Whereas, I come to graduate school and I tutor Koreans and I teach through the daytime and having diverse interests. It just gives me a richer background and rich rewards and I really enjoy doing all this. I think I have more goals which somehow summons my energy. I think there are some goals I like to achieve, and so I have to have more energy to achieve them and the time to. I like to work, really, another extra hours, so I can teach at the same time I like to have a higher pay.
- (12) I wouldn't work 12 months a year. I'd be glad to work 11 months a year, but I do need that month. I think if we [stay] with the one job, 12 months as year, year after year, I don't believe teachers would grow. I'd like to see teachers having a broader education. I like to see teachers taking courses in different areas. I like to.

#105

This subject is 26 years old; married with no children. She is an elementary school teacher with a Master's degree and five years experience in the public schools. She receives supplemental income from raising tobacco and occasionally tutoring students. She and her husband plant the tobacco in the spring and harvest it in October. Her annual income from these activities is approximately \$2000. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) The weather is a prime factor. It's not really a lot of time, but it's just all of a sudden. It has to be done when the weather's right, and when the plants need it. You can't let it go or you'll ruin the patch. Because cutting it comes at the end of August, first of September and I'd have to come home from school and do that every night 'til about 8:00 for a week. You'd be exhausted the next morning till you'd get up. And then in the Fall, every Saturday you have to grade it. So, your weekend's already planned for you. But you have to get it done in October to sell it in November.
- (2) I was raised on a farm. My dad's a dairy farmer, and my parents raised tobacco 'til I was about twelve; 'til they got financially stable. And then they quit because the only time we've ever raised it is like when you're trying to get on your feet. And like my brother raises it and I do, but my parents help us. But they don't raise it anymore. They don't have the financial need as we do. We'll be doing it 'til we get our feet on the ground. I would say the most we'll raise tobacco will be maybe five more years; 'til we build a house and get settled in it.
- (3) I like it. Because I've been used to working in the garden, working on the farm and things like that. The last two years my (teaching) job was really bad. It was just a break to me to get outside. There was lots of times that I'd rather be digging ditches. When I'm working in the fields, I don't have to deal with people. I mean people that are giving me trouble.
- (4) I was teaching Special Education and it was CDC and Resource combined. I had a caseload of 54 students and most of them were in there three hours a day. I had one aide. The paperwork of Special Education, keeping up with all the M-Teams. I would say the main thing that depressed me was the kids' low motivations. They didn't want to be there at all.
- (5) The tutoring has an effect on me as a teacher. It gives me a break and I can see somebody really progress. Last year, I couldn't see much progression in those kids in 6th, 7th, and 8th grade who were in Resource. But the kids I tutored were not in Special Education. Working with them was a break. You could see

them learning more and more. (Tobacco farming) really, just gives me a relief of something else to do.

- (6) There are some kids that if their family raised tobacco, it gave me something to talk to them about. When otherwise I wouldn't have anything in common with them. We would talk about it.
- (7) It's something social that I like to do because my grandparents come and help us, and my family, we all get together and they tell the old stories like when they were little kids and stuff. You learn a lot about the past. Things they wouldn't just tell you when you're sitting there at the dinner table or something. But when you're standing around all day, nothing else to do; they tell their stories.
- (8) I think some teachers work other jobs for the money. We wouldn't do it if it wasn't for the money. I think we have so many moonlighting because the pay that you get. If you're going to have a family, you want them to live in a nice environment and for them to have the things, not only that they want, but that they need. Usually that they want; not the needs. Then you have to have some other income or you couldn't make it.
- (9) I don't feel like teachers are appreciated. And that's by the public. Our end product cannot be measured like someone who's on an assembly line. I'm working with children all day; not making a product. And my job seems more important than that of the laborer. But still it's like counting apples and oranges. You just can't take it personal all the time. If teaching's what you ought to do, and you feel like that's what you're to do in your life, then you can't think about the money all the time. It's what you enjoy doing, besides that you have to think we have great hours. That's another plus even though you don't get paid that much. I accept it.
- (10) We even have problems with how we believe religiously about even raising it. Not only is it not good for you to use the product but if you're the one raising it, you're the one endorsing it. You get the money for it. If I think about it long enough, it really gets to me.

