EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ELDERLY TEACHERS IN PRIVATE SECTOR SCHOOLS IN SRI LANKA

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**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation   Employment Practices and Employers' Attitudes Towards Elderly Teachers in Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

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The main objectives of the dissertation were to identify the reasons for employing elderly teachers (ETs) in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, current employment practices applied for the ETs, employers' attitudes towards the ETs, and the factors affecting such attitudes among the employers. The study used semi-structured in-depth interviews to investigate the reasons for employing the ETs and current employment practices applied with the ETs. Ten schools were selected for studying current employment practices under the themes of recruitment and selection, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation and promotion, and retirement. An examination of the employers' attitudes and the factors affecting those attitudes was surveyed with a self-administered questionnaire given to 98 employers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

The interview data revealed that employers' first impressions of the employment of ETs in the private sector schools were almost all positive towards the ETs. It was found that the employers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka employed ETs due to the shortfall of qualified teachers that could teach in the English medium, because of the competency of ETs, their expert contribution as administrators, mentors, and disciplinarians, and because ETs bring age diversity to the schools and because of financial constraints and reputational matters among some of the new and small schools. A comparison of the number of ETs employed in the private sector schools indicated that more opportunities were available for ETs in the international schools (ISs) than in the unaided private schools (UPSs) in Sri Lanka. However, it was indicated that in terms of the size of the school, small- and medium-

size schools had favourable employment practices towards ETs compared to large schools.

Though the employers preferred the employment of ETs, current employment practices towards the ETs were age discriminatory to a great extent. Applying age restrictions in recruitment, determining employment terms and conditions, training and development opportunities, salary increments and promotions showed that employment practices were often coupled with age discrimination. Yet, there were some instances where schools indicated age-friendly approaches, for examples, the inclusion of stimulating clauses for retired teachers in vacancy advertisements, providing full-time employment for ETs, adopting a late official retirement age, and not implementing early retirement schemes for teachers. Amongst the two types of schools (UPSs and ISs), relatively fewer age discriminatory practices could be observed in the ISs in Sri Lanka. This may have been because the fewer government regulations for ISs allowed them make their employment decisions autonomously according to the requirements of the schools. Further, in terms of size of the school, small- and medium-size schools adopted more age-friendly practices compared with larger schools. Since small- and medium-size schools may be particularly affected by the teacher shortage and difficulties regarding the retention of teachers, may have inclined them to respond quite favourably towards ETs.

Based on the attitudinal survey data, a factor analysis performed on the 19 attitudinal variables categorized those variables into three dimensions and three scales were constructed namely; effectiveness, competence, and adaptability. A regression analysis was performed in order to identify the factors affecting the employers' attitudes towards the ETs. The results revealed that the employers' overall attitudes towards the ETs were significantly and positively affected by the age of the employer, the employers' frequent contact with the ETs, and type of school being an international school. However, the gender of the employer and the size of the school did not have any significant effect on the employers' attitudes towards ETs. Comparing the two types of schools considered in the study, it can be concluded that the ISs in Sri Lanka are less age discriminatory than the UPSs in terms of the employers' attitudes towards ETs and adopting employment practices towards ETs. Based on those findings and implications, necessary recommendations were made.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures   **Page**

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations	Equivalence
A/L	Advanced Level
AARP	American Association for Retired Persons
AISSL	Association of International Schools in Sri Lanka
AJTP	Adjunct Teacher Programme
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
CIPD	Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development
DV	Dependent Variable
EEs	Elderly Employees
ETs	Elderly Teachers
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISs	International Schools
IT	Information Technology
IVs	Independent Variables
n.d.	no date
O/L	Ordinary Level
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SD	Standard Deviation
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TISSL	The International Schools in Sri Lanka
UPSs	Unaided Private Schools
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor
YTs	Younger Teachers

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to properly position the social phenomenon under investigation, i.e. exploring the employment practices and employers' attitudes towards elderly teachers (ETs) in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. This chapter briefly provides an overview of population ageing and its impact on the labour market in Sri Lanka and then goes on to the significance and statement of the problem. After describing the research gaps involved in the employment of the elderly in Sri Lanka, the research objectives and research questions of the dissertation are articulated, and the chapter organization concludes the chapter.

1.1 Population Ageing in Sri Lanka

Population ageing has become inevitable across many parts of the world, which is no longer possible to ignore or underestimate. Population ageing refers to a shifting in the age distribution or age structure of a population toward older ages (Gavrilov & Heuveline, 2003). Its impact spreads throughout the economy, mounting pressure on the health sector, the labour market, social security coverage, age-friendly accommodations and transportation, and ultimately huge public finance.

The ageing population of Sri Lanka is one of the fastest growing in the world (Vodopivec & Arunatilake, 2008). The population projections of De Silva (2007) gauged that in 1981 there were one million elderly people (60+ years) there, who accounted for 6.6 percent of the entire population, and in 2016 it is around three million (14.2 percent) out of the total population of 21 million. Further, the author projected that this number will rise to 6.3 million in 2050, accounting for 27.4 percent of the total population. The demographic drivers explaining population ageing in Sri Lanka are a sharp decline in fertility and mortality rates, along with rising longevity (Siddhisena & DeGraff, 2009; Vodopivec & Arunathilake, 2011; Taylor, Perera, &

Storey, 2012, p. 7). The population ageing repercussions on the labour market have confirmed that Sri Lanka will be on the brink of a labour shortage in another decade or so (Gaminiratne, 2004; De Silva, 2007, 2012; Vodopivec & Arunathilake, 2008, 2011). Thus, the government of Sri Lanka is in the process of taking several initiatives after considering the elderly issue. Earlier the retirement age in the public sector was at 55, and later on it was extended to 57, and at present the compulsory retirement age set at 60 (Public Service Commission Circular No.02/2012; Public Enterprise Circular No.01/2013). Another recent effort taken by the government was launching a re-employment scheme for retired nursing officers on a contract basis so as to address the shortage of qualified nurses in the government hospitals (General Circular No.02/125/2014). Besides the government, today even the private sector employers are considering and implementing the strategy of employing retired employees in order to deal with the labour supply challenges in several industries. Moreover, in 2015 for the first time in Sri Lankan history the government has declared October 8 as the "National Day for Pensioners" to recognize retirees and most importantly to deliver the population ageing message to the society.

Despite the labour shortage, there are several other reasons that have triggered the importance of employing elderly employees (EEs) in the Sri Lankan context: poverty among the elderly, inadequate social security coverage (Ranan-Eliya, 1999; Rodrigo, 2000; Gaminiratne, 2004; Taylor et al., 2012), the structural changes taking place in the family system (Siddhisena & Ratnayake, 1993; Uhlenberg, 1996; Perera, 1999; Siddhisena, 2005), the prevailing younger retirement age and increasing the ageing dependency ratio (Siddhisena, 2005; Rajan, n.d.). Considering those challenges, it is of paramount importance to explore the labour market structures, potential employment opportunities for EEs, employment practices, and the different stakeholders' perceptions about the EEs in Sri Lanka.

1.2 Significance and Statement of the Problem

The ageing arena, intertwined with the labour shortage, calls attention to novel strategies to determine the size, structure, regulations, and norms of the labour market, targeting the future economic growth of the country. At present the school education

sector in Sri Lanka is one of the important areas that is suffering from a dearth of qualified teachers in both the public and private sector schools. As an alternative solution, the schools tend to employ retired government teachers, especially among the private sector schools. From Sri Lankan labour market perspective, attracting EEs or retirees to the formal sector is a novel trend, which needs to take into consideration employment policies and practices and attitudes towards EEs. However, obtaining the service of elderly/retired teachers by the schools has confirmed that the elderly workforce is gradually escalating its demands during this ageing era, establishing employers' confidence in ETs even after retirement. It is an intellectual puzzle to investigate the nature of the attitudes held by employers towards ETs and the types of employment practices adopted for them. Hence, this study explores those aspects from the employers' perspectives that are in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

1.2.1 School Education System in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) historically has been under several foreign invaders; first Portuguese rule, then the Dutch, and finally as a British Colony. Likewise with other strategic sectors in the country, education was in the hands of the missionaries, who established schools to propagate the Roman Catholic religion. During the Portuguese period, the Sri Lankan mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction, while elementary education was provided for all the children in the parish and secondary education was limited to the children of the Portuguese civil and military officers or local chieftains. Under the rule of the Dutch, it was realized that civil administration and trade could be further facilitated by having an educated workforce, which then led to the expansion of education with an increased number of schools and pupils under the Dutch Reformed Church. However, the foundation of the mass education in Ceylon was laid by the British and even today the education system of Sri Lanka is predominantly influenced by the British education system. The dual system of schools had begun where the government assisted fee-levying English medium schools for elite class in the society and the government operated non-fee charging state schools which were taught in mother tongue for the children of the common people.

The dawning of the 20th century marked a milestone in Sri Lankan history by gaining independence from the British in 1948. Nonetheless, soon before the independence, the first Minister of Education in Ceylon, late honourable Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara was in the process of initiating extensive education reforms and accordingly he pioneered the opening of the doors for free education for the entire student community in Sri Lanka in 1947—from kindergarten to the university level. In honoring his noble service, he has been known as the "Father of Free Education in Sri Lanka." The post-independence period also marked several changes in the education system: further expansion of educational opportunities, enactment of a law on education, the establishing of central schools, changes in the medium of instruction from English to the vernacular (Sinhala and Tamil), the provisioning of student welfare facilities such as textbooks, uniforms, mid-day meals free of charge, scholarships for students on merit and on a needy basis. Even today those provisions are in operation among the government schools. However, the enactment of the "Swabhasha Policy" (Sinhala Only Act) in 1956, the compulsion of working only with the vernacular language Sinhala, created a backlash on using the English medium in the education system in Sri Lanka, which later was recognized as a vacuum in Sri Lankan education.

Regarding another landmark reported during 1960-1961, the government of Sri Lanka decided to take over all the government-assisted denominational schools (which were owned and operated by the British missionaries) under Assisted Schools and Training Colleges (Special Provisions) Act No. 5 of 1960 and established a national school system. The Act No.8 of 1961 prohibited the establishment of new private schools for children between the ages of 5 and 14 years (Madagama, 2014). Yet, existing private schools were given the option of abolishing fees and receiving state grants to become either semi-government or continue to remain as unaided fee-levying schools (Wettewa, n.d.). Accordingly, the school education in Sri Lanka consists of mainly government schools and private schools. The government schools can be further divided into two: national schools and provincial schools. The national schools are regulated by the Ministry of Education under the central government. The enactment of 13th Amendment to the Sri Lanka Constitution in 1987 devolved its power to the Provincial Councils, and the schools that are under the supervision of the

Provincial Councils are called provincial schools. The statistics related to government and private schools are depicted in table 1.1. The number of government schools, especially provincial schools, has been gradually increasing during the 4-year period and 317 new provincial schools have been established, yet the banning of new private schools remained the existing number as the same over the time. Further, the gross student teacher ratio of private schools to government schools is slightly higher, i.e. 21 to 18 correspondently.

Table 1.1 Schools at a Glance in Sri Lanka

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013
No. of national schools	340	342	342	350
No. of provincial schools	9,345	9,389	9,563	9,662
Total No. of government schools	9,685	9,731	9,905	10,012
Total No. of students	3,940,072	3,973,847	4,004,086	4,037,157
Total No. of teachers	214,562	219,886	223,333	226,983
Gross student teacher ratio	18	18	18	18
Total No. of private schools*	98	98	98	98
Total No. of students	117,362	121,764	125,669	127,986
Total No. of teachers	5,994	5,810	6,114	6,200
Gross student teacher ratio	21	21	21	21

Source: Statistics from the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka

Note: * Including Special Education Schools and Excluding International Schools

1.2.2 Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

The banning of the private sector schools has been criticized by researchers as a curtailment of opportunities and as diverting resources in the education sector, whereas other countries like China and Russia are promoting private sector education today (Wettewa, n.d.; Aturupane, 2009). Nevertheless, the liberalization of the Sri Lankan economy in 1977 brought about an alternative solution for private sector school education by introducing a novel type of school; namely, "international

schools" (ISs). Thus, today the private sector schools in Sri Lanka can be divided into two types: 1) Private schools and 2) International schools.

1.2.2.1 Private Schools

It is mandatory to register all of the private schools in Sri Lanka under the Ministry of Education. They are supposed to adopt the national education policy and national curriculum from grade 1 to the Advanced Level (A/L). Thus, they are under the direct supervision of the ministry, located under a separate branch called the "Private Schools Branch" in the ministry. Occasionally the ministry issues circulars for the administration of those schools.

As per the ministry, private schools are categorized into three types:

1) Government Approved Aided Private Schools: defined as a school to which aid is contributed from state funds. However, those schools are not fully funded by the government like public sector schools. The assistance is provided by the government only for payment of the salaries of teachers, which is the highest operating cost of the schools. Therefore those schools charge a nominal fee from the students and they are practically considered as non-fee levying schools. The majority of the schools is under the Catholic denomination and is governed by a board of management. However, the Ministry of Education conducts thorough supervision of the schools and thereby administration autonomy is limited in the schools. According to the updated list from the ministry as of 01/11/2014, the number of such schools was 36.

2) Government Approved Unaided Private Schools (UPSs): they do not receive any funding from the government and thus, the schools charge the students fees for admission and the education provided. Those schools are governed by a board of management. Since the UPSs are registered under the Ministry of Education and they are subject to government supervision. However, the board of management of the schools has a great deal of autonomy in decision making and administration compared with the aided private schools. The updated unaided school list provided by the ministry as of 01/11/2014 indicated that the number of UPSs was 44.

3) Special Education Schools: by honouring the principle of inclusion in education those schools are exclusively reserved for students with different abilities from normal children, such as the visually impaired, the hearing impaired, the physically disabled and the mentally retarded. Those schools are

registered and supervised under the Ministry of Education and are governed by a board of management. These are non-government schools that are assisted by the government grants in aid to fund teacher salaries, school textbooks, and uniforms and special teaching aids. The number of schools was 25 in 2013 as per the statistics from the ministry.

1.2.2.2 International Schools

Although the government of Sri Lanka is attempting to provide nation-wide free education, at the moment it suffers from many challenges. As noted by Amarasinghe and Ratnayake (2008), wider provisioning of education led to a decrease in the quality of government education. The lack of teachers in the government schools and the gradual falling of government spending for education (education spending was 1.7 percent of gross domestic production in 2013) demonstrate the deterioration of the quality among the government schools (Liyanage, 2014). Moreover, unequal resource distribution among the government schools is favourable to only the national schools in the urban areas in Sri Lanka (Liyanage, 2014). As a consequence of the increased demand for popular urban government schools, parents were compelled to produce forged residency documents and to bribe principals and educational administrators in the ministry in order to somehow get admission to those popular national or central schools (Wettewa, n.d.; Siyambalapitiya, 2005; Liyanage, 2014). This unhealthy competition led the parents to seek alternative schools.

Further, the banning of private education did not necessarily lead to the equalization of education but rather reinforced the importance of the privileged urban schools (Hettige, 2004). Additionally, the student teacher ratio of the private schools was approximately 21 students per teacher, indicates that the enrollment rate has reached the climax and implies the requirement of new schools for the education system.

The study of Wettewe (n.d.) stated specifically that the promotion of vernacular languages by the government created a "vacuum of English medium school education" in Sri Lanka, where the English language continues to be the path for upward mobility in the globalized arena. Though the English language is taught as the second language up to the A/L, only 10 percent of the students were able to achieve the targeted level of mastery, and a majority of them were from urban schools

(Liyanage, 2014). The expanding corporate sector in Sri Lanka also welcomes English educated youth (Hettige, 2004; Gamlath, 2013). In other words, English competency would enhance the employability of the youth, which is another main motivating factor for the establishment of the ISs in Sri Lanka. Usually the middle class parents in Sri Lanka would like to enroll their children in the ISs so that they can do their studies in the English medium, sit for foreign examinations, acquire foreign qualifications, and get admission to reputed foreign universities (Wettewa, n.d.; Little & Hettige, 2013). This fact is partly a reflection of the demand for ISs in Sri Lanka.

The concept of the international school in Sri Lanka began with the launching of liberal economic policies. The Board of Investment Act, enacted in 1978, allowed for the opening up of the establishment of organizations which provided services, such as health and education. Since 1978, there have been ISs in Sri Lanka, but the concept was only to enroll the children of expatriates in Sri Lanka. Beyond that purpose, at present the rapid growth of ISs can be seen, which has been fundamentally motivated by the above-mentioned premises. This trend of mushrooming ISs has been prevalent in Sri Lanka for two decades. Though the number is accelerating too fast, unfortunately no systematic collection of data are available to gauge the exact number of ISs in Sri Lanka (Liyanage, 2014). Currently the vast majority of students in the ISs are locals (Wettewa, n.d.). Opening up new ISs can also be considered as an alternative strategy for investment in education by the private sector after the banning of new private schools in 1960.

The categorization of ISs in Sri Lanka can be done in two ways: i.e. based on the source of the registration of the school and on the curriculum followed by the school.

The registration authority of the ISs can be further divided into two:

1) Registered under the Board of Investment of Sri Lanka as a foreign business entity

2) Registered under the Companies Act of Sri Lanka as a registered private limited liability company

Considering both types of ISs, it is evident that the loopholes in the legal system prevented keeping those schools under the scrutiny of the Ministry of Education, the responsible government authority. As a consequence, there is no one

particular official document to determine the number and names of all the ISs established in Sri Lanka.

Additionally, a wider range of discrepancies can be found in terms of fee structure, curricular, examinations, standards, and the facilities in the ISs (Wettewa, n.d.). The apparent common features among the ISs are English as the medium of instruction and mostly they are co-educational schools.

The second categorization of the ISs is based on the type of curriculum offered by the schools. This categorization of ISs can be divided into three groups as follows:

1) ISs offering only a foreign curriculum, mainly Cambridge, Ed-Excel, and the International Baccalaureate

2) ISs offering both a foreign curriculum and the national curriculum

3) ISs teaching only the national curriculum

1.2.3 Teacher Shortage in Sri Lanka

Though the number of schools and student enrolment is rising, studies have revealed that one of the main barriers to delivering a quality education to the children is the shortage of teachers among the schools in Sri Lanka (Wettewa, n.d.; Hettige, 2005; Siyambalapitiya, 2005; Human Development Report Sri Lanka, 2012, p. 69; Balasooriya, 2013, p. 143). The gross student-teacher ratio illustrated in table 1.1 depicts that the government schools have 18 students per teacher while the private schools has 21 and that the given ratio is a gross figure which varies by province. For example, the student-teacher ratio in the government schools in the Western province was 22 in 2013 (The Ministry of Education, Sri. Lanka, 2013). The small and rural schools in the country are much affected by the lack of teachers and this situation was coined the "crisis of small schools" in the study of Balasooriya (2013, p. 143) and finally impacting to close down the small schools in Sri Lanka.

Small schools have less parental demand, poor quality of teaching, low achievement levels, less attention from authorities and the parents, negative

attitudes of teachers, lack of supervision, and finally closing-down of small schools. Balasooriya (2013, p. 143)

The scarcity of teachers is evident from the available statistics in the government schools in table 1.2. During the period of 2010-2013, nearly 30 percent of the government schools had fewer than 10 teachers, indicating the seriousness of the teacher inadequacy in terms of numbers and the deterioration of education in Sri Lanka. Statistics from the ministry revealed that a considerable number of schools are operating with either only 1 or 2 teachers (190 schools in 2013). All of those facts and figures demonstrate the insufficient number of teachers in the school system. The reasons for the lack of teachers among the government schools are due to lower remuneration, lack of monetary and other kinds of incentives for teachers, and growing employment opportunities in the private sector in Sri Lanka (Wettewa, n.d.; Hettige, 2005; Siyambalapitiya, 2005; Aturupane, 2009). Further, as cited in Balasooriya (2013, p. 145), the recent growing trend of Sri Lankan teachers' emigrating to international schools in the Middle Eastern countries (for example, Oman and Saudi Arabia) can be seen and some private recruitment agencies are there to recruit teachers for overseas positions.

Table 1.2 Government Schools by Number of Teachers

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013
1-teacher schools	100	74	71	62
2-teacher schools	166	159	141	128
3-9 teacher schools	2,565	2,595	2,733	2,862
Total schools with fewer than 10 teachers	2,831	2,828	2,945	3,052
Total No. of government schools	9,685	9,731	9,905	10,012
% Schools with Fewer than 10 Teachers	**29%**	**29%**	**30%**	**30%**

Source: The Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka, 2013.

The issue of the teacher shortage in Sri Lanka is multifaceted. The inadequacy of the number of teachers in the schools is one facet. Another aspect is the mismatch between the demand for and supply of teachers, which means the absence of specialized teachers for the subjects which have higher demand and relevancy for the contemporary job market, such as English, Science, Mathematics and Information Technology (Wettewa, n.d.; Balasooriya, 2013, p. 144; Little & Hettige, 2013). With the economic liberalization, the private sector has become the engine of economic growth and a giant in provisioning employment opportunities. An analysis of the Labour Market Information Bulletins of Sri Lanka indicated that most job seekers are required to acquire the Information Technology and English proficiency that is expected by the labour market (Arunatilake & Jayawardena, 2010, p. 85). Those qualifications have been recognized as the pre-requisites for securing employment in the corporate sector, whereas English is considered as the business language in the private sector in Sri Lanka (Wettewa, n.d.).

The recent initiative of introducing the English medium of instruction (parallel to the vernacular medium of instruction) among the selected government and private schools in the country would demand a higher number of teaches that can instruct in the English medium. In response to that, the government was able to appoint just 1 percent of teachers to teach in the English medium in 2010, which clearly shows that the government has failed to redesign the school education system to meet the demands of employers by improving the availability of education in the English medium (Gamlath, 2013, p. 45). The establishment of ISs has aggravated the demand for English medium teachers that can teach national and foreign curricular. After almost 50 years of the adoption of vernacular languages in the schools and to a certain extent in the universities in Sri Lanka, it is difficult to find teachers that are capable of imparting subject knowledge effectively to the students in English, as they have limited knowledge in English (Little & Hettige, 2013, p. 236). All of this evidence indicates the necessity of maintaining an adequate and qualified teaching staff so as to address the educational needs and the labour market requirements of the country.

1.2.4 Employment of Elderly Teachers in Sri Lanka

The absence of suitable teachers in the system forces both the government and private sector schools to look for alternatives to find qualified teachers. The employment of elderly/retired teachers is one such measurement that has been exemplified by the schools that are facing the scarcity of teachers in many other countries (Redman & Snape, 2002; Botwinik & Press, 2006; Martinez, Frick, Kim, & Fried, 2010; Bal & Visser, 2011). It is equally acceptable for the Sri Lankan context as well.

The statistics from the ministry showed that the government schools adopt two strategies in order to overcome the teacher shortage at present: 1) the employment of untrained teachers and trainee teachers; and 2) the employment of teachers that are beyond the mandatory retirement age of 60 (table 1.3). However, over the years the number of untrained and trainee teachers has declined, whilst the number of teachers beyond the mandatory retirement age of 60 has gradually increased in the government schools. This is an indication that schools have higher demand for experienced ETs, which is more understandable in the education sector rather than employing untrained teachers without compromising the quality of education.

Table 1.3 Different Types of Teachers Employed in Government Schools

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013
No. of untrained teachers	N/A	6,400	5,833	4,388
No. of trainee teachers	N/A	3,843	2,597	2,394
	10,103*	10,243	8,430	6,782
Teachers beyond mandatory retirement age	6	17	22	23

Source: The Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka, 2013.

Note: *Categorization is not available

Maintaining a higher student-teacher ratio compared with the government schools emphasizes that the issue of the teacher shortage in the private schools is intense. It is not an exaggeration to say that the situation among the ISs may be further worsened, where it is mandatory to teach the curriculum completely in the

English medium. Lack of qualified English-medium teachers sometimes compels the private sector schools, especially ISs, to employ teachers purely based on their English language skills and those teachers sometimes have little pedagogical knowledge (Jenkins, Berman, & Jenkins, 2005). The study of Gamlath (2013, p. 47) also indicated that a common allegation against the ISs in Sri Lanka is the employment of under-qualified teachers in order to somehow fill the required number of teachers in the school. In order to overcome those issues and to obtain the service of trained and experienced teachers that are well conversant in English, the ISs therefore have adopted the strategy of employing retired government school teachers (Wettewa, n.d.; Jenkins et al., 2005).

It is evident from table 1.4 that a number of private sector schools are currently adopting the alternative of employing retired teachers or ETs as a remedy for teacher shortage. As a part of this study I initially surveyed 64 private sector schools from January through March in 2015, representing both the UPSs and ISs, which showed that more than 80 percent of the surveyed schools implemented the option of the employment of ETs, and this tendency was especially apparent in the ISs, which was much higher (88 percent) than in the UPSs. The number of employed ETs in the private sector schools was close to 1000 in 2015 only among the 54 schools. There is no doubt that the actual number is higher than this figure, after taking into consideration the total number of private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Also, it is noteworthy that the employed number in the ISs was three times greater than in the private schools.

Table 1.4 Employed Elderly Teachers in Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

Type of school	Private	International	Total
No. of schools surveyed	31	33	64
No. of schools employing ETs	25	29	54
% of schools employing ETs	81%	88%	84%
No. of ETs (in 2015)	218	761	979

Source: Survey Data, 2015.

In essence, it appears that a lack of qualified teachers in the school education system has led to the consideration of the option of obtaining the service of ETs an alternative strategy. Comparing the number of ETs in the government and private sector schools revealed that government schools very rarely adopt that strategy. However, that practice frequently can be found in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, specifically UPSs and ISs. This is because the prevailing compulsory official retirement age of 60 for the teachers in the government sector schools does not permit them to employ ETs beyond that retirement age. Further, among the private sector schools government aided schools are also under the strict supervision of the Ministry of Education and also less autonomy in the administrative decision making allows fewer possibilities to employ ETs. The stated objectives and the nature of special education provided in the special education schools has necessitated them to employ specialized instructors and thereby closing the doors for ETs in such institutions. However, the categories of UPSs and ISs relatively experience higher levels of administrative autonomy leading to much room for employing ETs as an alternative to meet the teacher shortage. Therefore, the current study of employing ETs in the private sector schools only concentrates on UPSs and ISs in Sri Lanka on the brink of an ageing population (Appendix A - List of private sector schools in Sri Lanka used in the study).

1.2.5 Employment Practices and Employers' Attitudes Towards Elderly Employees

Though EEs are gradually stepping into the labour market, the empirical studies on elderly employment often criticize the stereotypical attitudes and age discriminatory employment practices among the employers as a major deterrent to the employment of elderly or retired employees (Metcalf & Thompson, 1990; Casey, Metcalf & Lakey, 1993; Itzin & Phillipson, 1993; Warr & Pennington, 1993; Taylor & Walker, 1994, 1998; Chiu, Chan, Snape, & Redman, 2001; Loretto & White, 2004, 2006). The attitudes of employers towards EEs are one of the highly influential criteria regarding the recruitment decision of elderly workers in an organization (Shacklock, 2002; Van Dalen, Henkens & Schippers, 2009; Kadefors & Hense, 2012; Axelrad, Luski, & Miki, 2013). Although the economies are deeply concerned about

the population ageing and labour shortage, apparently the attitudes of the employers do not reflect such a welcome to EEs (Magd, 2003; Gringart, Helmes, & Speelman, 2005; Conen, Henkens, & Schippers, 2012; Kadefors & Hense, 2012; Kim & Mo, 2014). In an Australian study that was suggested employers' attitudes constituted the major barrier to the employment of older workers (Bittman, Flick, & Rice, 2001). According to the authors, it is often claimed that employers' negative attitudes towards older workers strongly preclude employment opportunities for EEs even if the employers' work experience with EEs may suggest otherwise. Therefore, the likelihood that employers will utilize the older labour force is directly related to their perceptions of the limitations of employing an older worker (Gibson, Zerbe & Franken, 1993, p. 322). Further, age discriminatory employment practices were highlighted in the areas of recruitment, selection, training and development, performance evaluation, promotion, retrenchment (Bittman et al., 2001; Shacklock, 2002; Gray & McGregor, 2003; Duncun & Loretto, 2004; Stassen & Templer, 2005; Kim & Mo, 2014; Kim & Klassen, 2015).

A study of Redman and Snape (2002, p. 356) in the United States had provided clear evidence of age discrimination against older teachers in recruitment regardless of teaching experience, professional qualifications, or gender. Wallace (1999) pointed out that young teachers had perceived older teachers negatively as being less up to date in terms of subject knowledge, inflexible attitudes, resistance to change, and having less interest in engaging in out-of-school activities. Having considered these empirical examples, it is unlikely to expect that, those employment practices and stereotypical attitudes will be differently applied to the employed ETs in Sri Lanka.

Though there has been a very little research carried out on ageing employment in the Sri Lankan context, the study of Vodopivec and Arunatilake (2008) clearly pointed out that wage discrimination against elderly workers in Sri Lanka was as one of the common practices. After analyzing data from various labour force surveys in Sri Lanka the authors have concluded that, in comparison to younger workers, older workers were paid less in both the public and private sector organizations. Such age-wage discriminatory practices adopted by employers are a reflection of the negative attitudes towards elderly workers. Therefore, those researchers have called for further

research to explore the perceptions of employers toward EEs which would be an obstacle to elderly employment in Sri Lanka. Further, age discriminatory practice in Sri Lanka is clearly visible in most of the vacancy advertisements in the newspapers and employment websites, placing an upper-age bar to discourage applications from non-preferred age categories. The data on newspaper vacancy advertisements from the Labour Market Information Bulletin of Sri Lanka pointed out a large number of vacancies advertised for the job seekers in the 18-30 age group (Arunatilake & Jayawardena, 2010, p. 76). This is an indication that employers set the "rules of the game" which are favourable to the young generation while restricting opportunities for EEs. This emphasizes the timely need for examining the prevailing employment practices and employers' attitudes on EEs in Sri Lanka so as to revisit those attitudes and practices through the lens of contemporary labour market requirements.

1.3 Research Gaps

A number of studies have examined the different perspectives on the ageing population in Sri Lanka, such as healthcare (Nugegoda & Balasuriya, 1995; Siddhisena, 2003; Seneviratne, 2004), elderly care and living arrangements (Siddhisena & Rathnayake, 1993; Silva, 2004), and reforming social security schemes (Ranan-Eliya, 1999; De Mel, 2000; Gaminiratne, 2004). Further, previous study of Vodopivec and Arunathilake (2008) discussed the impact of the ageing population on the Sri Lankan labour market and older workers' position in the labour market. Yet, none of the studies have attempted the exploration of elderly employment from the employers' perspective, thereby leaving a research gap in the Sri Lankan elderly labour market literature. Moreover, the study of Vodopivec and Arunathilake (2008) claimed that there is a need for researching employers' attitudes towards EEs as the country is on the brink of labour shortage and currently EEs are attempting to enter the Sri Lankan labour market. However, current study has made an effort to go beyond the employers' attitudes in order to examine the prevailing employment practices regarding EEs as well. Therefore this dissertation will be an exploratory study examining the employment practices and employers' attitudes towards ETs in the Sri Lankan labour market.

The practical need for such research can further be emphasized in Sri Lanka as a pro-active measure purporting to re-shape employers' attitudes and to revisit labour market policies and practices, where other age-affected countries have already been implementing actions to foster an age-friendly labour market after extensively researching this issue. Before bringing changes to the existing context, it is essential to analyze and understand the present employment practices adopted by the employers, which will provide practical implications for necessary revisions. Those aspects are discussed in the current study, since the study expected to dig deeply into one profession that currently has a higher demand for the employment of elderly employees, i.e. elderly teachers in the private sector schools.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study expects to achieve five main research objectives in the context of the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

1) To ascertain the reasons for employing elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka

2) To examine the current employment practices towards the employed elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka

3) To find out the attitudes of the employers towards the elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka

4) To examine the factors affecting the employers' attitudes towards the elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka

5) To identify policy implications and to make recommendations

1.5 Research Questions

The following research questions served as the guidelines in achieving the above-mentioned research objectives. The first two questions deal with the reasons for employing ETs and employers' first impression of the employment of ETs. Subsequent question is exploring the current employment practices among the private sector schools regarding ETs. The next two questions examine the employers' attitudes towards ETs and the factors affecting such employers' attitudes.

1) Why do the private sector schools in Sri Lanka employ elderly teachers?

2) What is the employers' first impression of the employment of elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka?

3) What are the current employment practices towards the employed elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka?

4) What are the employers' attitudes towards the elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka?

5) What are the factors that affect the employers' attitudes towards the elderly teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka (age of employer, gender of employer, employers' contact with elderly teachers, and size of school and type of school)?

1.6 Chapter Organization

The logical flow of the dissertation communicates each part of the research process and the way to achieve the research objectives under investigation. Thus, the dissertation is organized in six chapters.

Chapter 1 provides an introductory overview of the study, the statement of the problem and its significance, research gaps, objectives of the research and research questions.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on age, ageism, age discrimination, employment practices and employers' attitudes towards elderly employees theoretically and empirically. Employment practices are described under recruitment and selection, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation, promotion and retirement. Employers' attitudes toward the ETs and the factors behind such attitudes are also explained.

Chapter 3 describes the research design of the study. Employment practices are examined through the interview data explaining the selection of schools, the questionnaire, data collection and data analysis. Survey data on employers' attitudes towards ETs are discussed under the sampling design, the questionnaire, and data collection and data analysis.

The presentation of the findings can be found in chapters 4 and 5. The findings obtained through interview data on employment practices are described in chapter 4 and the results of examination of employers' attitudes can be found in chapter 5.

Chapter 6 is comprised of a discussion of the key findings in the study, their implications, followed by the conclusion and several recommendations. This final chapter acknowledges the constraints of the study and suggests a few future research directions.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Evolving ageing population was deemed to have negative labour market repercussions in the developed economies, and the research attention of the Western countries has focused on studying the phenomenon of elderly employment. As with class, gender, and race, nowadays it is obviously showcased that age has become one of the powerful discriminators in the modern labour market. Age discrimination is widely spread and acknowledged in the society, yet people mostly consider it is as a "normal" or "inevitable" situation (Macnicol, 2005, p. 6). Yet, researchers have been persistently trying to bring this issue to the top of the public policy agenda in many of the countries. As a result, interestingly today, ample research on elderly employment can be found and it is of great assistance to properly locate this study. Many of the studies are on EEs in general and not much literature can be found in the area of the employment of ETs. However, the extant literature on EEs provides a platform to comprehend and examine employment practices and employers' attitudes on EEs as well as to direct them more towards ETs. Therefore, having considered the research objectives of the study, I intend to achieve two purposes by reviewing the literature. The first stream of the literature is to explore employment practices on EEs, including recruitment and selection, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation and promotion, and retirement. The second part deals with the employers' attitudes on EEs, different attitudinal dimensions and the factors affecting employers' attitudes towards the EEs. Though this chapter reviews mainly EEs in general, special attention is placed on the ETs depending on the availability of the literature.

2.1 Age, Ageism, and Age Discrimination

The term "employee" sounds very normal in the society or in organizations, but when combined with the adjective "elderly" it seems quite atypical in the

contemporary labour market, distinguishing employees into two categories; namely, younger and older. The criterion for such a demarcation is the "age" of the employee, which is a reflection that emerged in the labour market purely due to the consequences of population ageing.

Generally, the age of a person is a property that describes his/her length of life from the birth, i.e. called chronological age. Conversely, biological age is an individual's present position with respect to his/her potential life span (Birren & Cunningham, 1985). The biological age of a person may be younger or older than his or her chronological age. The social age of a person means age as a social construct, which includes socially-ascribed age norms and age-appropriate behaviours (Macnicol, 2005, p. 5). Whether a person is determined as an older or a younger person depends on the extent of the behaviours demonstrated by that person in that particular society or culture in which he/she lives. Psychological age is defined by the behavioral capacities of individuals to adapt to changing demands (Birren & Cunningham, 1985). When comparing the typologies of age, it is obvious that chronological age is quite straightforward and it may serve as a proxy for biological maturation, psychological development, membership in larger social categories (e.g. cohort), or life stage or phase (Settersten & Mayer, 1997, p. 234). Similarly in many instances, when taking employment decisions, the chronological age of an employee plays a crucial role because employers consider the criterion of chronological age as a cheap, convenient, and quick method in decision making (Macnicol, 2005, p. 11). Although the definition of elderly employee is relevant to the world of work, there is little agreement concerning the definition in the elderly employment literature (Field, Burke, & Cooper, 2013). Nevertheless, the extant literature on elderly employment suggests that, under the usual circumstances, employees beyond the retirement age are considered as elderly or older employees, where legal retirement age is applied.

Upon the arrival of EEs into the labour market, age discrimination against the EEs in the organizations was clearly manifested. Sometimes age discrimination in the organizations is explicit while at other times it is subtle. However the problem of age discrimination is well-explained under the concept of ageism. The term "ageism" was first coined by the American gerontologist Dr. Robert Butler in 1969, while he was chair of the District of Columbia Advisory Committee on Ageing. The definition he

has given for the term "ageism" is "a process of systematic stereotyping and discrimination against people because they are old, just as racism and sexism accomplish this for skin colour and gender" (Inder & Bryson, 2007, p. 9). The definition of the Oxford Dictionary of ageism is "unfair treatment of people because they are considered as too old," while the Merriam Webster Dictionary states it as "prejudice or discrimination against a particular age-group and especially the elderly," Dr. Butler considered it is as a depiction of "irrational hostility" and "discrimination" against older people in the society and he argued that ageism is due to two reasons: partly from ignorance (lack of knowledge and less contact with the older people makes people have stereotypes and myths regarding the older people), and partly from a deep and profound dread of the growing number of older people in the society (Macnicol, 2005, p. 9). The underlying argument behind it is that "unawareness" plays a bigger role in constructing a negative image of the elderly in the society, presuming things rather than observing actual behaviours and characteristics of the person, leading to the establishment of stereotypes in the society. A similar confirmation was given by Macnicol (2005), explaining "ageism as an application of assumed age-based group characteristics for an individual, regardless of the actual personal characteristics of that particular person." Those deep-rooted socially constructed assumptions, stereotypes, myths are wide-spread phenomena in the labour market and as a consequence of that, age discriminatory employment practices are profound (McEvan, 1990; Taylor & Walker, 1991; Itzin & Philippson, 1993; Walker & Taylor, 1993; Perry & Bourhis, 1998; Chiu et al, 2001). Pearson (1996, p. 16) defined age discrimination in the employment as differential and discriminatory treatment on the grounds of age, based on a set of negative assumptions and stereotypes about older people. Therefore, Radović-Marković (2013, p. 145) referred to age discrimination in employment as the use of "crude proxies" in personnel decisions. It is an obvious fact that, with age human beings decline in their physical and mental capabilities, but the pace of this happening is different from individual to individual. The employee's socio-economic conditions over the course of life, and employment-related factors such as working environment and the conditions of work, have a huge effect on ageing process of a person (Goshesh, 2008, p. 3).

2.2 Employment Practices Towards Elderly Employees

Although many of the policy makers and practitioners do believe that one way of addressing the projected labour shortage on the brink of the ageing era is to retain and re-employ the EEs in the labour market, employers and human resource practitioners largely ignore designing and implementing employment practices that address the needs and desires of EEs (Greller & Stroh, 2003; Patrickson & Ranzijn, 2004; Armstrong-Stassen, 2008). As confirmed by empirical studies, age discrimination can be manifested in employers' policies and practices related to recruitment and selection, employment conditions, staff retention, performance evaluation, promotion, training, retrenching (Taylor & Walker, 1998; Bittman et al., 2001; Gosheh, 2008; Radović-Marković, 2013, p. 151) The following section of the chapter discusses the theoretical underpinnings and empirical evidence regarding the employment of EEs under the main human resource functions in the organizations.

2.2.1 Recruitment and Selection

Armstrong-Stassen (2009, p. 515) defined "recruitment" as the process of finding and engaging the people the organization needs while "selection" is that part of the recruitment process concerned with deciding which applicants or candidates should be appointed to jobs. In between this process several actions take place, such as vacancy advertisements, shortlisting of applicants, and tests and interviews before choosing the right candidate.

Theoretically targeted recruitment is based on a "person-environment fit" perspective in both a complementary and supplementary manner, resulting in compatibility between the characteristics of the applicants and those of the organization/job (Cable & Edwards, 2004; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). With regard to the ageing workforce, a complementary fit means that the attributes of an older applicant or an organization provide what the other wants. It seems that both parties evaluate each other to the extent that what they need, can be satisfied or where the benefits will be mutual, leading to a "win-win" situation. Supplementary fit in short describes the "matching characteristics" of job seekers and organizations, for example, personality, values, and preferences (Cable & Edwards, 2004, p. 822).