#106

This subject is 25 years old; married with no children. She is a secondary math teacher with 2 years experience. She is currently working on her Master's degree. In her second job she was teaching Basic Adult Education classes in math. She worked 10 hours a week for \$11.25 an hour. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) My moonlighting job is so similar to what I do [in my day job]. I think I took it for the money at first, but I loved it, cause in a day or two, I was teaching Algebra and they were there to get it. There were there to get it. They wanted to know how to do it. They wanted to know how to do it. It was great. I was surprised the kids were so human at night school. We would help each other. I was surprised they were willing to share. Some of them had given so much trouble before and dropped out for such stinking reasons. I was so proud that they came back to get it, that they could do it now.
- (2) It [night school] was different where it was a lot of individualized [work]. It was quite different from day school. I loved it. If I could teach night school and make what I'm making, I'd teach five nights a week. I really enjoyed it.
- (3) I think of moonlighting as doing it just for the extra money to survive. I didn't mind doing it. But I did it because I wanted to. I really enjoyed it. It was difficult at first, but it was a lot of fun. I don't think I would moonlight if I could make more money teaching.
- (4) I was exhausted. That was the only thing I really did not like; it was hard to do, to do it physically and mentally. Most of the time it wasn't bad at all. Sometimes, by the sixth or seventh period I was dreading the fact that I had to go on to night school. But it helped in a way too, that I got to keep my math classes, like some kids can stay on to help after school.
- (5) I'll stay in teaching. I think the future looks good. It looks real good.

#107

This subject is 50 years old; single with no children. She is a secondary English teacher with 26 years experience in the public schools. She is currently finishing her Ed.S. degree. She also teaches English in the evenings through the Basic Adult Education Program. She works at her second job 2 days / 10 hours a week for approximately \$11 an hour. The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) This working two jobs, it's getting kind of rough. I've done it since I came back here in '71 and I started working in '73. My primary aim was to get a car. Working two jobs is hard work, and it takes a sincere and dedicated person to deal with it; the hassles of the stress and strain that you have to face everyday.
- (2) I have always worked two jobs. Money has been part of the reason. My family members are achievers. I've always been an achiever, so I think it's been an inward thing. I think a lot of it is where I was given adult-like roles at an early age and I was told that I had to do the best at whatever I did and it has just become a part of me. I tell my students that I have always been an independent thinker and this is one reason why I wanted to achieve. It isn't just money; it's kind of fulfillment that I have in doing the best job that I can, although it is also material reasons. I guess you could say it's not just all for monetary reasons but it's also because I like doing what I do. When I get to the point where I totally hate it, I will leave because I won't be doing anybody any good.
- (3) The females that I know who work two jobs are achievers. I see myself as an achiever. I don't necessarily mean degree-wise. These people are good teachers and they are unique individuals, they're independent thinkers and they are not the average run of the ill teachers. They are not the ones to be satisfied with their students being mediocre students. They want their students to achieve and to do well.
- (4) I do it because I want to. Well I do it primarily to supplement my first job; for financial purposes, but I also enjoy it. I wouldn't attempt to do it if I didn't really enjoy it, and I do enjoy it. That's the thing that keeps me going when I see them [the students in night school] eager and ready to do what I want them to do.
- (5) The teaching job during the day is somewhat stressful because they're immature kids, they're children I have to deal with. They're trying to find themselves, they have to go to school. I have three basic classes. Some of them present disciplinary problems because they are not high achievers; consequently they have to make up for their lack of academic achievement some other

way and that may mean to be a disruptive force in class, or to be the class clown. I say to myself I can't give up on them. I know that I have to expend the learning process beyond the basics, especially with those slow learners. The good experiences I have in the classroom really keep me going when I sometimes feel like I oughta just say, "forget it."