Since employers and recruitment agencies are highly concerned about the age of the employee, a lot of evidence can be found to affirm that age discrimination practice begins at the recruitment stage. The practice of stipulating an official or unofficial upper-age limit in the vacancy advertisements is a reflection of age discrimination in the organization (McGoldrick & Arrowsmith, 1993; Taylor & Walker, 1994; Loretto, Duncun & White, 2000). This is often exemplified in the vacancy advertisements in the newspapers and job websites, which directly mention either an upper age limit or age bracket. Sometimes it is indirectly implied through the expected specifications in the advertisement, making it unfavourable for EEs in terms of level of education, years of experience, qualifications (McGoldrick & Arrowsmith, 1992; Patrickson & Hartmann, 1995). Also there are instances where employers use certain terminology which intentionally explains the characteristics of younger employees, such as "dynamic," "creative," "innovative," "energetic," "career orientation," "enthusiastic," preventing EEs from applying for those positions (Itzin & Phillipson, 1993; McGoldrick & Arrowsmoth, 1993, p. 57; Kodz, Kersley & Bates, 1999). A survey carried out by McGoldrick and Arrowsmoth (1993) in the U.K. newspapers searching for age discriminatory content in advertisements and concluded that there was a prevalence of age discriminatory practices in the recruitment process. Apart from demonstrating age discrimination in the advertisements, it can be further identified in the call for interviews as well. An experimental study conducted in Massachusetts and Florida in the U.S. found that the probability of offering an interview to a younger worker is more than 40 percent compared with an older worker (Lahey, 2008, p. 30).

According to previous studies, it appears that employers hold positive attitudes about their own EEs, and they appreciate the knowledge, skills, and attributes of older employees, yet ingrained stereotypes among the employers against EEs prevent them from recruiting and selecting EEs (Artcraft Research, 1989; Itzin & Phillipson, 1993; Steinberg, Walley, Tyman, & Donald, 1998; Encel, 2001). This is known as "attitude mismatch" among the employees (Reark Research, 1990). Therefore, Shacklock (2002, p. 5, 6) researched the gap between feeling positive about EEs but not being hired by employers in the Australian context and found three reasons: a) physical or practical reasons, where some jobs require physical stamina; b) social desirability, which means that the respondents were influenced by the undesirability of criticizing

the older workers and also age discriminatory laws in Australia could also be prevented from doing so; and c) the respondents commented about the EEs that were already known to them and in a hiring decision-the elderly applicant is a "stranger" and again stereotypes dominate the selection decision. The findings confirmed that except for certain physically-demanding employment opportunities, the powerful stereotypical attitudes of the employers obstruct the opportunities available for EEs. Reark Research (1990) on employer attitudes in Australia showed that employers make recruitment decisions at two levels: one is the "rationale" evaluation of the applicant's ability and competence to perform the job, based on education and experience; and the other is assessment at a "subconscious" level concerning the ability to adapt the new organizational setting, productivity, commitment, and personal characteristics such as family status. If those levels are analyzed further, it can be argued that, at the first level, the decision can be made objectively since education and experience are obvious and transparent evidence perhaps increases the probabilities of EEs being selected. However, the second level decision may be more subjective and stereotypes against EEs can play a bigger role and show a higher tendency to discriminate EEs. The underlying barrier behind all of those recruitment and selection decisions is embedded stereotypes in the mindsets of the employers, which is very difficult to overcome. It has been mentioned in Shen and Kleiner (2001) that society is youth oriented, and the results of those negative stereotypes on chronological age inevitably follow, leading to the adoption of discriminatory behaviours in the hiring process. Employers get stuck with the preconception of an inverse relationship between age and the performance and/or productivity of the employee. They further elaborated that, except for jobs requiring physical stamina and endurance, there is no documented proof to confirm performance deficits based on age.

The common practice of age discrimination in the labour market is not an exception when recruiting and selecting ETs for schools. The National Union of Teachers in the U.K. has argued that the teaching profession should be represented by adult groups of all ages in order to deliver diversified knowledge and experience to students associated with different age categories of teachers (Redman & Snape, 2002, p. 355). However, it is doubtful that the existing employment policies and practices of

the schools encourage such a learning environment for the students. Redman and Snape revealed that some schools in the U.K. thought that elderly teachers were expensive compared with younger teachers and restricted their re-employment opportunities Redman & Snape, 2002, p. 356). Not only that, but employment is denied to elderly teachers, assuming them to be less adaptable to the nature and volume of educational changes and they resist the new managerial culture and may leave the profession or the school (Troman, 1996). A similar finding was mentioned in a study of Chen and Wang (2012, p. 368) regarding older primary teachers in Taiwan, where the relationship between the higher early retirements among older teachers was mostly connected with the introduction of new educational reforms.

2.2.2 Employment Terms and Conditions

Another area where age discriminatory practices in employment can often be seen is the terms and conditions applied to EEs, for instance, the basis of employment (e.g. casual, contract, permanent), the remuneration package, other benefits, and part-time work options.

Loretto and White (2004, p. 319) illustrated from their focus group discussion with Scottish employers the types of attitudes expressed by an employer regarding the re-employment of retired employees: "they are cheap" and "no maternity leave, no pension costs, (prepared to work) unsociable hours." That attitude itself is a reflection of underestimating the value of elderly workers and is a direct indication of age discrimination when negotiating employment terms with EEs. It is noteworthy that the employment of EEs is not supposed to be treated as "benevolent assistance" for older people due to the imposition of the Equal Employment Act or any social pressure. Rather, it should be implemented on a "win-win" basis alike for younger employees so as to overcome the scarcity of labour.

In an analysis of the U.K. labour force in a survey in 2004 pointed out several employment options adopted towards EEs (Loretto, Vickerstaff, & White, 2005). The majority of them worked on a part-time basis and the revealed reasons were that it was the choice of some EEs and for others the inability to find a full-time job. Also, the working patterns of some EEs were contractual, and the employment was casual and temporary.

Offering part-time employment for EEs rather than full-time may be sometimes favourable for older workers. However, researchers have criticized some of the employment conditions attached to it on the basis of the EEs feeling marginalized, employing them in non-central roles in the organization, lowering their status, under-utilization of their skills and risk of erosion of skills, restricting career opportunities, lower levels of earning, limited prospects of training or promotion, limited access to fringe benefits, and lower pensions later in life (Dex & McCulloch, 1995; Dick, 2004; Edwards & Robinson, 2004).

Additionally, a study of Arrowsmith, Gilman, Edwards, and Ram (2003) found that EEs were paid around the national minimum wage. Sometimes employers offer work flexibility to EEs under the wage-work trade-off option, adjusting their working hours according to the domestic circumstances. Authors described it as a "captured workforce," i.e. EEs are unable to move elsewhere for better-paid jobs and therefore employers are able to exploit their situation. That finding draws attention to the possibility of manipulative practices in employment in the labour market. Though scholars and policy advocates promote flexibility of work for EEs, in practice it can be misused by the employers and become a backlash to EEs.

Surprisingly, the fastest ageing economy in Asia, Japan's re-employment practices are also embedded with drastic age discriminatory employment terms and conditions for EEs. A Japanese study revealed that re-employment practice comes at the cost of lower wages and a decline in job status. Selected EEs for re-employment are relegated to lower job status, have less responsibility, and are paid substantially lower wages, and illustrated cases report that wages are reduced to the range of 10-40 percent upon re-employment (Clark & Ogawa, 1996).

By and large, similar practices can be observed among re-employed retired/elderly teachers. In Gambia and Malawi, retired qualified teachers were allowed to remain employed on temporary contracts in the public schools, as "month-to-month" employees, in order to address the teacher shortage. Further, in Gambia "unqualified" teachers were employed in the public schools on 11-month temporary contracts and were entitled for re-employment on an annual basis (Mulkeen, 2010, p. 140). This exemplifies the irrational age discriminatory practices in the education system, obstructing opportunities for qualified teachers, and compromising the quality of education, merely because of chronological age.

The Ministry of Education in Singapore extensively detailed the re-employment terms and conditions for trained retired teachers on the ministry official website under the Adjunct Teacher Programme (AJTP) (The Ministry of Education Singapore, 2015). Selected retired teachers are offered employment on an annual renewable contract basis, the entitlement of the monthly salary pro-rated according to workload, eligibility for leaves, medical and dental benefits, and annual salary increment is not based on performance but on a standard amount. Additionally, there is no performance bonus but re-engagement bonus, and not eligible for dedicated teacher recognition programmes (it is called the Connect Plan). Though Singapore widely promotes re-employment opportunities for EEs, yet the age factor apparently creates discriminatory practices, especially in the area of performance evaluation. This is due to the effect of age stereotypes against EEs.

2.2.3 Training and Development

Employee training and development are intertwined concepts which create benefits for individual employees, organizations, and broadly for the workforce. The concept of training has been cited in the study of Garavan (1997, p. 40) comprehensively as, "a planned and systematic effort to modify or develop knowledge, skills and attitudes through learning experiences, to achieve effective performance in an activity or a range of activities." Conversely, development is an on-going process, expanding the employee's potentials through formal or informal means (Baum, 1995; Garavan, 1997). Furthermore, scholars differentiate the meaning of those concepts in relation to the purpose, focus, and time span: "Job-specific training seeks to improve effectiveness in a current job role, whereas development activities take a longer-term perspective and may extend into career planning and reviews of personal progress" (Warr, 2002, p. 154). Laird (1985, p. 11) explains that "training permits employees to perform to a standard whilst development on the other hand refers to ongoing, long-term intervention to prepare people and groups for futures." Briefly, training enhances the job skills required to perform a given task and development is a continuous process for the improvement of the future employability of the employee. Facilitating training for EEs in order to keep them re-skilled in an up-to-date fashion is a timely necessity so that they can remain competitive in the job market.

Human capital theory mainly describes the rationale behind providing training for employees based on the economic costs and benefits or briefly returns on investment (Mincer, 1962; Becker, 1964). If the provisioning of a training would yield net economic benefits to either (or both) the employee and the organization, then the employer decides to go ahead with the decision. The net benefit to the employer is derived through increased productivity and the profitability of the organization over the time. At this point, the employer is cautious about to whom the training should be given and the decision is often age discriminatory, assuming that the job tenure of the younger employee is comparatively longer than EEs for gaining returns and thereby priority is given to the younger employees. However, it can be argued that EEs show a great deal of employment stability (Auer & Fortuny, 2000) and less employee turnover (Chiu et al., 2001), which may lead to have long job tenure and greater accrual of benefits to the organization compared with young workers.

However, it is well documented that employers have been largely remise in providing training for older employees. The literature on elderly employment alleges that employers are hesitant to provide training for EEs by denying them access to training, designing inappropriate training methods, the learning environment for EEs, and the unavailability of age awareness training for managers (Stassen & Templer, 2005). Moreover, employers in the same study in the Canadian context claimed that the main reason for not providing training for EEs was a lack of interest among the EEs in taking part in training programmes. The budgetary constraints and elderly training were non-prioritized matters of the organization and were other grounds for overlooking training by the employers (Stassen & Templer, 2005). It was found that some of the managers that are responsible for provisioning re/training are unlikely to appreciate the potentials of older workers, which demonstrates explicit discrimination against EEs based on the preconceived notions of the older workers' capacity for re/training (Smith, 1997, p. 35).

Gray and McGregor (2003) mentioned four common negative stereotypes related to training and development of EEs: a) they do not want to learn, b) they cannot learn, c) they are afraid of new technology, and d) investment in training of EEs provides poor returns. A meta-analysis included 418 empirical studies in the U.S.A. was carried out by Ng and Feldman (2012, p. 821) and they concluded that the

stereotype of older workers as being less willing to engage in further career development and training activities was consistent with the cumulated research evidence. After reviewing the multivariate literature on the likelihood of employees' participation in job-related training in the U.K., the U.S.A. and Canada (Wooden, Van den Heuvel, Cully, & Curtain, 2001, p. 30) confidently concluded that EEs are less likely to receive or participate in training. They also found that this relationship between age and training varied with the type of training offered. Therefore, as suggested by Stassen and Templer, (2005), it is suitable for organizing training programmes and training methods that meet the needs, preferences, and learning styles of older employees so as to avoid such circumstances. A similar approach may be required for training for elderly teachers.

Teachers are supposed to reflect continuous professional development throughout career training by updating their subject knowledge, adapting novel teaching methodologies, and acquiring specialized skills, including information technology (ILO, 2012) because the quality of school education vastly depends upon the quality of the teacher. It is essential to provide training for teachers that have discontinued/retired from their profession and returned to schools. This is because Redman and Snape's study (2002, p. 366) found that employers still have stereotypical beliefs on the "adaptability" dimension of elderly teachers, which includes their adaptability to change, to learn and to be trained, and to accept new technology. This underscores the fact that, if the schools do need to keep elderly teachers in the cadre as a solution for the shortage of teachers, it is necessary to provide training for them to overcome adaptability issues rather than merely holding such perceptions. Otherwise, as indicated by Gray and McGregor (2003, p. 175), the absence of opportunities for the training and development of EEs will have serious implications, such as the feeling of having outdated skills and under-performing their jobs compared to younger workers, considering themselves as a marginalized group and a demoralized elderly workforce, which ultimately will further keep them away from the labour force.

2.2.4 Performance Evaluation and Promotion

The performance evaluation of the employee is inevitable for the competitiveness of organizations. Likewise, training and performance evaluation also

help a lot to improve the performance of employees. Performance evaluation is a systematic process by which a manager formally evaluates an employee's work performance by measurement and comparison with previously-established standards (Armstrong-Stassen, 2009). Yet, conducting a performance evaluation based on negative assumptions is a type of prejudice against employees because there is a common misconception that the performance of the employee declines with age without substantive evidence (Warr, 1994; Taylor & Walker, 1998, Chiu et al., 2001, Kim & Mo, 2014). As per Shacklock (2002, p. 4), one crucial issue about ageing and performance at work is the inaccuracy of predicting work performance based on age as the predominant indicator. In fact, the relationship between age and performance is by no means conclusive (Chiu et al., 2001, p. 634). A few findings have shown that there is a negative correlation between employee age and supervisor evaluations of employee job performance (Clapham & Fulford, 1997; Truett, 2001). Sometimes studies gave mixed findings (Warr, 1994). However, irrespective of the justifiable grounds, the performance of EEs is under-rated by employers that let age discrimination happen in performance evaluation, disqualifying EEs for promotion. Research has revealed that some employers have negative attitudes about EEs, such as short job tenures, lack of creativity, and being too cautious would not support the "promotability" of EEs (Taylor & Walker, 1994). Additionally, Duncun and Loretto (2004, p. 106) reported similar findings from a U.K. study, where there was evidence of the denial of promotion due to the age of the employee. Sometimes such age discriminatory promotion practices are covert and it only can be found careful observation of the practice over the time.

The theoretical argument for deteriorating performance is based on "labour productivity." Macroeconomic studies have examined the general age-productivity profile and reached a general consensus that ageing population exerts a negative effect on labour productivity (Davis, 2005; Feyrer, 2008). Some employers have elaborated that the performance of EEs drops for physically-demanding jobs and also because work stress (or burn-out) is higher among the EEs in the categories of professionals, managers, and white collar employees, which may reduce their performance (Loretto & White, 2006, p. 321). OECD research (2006) concluded that, on the basis of good health, better-educated employees in the new older cohort proved higher employability

and an increasing productivity tendency. Further, shrinking employment opportunities in the agricultural and industrial sectors and booming service sector would not demand a higher number of employees with physical stamina (Van Dalen, Verloop, & de Vos, 1998, p. 325). Thus, it is unrealistic to generalize age-productivity deterioration for all occupations and professions. Further, there are many other factors which affect employee performance in addition to chronological age, such as experience (Salthouse & Maurer, 1996), self-confidence, degree of motivation, personality and work-style (Harkness, 1999), and job stress (Westman & Eden, 1996). A study in the Netherlands found that both the employers and employees rated the productivity of older workers substantially lower than younger workers (Van Dalen et al., 2009). However, it is important to understand the underlying dimension of labour productivity, because if greater weight is given for hard qualities, which are mostly owned by younger workers, and less weight for soft qualities, which are possessed by EEs, that criterion seems to be biased towards younger workers. Therefore, the authors emphasized that the criteria used for performance evaluation should not be biased for a particular category of employees; this would produce stereotypes in the labour market (Van Dalen et al., 2009). This is corroborated by the argument articulated by Salthouse and Maurer (1996): the inability to demonstrate an association between age and job proficiency could be due to methodological issues.

Therefore, it is required to properly identify the dimensions included in "job performance." According to ILO (2012, p. 89), the mechanism of teacher performance evaluation should focus on "supervisory" objectives related to accountability (including discipline) and rewards, career and professional development, and student progress. Academic jobs may be different from many other professions making it difficult to draw a boundary between work and non-work, or the boundary may be blurred and the nature of the academic role is often open ended (Wortman, Biernat, & Lang, 1991), incorporating a wide range of roles as teachers, consultants, mentors, and researchers with potentially competing demands. In other words, the age of a teacher does not posit any barrier to one's career; rather, it is a beneficial factor. Thus, the teaching profession requires a performance evaluation system that could capture the impartation of those values beyond productivity and technology skills criteria.

2.2.5 Retirement

Human resource practices in an organization are a powerful tool used by employers to clearly communicate the expected roles and behaviours of employees. It gives signals to the employees whether to remain or leave the organization. In the same vein, employers convey to EEs the "proper timing" for withdrawing from the organization through retirement policies and practices. Two contradictory human resource management models have explained the rationale for employers' decisions to keep or withdraw employees from the organization with reference to their ageing process: the maintenance model and the depreciation model (Yeatts, Folts & Knapp, 2000). The names of the models themselves are reflections of the objectives of the two models. The maintenance model supports retaining employees at any age, considering them as "valuable assets" for the organization as long as those employees can be educated, trained, and managed well. Accordingly employers design policies and practices aimed at training and retaining all the employees including EEs. Thus EEs are given the opportunity for training and development.

On the other hand, the assumption of the depreciation model is that employees can contribute their highest value to the organization at the beginning of their career and later on it starts to decline during the middle age of the employee. Hence, the value contribution of EEs at the later age is much lower comparatively. It can be claimed that the foundation for this model derives from the productivity presumption of the employee. In other words, employers consider that EEs are less productive or are costly to the organization and employment policies and practices encourage EEs to retire.

However, when analyzing the two models, it can be argued that the decision of the organization to retain or to let an employee go is conditional upon the assumptions and attitudes held by the employers toward employees. On that premise, stereotypes regarding EEs can mainly affect the decision and design of the retirement practices of the organization, impacting negatively towards EEs.

The general consensus in many countries where a mandatory retirement age is in operation is that when employees have reached the official retirement age, they are supposed to quit the organization right away. Especially a context where a seniority-based wage system is applied could also be a main reason for strictly adhering to a

mandatory retirement age (Clark & Ogawa, 1996; Kim, 2006). Alternatively, there are early/voluntary retirement schemes, late retirement, honourable retirement, and phased retirement adopted by organizations. However, it was found that phased retirement practices are infrequent. McGregor's study (2001) showed that, in surveying just over 1000 employers, only 11 percent offered gradual or phased retirement. The practice of honourable retirement is prevalent in South Korea and Japan where employees that have longer service and higher compensation are forced to retire from employment. This was quite popular from 1997 to 1998 during the Asian Financial Crisis (Kim & Klassen, 2015).

Often the target employee group for human resource practices such as "redundancy," "early retirement," and "voluntary retirement" is EEs. As found in Loretto and White (2006), employers in larger organizations specifically mentioned that their redundancy programmes were "almost wholly targeted towards older workers." Further their study revealed that the general perception of employers regarding implementing early or voluntary retirement was a "dignified exit route" for EEs to withdraw from employment. All of those findings re-affirm the negative attitudes of employers toward EEs and the various tactics used to eliminate EEs from the organization. Stereotypical beliefs about EEs such as their being less productive, unadaptable, and non-trainable pave the way for employers to apply a blanket approach to elderly groups rather than relying on factual information.

2.3 Employers' Attitudes Towards Elderly Employees

Attitudes are the focus of social psychology in explaining human behaviour (Ajzan, 2005, p. 1). The attitudes of an individual cannot be directly observed, because they are psychological and are ingrained in thoughts and feelings. Somehow those latent attitudes can be understood by observable cues such as individual behaviours, verbal or non-verbal expressions and in the circumstances where the behaviour occurs (Ajzan, 2005, p. 2). Hence, self-reporting is an effective mechanism used in inferring the individual's attitudes (Schwarz & Bohner, 2001). The definitions of attitudes describe their nature and characteristics. An attitude "is a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" (Ajzan, 2005, p. 3).

Eagly and Chaiken (1993) defined attitudes as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor." Even contemporary social psychologists have recognized the attribute of the "evaluative" nature of attitudes (Oskamp, 1991; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Hence, exploring attitudes on a specific social phenomenon means that people will tend to measure, compare, and rank such a thing depending on their limited knowledge, understanding, experience, and perception. The evaluative meaning in attitudes may either be factual or merely expressions. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that attitudes are always correct.

In the context of the social science, attitudes are often intertwined with "stereotypes," which are "a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people" (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981, p. 16). It is again a subjective notion that is based on individual's belief about people based on evaluations/judgments (attitudes) and accordingly those attributes are generalized over a group of people. Thus, stereotypes have been defined as "bad" due to one or a combination of the following reasons: if they are incorrectly learned, overgeneralized, factually incorrect or rigid (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981, p. 16). If so, those stereotypes obviously create prejudice concerning certain groups. This frequently occurs in the context of ageing employment; that is, generalizing certain undesirable personal characteristics of the elderly group without having factual or empirical justification and thereby discriminating against them through the means of employment policies and practices. Thus, to examine attitudes, research on stereotypes uses self-reporting measures designed to assess agreement concerning what is thought to be the typical or characteristic traits of a particular group (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981, p. 22). Studying stereotypical aspects related to ageing employment mostly adopts the self-reporting tool so as to obtain data from employers, supervisors, peer employees, and younger employees (Chiu et al., 2001; Henkens, 2005; Kadefors & Hanse, 2012; Poulston & Jenkins, 2016). Though the EEs are willing and capable enough to remain in the labour market, those negative attitudes and stereotypes among the employers may tarnish the image of EEs and consequently keep them away from the labour market.

The literature on EEs suggests a long list of attitudes postulated by employers describing the desirable and undesirable characteristics of EEs. Researchers from the Western and Eastern world, representing a variety of industries over the decades,

conducting studies quantitatively and qualitatively, found a set of attitudes explaining different attributes of the EEs. In light of the present research objectives, I have distinguished those attitudes into two broader categories as positive versus negative, and have succinctly illustrated them in a tabular format for the easy reference of the reader (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Summary of Employers' Attitudes Towards Elderly Employees

Authors	Positive	Negative	Sample
Magd (2003)	Low absenteeism, more quality of work, more cooperative, dependable, loyal, good communication skills, willing to learn, less accidents, satisfied with job, self-motivated, disciplined, technology	Costly, inflexible, reluctant to change, too slow, inadaptable to new technology.	N=21 Managing directors in hospitality industry in Scotland; a qualitative study with small and medium firms
Henkens (2005)	Productivity (creative, absenteeism, enterprising) and Reliability (loyalty, meticulous reliability, accuracy, and interpersonal skills)	Less adaptable and resistance to technological innovation	N=796 Survey questionnaire among public and private sector managers in the Netherlands
Harper, Khan, Saxena, & Leeson (2006)	Loyal, reliable	Less technologically oriented, less flexible, slow learners, costly	N= 6320 A global attitude survey carried out among the private sector employers in 21 countries in 2005.

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Authors	Positive	Negative	Sample
Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD), (2008)	Knowledgeable, experience, stable, role models, good customer care, reliable, committed, accurate, resilient, good communication skills	Inflexible, less adaptable, poor IT skills, slow, expensive, physically unfit, expect respect, think they know it all	An employer survey conducted in Singapore in 2008 representing 7 sectors including manufacturing, finance, health, hotel, food & beverage, transportation and public sector. Used meetings & focus group method
Barnes, Smeaton & Taylor (2009)	Wise, reliable, strong work ethic, easier to manage, punctual, good in customer care, less job turnover, good in mental arithmetic, mature in attitudes, tolerate work pressure	Less IT skills, health problems	N=42 Employers in England representing variety of industries and different organizational size were interviewed in depth manner.
Van Dalen, Henkens, & Schippers, (2009)	Reliable, more committed, better social skills,	Less willingness to be trained and poor capacity to deal with new technologies.	N=1855 A comparative survey among employers from four European countries – Greece, Spain, the

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Authors	Positive	Negative	Sample
			Netherlands and the United Kingdom. A quantitative study, circulated a questionnaire
Ng & Feldman (2012)		Less willing to participate training and career development activities	N=208,204 Meta-Analysis of 418 empirical studies They examined 6 stereotypes: a) less motivated, b) less willing to participate in training and career development, (c) more resistant and less willing to change, (d) less trusting, (e) less healthy, and (f) more vulnerable to work family imbalance. However, only stereotype consistent with the

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Authors	Positive	Negative	Sample
			empirical evidence training & development.
Kadefors & Hense (2012)	Knowledgeable, competent, (experienced) work and life, loyal, low absenteeism, motivated, take responsibilities.	Difficult to adapt to changes, less interested in learning and development, think they know best in every situation, cannot cope up with high work pace, heavy workload, difficult working hours, working evenings and weekends	N=147 Private sector employers (CEOs, HRMs) in Sweden in the industries of trade, manufacturing, construction, and transport

Despite those positive versus negative attitudes, some researchers have categorized attitudes under several sub-themes: productivity, effectiveness, adaptability, competence, sociability, and reliability (Chiu et al., 2001; Henkens, 2005; Axelrad et al., 2013; Kim & Mo, 2014). For example, a study carried out by Redman and Snape (2002) on elderly teachers distinguished the attitudes of employers into two categories; namely "work effectiveness" and "adaptability." The criteria under work effectiveness were being conscientious, reliable, working hard, effective in their job, thinking before acting, being loyal, having interpersonal skills, taking things easy and working well in teams. The adaptability of teachers was measured in terms of being able to grasp new ideas, adapt to change, accept new technology, and learn quickly, being interested in being trained, and being receptive to direction. Arrowsmith and

McGoldrick (1996) called the categorization as qualitative versus quantitative characteristics, where older workers are in the qualitative camp: high quality of service, pride in the job, cheerfulness, and reliability; on the other hand, younger workers demonstrate quantitative skills: fast pace of work, trainability, adaptability in handling new technology. The more that the perspectives of new attitudinal attributes are identified, the more employers can evaluate the EEs in many different ways to make them qualify (or disqualify) for employment. This makes it easy for employers to understand the EEs and to take decisions.

Considering the attitudes, categories, and attributes mentioned in the literature, this study intends to examine the nature and types of attitudes held by employers in the private sector schools with regard to ETs.

Linkage between Employment Practices and Employers' Attitudes Towards Elderly Employees

An extensive amount of prevailing literature on elderly employment has shown that scholars mostly studied employers' attitudes and employment practices as two parallel paths rather than exploring their relationship. Yet, it is quite obvious that stereotypical attitudes of employers are associated with employment practices that are disadvantageous to EEs (Taylor & Walker, 1998; Harper et al., 2006; Loretto & White, 2006). Several studies have concluded that age discrimination against older workers is deeply embedded in the culture, policies, and practices of many organizations (Hollywood, Brown, Danson & McQuaid, 2003; Taylor, 2006). Regarding the impact of attitudes, as Shacklock (2002) explained in the Australian context, though employers do hold some positive attitudes towards EEs, recruitment decisions always lean towards younger employees. Seemingly, even if employers are positive in their attitudes, it does not translate into practice in reality. The findings of a U.K. study confirmed that the attitudes held by managers, particularly related to trainability, return on investment, creativity, cautiousness, physical capabilities, likelihood of having an accident, and the ability to interact were associated with the recruitment, training, and promotion practices of the organizations (Taylor & Walker, 1998). It further stressed that older workers were socially excluded due to negative stereotypical attitudes in the workplace. Additionally, a Swedish study concluded that

the negative attitudes among the employers do remain a major obstacle to the reemployment of many unemployed (Kadefors & Hanse, 2012).

Some studies demonstrated surprise about having equal opportunities policies in the organizations, yet the age factor plays a pivotal role in setting employment policies and practices (Metcalf & Meadows, 2006). Further, attitudes like treating older workers as a cheap "reserve army," or as a "peripheral workforce" also meant that they were viewed as more disposable in the organizational context (Loretto & White, 2006, p. 349). This is clearly reflected through the restructuring policy of many organizations, directly targeting elderly workers to be removed. Although they are experienced and have better interpersonal skills, sometimes skills that are scarce in supply, and are stable and loyal employees, chronological age has become a decisive criterion in restructuring policy. Also stereotypical attitudes on EEs among the employers tend to discourage employment of elderly workers, in the labour market (Shacklock, 2002). Therefore, it is worth understanding what makes employers reach such attitudes toward EEs.

2.4 Factors Affecting the Employers' Attitudes Towards the Elderly Employees

The above table illustrates a wide array of attitudes, leaving a gap to find out the reasons behind having such different attitudes among employers towards EEs in the labour market. Hence, researchers have been examining those factors in terms of employers as well as organizational perspectives, supported through relevant theoretical underpinnings and empirical explanations. The existing literature mentioned that attitudes towards EEs are affected by the age of the employer, gender, employers' extent of contact with EEs, and the size and type of the organization.

2.4.1 Age of Employer

Scholars have found that the age of the employer is a significant factor affecting attitudes toward older workers (Artcraft Research, 1989; Gibson, Zerbe, & Franken, 1993; Partridge, 1999; Henkens, 2005). There is a common trend for older people to have favourable attitudes toward EEs while younger people have unfavorable attitudes (Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995; Lucas 1995). This is supported

by the "social identity theory," which emphasizes the existing impact on people's attitudes and behaviours when they find themselves as members of a particular social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to the theory, a "social group" comprises the interaction between two or more people who consider themselves in the same social group and are perceived as such by the other members of the same social category, and who somehow share feelings and emotions resulting from this shared belonging. This leads to maximizing the inter-group differences and intra-group similarities, such as behaviors, knowledge, and emotions. Therefore, the members in that particular social group tend to maintain a positive self-image by evaluating members of their "in-group." Consequently, older respondents have positive attitudes towards elderly employees. This has been affirmed by empirical studies as well. The study of Redman and Snape (2002) revealed that the age of the respondent was positively related to his or her favourable beliefs about older teachers regarding both work effectiveness and adaptability. Additionally, a comparative study of the U.K. and Hong Kong by Chiu et al. (2001) confirmed the similar relationship between respondent's age and positive attitudes towards EEs. However, some studies have shown that both younger and older respondents displayed positive biases toward older adults with respect to some characteristics, such as perceived warmth and willingness to help (Hummert, 1999; Chasteen, Schwarz, & Park, 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, Click, & Xu., 2002; Kite, Stockdale, Whitley, & Johnson, 2005). A recent study of Kim and Mo (2014) found that the age of the respondent was not a significant factor in terms of the type of attitudes held. Therefore, this study will examine the effect of the employers' age on the attitudes towards ETs in Sri Lanka.

2.4.2 Gender of Employer

Though researchers have investigated the impact of the gender of the respondent regarding attitudes towards EEs, the relationship is still inconclusive due to the mixed empirical findings. A survey conducted in Australia on the employment of mature age workers found that there were differences in attitudes based on the sex of the respondent, where males reported less positive attitudes than females (Young, 1999). Yet another commissioned employer survey carried out by Bittman et al. (2001) in Australia covering a sample of 1006 employers (54 percent males and 46 percent females) found that the sex of the respondent did not influence the employer's

attitudes toward older workers. Conversely, a study of Henkens (2005) examining a sample of 796 Dutch managers (66 percent males and 34 percent females) revealed that women managers had somewhat less positive views about the reliability of older workers, whereas there was not apparent significant gender impact regarding the productivity or adaptability dimensions. The study of Kadefors and Hense (2012) concluded that employers in male-dominated workplaces are more negative to older workers compared with workplaces with a more equal age structure or that are dominated by women. An Israeli study examining 312 employers on the stereotypical attitudes towards elderly workers revealed that female employers positively perceived older workers as reliable but not productive or adaptable.

Those contradictory empirical findings do not provide a clear relationship between the gender of the respondent and attitudes toward EEs, calling for further research. Thus, the current study examines whether the gender of the employer has any effect on the attitudes held toward EEs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

2.4.3 Employers' Extent of Contact with Elderly Employees

Extent of contact and exposure in terms of frequency and intimacy with EEs is considered a factor that may affect the nature of employers' attitudes towards EEs. A study stated that perceptions are constrained by personal experience (Lichtenstein, Pruski, Marshall, Blalock, Liu, & Plaelke, 2005). As a result, greater experience, more opportunities, and frequent interactions with EEs may lead to the development of positive attitudes towards EEs. This has been described by the "theory of contact," which suggests that contact between members of different groups can reduce inter-group hostility and discrimination (Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade, & Williams, 1986). This theory predicts a positive relationship between the frequency of interaction or contact between two people and the amount of linking they have with each other (Homans, 1950). In the context of elderly employment, frequent contact with EEs leads to closely observing and understanding the elderly, and opportunities are higher to have second thoughts about any negative stereotypes concerning older workers.

Nonetheless, the study of Redman and Snape (2002) could not be found a significant relationship between frequency of contact with either work effectiveness

or adaptability attitudes towards older teachers. Yet, they found that frequency of contact with older teachers was a negative direct predictor of discriminatory attitudes, suggesting that contact has a direct effect on discriminatory attitudes. According to the above study, it seemed that if respondents have more contact with older teachers it would lead to more discriminatory attitudes towards the elderly. In the study of Hassell and Perrewe (1995), frequency of contact appeared to have no direct impact on beliefs. Both those results are contrary to the theory. Chui et al. (2001) reported that frequency of contact with older workers appeared to have no effect on the adaptability dimension, but those that had "some" contact had more positive views on the effectiveness of elderly workers. However, Henkens (2005) stated that more contact with elderly workers resulted in more positive attitudes about their productivity, but not for the adaptability and reliability dimensions.

The contradictory results found in the studies compelled the verification of the contact hypothesis in the current study in order to ascertain whether there was any effect of frequency of contact with ETs and the attitudes held by employers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

2.4.4 Size of the School

Other than the characteristics of the respondent, some researchers have found a relationship between the size of the organization and the attitudes towards EEs. Often times, employees working in larger companies are less discriminatory in their mindsets (London, 1992; Divito, 1994; Steinberg, Najman, Donald, McChesney-Clark, & Mahon, 1994; Steinberg et al., 1998; Young, 1999). On the other hand, some have argued that smaller organizations maintain positive attitudes towards EEs than larger organizations (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick, 1996; Kodz et al., 1999). A similar finding has been reported in a Scottish paper that sampled 47 employers and it stated that smaller organizations tended to be more flexible in their approach to older workers (Loretto & White, 2006). An Australian survey of 1006 employers revealed that the size of the business was not a significant factor influencing employer attitudes toward older workers (Bittman et al., 2001). The study of Axelrad et al. (2103) also found that the organization's size did not affect attitudes about productivity or adaptability to change, but did affect the respondents' opinions about the reliability of

older workers. Examining the stereotypical beliefs of a sample of 274 individuals in the Korean context also affirmed that there was no impact of the size of the organization on the stereotypical beliefs about elderly workers (Kim & Mo, 2014). In order to further identify the relationship between the size of the organization and the attitudes toward EEs, the current study hypothesized the attitudes with the size of the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

2.4.5 Type of School

When ascertaining the attitudes towards EEs, researchers often consider the type of organization as one factor under the organizational characteristics. The type of organization may be based on the occupational sector, like local government, construction, service, or health (Henkens, 2005), business type such as manufacturing, service and others (Kim & Mo, 2014), and organization category such as industry, services, and public (Karpinska, 2013). However, most of these studies explored the association between the type of organization and the employers' attitudes toward EEs. Since the current study deals with two types of schools in the private sector in Sri Lanka, which are different in many ways (incorporation, governance, age of the school, and reputation, curriculum and medium of instruction), it would be interesting to find out whether there is any association between the type of school and attitudes toward ETs. Hence, a hypothesis was developed to verify any impact that could be observed regarding the type of school (UPS and IS) on the attitudes towards ETs in Sri Lanka.

2.5 Conceptual Framework of the Study
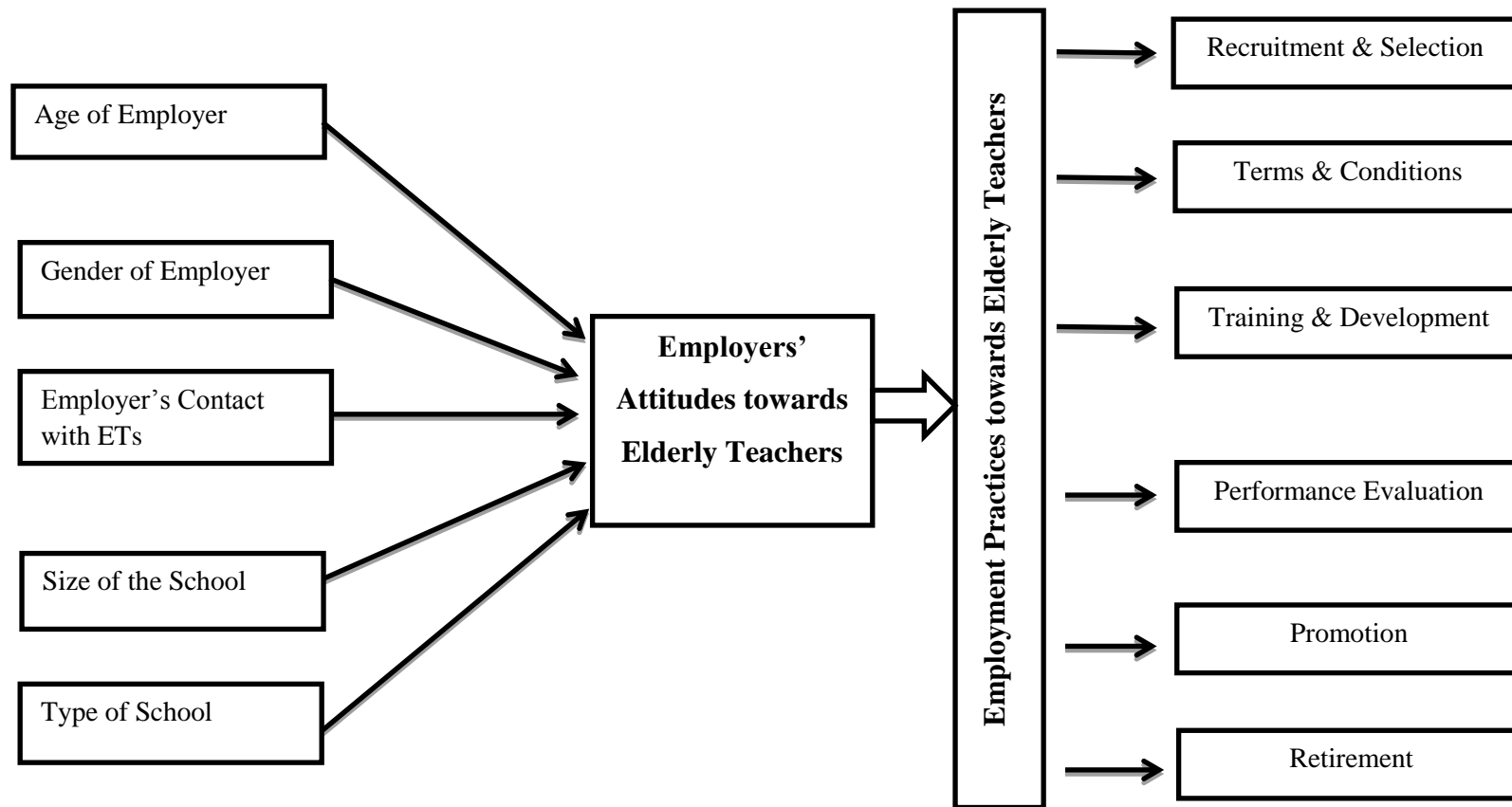
Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework Demonstrating Factors Affecting Employers' Attitudes Towards ETs and Employment Practices Towards ETs

Source: Developed by the researcher, 2015.

In light of theories on ageing employment and the extant empirical literature on employing EEs, the conceptual framework of the study was developed in order to elucidate the social phenomenon under investigation and to map out the associations among the variables. Since the study examined both the employment practices and employers' attitudes towards the ETs in the private sector in Sri Lanka, I have combined them in the conceptual framework, enabling the exhibition of the complete picture of the study. In-depth interview data was used to explore employment practices regarding the ETs covering recruitment, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation, promotion and retirement. Employers' attitudes were studied by surveying a self-administered questionnaire in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. This combination reflects the relationship between the employers' attitudes and employment practices towards ETs. From the studies it has been affirmed that employers' attitudes towards EEs have a direct impact on employment practices in the organizations such as recruitment and selection, training and development, performance evaluation and promotion (Taylor & Walker, 1998; Chiu et al., 2001; Shacklock, 2002; Gray & McGregor, 2003; Van Dalen, Henkens, & Shippers, 2009; Kadefors & Hanse, 2012).

By using survey data the employers' attitudes towards the ETs have been analyzed along 19 attitudinal statements informed by the literature covering different aspects of EEs (Chiu et al., 2001; McGregor & Gray, 2002; Redman & Snape, 2002; Gringart et al., 2005; Henkens, 2005; Harper et al., 2006; Kim & Mo, 2014). Then, those attitudes were examined against the factors affecting employers' in having such attitudes towards the ETs. Accordingly, the employers' attitudes towards the ETs served as the dependent variable. As suggested by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the age of the employer, and according to theory of contact (Allport, 1954; Brown et al., 1986), the employer's contact with ETs, were selected as the independent variables. Additionally, empirical studies suggested the other three independent variables—gender of the employer, the size of the school, and the type of the school—which may affect the attitudes of the employers (Bittman et al., 2001; Cheu et al., 2001; Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkens, 2005; Axelrad et al., 2013; Kim & Mo, 2014). Thus, the study aims to verify whether those five factors would have any significant effect on the employers' attitudes towards ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

Research Hypotheses

The section 2.4 of this chapter reviews the theoretical foundation and empirical studies of the factors affecting employers' attitudes towards EEs and in accordance with the developed conceptual framework, the following hypotheses have been derived in order to verify the impact of the identified factors on employers' attitudes towards ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

Hypothesis 1: Older respondents have more positive attitudes towards elderly teachers.