- (6) I'm teaching kids who are drop-outs [in night school]. I'm also teaching adults. I find that these students are better motivated after they work all day long. They may have been turned off in day school and they are still finding themselves, that they have purpose for being in school now. Now since they're out working they see the necessity of finishing and getting a high school diploma because they know this means a job. I find that even though I've worked eight hours and sometimes I'm very tired, when I see them ready and really eager to get something, then that motivates me and I thoroughly enjoy my second job although its taxing on me physically, not so much mentally, but it may be a little taxing physically, but they give me the extra "umph" I need to get through the final hours.
- (7) I basically enjoy teaching. I don't like all the paperwork. I don't have the same amount of paperwork in the evening because I have fewer students. I can give them more of a one to one kind of instruction than I could in the daytime.
- (8) I doubt very seriously that I will keep on being a teacher, after I get my Ed.S. I enjoy doing it, but I'm like anybody else I'd like to on to higher heights. Higher heights would be either an administrator on a secondary level or on a college level.
- (9) My second job doesn't hurt my job during the day because I'm not gonna let it hurt it. It tires me out, but if I know I have some work that I need to do when I go home; if I'm too tired to do it when I go home then I will go to bed and get some hours sleep and get up at 3 or 4 o'clock and do it and have it ready for them, but I'm not gonna ever neglect my students on my first job because that is my primary job and as I tell my students when I get my paycheck I want to know that I have done the best that I can do.
- (10) At my night job I sort of get rejuvenated when they're there and they're so receptive to what I have to offer them and they're really there for a purpose. I have very bright students at night school for the most part and it's very nice to see students say "Oh, Ms. Morgan, I'm proud of this." I really enjoy my night school job. I enjoy my day school job, it's just a little more taxing.
- (11) For some reason I find that there is a more relaxed feeling at night school. They are very easy to talk to. The whole atmosphere is different, it's a relaxed atmosphere. We are

dealing with young adults. They are mature to the point that they know they have to be. They know that there's rules that they must follow, just as there are rules at day school but they do not take advantage of them for the most part.

- (12) I do enjoy my second job a great deal. I enjoy day school, too, but it's a whole different ball game because you're dealing with children from different kinds of backgrounds. Not only do I have to be the parent and the guidance counselor and maybe even the nurse on rare occasions, I'm trying to fulfill several roles. I think a lot of these kids really just need some love and some understanding, along with other things that we have to do. I find it fulfilling. It is not easy because when you have the 48 students maybe most have to have some kind of recognition; they don't get it in the classroom academically; they're gonna find some other way to get the attention that they need.
- (13) I believe that my night job enriches me as a teacher. With 11th and 12th grade level I can still do things that I might not be able to do on the 9th grade level like give them higher levels of writing and things of this nature. It keeps me up on my skills so that's why I enjoy it.

#108

This subject is 50 years old; married with 2 children. He is a secondary social studies teacher with a Bachelor's degree and 24 years experience in the public schools. He receives additional income throughout from his family business (bicycle and lawnmower sales, repair, and accessories). The amount of money he receives from this business varies from year to year. He has also received in the past supplemental income within the school system for coaching activities. This supplement was approximately \$3,000 annually. The following themes appear in this interview:

- (1) I can't remember when I wasn't involved. I started actually running the business in the summertime when I was 15 years old. I don't remember much about not doing it. I've always done it even in the summertime, even when I was teaching, and in the evenings, except during basketball season.
- (2) It (the family business) is not like therapy to me, like some people going into a garden or something like that, it's different. I would rather be fishing or something like that, but I have to go because there's things I have to do. I don't think of it as a burden; it's just there. I don't think I've ever wished that I wasn't involved in it.
- (3) Mostly now in the off season and when I am teaching, I'm mostly a buyer and payer-outer and write checks and make orders and things. The business is very slow in the wintertime so it doesn't require a lot of activity to run it. I might not have kept the shop except that I wanted my children to have a chance to have it if they wanted it, and plus, I wanted those men to have a job, so that's why I kept it all these years.
- (4) It gives me a good insight into the business world when I'm teaching business courses, and it could probably take away from teaching some if I let it worry me. If I depended on it more, it would probably be in my mind more, but I've got two good men working for me and they run the place actually. I've always enjoyed it. I enjoy going down there. I enjoy the buying. I can run it the way that I want to. I'm not restrained by rules except good business rules, and it's a lot different from teaching because of the people I'm around. They're not professional people and most of the people that are my customers are just blue collar kind of people, so I enjoy that part. I do enjoy the change, but it's not a therapy to me like I know some other jobs are to other people.
- (5) I started coaching because I enjoyed it. The principal and I got to talking and he needed a coach and that's how I got the job, I hadn't even thought about applying for the job or anything. It worked out well because I enjoyed the teaching. You're still

doing something that you like; some people would do it even if they weren't paid. I don't think I would have started. I liked it or I wouldn't have stayed that long. I would have forced them to go ahead and find somebody else. I kept putting it off and putting it off and then last year I finally quit.

- (6) I don't mean to really imply that I ignored the money, but I didn't start coaching so I could have the money. But I was glad to get it when I got it. And I don't keep the business because the money it brings, but when it has a good year, I'm glad to get it. So money's important to me but I guess that wasn't why I got started doing those things. I think I am not paid enough, on the other hand, I work with a lot of people who don't make as much as I do even teaching.
- (7) I think I would have been bored if I hadn't done other things. I get bored with myself teaching sometimes that's why I like to teach more than one subject. For a few years I got to where I was being more of a policeman rather than a teacher. I get bored with myself sometimes that's why I don't like to do the same class over and over, I try to be a little more extemporaneous.
- (8) I don't particularly enjoy making people angry or catching people or things like that, but I find myself at the end of the year "hunting trouble." I think I've gotten tired or bored or something and I start hunting. I find myself getting frustrated because people aren't in their place. I don't know, rules don't seem so important to me in September and I jump on the students in May. I don't really understand it, I think maybe I'm tired of teaching. I'm just bored or frustrated or something, I don't know what it is.
- (9) I still enjoy teaching. I don't know that I enjoy it as much as I did 20 years ago. As to being frustrated with teaching, I think no more than anyone else gets frustrated with any job because the little things sometimes interfere with what you want to do. Like today, I love to fish and that's what I'd like to be doing.
- (10) I guess some people get so involved with moonlighting that it could take away from you teaching, you can get so involved in coaching that your classroom suffers. Sometimes I would get caught up short or something because I get so involved in the coaching, and I would resent that I had to quit the coaching which I wanted to do and I liked and was involved in and I had to go teach. I think its possible to take something away from the teaching by having another job if you get so involved in it that it becomes more important than teaching.
- (11) Most people who take another job I think do it for the money and they go do it and then when they leave it they put it out of their mind. But if you've got another business and you get involved in

it, why then you don't put it out of your mind and you find yourself thinking about it at school and I've done that. You know I've used the phone here to call in and order or sit down and made out bills or something like that on my planning period, doing something for the business. I think it would be possible to get caught up in your business more than just having another job. If you get caught up in another job you would probably want to start doing something else.

- (12) I think teachers moonlight #1 for money, and then #2 which becomes as important as #1 is the change. Getting to do something else. I think probably they need the change to something where you're not responsible for 150 young people a day. That is draining. I don't know why teachers do other things so often, I would have thought it would have been because they did have the two months off. They get involved in something else and then hang on to it part-time. I'm not sure, even if the pay was a lot more than it is, teachers would probably still moonlight.

#109

This subject is 38 years old; married with 2 children. He is a secondary social studies teacher with a Bachelor's degree and 15 years experience in the public schools. He receives supplementary income in the summers by painting houses. He makes approximately \$75 a day, 4 days a week for 7 weeks. He also receives supplemental income within the school system through coaching activities; this supplement is approximately \$3000 yearly. The following themes appear in his interview:

- (1) You can stay fairly busy painting houses. The main reason for doing this is more money. Of course, you've got all this time off in the summer. That may be part of it. You have a block of time like June or July. You can always use a couple hundred here or an extra hundred there for something. I used to think of it as extra money but seems like it wasn't really extra money, it was just things you were going to do different, if you needed to do something extra for the house or something.
- (2) It's a good break because you're outside. If you're working with somebody, if you've got to leave early or you come late, and there's no problem, not much of a problem. You're kinda your own boss, so to speak. One way to describe it is kind semi-part-time employment. You can make pretty good money painting. More so that I originally thought.
- (3) Usually the thing about it, you can go inmost places and it really looks better. It makes a house look better and most people like it. It's fun. Sometimes it's people that you've met maybe that know you teach and have some time in the summer. You're pretty much in it yourself. You're just dealing with two or three people. There's not a lot of preparation or pressure or even have to fill out a lot of papers or put up with "Johnny" or something like that.
- (4) In teaching, you've got little things to do, probably more frustrating things. With painting, you can kinda go your own pace. Sometimes it can be frustrating because you may be trying to do two or three jobs or something and you've got a tree that's in the way, you gotta trim or you gotta knock over a wasp nest or something like that. It's aggravating, but most of the time it's a good break. In painting, you can control the situation. If it gets hot, you can stop or quit if it rains or you can do something different.
- (5) My second job, it's a break. It's a little different. Maybe, it's humbling too. You kinda get used to it and people tend to look at you on appearance, how you dress, and it's kinda interesting sometimes. I think that having a college degree, something where people just look at the surface value, and they

can't really tell you're any different than anybody else. If I don't want to shave in the morning, then I don't have to 'cause it doesn't matter if you're painting a house. In the morning you're going to school, it's different.

- (6) I think it's just giving me a break is good, maybe doing something different. It pushes a little bit because in my situation, with family, I don't usually sit around and be bored in the summer. I've got more to do than I can keep up with. With the coaching being full-time. We're usually up here during the summer two or three days a week.
- (7) With the coaching, I wouldn't do it free, but I don't think you really look at it and you say, "Well, I made so many dollars." I admit there's other factors that motivate you and you get a little money or some compensation, but if you justify it in the time, I'd make more money painting. It gets kinda like teaching sometimes. You're dealing with some of the same type problems. Ego may be part of it sometimes; pride, if you work with one of your teams. I feel like that if I wasn't coaching that it would not be quite as effective because it gives you a little bit of the common ground with the students.
- (8) I guess the reason I had always thought of coaching and then teaching kind of as a sideline, but after I got into it, teaching is more than I thought it would be. But it seemed like if you want a lot of things done, a lot of times you go ask the men teachers to do it. I've never really thought of coaching as moonlighting, maybe it is. As long as I still feel positive about coaching, I'm going to stay with it.
- (9) The term "moonlighting" used to be negative maybe like, you got one job and your second job is maybe taking away from your first job. Coaching or teaching is all different. If I painted, like during the year, too, it probably would be. I've done it a couple times. I don't like to do that. It just pushes you too thin. Some people may do it more than others.

#110

This subject is 44 years old; married with 4 children. He is a high school building trades instructor with 6 years experience in the public schools. He is 2 classes away from having his Master's degree. He receives supplemental income in the summer from his remodeling business. He anticipates making approximately \$15,000 from this business. As cheerleader sponsor, he also receives additional income within the school system during the school year. The following themes appear in his interview:

- (1) I've done this kind of work [remodeling] all my life. I paid my way through college doing this work. I got into the teaching business through the backdoor. It's not the field that I was interested in, nor is it the field that I was interested in, but it pays better than a regular teaching job, quite a bit more. They're not going to get people with my knowledge for the amount of money they pay regular teachers.
- (2) Teaching is not what I expected. When I grew up in rural West Virginia and went to school, I remember what teachers did and I remember the role that they played. There was pride in teaching. High school teachers were looked at as leaders in the community and people that you looked up to. Those days are gone. People feel, and I didn't realize this until I was teaching. It's kinda degrading to say, "I'm a high school teacher." You have to say it under your breath. I used to think people had a lot of respect for high school teachers, but I feel that they don't anymore. It's just a guy who wants to teach school is just the attitude I get now. That's kind of an embarrassment to me because I do enjoy it.
- (3) I like it. I really enjoy teaching people. I'm not particularly interested in what level, but I do enjoy teaching. I do enjoy teaching those who want, who are interested. I'd like to be able to eradicate the ones that are not interested enough to go about finding something that they're interested in.
- (4) I enjoy dealing with intelligent professional people. In the construction business, especially holding your job itself, most of the guys that you're going to deal with out there are probably older. Many of them are high school dropouts and are not very bright; they're not stupid. They know their work real well, but their interest doesn't go beyond Saturday night at the bar. Here you get a lot of people who are interested in things, but the morale is so low anymore in a school teaching business; it seems like it drops every day. It's gotten to the point where it's not very pleasant either.