Hypothesis 2: Male respondents are more positive about elderly teachers.

Hypothesis 3: Respondents frequently in contact with elderly teachers have more positive attitudes towards the elderly teachers.

Hypothesis 4: Large schools have negative attitudes towards elderly teachers than small and medium schools.

Hypothesis 5: International schools are more positive towards elderly teachers than unaided private schools.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

The final outcome of a scientific research is the contribution of scientific knowledge to the scientific community that is keen about the research findings. In order to materialize this objective, scientific inquiry is required to be design and carried out properly. The fieldwork for this study consisted of semi-structured in-depth interviews and a survey using a self-administered questionnaire among the employers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The semi-structured in-depth interviews focused on employment practices, while the survey was directed at collecting data on employers' attitudes. This chapter discusses the research design for in-depth interviews and the employers' attitudinal survey, including selection of schools, interview data collection, interview data analysis, the sampling design, the questionnaire, pre-test, validity, reliability, survey data collection, survey data analysis, scale construction, and ethical considerations of the study.

3.1 Employment Practices

Probing the employment practices for ETs in the private sector schools was carried out by semi-structured in-depth interviews with the employers from the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The themes covered under the employment practices were recruitment and selection, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation, and promotion and retirement. The empirical studies on the employment policies and practices regarding ETs have frequently adopted qualitative methods (Clark & Ogawa, 1996; Shacklock, 2002; Loretto & White, 2006; Shacklock, Fulop, & Hort, 2007; Thomas & Pascall-Calitz, 2010).

3.1.1 Selection of Schools

As cited in Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009, p. 182), "there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry" because the size depends on a number of factors. Thus, among the total study population of 103 private sector schools (Appendix A- List of private sector schools used in the study), I selected 10 schools for the semi-structured in-depth interviews from the Western province, which recorded the highest number of private sector schools in Sri Lanka. When selecting the schools, I have taken into the consideration a sufficient representation of both categories of schools (UPSs and ISs), whether the school employed retired/elderly teachers or not, and the size of the school in terms of student population. Therefore I used the "purposive sampling" technique, where the units were selected based on specific purposes associated with answering the questions of the research (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 170). The 10 schools comprised 4 UPSs (including Catholic Management Board) and 6 ISs (Appendix B- Brief profile of the interviewed schools and the interviewees).

All of the selected UPSs were single gender schools, whereas the ISs were co-educational. Those schools conduct classes from the primary level to the advanced level. Nonetheless, the scale of the selected school vastly varied from small to large in terms of the number of students and teachers, the standard of education, reputation, school fees, and the physical area and facilities provided. Eight out of 10 schools were located in the metropolitan areas whereas 2 were in suburban areas. Three of the UPSs were offering the national curriculum in both of the vernacular and in English. The other UPS teaches the national curriculum in the vernacular and English, and the British curriculum as well. Among the ISs, 2 schools teach only the national curriculum in English, another offers only the British curriculum, and the 3 other schools are offering both the national and British curriculum. The interviewees in the study included a chairman, a managing director, a directress, a general manager, and the principals of the private sector schools. The interviewees represented both genders, varied in age range, a majority of them were educationists and earned postgraduate qualifications, and interestingly a half of them were retired government principals. A summary of the schools and interviewees is illustrated in the table 3.1

Table 3.1 Summary of the Interviewed Schools and the Interviewees

School	Information about the School					Information about the Participant					
	Type	Size*	Location	No. of Students	No. of Teachers	Position	Age	Gender	Education	Working Experience	Serving in the School (years)
1	Int.	S	City	250	30	Chairman/Principal	45	Male	Post graduate	Educationist	9
2	Int.	S	Suburban	350	40	Principal	63	Female	Diploma	Educationist	6
3	Int.	S	City	390	50	Principal	69	Male	Post graduate	Business Mgt.	6
4	Pvt.	M	City	1650	76	Principal	72	Female	Post graduate	Educationist	28
5	Pvt.	M	City	2900	130	Principal	63	Female	Post graduate	Educationist	2
6	Int.	M	Suburban	2500	255	Managing Director/Principal	76	Male	Post graduate	Educationist	15
7	Pvt.	L	City	6700	330	Principal	67	Female	Post graduate	Educationist	7
8**	Int.	L	City	5000	600	Coordinating Principal	41	Female	Post graduate	Educationist	10
9**	Int.	L	City	15500	1700	Directress/Coordinating Principal	52	Female	Post graduate	Educationist	22
10***	Pvt.	L	City	42500	2100	General Manager	51	Male	Post graduate	Educationist	9

Note: * Size of school: S- Small school   M- Medium school   L- Large school

** Schools with branches

*** Collection of Catholic schools

3.1.2 Questionnaire

The interviews that were guided by the questions were included in the questionnaire under the parts 1, 2, and 3 (Appendix C- Questionnaire). Part 1 contained information about the respondent/employer: current designation, duration of holding the current position, age, gender and highest educational qualification of the respondent. The questions in part 2 were regarding the information of the school: year of establishment, number of branches, number of students and teachers, and the located district. Part 3 of the questionnaire focused on the employment practices for ETs: official retirement age of the school, whether the school employs ETs or not, the number of ETs employed, the reasons for employing ETs, when the employment began, who decided to employ the ETs, if there was any resistance for that decision, the age of the oldest teacher, any suggestions for maximum employment age, the upper age limit in recruitment, the employment basis for ETs, the category of employment for ETs, any service extension for teachers beyond the official retirement age, the upper age limit for training and development for teachers, provisioning of equal training opportunities for ETs, the performance evaluation of the ETs, performance-based rewards for ETs, upper age limit for promotions, type of retirement in the schools, and encouragement of any early retirement for the teachers.

3.1.3 Interview Data Collection

The study is mainly based on primary data, and adopted the semi-structured in-depth interview method for the data collection. This gave the study a kind of flexibility to the interviewer to modify the order and details of how the topics were covered and to use a variety of probing techniques (Bernard & Ryan, 2010, p. 29). Since this is quite a new area of research in the Sri Lankan context, usage of face-to-face semi-structured interviews allowed the interviewees to make some clarifications from the researcher before responding to questions and also the researcher had the opportunity to dig deep into certain areas where the school has special employment practices regarding ETs.

The data collection was carried out over a period of 4 months from November 2014 to February 2015. The selected interviewees were first contacted over the phone, and they were briefed about the study and appointments were requested from them.

When I met them, before beginning the interview I showed them the official letter concerning the data collection issued by the university, explained them in detail the objectives of the study, the procedures of the data collection, the anonymity and confidentiality of the data, and sought their oral consent to conduct the interview. Upon their consent, face-to-face interviews were held with 10 interviewees representing 10 schools at their college premises. Usually, the interviews were in-depth and the average time taken for an interview was approximately two hours or so. In some interviews I took comprehensive interview notes of the answers and in other interviews I used a recorder after getting due permission from the interviewee, depending on the comfort of the interviewees. Apart from the main interviews I had to further clarify some unclear points and following up questions from the several interviewees through the telephone, skype and email communication. Some follow up interviews also took nearly one hour. Finally, all of the data were transcribed into an interview report.

Since I conducted all of the interviews on the school premises, I had the opportunity to make observations in the classrooms, staffrooms, and the physical environment of the school. Additionally, I searched for information through the school websites, school publications, job websites, and local newspaper articles and advertisements to gather and further affirm the data provided by the employers.

3.1.4 Interview Data Analysis

The data were gathered through the interviews, field notes, and reviewing documents. The data collection for employment practices was guided by priori themes identified from the literature. Along with those themes, I decided to employ a "thematic analysis" in the study, which is "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the collected data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Further, the authors stated that "thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants" (p.82), which is the underlying requirement of the study, examining the real employment practices in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. In order to provide a clear picture of the employment practices and their patterns, I categorized all 10 interviewed schools into three groups based on the number of students in the school. The schools

with fewer than 500 students were under the small schools, the schools with a number of students between 500 and 3000 were under the medium and the schools had more than 3000 students were categorized as large. Accordingly the study considered 3 small, 3 medium and 4 large schools for the interviews. Further, in terms of the type of the schools, the study represented 4 UPSs and 6 ISs. In the data analysis, the relationship between the size and type of schools with the employment practices were discussed.

3.2 Survey of Employers' Attitudes

3.2.1 Sampling Design

This study considered the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, consisting of private schools and international schools. As mentioned earlier, the Ministry of Education has categorized private schools into three:

1) Government aided private schools

2) Government unaided private schools

The updated list provided by the ministry as of 01/11/2014 stated that the total number was 44, including 3 schools completely dedicated to teaching religious education for Buddhists monks, 1 school for Catholic priests and another one was a children's development center. Therefore, exempting those 5 schools, the number of unaided schools was 39.

3) Special Education Schools

Among the private schools, the study excluded government aided schools that strictly follow the Ministry of Education regulations and have limited decision making autonomy, which rarely employ retired teachers after the compulsory retirement age of 60. Also the nature of special education schools does not prefer to employ ETs. Therefore the study concentrated only on 39 unaided private schools, where the employers of the schools have greater independence to make their own policies and practices according to the requirements of the schools.

Though the ISs commenced several decades ago, lack of a regulatory mechanism makes it impossible to maintain proper records of the ISs in Sri Lanka, which in turn made it difficult to figure out the exact number of ISs for the research

purpose. However, based on the registration authority, the ISs in Sri Lanka can be categorized into two types:

1) Registered under the Board of Investment of Sri Lanka as a foreign business entity:

The International Schools in Sri Lanka (TISSL), 2015. which is a group of premier ISs in Sri Lanka, formed a voluntary organization in February 2013. As per its members list on the website, there are 18 International Schools, which are almost all based in the Western province in Sri Lanka (The International Schools in Sri Lanka, 2015).

2) Registered under the Companies Act of Sri Lanka as a registered private company under the Companies Act of Sri Lanka No.7 of 2007 (Originally No.14 of 1982):

Another source of international schools is the Association of International Schools in Sri Lanka (AISSL), 2015. incorporated under the Companies Act of Sri Lanka. According to its members' directory on the website, there are 46 international schools island-wide (Association of International Schools in Sri Lanka, 2015).

It is noteworthy to mention that those are the only sources available for obtaining the number of ISs in Sri Lanka. Further, the member schools mentioned in those two lists are mutually exclusive due to the separate registration authorities. Therefore, the total number of ISs considered in the study was made up of those two lists, which totaled 64.

Accordingly, the attitudinal survey was carried out with 103 employers in the private sector schools representing 39 Unaided Private Schools and 64 International Schools (Appendix A).

The size of the sample is a crucial element in a quantitative study so as to generalize the findings back to a population from which the sample was drawn. An insufficient sample size affects the detection of significant differences and relationships or interactions, making Type 1 and Type 11 errors (Peers, 1996). Scholars have different arguments about the selection of sample sizes. Some researchers are concerned about the representative ability of the sample as proportionate to the population and accordingly size is determined by various statistical formula and/or

published sample size tables. From the perspective of generalizability, the determination of the sample size is affected by three criteria: 1) sampling error, 2) the confidence level, and 3) the degree of variability in the main measured attribute (Yamane, 1967). As explained in Israel (1992, p. 2), for a small population, the appropriate approach is to consider the whole population as the sample of the study. That would eliminate the issue of sampling error and make it possible to collect data from all the elements in the population. Based on that assumption, I decided to distribute questionnaires to the employers in the 103 private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Further, I used a published sample size table presented by Yamane (1967) to determine the appropriate sample size, purporting to generalize the findings to the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Considering the population of my study, the table suggested a sample size of 81, under a 5% sampling error, a 95% confidence level, and a 50% degree of variability. Accordingly, I managed to collect 101 questionnaires from the respondents after doing a country-wide survey within a period of four months from December 2014 to March 2015. Nonetheless, 3 of them were incomplete and were excluded from the sample. Hence the sample consisted of 98 completed questionnaires and it was impressive to note that the response rate of the study was 95 percent. The unit of analysis in the attitudinal survey was the "individual employer."

3.2.2 Questionnaire

Examining the employers' attitudes towards the ETs was carried out through 19 attitudinal statements included in part 4 of the questionnaire (Appendix C-Questionnaire), which was used to survey the employers representing the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The attitudinal survey was suggested by the empirical studies examining the employers' attitudes towards EEs. The study of Redman and Snape (2002) adopted a stereotypical belief measure of 15 items developed by Warr and Pennington (1993) based on a 5-point scale to measure ageism in teaching among the teachers in the U.K. It covered two dimensions: work effectiveness and adaptability. Work effectiveness dimension consisted with items such as ETs are more conscientious than younger teachers, reliable, loyal, work hard, effective in their job, think before they act, have interpersonal skills, take things easy, work well in teams while adaptability dimension included items such as ETs adapt to change, learn and

can be trained and accept new technology. The study of Henkens (2005) used 15 attitudinal questions developed in England by Walker and Taylor (1993) and that have been extensively used by other scholars when researching employers' attitudes towards EEs. The attitudinal components included in that study were: EEs are less interested in participating in training than younger employees, are less creative, less enterprising, less physically capable, less productive, less interested in technological change, less adaptable to technological change, are more loyal, meticulous, and reliable, have more social skills, are more careful, etc. A recent study of Kim and Mo (2014) developed an attitudinal scale regarding the stereotypical beliefs of EEs that indicated several new aspects other than above-mentioned two scales, for example, EEs are more knowledgeable about their work, are more experienced, have higher rates of complaints, exhibit stubborn work attitudes, have fewer new ideas, low rates of absence, exhibit fewer mistakes, etc.

Thoroughly considering the existing literature and the adopted attitudinal scales in the sphere of ageing employment, the current study was based on 19 attitudinal variables that were rated on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 2 (disagree), 3 (somewhat disagree), 4 (neutral), 5 (somewhat agree), 6 (agree), and 7 (strongly agree). The 19 attitudinal variables included in part 4 of the questionnaire are mentioned below.

1) ETs are more competent than younger teachers.
2) ETs are more creative than younger teachers.
3) ETs are more efficient than younger teachers.
4) ETs' quality of work is higher than that of younger teachers.
5) ETs have fewer grievances than younger teachers.
6) ETs are more reliable than younger teachers.
7) ETs are more cooperative than younger teachers.
8) ETs are more punctual than younger teachers.
9) ETs are more loyal than younger teachers.
10) ETs work harder than younger teachers.
11) ETs are more stress tolerant than younger teachers.
12) ETs are more responsible than younger teachers.
13) ETs are more costly than younger teachers.

14) ETs exhibit higher absenteeism than younger teachers.

15) ETs are less interested in learning new skills than younger teachers.

16) ETs prefer less responsibility than younger teachers.

17) ETs are less self-motivated than younger teachers.

18) ETs are less technology adaptable than younger teachers.

19) ETs are less flexible than younger teachers.

3.2.2.1 Pre-test

Before conducting the main survey, pre-testing of the questionnaire is an essential requirement. Thus, I distributed the questionnaire to 10 employers in the sample, requesting them to comment on the questionnaire. The purpose of this exercise was to affirm that the respondents were able to answer the questions without any ambiguity. Upon collection of those 10 questionnaires, I reviewed their comments and incorporated a few revisions therein. Some of the suggestions were to reduce the number of pages, to correct typo errors, clarifying, and to revise some of the words. I revised the questionnaire appropriately as per the given comments.

3.2.2.2 Validity

Put simply, the concept of validity in social inquiry indicates the "credibility" or the "meaningfulness" of the research design, methods, and measures applied and of the research findings. There are a number of ways of classifying validity, yet all of those classifications are under the broader themes of internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the "cogency of the study itself" or "whether it measures what it is supposed to measure," while external validity describes the "extent to which generalizations can be made from the particular study to other populations and settings" (Van Thiel, 2014, p. 49).

In the current study, I have thoroughly reviewed the literature with regards to elderly employment in many countries and especially in the context of the teaching profession in order to grasp the areas to be explored in the study. Further to improve the validity of the survey questionnaire, I have obtained expert opinions from 2 educationists regarding the entire questionnaire, especially attitudinal variables in the questionnaire before finalize it (Appendix D- Brief profile of two expert educationists). Pre-testing of the questionnaire and adjusting it according to the comments further improved the internal validity of the study. Administering a

country-wide survey among 103 schools, obtaining 98 useful responses, and having a 95 percent response rate ensured external validity of the findings of the current study.

3.2.2.3 Reliability

Reliability refers to the consistency and stability of findings, and the ability to replicate them (Burns & Burns, 2008, p. 410). Van Thiel (2014, p. 48) stated that the reliability of a study is a function of the accuracy and consistency with which the variables are measured. Rosenthal and Rosnow (1991) stated that reliability concerns the consistency of measurement over time or the stability of a measurement in a variety of conditions. The most commonly-used technique to estimate reliability is with a measure of association, the correlation coefficient, often termed the reliability coefficient, which is the correlation between two or more variables when measuring the same thing (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Reliability can be improved by writing items clearly, making test instructions easily understood, and training the raters effectively by making the rules for scoring as explicit as possible (Nunnally, 1978). Further, the internal consistency of a scale can be measured through Cronbach's alpha coefficient, where.7 or higher is considered a sufficient level of reliability.

3.2.3 Survey Data Collection

A country-wide survey was carried out among the employers from the private sector schools in Sri Lanka by using a self-administered questionnaire. As stated by Van Thiel (2014, p. 75), the survey strategy is an efficient approach to collecting a considerable amount of data on a sizable number of variables from a large number of respondents. The respondents of the questionnaire were owners, chairpersons, managing directors, directors, and principals of the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

Since this was a country-wide survey, two methods were used to send out the questionnaire to the respondents. Three research assistants and I participated in the survey, which was carried out over a period of nearly four months. Before the research assistants approached the respondents, I contacted the respective respondent over the telephone and introduced myself, explained the study, and requested his or her kind cooperation in filling out the questionnaire. Since the respondents were often

approached through personal meetings, I was able to collect completed questionnaires, which were usable for the analysis. When I had an appointment with the employers, the survey was administered by me in face-to-face encounters. I was concerned about the completeness of the questionnaire due to the small size of the population. Though personal meetings were time- and cost-consuming, it was less trouble in terms of the follow-up requests. Some of the respondents preferred to be reached by e-mail and soft copies (scanned) of the questionnaires were thus received.

3.2.4 Survey Data Analysis

The study performed an exploratory factor analysis to describe and summarize the data by grouping variables that were correlated, purporting to develop attitudinal scales. Prevailing empirical research additionally has suggested the appropriateness of utilizing exploratory factor analysis when investigating attitudes towards older workers in different contexts (Henkens, 2005; Kim & Mo, 2014). Hence the study used the principal component analysis method, which is included in exploratory factor analysis.

The procedure applied for factor analysis is gradual; checking for assumptions at the beginning, then factor extracting, factor rotating and finally constructing the scales based on identified factors. Before checking 19 variables for assumptions, I have recoded 7 variables which were given as negative statements. They were: ETs are costly, ETs exhibit high absenteeism, ETs are less interested in learning new skills, ETs prefer less responsibilities, ETs are less self-motivated, ETS are less adaptable to technology and ETs are less flexible. All those 7 variables were recoded into positive attitudinal statements and labelled them in the output with the prefix of "Re".

3.2.4.1 Checking Assumptions for Factor Analysis

There are several main assumptions to be satisfied when performing factor analysis. They are sample adequacy, treatments for missing data, absence of outliers among the cases, sufficient correlations among the variables and normality of variables.

One of the major concerns in factor analysis is size of sample. It is crucial to have a sample size which can generate adequate correlations among the

variables, leading to high reliability estimates. As Tabachnick and Fidell (2013, p. 618) stated, having strong correlations, high communalities and a few number of factors would be sufficient conditions when dealing with small sample size. Several general rules are applicable when determining sample size for factor analysis. Some authors suggested that, it is acceptable at least to maintain a 5:1 ratio of sample size, which means 5 respondents for each variable (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010, p. 102). Also from the statistical measure generated by SPSS can be helpful to assess the adequacy of the sample size through the KMO test (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin), which the index ranges from 0 to 1. The minimum value for a good factorability is 0.6 in the KMO index (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

In the study, KMO value reported as 0.786, ensuring size of the sample was appropriate to perform factor analysis (Table 3.2). Interestingly, no missing data and outliers were reported among 19 attitudinal statements in all the 98 questionnaires. Marking of 19 attitudinal statements was kept as simple and only limited to a single page task may be the reasons for not having missing data. Also using 7-point likert scale for the marking of agreement with the statements was caused for the absence of outliers in the attitudinal variables.