- (5) I enjoy building very much. And I enjoy it here at the school, too. But the difference, there is the biggest difference. Here I have to be an administrator, a teacher, an accountant. Out there I do, too. I have the freedom, I enjoy working with adults. I have more mature people to work with is probably the biggest thing. And the money is a lot better. In building, you have very simple concepts. You got a job to do, you're going in and do it the best you can and that's it. My primary motivator is to make money and that's really the only thing I'm interested in, making money and doing a good job. I really don't have to work on these jobs; I can hire people to do most of my work and I really just kind of supervise. I'm getting old and fat and I don't want to work.
- (6) What I do is moonlighting. I think it's expected that teachers will moonlight. If teachers were making \$35 or \$40,000 a year, I don't think they would be. I would think you would have a lot more male teachers. I think you would have a lot more of them going to school in the summer to improve themselves. There's no way they can financially raise a family even today on \$20,000 or \$25,000. You cannot do it. You have to accept the second moonlighting as a part of it. I was older than most when I started teaching and I was quite aware of the financial situation. I felt that I could make plenty of money on the side.
- (7) Without a doubt the prime motivation for doing the other work is money. I do it to subsidize my income. If I didn't have to do it [remodeling], I would enjoy teaching. I really feel like the money situation distracts from teaching because I have to spend a lot of energy and time on that which should be really applied to preparing to teach kids. I'd like to be able to afford to just teach, but I can't.
- (8) I've heard a lot of people say, "I wish I'd had your knowledge and ability, I'd be out doing that." I don't know whether it's pride or not. I feel I always have a door open. If teaching becomes so oppressive that I think it's just becoming an administrative burden; it's gotten to the point where you spend more time with doing administrative work than you do teaching, I feel if it gets so burdensome that I don't like it, I can quit. Go back to building full-time. In fact, I've thought very seriously about it.
- (9) I'm cheerleader sponsor now and it pays the same as coaching, assistant coach of basketball. The money's nice to have. But I wanted to do it because that was my first love, basketball was being my first love. I enjoyed coaching it. I wanted to coach. Money was not a factor in that. But it's, you know, if they're going to give you another hundred and ten or fifteen dollars a month, you'll take it. You wouldn't turn it down.

#111

This subject is 37 years old; married with two children. He is an elementary school teacher with a Master's degree and 8 years experience in the public schools. He works as a hair stylist approximately 9 hours a week during the school year and 22-25 hours a week in the summer. His annual income from this job is approximately \$5000. He also has a real estate license and has at other times worked as an auctioneer and a farmer. The following themes appear in his interview:

- (1) In one way the jobs are very different. In both jobs you come in contact with a lot of different people. I am a fairly social person. I like meeting people. I like meeting different people. I like talking about a variety of different things. That comes in handy in the classroom because if you try to talk about one thing, you're not going to hit the interest of nearly all the kids, but if you enter in everything which you can, somewhere along the line, you'll hit on something that's interesting to about every kid. With the hair styling, most everyone that comes in, we can talk about something of interest to me that's of interest to them. So in some ways it's similar.
- (2) Most all my customers are people that know me and realize that I am a teacher. Most of the kids know I cut hair before they get here. Used to work out to where every year I would go to an 8th grade class where they talk about other professions and all. I would talk about the barber school and hair styling and do someone's hair while I was talking to them. I would always take my class with me and they enjoyed that.
- (3) It's not boring to me (hair styling), I guess, so that means that I have to like it. I would probably do it no matter if I was rich or poor. If I was financially strong, I probably would still do the things that I do because I enjoy them. I would be able to further my collecting a lot more because any time you do collect, money becomes involved in it. It takes a little bit of fun out when you can't buy it. I feel like I would continue to moonlight even if I was given all the money I make from those jobs. 'Course you never know what you're going to do 'til your put into a situation.
- (4) Working my second jobs is positive for me. It's not negative at all. 'Course teaching is not a real high paying job. Probably if all I did was teach then the money factor might enter into the situation a little more because I'd know that there would be a lot of shortages on what I like to do. I probably wouldn't be as happy with teaching. Because of the supplementary income, teaching is very enjoyable.