Factorability of variables is measured through the correlation among the variables. Hence, correlations among the variables are main criterion to satisfy in factor analysis, which can be done through several ways. One way is, visual inspection of the correlation matrix and presence of substantial number of correlations greater than 0.3 (Hair et al., 2010, p. 103). The Correlation Matrix of the factor analysis variables (Appendix E- Correlation matrix of variables in factor analysis) depicted that, 72 out of 171 correlations (42 percent) were significant at the .01 level, providing an adequate basis for factorability. Another way to meet the correlation requirement is assessment of the overall significance of the correlation matrix with the Bartlett test of Sphericity. In the study, Bartlett test of Sphericity was also significant (p=.000), ensuring sufficient correlations (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 KMO and Bartlett's Test

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.786
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1006.353
	Df	171
	Sig.	.000

Multivariate normality is assumed when statistical inference is used to determine the number of factors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 618). As long as variables are normally distributed, results would be enhanced. Normality of variables can be measured by either statistical methods of skewness and kurtosis or graphical device such as frequency histograms. When the distribution is normal, the values of skewness and kurtosis are zero (p.79). Yet in practice the rule of thumb is that, a variable is reasonably close to normal if the skewness and kurtosis have values between +1.0 and -1.0. The descriptive statistics table for 19 variables illustrated that, almost all the variables were able to retain the values within the accepted range to ensure normal distribution of the variables (Appendix F- Descriptive statistics of variables in factor analysis). Except for a few variables (Responsible, Self-motivated, New skills, Less responsibility) all other variables were able to retain normal distribution, enhancing the factorability. Nonetheless, in a large sample the impact of deviation from zero would not make a substantive difference in the analysis (p.80), which is reasonable enough to assume for normality of the variables in the study, ensuring a large sample size very close to 100. The value of 4 in the 7-point Likert scale denotes the "neutral attitude" towards ETs, indicating neither negative nor positive. The calculated mean value of total attitudes (19 variables) was 4.57 and standard deviation (SD) of 0.73.

3.2.4.2 Extracting and Rotating Factors

Factor analysis has two steps to follow: extracting and rotation of factors or components. This study extracted its components or factors using principal component analysis method. Generally, the method deals with the total amount of variance in the data set and it measures the magnitudes of the first few components by

how much of the total variance they can explain (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2013, p. 663).

There are several methods of extracting factors. The study used two popular methods of Kaiser's criterion and Scree plot. Kaiser's criterion is based on Eigenvalues, which prescribes that, only for factors with an eigenvalue of 1 or more are retained for further investigation (Pallant, 2011, p. 184). According to the principal component analysis output, the study found that first three factors were above the eigenvalue of 1 and those factors explained 59.6 percent of total variance (Appendix G- Total variance explained). First factor described 31 percent of total variance, second and third factors were 15 and 13 percent correspondingly. There is no accepted percentage value for total variance explained as to confirm the obtained factor solution is good enough and also without losing too much information in the data-crunching process. Yet, a very rough rule of thumb proposed by some authors is that at least 50 percent of the variance is explained (Meyer et al., 2013, p. 677). Hence, the three factor solution extracted in the study was 59.6 percent, which was above the specified level and thus, it was acceptable.

Further, to affirm the number of factors produced by Kaiser's criterion, I have used graphical approach of scree plot which is again a plotting of eigenvalues. In a scree plot, eigenvalues represent Y axis while X axis for factors. The scree plot depicted 19 variables along the X axis, after reaching the fourth factor, the function was quite flat, visually suggesting that three-factor solution was the most viable (Appendix H- Scree plot).

Initial factor loadings under the each component were depicted in Component Matrix (Appendix I- Component Matrix). Factor loadings are the correlation of each variable and the factor. Factor loading explains the degree of correspondence between the variable and the factor, with higher loadings making the variable representative of the factor (Hair et al., 2010, p. 112). It was an unrotated factor matrix and variables were spread among the components. Under the first component all the variables were loaded and many of them were again loaded under the second and third components as well. Therefore, the pattern of factor loading was quite ambiguous and the interpretation would be difficult as well as theoretically meaningless.

Factor loading of each variable plays the main role in interpreting and defining each factor. Though initial unrotated component matrix provided solution for data reduction objective, it does not satisfy the requirement of the research objective of detecting the underlying structure of employers' attitudes towards ETs. Hence, the initial extracted solution has been rotated using Varimax method in order to achieve simple factor structure which can be meaningfully interpreted (Table 3.3). However, there were three variables found to be with cross-loadings (shaded figures in the table) and hence alternative rotation method of Direct Oblimin was used to eliminate them, but it increased the number of variables of cross-loadings. Hence, eventually Varimax rotation method was performed, ignoring the lower cross-loading values (.314, .332 and .347) and was retained a simplified Rotated Component Matrix of three factor solution through which pattern of employers' attitudes can be identified.

Table 3.3 Rotated Component Matrix

	Component		
	1	**2**	**3**
Competence		.857	
Re_Costly		.846	
Creative		.836	
Efficient		.748	
Re_Absenteeism		.703	
Quality of work		.620	
Responsible	.808		
Punctual	.799	.314	
Loyal	.766		
Cooperative	.752		.347
Stress tolerance	.710		
Work hard	.695		
Reliable	.592		.332
Grievances	.547		
Re_Techadaptability			.839
Re_Flexible			.825
Re_Self-motivation			.766

Table 3.3 (Continued)

	Component		
	1	**2**	**3**
Re_Responsibility			.689
Re_New skills			.514
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization			
Rotation converged in 5 iterations			

3.2.4.3 Scale Construction

The rotated factor solution informed that, employers' attitudes on ETs in the private sector schools can be categorized into three components, enabling to construct three attitudinal scales. As mentioned in the literature, there were studies where employers' attitudes have been listed in either two or three attitudinal categories (Chui et al, 2001; Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkens, 2005; Axelrad et al., 2013; Kim & Mo, 2014).

It was required to interpret the attitudes of the employers towards ETs in the private sector. The applicable rule of thumb for interpretation is only variables with loadings of .32 and above can be considered for interpretation (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 654). Comrey & Lee (1992) suggested that, loadings in excess of .71 are considered as excellent, .63 as very good, .55 as good, .45 as fair and .32 as poor (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 654). Interestingly, all the variables in the rotated matrix had factor loadings greater than 0.5. Out of 19 variables 12 reported as excellent (responsible, punctual, loyal, cooperative, stress tolerance, competence, re_costly, creative, efficient, re-techadaptability, re-flexibility, re-self-motivation) while 3 were very good (work hard, re_absenteeism, re_responsibility) another 3 were good (reliable, grievances, quality of work) and only one variable of re_new skills under the fair category (factor loading of .514). That categorization of attitudinal variables into three was the basis for scale construction in the study. After considering the nature of variables under each factor and with the support of literature the labels for factors were assigned. According to Dixon (1986), the task of the researcher in interpreting factor analytic results is to assign meaning to the pattern of factor loading. Variables with higher loading are considered as more important and have a greater influence on the name or label selected to represent a factor.

The total attitudes of the study was constituted of 19 attitudinal statements and rated on a continuum of agreement based on 7-point Likert scale, 1 being "strongly disagree" and 7 being "strongly agree". The factor analysis further categorized them into three scales.

Under the categorization of attitudes, factor 1 was consisted of 8 variables. The variables included in the factor 1 were mainly found under the label of "Effectiveness" in the studies. A study of Redman & Snape (2002) on "Ageism in Teaching" included variables such as reliable, work hard, loyal, and cooperative under the work effectiveness category. Further, the studies of Warr & Pennington (1993) and Chui et al. (2001) have labeled similar variables under the factor of "Work Effectiveness". Considering the nature of the variables loaded under the factor 1, I decided to label it as "Effectiveness" of ETs. The concept of effectiveness is defined in the Oxford dictionary as "the degree to which something is successful in producing a desired result". Since, the effectiveness scale had newly added variables it was required to confirm the reliability of the Effectiveness scale by calculating Cronbach alpha value. As Pallant (2011, p. 100) stated, if the alpha value is above 0.7 it is considered as an acceptable scale, yet above 0.8 is preferable. The alpha value of .876 in the Effectiveness scale in the current study ensured a preferably higher reliability (Table 3.4). In other words, higher alpha value validated the Effectiveness scale as a suitable attitudinal measurement to examine the employers' attitudes towards the ETs.

Table 3.4 Reliability of Effectiveness Scale

Effectiveness Scale	Loadings	Alpha
ETs are more Responsible than younger teachers	.808	
ETs are more Punctual than younger teachers	.799	
ETs are more Loyal than younger teachers	.766	
ETs are more Cooperative than younger teachers	.752	**0.876**
ETs are More Stress tolerant than younger teachers	.710	
ETs work harder than younger teachers	.695	
ETs are more Reliable than younger teachers	.592	
ETs have less Grievances than younger teachers	.547	

The variables hanged together in factor 2 have been found in the productivity dimension in the ageing researchers such as creativity, cost, absenteeism (Henkins, 2005; Remery, Henkens, Schippers, & Ekamper, 2003). However, a recent study of Kim & Mo (2014) classified such qualities together with few other aspects like knowledge about their job, experience, fewer mistakes under the dimension of "competence". Also they defined competence as "a combination of knowledge, skills and behaviours used to improve performance", which is a more appropriate label, because the content in that definition and the items included in the current study were mostly similar. Importantly the highest loaded variable under the factor 2 was also competence (0.857). Besides, considering the nature of teaching profession, I labeled this factor as "Competence" that earned a higher preferable alpha value of 0.875, confirming the reliability of the scale in order to measure employers' attitudes on competence of ETs.

Table 3.5 Reliability of Competence Scale

Competence	Loadings	Alpha
ETs are more Competent than younger teachers	0.857	
ETs are less Costly than younger teachers*	0.846	
ETs are more Creative than younger teachers	0.836	**0.875**
ETs are more Efficient than younger teachers	0.748	
ETs exhibit less Absenteeism than younger teachers*	0.703	
ETs' Quality of work is higher than younger teachers	0.620	

Note: * Re_Coded Positive Statements

The variables included in the factor 3 were mostly found in the studies under the dimension of adaptability (Chui et al, 2001; Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkens, 2005). Merriam Webster dictionary defined Adaptability as "being able to change or be changed in order to fit or work better in some situation or for some purpose". Also the highest loaded 2 variables in the factor 3 were technological adaptability and flexibility with the loadings of 0.839 and 0.825 respectively,

suggested to name this factor as "Adaptability" scale. This scale reported a higher alpha value of 0.795 (almost closer to 0.8), which is a reliable attitudinal scale to measure employers' attitudes towards adaptability of ETs.

Table 3.6 Reliability of Adaptability Scale

Adaptability	Loadings	Alpha
ETs are more Technologically Adaptable than younger teachers*	0.839	
ETs are more Flexible than younger teachers*	0.825	
ETs are more Self-motivated than younger teachers*	0.766	**0.795**
ETs prefer jobs with more Responsibilities*	0.689	
ETs are more interested in learning New Skills*	0.514	

Note: * Re_Coded Positive Statements

The factor analysis categorized 19 attitudes into three factors, enabling to develop three scales namely Effectiveness, Competence and Adaptability to measure the attitudes of the employers towards ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Further, all the 19 attitudinal statements used together to measure the total attitudes of the employers towards the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

In the arena of social science research, the "moral integrity" of the researcher is a pivotal aspect for ensuring a proper research design and the validity and reliability of the research findings. The social science researcher needs to deal with ethical considerations in the research, the ethical dimensions regarding the problem of selection and the research design, responsibility towards the research subjects/ participants, the benefits of the research for the research participants, and ethical dilemmas when publishing findings (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011).

In the study I was seriously concerned about the ethical aspects at several stages of the research, especially regarding the data collection and publishing the findings. During the data collection steps, it was clearly communicated the interviewees about the researcher, the university, all of the contact details, and most importantly about the current research through the official letter issued by the university authorizing the data collection and allowing them to decide whether to take part in the interview or not voluntarily. I conducted all 10 interviews after getting their "informed verbal consent" and the interviews were held on the school premises. Also, depending on their preference, sometimes I recorded the interviews and at other times took down notes of the answers. Further, personal observations in the school premises were carried out together with a teacher and/or student upon permission given by the interviewee.

When carrying out the survey, I obtained the service of three research assistants and explained to them the survey and the nature of the respondents they were to meet. However, as the researcher of the study I made sure to contact the respondents personally and to describe myself, my survey, and to seek their consent and permission to send the research assistant on my behalf because occasionally I found that some respondents wanted to directly deal with the researcher. Further, there were some instances where the respondents cross checked the "genuineness" of the survey by calling me over the phone. However, all of the survey questionnaires were circulated among the employers together with the official letter from the university. Protecting confidentiality is the most critical ethical concern of social researchers, which means that the research subjects are protected by remaining unidentifiable (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011). As mentioned in the official letter, I assured both the interviewees and survey respondents that the confidentiality of the data would be kept without disclosing the names of the schools or respondents in publishing the findings.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES TOWARDS
ELDERLY TEACHERS

The objectives of the study were to examine the reasons for employing ETs, and the employment practices regarding ETs and the employers' attitudes towards ETs in the private sector in Sri Lanka. The study used both interview data and survey data to reach those objectives. This chapter is dedicated to presenting the findings about the employers' first impression of the employment of ETs, their reasons for employing ETs, and current employment practices obtained through the interview data of the 10 schools. The findings were organized in the following manner: employers' first impression of the employment of ETs, the reasons for employing ETs in the private sector schools, and then the employment practices regarding ETs.

4.1 Employers' First Impression of the Employment of Elderly Teachers

Due to the widely-spread negative stereotypes of EEs in the labour market, the employers' first impression towards EEs are often unfavourable and that phenomenon was articulated by the American Association for Retired Persons (AARP) (1994, p. 8). as "mental pictures of people based on their membership in a group." This underscores the fact that distorted ideas of EEs in the labour market leads employers to recognize EEs in a more unfavourable manner against the younger category. In the psychological literature this phenomenon is explained as "confirmatory bias" (Rabin & Schrag, 1999), which means that people tend to seek and remember information that confirms their expectation and as a consequence of that, even if contradictory evidence is found they discount that fact or do not notice it. Similarly, in the context of employment, deep-rooted prejudices and stereotypes of EEs that are long held by the employers are more prone to maintain a negative impression. Thus, at the outset of the analysis, it was interesting to explore the "first impression" of employers

regarding the ETs in the schools, which would shed light to a greater extent on potential employment opportunities.

Unlike the overarching stereotypical beliefs about EEs in the labour market, the first impression expressed by 9 out of 10 interviewees at the beginning of the interviews in the study was a "positive response" to the question, "Would you like to employ ETs in your school?" Along with this impression, the interviewees articulated their bases for holding such a positive impression from different angles. This can be elaborated from the excerpts given by the interviewees as their first impressions towards employment of ETs. Many interviewees admired the vast experience, maturity, and the government training of ETs. Teaching experience is ever evolving with the passage of age and more experienced teachers can provide a greater contribution to the school. Experience is not only limited to teaching but includes other expertise such as experience with administration, decision making, and discipline. Hence, the employment of ETs in private schools can yield many benefits. An excerpt from an interviewee 2 indicated that, "teachers never grow old. I like to employ retired teachers because of their vast experience. The more the experience they have, their contribution to the school is higher."

Further, many of the interviewees stated the teacher training obtained during the government training programme which is a remarkable consideration to have a "positive attitude" for employing government retired teachers in private sector schools. Compared with the training opportunities provided by the private sector schools, they ranked government training at a top level. Interviewee 9 said that "our school always welcomes government retired teachers, because the training they have undergone is incomparable with the private schools."

Also, some of the interviewees considered that the "professionalism" demonstrated by ETs was of a far more important character compared with the young teachers, which made the interviewers to have a positive attitude towards ETs. In brief, the manner in which they described professionalism was based on knowledge, behaviour (classroom management, monitoring student progress), and attributes (patience, respecting children). Naturally in a school environment, such professionalism is expected to be manifested to the students and other stakeholders. They were of the view of that young teachers were less likely to live up to that standard comparatively.

According to interviewee 10, "none of the today's young teachers can exemplify such a professionalism which is rendered by the older teachers."

Despite that, several interviewees distinguished the "perception about the teaching profession" between the elderly and younger teachers and stated that "ETs consider teaching as a service rather than a job," which was a salient feature for endorsing positive attitudes towards ETs. Further, they mentioned that teaching means not only imparting knowledge but also shaping the lives of the students. The interviewees appreciated the perception among the ETs and they viewed young teachers' perception as "teaching as a job" and accordingly their expectations and attitudes towards teaching were quite different. Therefore, some of the interviewees were critical of that attitude, as seen in the following passage:

> Why I am not hesitant to get the service of retired teachers is that, their perception towards the profession. Teaching is a job for the young teachers today, but it is considered as a service by the elderly teachers. (Interviewee 7)

Interestingly, this positive impression of ETs was expressed irrespective of the age of the interviewees and also the type (whether UPS or IS) and size of the school. Different age groups in the sample were willing to employ ETs. Interviewees from both the UPSs and ISs had preference over ETs and small, medium, and large schools maintained the first impression as positive towards ETs. Therefore, this was an indication from the employers in the private sector schools that they are willing to employ ETs and to show potential employment opportunities to them.

However, considering the field of working experience among the interviewees, it was found that those who had come from an "education" background (for example, as a teacher, a principal, an administrator) would hold a positive impression while an interviewee from "business management" had expressed a "strong negative impression" towards employing ETs and further revealed that none of the ETs had been employed in that particular school. He justified his opposition or negative attitudes regarding the ETs based on numerous reasons: the purpose of looking for re-employment by ETs, salary negotiation, and issues with young teachers. He believed that ETs were looking for employment opportunities either for

keeping themselves engaged after their retirement or as means of additional income. As a result of that, they would not demand higher salaries and other benefits at the negotiation. If circumstances are such, then the school cannot expect a higher contribution from ETs by offering them lower benefits. Moreover, he has seen ETs as "trouble makers," being less cooperative with the younger staff because of their age and seniority in their career. For example, sometimes they expect priority in setting timetables over younger teachers and higher respect. Based on his opinion he maintained a negative impression and concluded that he opposed employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, as he indicated in the following:

> The reasons why elderly teachers are looking for jobs are: for the sake of keeping them engaged and earning an additional income other than the pension. Therefore, elderly teachers like to work for lower salaries, under any working conditions which is not the proper way of negotiating the employment. Also they are trouble makers for young teachers. So the school cannot expect much contribution from them. Therefore, our school does not employ any elderly teacher. (Interviewee 8)

When distinguishing two opposing impressions of the interviewees regarding the employment of ETs, according to the study findings, the first impression was varied due to the "sameness and difference" of the field of work experience. In other words, the respondents from the same field of experience had a positive impression while negative impressions came from respondents in different fields.

Nevertheless, the study revealed that the majority of the interviewees representing the private sector schools had a favorable impression of the employment of the ETs, which demonstrated potential opportunities for ETs in Sri Lanka. Although these impressions would facilitate a favourable environment for ETs, mere impressions would not work in reality. Thus, it was considered pivotal to probe the needs of the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. That would lay a sound foundation to open up employment avenues for them. Additionally, it could be considered a premise to ascertain whether those impressions would work in reality as was expressed by the interviewees.

4.2 Reasons for Employing ETs in the Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

The impressions of the employers were not the sole and exclusive reasons for employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka and there may be other reasons which compel employers to obtain the services of ETs. Therefore, it was worthwhile to examine the real reasons behind the decision of employing ETs in the private sector schools. The interviewees mentioned several reasons: 1) shortage of trained/qualified teachers; 2) the competence of elderly teachers; 3) the special expertise of elderly teachers such as being mentors, administrators, guardians/ disciplinarians; 4) promoting age diversity, and 5) particular issues pertaining to small schools. The following section explains the reasons in detail along with excerpts from the interviewees.

4.2.1 Shortage of Trained/Qualified Teachers

The standard of education mainly depends on the quality of the teaching staff. According to the interviewees due to the higher dominance and recognition of the government-driven school education sector in Sri Lanka and the availability of few private teacher training institutes, still the term "trained teacher" is often used and accepted in the society for those that undergo the government teacher training. Hence, undergoing such training would consider as qualification for producing a "qualified teacher" for the school education system. According to the interviewees, one of the main challenges that private sector schools are facing today is to hire trained/qualified teachers. Therefore, an alternative method of obtaining the service of trained/qualified teachers is to employ ETs from the government sector.

Many interviewees mentioned that, though there are reputed and well-paid private sector schools in Sri Lanka, it is always the individual's choice of prioritizing the government sector permanent teaching employment over private school teaching, which provides them with comparatively higher recognition, many benefits, and job security. They can earn a higher salary, employment status, a higher level of freedom, autonomy, job security, entitlement to a pension, and a higher leave entitlement, all of which are some of the key factors.

One interviewee stated the following:

> Still the recognition earned in government schools is unchallengeable. The first priority of all potential teaching candidates is to secure government teaching position, knowing the total benefit package they can enjoy. (Interviewee 2)

However, some of the interviewees pointed out multifaceted perspectives on the teacher shortfall among the private sector schools in Sri Lanka: lack of English medium-qualified teachers for upper classes, a dearth of teachers with required pedagogical knowledge, and high job attrition among young teachers.

1) Shortage of English Medium Qualified Teachers, Especially for Upper Classes.

With the enactment of the "Swabhasha Policy" in 1956, the government of Sri Lanka promoted vernacular languages as the medium of instruction in the education system, which in turn drastically downgraded the importance of English education. Though English was taught as a separate subject, infrequent usage of English made it less familiar to the students and teachers in the later generations. Consequently, the teachers were trained in the vernacular and therefore it was difficult to find qualified teachers that could teach other subjects in the English medium, especially for the upper classes.

In 2001, as a recent education policy initiative, the English medium of instruction option was introduced by the government among the government schools for grade 12 and 13 (Advanced Level) students. In 2002, it was expanded to secondary level education (from grade 6-11) for selected subjects, depending on the availability of teachers. However, one of the main constraints in implementing this policy was a "shortage of qualified teachers to teach those subjects in the English medium" (Thirunavukkarsu, n.d.). The government schools not having an adequate number of English medium teachers is a clear indication of not expecting a better position in the private and international schools in Sri Lanka. The interviewees stated that qualified teachers can be found in the system, but they are not competent enough to deliver subjects in the English medium, which is a main requirement for ISs. Not

only that, the interviewees from the UPSs also mentioned that there are teachers that are willing and capable to teach in their schools but in the vernacular language (Sinhala medium). In the absence of qualified English medium teachers, as an alternative method currently private sector schools are employing ETs that can deliver subjects in the English medium. Some of the interviewees concerns were as follows:

> One of the main issues international schools are facing is lack of English medium qualified teachers. (Interviewee 3)

> Qualified teachers are in the school education system. But the problem is the language barrier (English proficiency).Until we find a better solution we have decided to employ retired teachers who can teach in English medium. (Interviewee 1)

An interviewee representing an UPS shared her experience about the upcoming trend in the increasing number of students that are following national curriculum in the English medium. Earlier, in her school the number of classes in the Sinhala medium was greater. At present, the number of English medium classes is higher than the Sinhala classes and this will further rise. This is an indication for the education system that more English medium teachers will be needed in the near future.

> Earlier we had many Sinhala medium classes. But now English medium classes exceeded that number. This trend will be further escalated, which means we need more quailed English medium teachers. (Interviewee 6)

This issue was aggravated when teaching subjects like English literature, English language, mathematics, science, chemistry, and physics in the upper classes. The Interviewees mentioned that, unlike the primary and lower grade classes, some of these subjects are usually somewhat technical in terms of conceptualization, usage of proper terminology, and explanations and knowledge transfer consumes considerable time comparatively. On the other hand, it is

sometimes challenging for the students in the English medium classes when going through the textbooks in English and therefore the students expect greater support from the teachers. This may be partly due to prevailing "teacher-centered" school education system in Sri Lanka. Considering the nature of certain subjects and the hardships that the students are undergoing, it can be argued that the interest in the subject and proper knowledge transfer in the English medium would highly depend on the teaching ability of the instructor. Thus, the unavailability of qualified teachers would sometimes compel them to rely on ETs, disregarding their age and retirement status, as can be seen in the following passage from one of the interviewees:

> We do not have sufficient number of English medium qualified teachers, particularly for upper class subjects such as Science, English Literature, Physics, and Chemistry. Only available solution at the moment is to get the service of retired teachers. (Interviewee 7)

One interviewee described her experience in hiring an English medium physics teacher for an Advanced Level class as follows:

> The school had to advertise thrice the vacancy for Physics teacher. Young candidates applied but they did not like to work on full-time basis, knowing they can earn much by conducting private tutoring for the students. So, finally we ended up with a retired teacher. (Interviewee 4)

Her explanation of advertising one vacancy thrice in order to select a proper candidate for a particular subject and yet the unavailability of young candidates led them to finalize with an ET is an indication of the shortfall of teachers. Also, it is a depiction of the fact that a difficult subject like physics is in demand in the education market in terms of teachers. Though young teachers are found (for an example, science graduates from universities), they are hesitant to commit to the schools on a full-time basis since they can find better opportunities as part-time tutors. However, such an arrangement is not appropriate for schools because they are looking for a teacher that is completely responsible for the subject rather than a part-time

tutor. Sometimes upper class students need to frequently contact the teacher when they have questions or need clarifications. Further, the teacher is supposed to be accountable for the results of the students, which eventually is an essential part of the image of the school.

2) A dearth of Teachers with Required Pedagogical Knowledge

The quality of the teaching profession highly depends on the knowledge base of the teacher, consisting of content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. As Shulman (1987:8) stated, pedagogical knowledge can be categorized into two aspects: 1) general pedagogical knowledge that has broad principles and strategies of classroom management and organization that appear to transcend the subject matter and 2) pedagogical content knowledge which integrates the content knowledge of a specific subject and the pedagogical knowledge for teaching that particular subject. In fact, a higher level of pedagogical knowledge leads to a higher quality of instruction, marking increased student achievement and improving the student (OECD, 2015). Some of the main activities which pedagogical knowledge in general cover are preparation, designing the curriculum, lesson planning, instruction, refection, and student assessment (Shulman, 1987, p. 15).

Having realized the vitality of pedagogical knowledge the interviewees always were obliged to hire teachers with both subject knowledge and thorough pedagogical knowledge. Pedagogical knowledge is improved with the proper training and experience that teachers have with the passage of time. Many interviewees admired the training received by the government teachers and were concerned about the lack of such opportunities available for private sector teachers, who tended to think that government-trained teachers (including retired teachers) are sound in class management, student evaluation, and lessons planning and implementing. Additionally, their involvement in the national examination evaluation (O/L and A/L paper evaluation) would also be an additional key point. According to the employers, one way of acquiring such a vast knowledge base for the private sector schools is to recruit retired government teachers, as one interviewee explained:

I like to get the service of ETs. Because their training and experience do not reflect any doubt about their subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. Knowledge imparting is one role of a teacher. Beyond that, class management,

lesson planning, tools for evaluating students, understanding uniqueness and diversities among the students, developing habits of mind and motivating students towards learning which are developed over the time with the maturity of a teacher. (Interviewee 9)

The interviewees were satisfied with the English language proficiency and subject knowledge of young teachers. Yet, they said that younger teachers were developed in subject specialized areas while their overall teaching knowledge and management of the classroom was limited. Hence, the interviewees were of the view of that the younger teachers in the private schools sometimes lacked the required pedagogical knowledge due to their training deficiencies and having less experience. Thus the schools were hesitant to assign complete subject responsibility and class room management to fresh young teachers. Rather, young teachers would be kept under the guidance and supervision of senior or mature teachers for a specified period. In such circumstances, again the demand was higher for ETs, who can play a bigger and more confident role for the satisfaction of the school administration, as seen in the following passage:

We have good young teachers. But we are afraid of assigning them complete responsibility of a class room because they are specialized in subject knowledge, but limited pedagogical understanding. They need further pedagogical developments. Therefore, sometimes we provide them training and other times they work with senior teachers. (Interviewee 5)

This indicated that employers are not quite satisfied with the pedagogical knowledge of the young teachers in the private sector schools and are taking measures to improve it. This situation may partly be due to the lack of training for the teachers in the private sector schools and sometimes quick and ad hoc teacher recruitment practices cause the problem. As to mitigating those issues, some of the schools have decided to get the services of ETs, who are pedagogically sound and can gradually guide and groom young teachers with the required knowledge.

3) Frequent Job Attrition Among Young Teachers

As mentioned in the interviews, the private sector schools prefer to employ young teachers. There are also young English-conversant graduate and non-graduate teachers that are willing to teach in the private sector schools. Some of the young teachers join private sector schools because they got a government teaching appointment in a remote area where they would not want to be far away for various reasons. However, the issue is the retention of such teachers in the private sector schools. Some interviewees said that job attrition among the young qualified teachers was much high, since they are frequently looking for better prospects and changing schools. The increasing number of private schools in Sri Lanka and the rising competition generate ample opportunities and a higher demand for the younger teachers with lucrative packages, as one of the interviewees suggested in the following:

> Young graduate teachers who got government appointments in remote areas would like to join in international schools in Colombo. But their retention is the problem. They are more concerned about the financial benefits and reputation of the schools. (Interviewee 9)

From the perspective of the small IS it was claimed that job attrition was higher in their schools. After getting some experience from small schools, usually they shift to another school. One interviewee representing a small IS mentioned that "the school has become a training center to provide experience for young teachers." That statement itself reflects how challenging it is to retain young teachers for the school. The frequent changing of teachers affects the studies of the students and makes them uncomfortable in terms of readjusting. Thus, sometimes parents complain about it to the school administration. It is not good for the reputation of the school either. According to interviewee 5, "some young teachers stay only for 2-3 months. Again new teacher comes. This is difficult for students. Parents are very unhappy about it and complain."

Further teacher attrition is also administratively cumbersome for the school in terms of replacement cost and time consumption. Thus, the interviewees

criticized such kind of behaviour as a "lack of accountability" among the young teachers towards the organization. Comparing the young teachers' behaviour with that of the ETs, the interviewees perceived that the ETs were more accountable than the younger teachers and the issue of shifting schools would be very unlikely. When the ETs have been hired, they remain in the same school for a considerable period of time. Therefore, private sector schools prefer to employ ETs. As interviewee 10 said, "unlike matured teachers, this younger generation is less accountable for the school. After gaining experience in the school they move to another. That's why we prefer elderly teachers."

In fact, many schools prefer to have young teachers, yet youngsters are often shifting schools for various reasons, which adversely affects the students and the school administration. That problem cannot be found among the ETs, making employers to have confidence in them.

4.2.2 Competence of Elderly Teachers

The competence of teachers is a multifaceted and complex concept. However, after thoroughly considering numerous definitions given in the international and national contexts on the competence of teachers in school education, I have taken the definition provided by Dr. Perera (1999, p. 48). (a prominent educationist in Sri Lanka) as "a combination of professional behaviour, values and attitudes, skills and knowledge that a teacher possesses in order to demonstrate quality teaching in relation to their context of teaching" In this study also, the interviewees have evaluated the competence of ETs in terms of knowledge, vast experience, quality of academic work, producing good results, and concern for the student's overall development.

Almost all of the interviewees of the study unanimously stated that one of the main reasons they would like to employ ETs in the private sector schools was their subject knowledge and vast experience in the government sector schools. Many of the interviewees (6 out of 10) are retired government principals and they have endorsed this matter with much confidence in ETs. Interviewee 5 stated that "since I worked in several government schools, without any reservation I can recruit government retired teachers, knowing how competent they are."

This endorsement was further supported by the government training undergone by the government teachers. It has earned such an importance because of the majority of private sector teachers have limited access to teacher training. Knowing this fact, the interviewees (especially those who came from government schools) would like to get the service of ETs. Another interviewee (a retired principal from a government school) commented about the competence of ETs' referring to her experience as a government trainee teacher was as follows:

I have no doubt about the competency of the elderly teachers. The training government teachers are given is a solid foundation for teaching career in the Sri Lankan education system. It begins from the scratch. I was a trainee a long ago. (Interviewee 9)

One interviewee from other than a government school background also shared his experience, distinguishing the competence of ETs from government schools and teachers with a different background. His observation was about the "quality of academic work" in terms of designing the syllabus, lesson planning, and developing learning materials, which reflected the expertise and experience of ETs. Sometimes he used those materials as examples for other teachers to compare with their materials. It is pedagogical expertise that is partly developed through training and partly with experience, as stated in the following:

A clear distinction can be identified in the quality of work between the experienced retired teachers and other teachers. I mean, government teachers are far ahead in developing syllabus for different grades, lesson planning and developing learning materials. That is their maturity in the profession. (Interviewee 10)

Another interviewee that served as a principal of a government school and as a director of the Ministry of Education described her experience about the other opportunities available for government teachers (both young and elderly) in terms of sharpening their expertise in different areas as follows:

I worked with both the young and retired teachers in the government schools as a principal and as a director in various education projects. They are experienced resource persons in designing class syllabus, developing learning materials, setting up papers, conducting examinations, paper evaluation at the national level examination, conducting teacher seminars and etc. (Interviewee 6)

Another aspect of teacher competence was characterized in terms of "producing of good results" in competitive examinations, especially in the upper classes. As an interviewee stated, it was realized that usually ETs produce good results, especially for difficult subjects and with Advanced Level examinations. This may be because of the improved subject knowledge and better delivery methods of ETs over the time. Therefore, even after retirement the schools would like to re-hire those teachers in order to take advantage of their expertise.

A new perspective was pointed out by a few interviewees regarding the employment of ETs from the government schools as a part of the "parents' interest," especially with ISs. As I mentioned earlier, the government schools still earn high esteem in terms of learning and producing academic results in the education arena in Sri Lanka. Moreover, the majority of parents may be a product of government schools and they want to give that education to their children as well. Perhaps they might try for admission in the government schools for their children, yet could not make it. Since the UPSs are still partially under the government control this may not be a high concern of those parents. However, the interviewees stated that some of the parents from ISs would remark that having some government retired teachers in the ISs for the upper classes as a positive sign. They would consider it not only from the academic point of view but as a better move for the overall development of the students, and for the welfare and discipline of the students. A few comments in this regard follow:

These experienced senior teachers (ETs) look at the holistic education rather concentrating on a specific area. They do consider the students' welfare and disciplines. But younger teachers are more concerned about covering the syllabus and exam results. (Interviewee 9)

Students like younger teachers because they are friendly. But students are highly respectful for the senior teachers, which is easy for them to manage the class. (Interviewee 3)

This concern of the parents can be considered as a positive remark earned by the government retired teachers during their profession. It may be due to the recognition acquired by the government education system in Sri Lanka, being the dominant education provider to the nation and the quality it maintains throughout history in terms of academic achievement and producing all-rounder students for the society. The main role players behind that success are the teachers. Therefore, even after retirement from the government schools still the parents demanded ETs to have in teaching staff of ISs to make an over-all impact on the lives of the students.

The findings from the interviews were further supported by the results of the country-wide survey conducted by the researcher. It was found that 82 out of 98 schools employed ETs, whereas 56 schools had reported that both the competence and shortage of teachers were the main reasons for employing ETs in the private sector schools. Another 19 schools mentioned that the sole reason for employing ETs was the competence of ETs while 7 schools stated that it was merely because of the teacher shortage.

4.2.3 Other Expertise of Elderly Teachers

In addition to the subject and pedagogical knowledge, and the experience of ETs, the interviewees mentioned some other areas of expertise among the ETs, such as administrative capability, playing a mentoring role for young teachers, and being the guardians of value-driven school culture.

1) Elderly Teachers as Administrators

For the smooth operation of the school having a good team of administrators is required. Being in the teaching profession for a long time, ETs have been groomed with a lot of exposure in dealing with a variety of academic and administrative matters. By employing them in private sector schools, it is expected that they will make use those potentials. The interviewees mostly wanted to hire ETs as "sectional heads" of the schools. This was mentioned by both types of schools because they believed that the person that is supposed to hold that position should be

"an experienced senior teacher." One interviewee stated that sometimes the alumni members of the school suggested to the board of management in the school to re-employ retired teachers for administrative positions. This is because of the commendable service that those teachers made to the school and the past students retained memory of this. As interviewee 7 stated, "sometimes alumni association suggests to re-employ retired teachers whose service was good during their times."

Further, some of the interviewees described the support extended by the ETs as mature decision makers by bringing different perspectives to the decision table. Formal and informal networks they have built so far with education professionals, alumni members, and ministry officials are very much useful in many instances when the school needs external support. For example, one interviewee mentioned that when organizing seminars for teachers or students, the resource persons were introduced through the contacts of ETs. This was described by interviewee 3 as follows: "there are several senior (elderly) teachers who are voluntarily organizing seminars for teachers with their own contacts with the resource persons."

ETs are good at grievance handling and in complaint management areas, as the sectional heads. They carefully handle grievances from the teachers as well as from the parents. It is quite a challenging and time consuming task. The tactics used in those situations are different from teachers to parents. It is obligatory to pay attention to those issues and to provide some solutions for better operation of the school. According to the interviewees, qualities such as understandability, patience, and listening ability are powerful tools among the ETs to negotiate or to provide solutions for the satisfaction of the related parties. Interviewee 6 mentioned that "as the principal of the school, it is impossible for me to attend all those complaints. So I am grateful for senior teachers who are shouldering those responsibilities on behalf of the school."

The private sector schools would like to obtain the service of ETs for administrative positions in addition to their role as teachers whenever it is possible to utilize their different skills. From the school aspect, it is a better option for hiring retired teachers for the sectional head positions. However again from the point of younger teaching staff, it may be disadvantageous for them by limiting the career

advancement opportunities available to them. In other words, rather than filling those positions from the available young teachers and employing ETs might lead to dissatisfaction among the young teachers.

2) Elderly Teachers as Mentors

In the absence of many training opportunities and induction programmes for young and novice teachers in the private sector schools, would inevitably underscore the necessity of providing the support and guidance from an experience teacher. With that premise, the interviewees would like to assign the role of "mentor" to the ETs, considering their long service and wide experience. Mentoring is the process whereby one person provides advice (experienced senior teacher) to another, generally for less-experienced colleague; that arrangement may either be formal or informal between mentor and mentee (Alberta Teachers' Association, 2000). It was revealed that in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, the role of mentor has not been officially given to ETs; sometimes it is given as an additional responsibility. The way it works in the school is that, sometimes the school administration requests the ETs to serve as a mentor by having a few young teachers under their guidance and support. Though no special allowance is paid for this task, the ETs would consider it is as a privilege or honour. Mainly the ETs assist the younger students in being better prepared for classroom work, setting realistic targets, maintaining records, meeting deadlines, handling student affairs, and confidence building. This process builds a foundation for professional and personal growth and is a transformative experience for both mentor and mentee (Martin & Trueax, 1997). However, the effectiveness of transformation depends on trust, openness, commitment, and friendship between them (Kerka, 1998).

It is interesting to note that some of the ETs are passionate about sharing their experience and supporting young teachers while doing their regular teaching, without any request from the administration. Nevertheless, this voluntary mentoring arrangement depends on the interest and mutual understanding of the young and elderly teachers. Nevertheless, that act itself exemplifies the "professional responsibility" of ETs towards the younger generation. This was praised by interviewee 1: "volunteer mentoring is an admirable quality among the elderly teachers. Perhaps it may be part of our cultural values, where seniors nurture the juniors."

Other interviewees mentioned that young teachers too have positive reactions towards senior mentors. This is because sometimes they consider ETs as their "role models or leaders" and would like to follow their foot-steps and get advice from them. This shows the commitment and open-minded characteristics of the young teachers that are aspiring to advance their career. The ETs know how to track the progress of the teachers that are under their supervision by observing them on a regular basis. Their mentoring ability is very particular, and even minor mistakes are rectified as can be seen in the following passage:

> As an example, some young teachers do not much concern about putting the date on the white board as a routine practice before they start the class and thus the same practice is followed by the students as well. Apparently it seems a minor a mistake but the significance of such a regular practice is immense. (Interviewee 7)

In analyzing the mentor-mentee arrangement between the elderly and younger teachers, it can be seen that it not only serves as a development mechanism in the school, but also as a useful platform for creating a "healthy relationship" between the two generations. Working together cooperatively would enhance the understanding and respect between them and provide lessons for the student community in the school. The students also can see the way that young teachers are dealing with the ETs and they will be compelled to do the same. Perhaps this relationship may be a strong measure for eliminating elderly-related stereotypical beliefs from the labour market, because constant working relationship between the young and elderly teachers would pave the way for understanding the actual behaviours of elderly rather than assuming elderly working behaviours and characteristics.