- (5) I am pretty much my own boss. I can schedule what I want to schedule and if I want an hour off, or want a day off, or want a month off, I just take it. With my personality that helps a lot because I'm kindly independent in my thinking, so that all helps go along with just my style of life that I like.
- (6) It's a pretty clean job. It's something I can do and in 20 to 30 minutes, I'm through doing it and ready for a new challenge. It's not like working an assembly line to where you're punching out parts, the exact same part all day long. It fits real good with my teaching. I don't dread either job, I enjoy 'em both. And one is relaxing from the other. It's kindly relaxing as long as you're feeling good. It's a total letdown from all the mental pressures that are wound up in you at school when you get to the shop.
- (7) Enjoyment is the main reason that I continue to do it, and of course the financial aid does have a bearing. But when I took the year off and didn't teach, I didn't cut a lot hair either. I saw that I could make it on a lot less money and I think money is not the answer to really any job that I've ever had.
- (8) I like a lot of moonlighting. I don't like dead time. I want something going on. Doing nothing but teaching everyday sounds boring to me. Not from the teaching aspect, but what do you do with all the rest of your time? Those people that don't do anything else, I couldn't do that. And it either would be because I wouldn't be able to buy the things that I wanted to or I would be bored. I don't like boredom. I'm not a hyper person at all, I'm really more laid back and I can sit down and not do hardly anything. I want my mind to be working, though, while I'm sitting. I just think it's what it takes to suit me.
- (9) All of the moonlighting jobs came first. Teaching came along later and I was already so accustomed to them. I cannot imagine life with out that. It's just non-existent. I just felt like working another job was a part of life. I didn't feel like it was any different. Most everybody that lives around here that works in a factory will also come home and moonlight at a job or they will raise a tobacco crop. If you have the time, why not do it.
- (10) I feel a sense of pride in just conducting my life the way I do. I think it's a lot easier for men to have a second job. Of course, most all the ladies have another job even though it doesn't bring in a paycheck. I don't work my other jobs so that my pay scale passes my wife's up. It's just not the reason behind it.
- (11) My intentions of right now are to keep teaching. If I hit a spell where I feel like I need another break, I'll probably take a year off and go to school, maybe work on a doctorate in Art, which

would be, of probably, very little use because I have no intention of teaching here where I would in elementary school. So, I don't know whether I will or not. Maybe it would be time ill-spent. I may go back with intent to do a rank just for pay scale.

#112

This subject is 40 years old; married with two children. She is an elementary special education teacher with a Master's degree and 18 years experience in the public schools. Her second job was driving a school bus in the afternoon. She received \$150 a month for doing this. Recently she has received supplemental income through a grant she applied for and received (\$1000). She is also a resource teacher/mentor to a new teacher in the school (\$1000). The following themes appear in her interview:

- (1) Bus driver's school was the hardest short-term training situation I've ever been in. It's not an easy job; to have to handle the bus and maintain crowd control over ninety kids, that's an accomplishment. I never felt embarrassed that I was a bus driver. People would say to me, "I just don't know how you do that. That seems like it would be such a hard job." When people said that I felt a little bit stronger and this occurred during a period when I needed to feel strong. That was real important thing for me.
- (2) The only times I ever felt a little strange about it would be when I would go to parties where people didn't know me in a professional sense. They would ask me what I do for a living and I would say, "Well, I'm a teacher and I'm also a bus driver." I got some kind of shocked reactions that I didn't feel comfortable with; I felt a little embarrassed. No, I don't think embarrassed is the right word; uncomfortable is the only thing. Maybe I shouldn't have been doing that.
- (3) At that time, I thought money was the primary motivation for being a bus driver, but I bought things that I wanted rather than groceries and paying the mortgage. So, maybe it was so I wouldn't feel so completely strapped financially. Maybe it was so I could experience a little financial freedom during a rather difficult period. I felt so responsible for my family's well-being. I'm not sure that even if I'd been paid several thousand more, I wouldn't have done it anyway.
- (4) I don't have to think when I am driving a bus. When I'm teaching, I'm going down my list of what you do to teach the concepts. When I drove a bus, I didn't have to think like a teacher. As a bus driver, I had a lot of responsibility and it was much more physical. The last year I lost interest in driving a bus because my teaching job became so physical. I found it satisfying to use that kind of energy in the classroom.
- (5) Because I taught such a small group of children, many of the children in the school did not realize I was a teacher until I began to drive a bus and I told them that I was also a teacher. Being a bus driver helped maintain crowd control in the halls. The children knew who I was. It sort of defined me for some of

the children that could present behavior problems in the halls, in the cafeterias, things like that.

- (6) To some degree it had a negative impact on me as a teacher. When I would get back to the school building after I parked my bus, it was locked. I really didn't have the chance to do the kinds of things in my room that I would have done otherwise.
- (7) Somehow bus driving is related to teaching. A lot of my little students rode on my bus. Sometimes I would stop the bus completely and I'd go back and help them get off and get to their front doors. I just sort of felt good about having finished that little child for the day. There is continuity. There is no derogatory implication to the moonlighting job. It's just not related to the growth and development part even though with that particular one (bus driving); there was a continuity.
- (8) I always have had a lot of respect for other teachers who work other jobs. I used to wonder how in the world they could teach all day and do all that needs to be done at home; would have energy to do that. As the children have gotten older, I have the energy. The energy that I once used to keep their lives going with bottles and diapers and trips to the doctors with ear infections and that kind of thing, I can use for something else.
- (9) Some years I've not had really exciting assignments. I wasn't real interested in what I was doing. I sometimes have felt like, as a special education teacher, that the administrators are forced to have us in the school. The administrators didn't really appreciate my efforts and the children don't provide a lot of the warm fuzzies that children in a more normal setting would provide. My second job gives me a lot of warm fuzzies. When I was a bus driver, even with people that thought or implied it might be inappropriate, they just couldn't believe that I was able to do that.
- (10) Ten years ago I would have said that I would not keep teaching. I don't as frequently make such absolute statements. I would still like to become a supervisor/administrator type person. I can't envision having the time for other jobs if I moved into a supervisory position. I can't imagine doing that. Somehow it wouldn't seem appropriate, would it?
- (11) Teachers that I know personally that work second jobs are teachers who in the classroom and in committees are more creative, more cooperative, more able to work as a part of the group, who are willing to be followers and leaders. People that I, if they were children, would probably label them "gifted" or at least very high achieving types. People with a lot of different interests, people who see life as it could be rather than as it is.

VITA

Eleanor Jane Blair Hilty was born in Memphis, Tennessee on July 31, 1954. She attended public schools in Memphis and was graduated from Watkins Overton High School in May, 1972. The following September she entered Memphis State University, where she attended three years before transferring to The University of Tennessee in Knoxville, Tennessee. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in Education with honors in June, 1977.

Ms. Hilty enjoyed life for one year before securing gainful employment as a teacher of retarded adults in Maryville, Tennessee in July, 1978. In February, 1978, she began teaching at a public high school in Knoxville, Tennessee. After three years of teaching and moonlighting as a waitress, she returned to The University of Tennessee and received a Master of Science degree with a major in Educational Psychology in December, 1982. She continued with full-time graduate study and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Educational Psychology in December, 1987.

As of September, 1987, the author, Leonard, her husband, and Sara, her Golden Retriever, reside in Atlanta, Georgia. Dr. Hilty is currently teaching at Kennesaw College in Marietta, Georgia.