3) ETs as Guardians of School Culture or Disciplinarians

Some of the interviewees identified the potentials and values ingrained in the ETs to foster a "value-driven culture" in the school environment, which is an essential part of the education system. This objective has been officially mandated in every school and it is included in the school curriculum as well, abided by the school

management, teachers, students, alumni, and parents. The schools in the study reflect different sorts of cultures: a particular religion-driven culture (for example, Buddhist philosophy, Catholicism), multi-ethnicity, and multi-religious culture. The interviewees believed that, among other things to protect and maintain a unique school culture, ETs can play a key role as "guardians" of the culture because of their seniority (in age and the position), long-standing experience, and earned respect over the time. This is not an idea merely from the interviewees, but they have confirmed that the rest of the stakeholders too unanimously had admitted the same in various instances, as stated in the following:

> It is unanimously agreed by the management, teachers, parents and alumni, the significance of having several retired teachers from the (same) school as guardians of unique culture of the school, whom can proudly share the history, symbols and values of the school. (Interviewee 1)

The above statement was expressed by an interviewee representing Catholic schools, who emphasized the significance of grooming the students academically and religiously. He stated that the overarching religious and historical values in the school bring a set of disciplines to the students, which will have a long-lasting impact on the students. The exact story tellers for this purpose are those that have been with the school for several decades and that can transmit that reality into the minds of the students. He further said that "in that sense, the right person is a teacher who has served in the school for a long time."

Another interviewee said that sometimes the guardian role was one of the grounds for extending the service of teachers that have reached the retirement age. Usually the alumni of the school also favourably influence the making of such a decision. Being in that school culture for a long time may be as a student and then as a teacher, and these individuals are the most familiar with the school culture and they can help new students and young teachers to understand and socialize with the unique culture of the school. Interviewee 4 explained that the "school prefers to extent the service or to get re-joined retired teachers from their own school. Sometimes such suggestions are coming from the alumni association of the school as well."

In that sense the demand for employing ETs is a cooperative decision. Their service has been acknowledged not only the demand from the employers but also by the other stakeholders of the school as well. This is a clear reflection of having the positive attitudes towards the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

4.2.4 Benefits of Age-Diversification among the Teachers in the Schools

Some interviewees prefer to maintain "age diversity" among the teachers in the schools and consequently teachers from different age groups (including ETs) are accommodated in the system. They believe that it is beneficial to have a mix of teachers representing both the young and elderly due to the fact that each age group brings different perspectives and strengths to the school, which ultimately produces a better output. In the same vain, each category has its own deficiencies, but overall those are cancelled out with merits of the other group. Both categories can reinforce and learn from each other. Therefore, schools attempt to materialize the benefits from the diversity in academic, extra-curricular activities and administrative matters. As one interviewee explained:

> Younger teachers are efficient, active, friendlier, technology savvy while elderly teachers are superior in work ethics, quality of work, caring, tolerance. The different capabilities and qualities they are entitled are useful for the development of the school. (Interviewee 2)

Further, it is always a good experience for students to have association with different age categories of teachers. It gives them the real life experience of working with various individuals and they can become familiar with various teaching and communication patterns, experience, and values. As explained earlier, parents also would like to have teachers of different ages, knowing the advantages of teacher diversity.

4.2.5 Challenges of the Newly-Started and/or Small-Size Schools

In addition to the reasons given above, the study found specific motives behind employing ETs in the newly-established and/or small-scale schools in Sri

Lanka in terms of less reputation of the newly-opened schools and the financial constraints in the small-size schools.

1) Less Reputation of Newly-Opened ISs

According to the elaboration made by the interviewees, at the early stage of the school, it is difficult to attract students and teachers without establishing the name of the school and also without having sound evidence to prove academic and other performances. Similarly, within a short period of time, coupled with a limited number of students in a small school, sometimes it is not possible to showcase better academic and extracurricular performance. Hence, at the beginning those schools are not in a position to earn a higher reputation in the education sector in comparison with the well-established schools. Usually, it takes some time to reach the stability. The competition among the schools adversely impacts those schools due to their newness, small size, and limited resource base. As a result, recruiting teachers has become a challenging task for new and small schools, especially young qualified teachers, whose demands and career expectations are quite high and they perhaps may look for opportunities in popular schools. However, the absence of qualified teachers in the schools again exacerbates the issue of gaining the reputation of the school, and increasing the student enrolment and improving performance. Therefore, the employers from new and small ISs thought of tapping the alternative strategy of employing ETs. The reasons described by the interviewees for choosing them are: ETs are qualified and experienced and at the same time they are not much concerned about the reputation of the school.

A principal of a new IS explained her concerns about the school and how she managed to overcome some of them in light of recruiting ETs.

As a newly-established school, we have lots of challenges such as increasing student enrolment, promoting the image of school, earning sufficient income, competition from other schools and etc. As one of the alternatives to face those challenges, it is crucial to have qualified teaching staff in the school. That is why our school thought of attracting qualified retired teachers whom are not much bothered about the reputation of the school. (Interviewee 9)

The above excerpt highlights the difference between the two generations in choosing employment opportunities. When searching for these opportunities, ETs are not really particular about the reputation of the school, unlike younger teachers. However, this does not underestimate the decision of ETs in choosing an unpopular school because for the ETs, this may be their second/alternative career after retirement. Therefore, rather than employing in a popular school, sometimes ETs may prefer joining a new and small school, where they can contribute much for further development of that school. However for the younger teacher, it may be his or her start-up career and he or she may be looking forward to making a long journey and thereby consider the reputation of the school. This revealed the "objective differences" among the two groups.

2) Financial Constraints of the Schools

At the beginning of a private school and also if it is small in size, financial obstacles are inevitable. The main source of income for ISs is the school fees paid by the students. If the number of students is low, then the income received is insufficient to meet all of the school expenses. Therefore, schools tend to be concerned about the payroll budget when making hiring decisions. Sometimes new and small ISs are compelled to recruit qualified ETs because their "expectations" can be matched by the school. This has been further elaborated by the interviewees, who indicated that expectations mean not lower remuneration but occasionally they prefer engagement in teaching only, flexibility or part-time employment, and less extra-curricular involvement. On the other hand, if the school wants to hire a young qualified teacher, he or she can serve on full-time basis yet the salary expectations are higher. Considering the constraints faced by the schools they would go ahead with ETs by negotiating favourable terms and conditions that are beneficial for both the employer and ETs. Some of the comments in this regard are as follows:

Like reputed international schools we are not in a position to meet the higher expectations of younger qualified teachers. So we always prefer to have retired teachers whom have negotiable expectations. (Interviewee 10)

In the selection interview, often retired teachers expressed their enthusiasm of continuing teaching career rather than benefits and other demands. (Interviewee 9)

Interviewee 7 from a medium-scale UPS also directly stated that "elderly teachers are much less paid than the other teachers." indicating the school offers lower salaries when obtaining the service of ETs due to the financial considerations of the school.

In essence, the underlying argument behind financial consideration is that schools (especially new and small ones) prefer to employ ETs as they can get their service for lower remuneration. There is the hidden meaning of "difficulties in meeting higher expectations of younger teachers." This implies several concerns regarding elderly employment and private-sector education. The positive side of this measure is that somehow ETs manage to be re-employed after their retirement. The ETs draw a pension and this is for them additional income or as a mean of active engagement, and employers take advantage of this to negotiate the remuneration while offering other comforts.

From the education perspective, there is a compromise in the quality of education in new and small schools. Offering ETs a lower salary means perhaps that they may compromise their dedication and contribution to the school. Especially flexibility in their time table may compel higher absenteeism, less punctuality. Hence, the school has to take those things into consideration.

This situation was further validated by a comment made by one interviewee (refer to the statement in 4.1.1 section, Interviewee 8) that opposed the employment of ETs, saying that the lower salary of the ETs meant a lower contribution to the school.

4.3 Employment Practices for Elderly Teachers

It has been evident that the interviewees in this study showed their need for and interest in employing ETs for various reasons. However, the mere expression of positive attitudes does not confirm that ETs have prospective opportunities in the

private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Nonetheless, the real picture of employment can be seen through the number of opportunities provided for ETs and the manner in which those teachers are treated in the schools. Thus, this section discusses the extent to which the private sector schools have employed ETs and the employment practices adopted towards ETs in the areas of recruitment and selection, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation, and the promotion and retirement policy of the schools.

4.3.1 Number of Elderly Teachers

Except for one school, all of the other 9 schools interviewed have employed ETs to different degrees. The following table depicts the percentage of ETs employed out of the total number of teachers in each school.

Table 4.1 Number of Elderly Teachers

School	Total no. of Teachers	No. of Elderly Teachers	Percentage
1	30	6	20%
2	40	4	10%
3	50	0	-
4	76	17	22%
5	130	28	21%
6	255	50	20%
7	330	12	4%
8*	600	85	14%
9*	1700	460	27%
10**	2100	75	4%

Source: Interview Data, 2015.

Note: *Schools that have branches

  **Management of Catholic Private Schools

As can be seen in the table 4.1, ETs employment ranged from 4 percent to 27 percent, where a particular relationship could not be derived through the interview data between the percentage of elderly teachers and the type and size of schools in the study. Both the highest and lowest portion of 27 percent and 4 percent came from the large-scale schools and then higher employment of 20 percent and above was recorded by the medium-scale schools. Also, the highest percentage was recorded from an IS while the next higher percentages of 22 percent and 21 percent were from UPSs. The number of ET employment was higher in those two schools due to the introduction of the English medium national curriculum, which demanded more English-medium teachers leading to the recruitment of ETs. School no.4 (reporting 22 percent) especially has recently started an English medium national curriculum.

The lowest proportion of 4 percent was reported by an UPS (school no.7), which has been preparing students for both the London examinations and the English medium national curriculum, and it is supposed to have a higher demand for English medium teachers. Since this school has given much prominence to English education beyond teaching English as a subject, it sometimes attracts young, qualified Advanced Level alumni members as temporary teachers and then directs them to undergo training in the government-operated National College of Education. Additionally, that school recruits young university graduates and advises them to obtain a postgraduate diploma in education to become professionally-qualified teachers. For those reasons, the number of employed ETs may not be that high in the school.

Further, school no.10 also employs a lower percentage of ETs (4 percent). As one interviewee stated, in addition to meeting the shortage of qualified teachers for certain subjects, mainly the Catholic schools expected to re-employ retired teachers from the same school in order to play a "guardian role" and to make sure of the preservation of Catholic culture in the schools.

Nevertheless, an interesting policy was revealed by interviewee 5, representing an IS, that a particular school usually reserves 20-25 percent of its total teaching cadre for the employment of ETs. This is a deliberate effort of the school to have a certain proportion of teachers representing the elderly category. According to him, "as a policy, we would like to maintain 20-25 percent of total teaching cadre for elderly teachers."

That fact was further validated by the teacher vacancy advertisements published in the newspapers and job websites, especially stating "government retired teachers are considered" (this matter will be further discussed later under the announcement of vacancies theme). This emphasizes that the contribution that a teacher can make at a later age (elderly stage) is still valid and appreciated by the schools. A profession like teaching is much enhanced with experience over age. That policy creates a positive impression of ETs in the education labour market. The interviewee that implemented that policy had immense experience working with government teachers for decades as a principal and then as an education administrator, which led him to endorse the capabilities of ETs. Further, he stated that he was very particular about the discipline of the teachers and "it is well-maintained by the ETs," which was another factor that compelled him to have such a policy in the school.

This implies that those who have worked with ETs are more prone to realizing the potentials of ETs and the contribution that the ETs can bring to the organization rather than labeling them using general stereotypical lenses. This would change the attitudes towards the elderly and thus employers would prefer to consider them further for the organization.

Although no relationship was seen merely through the interview data, I combined those data with the country-wide survey data in order to explore the patterns in ET employment. First, I created an overview of ETs employment in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. It was revealed that 82 out of 98 schools have been employing ETs. In other words, 84 percent of the private sector schools are currently employing ETs, which is a positive indication for ETs. The degree of employment varied from 1 to 41 percent, where 26 schools employed less than 10 percent, 34 schools employed 10-20 percent, 17 schools were between 20-30 percent, and 5 schools were above 30 percent. The highest 41 percent was reported from a small IS which had a total number of 21 teaching staff, and out of them 11 were ETs. The distribution of the percentage of ET employment is depicted in figure 4.1.
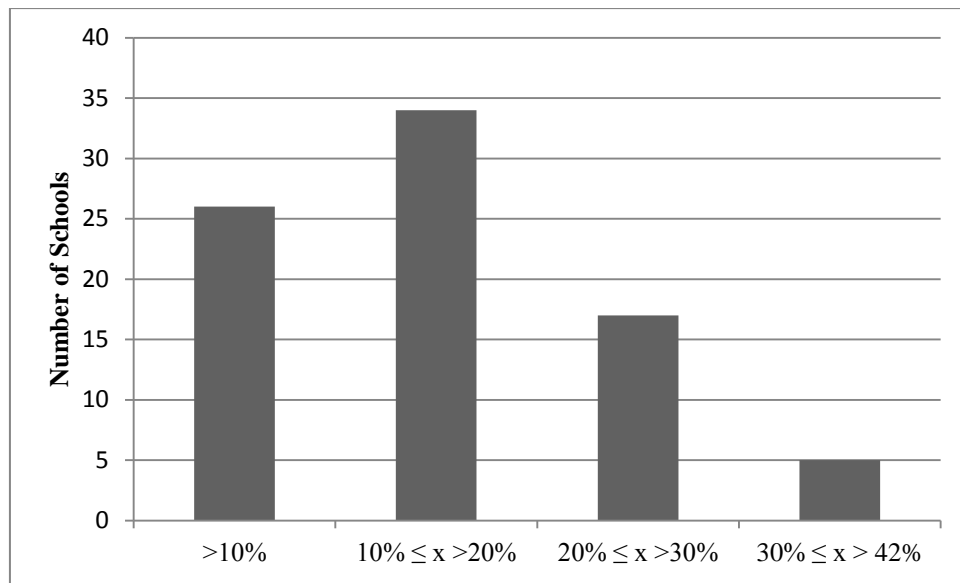
Figure 4.1 Percentage of Elderly Teachers Employment
Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

Then the data were analyzed in order to seek any relationship between the type of school and the percentage of ETs employed (figure 4.2). The total number of schools responded was 82, which consisted of 29 UPSs and 53 ISs. It was found that the ISs had a higher demand for ETs compared with the UPSs because in both the 10-20 percent and more than 20 percent categories the ISs reported a higher demand, indicating that there were more opportunities available for ETs. Around half of the UPSs (closer to 50 percent) recruit ETs but the number of teachers was less than 10 percent, which means that few opportunities are available.
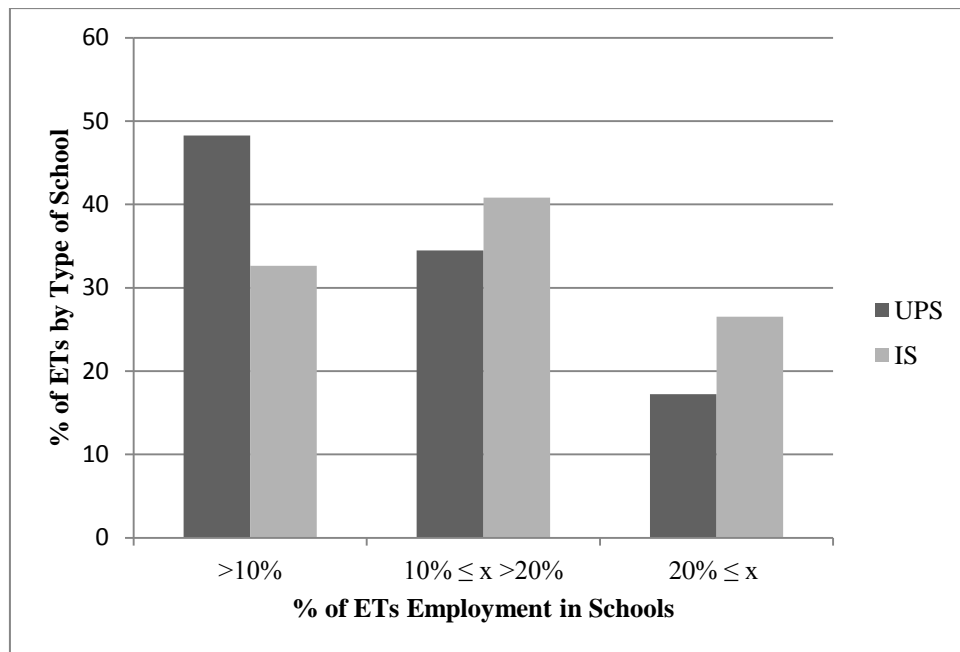
Figure 4.2 Percentage of Elderly Teachers by Type of School
Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

The following figure 4.3 captures the linkage between the employment of ETs and the size of schools. It is depicted that opportunities available for ETs in the large schools are not high compared with the medium- and small-size schools. This was apparent from the trends in the large schools, which recorded the lowest percentage under the category of more than 20 percent ETs employment and the highest percentage of elderly employment under the less than 10 percent category. On the other hand, the small schools marked the highest percentage of elderly employment in both categories of 10-20 percent and more than 20 percent, generating a considerable amount of employment opportunities. Moreover, the medium-size schools exhibited that they are capable of providing more employment opportunities for ETs than large schools. Succinctly, the results proved that the ETs were mostly recruited by the small and medium schools.
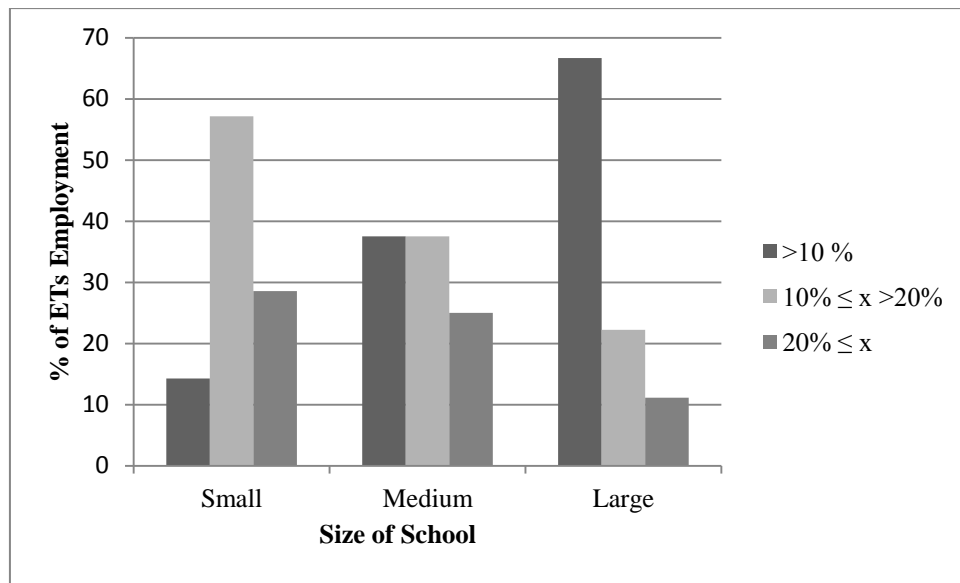
Figure 4.3 Percentage of Elderly Teachers by Size of School
Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

4.3.2 Who Decides to Employ Elderly Teachers and When

At this juncture, it is noteworthy to consider who the decision makers are that are involved in employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. All of the interviewees stated that the decisions regarding the employment of ETs (or not employing them) has always been taken by the governing body of the school, with the considerations/recommendation given by the main administrator of the school, i.e. principal. The governing body of the school may be a member of the board of directors, or a manager or trustee, mostly including the chairman or president, managing director, directors/trustees, and alumni members. This shows that the principal of the school plays a bigger role in this administrative decision and explains the requirements and practical pros and cons of employing ETs. Hence, the interviewees specifically mentioned that the principal of the school has a "greater voice" in influencing that decision by justifying the requirement/non-requirement and providing further evidence from the incumbent teachers, students, alumni members, and parents. As an example, interviewee 9, who was also the principal of that school, described her thoughts, saying that "actually I was the one who brought up the idea of employing retired teachers in our school to the directors. They took it into consideration."

On the other hand, sometimes the governing body is forced to take the decision of employing ETs due to the influence of employment practices of other competitive schools. As some of the interviewees mentioned, it was always the school management that scrutinized the novel happenings in the other schools, including both academically and administratively. Accordingly, they observed the strategy of hiring ETs for numerous reasons, which made them come to that decision. Some of the interviewees validated that fact, saying that at the beginning of the school it was keen to recruit more young teachers. As a result of that, applications from ETs were not considered enthusiastically. However, later on that trend gradually changed and recently they have begun to hire ETs, as can be seen in the following statements from an interviewee.

> Earlier the chairman of the school did not want to recruit retired teachers. However, with further expansion of the school and after considering employment practices in the competitive schools, recently he relaxed that policy. (Interviewee 3)

The above comment further underscores the importance of knowing "since when" or "the timing" of starting the practice of employment of ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. They did not exactly mention any "exact timing" or "started year;" rather, they indicated the timing through statements such as "from the beginning of the school," "later on" (which described the considerable number of years since the beginning of the school), and the "recent past" (which meant less than around 5 years).

Out of the 5 ISs that employed ETs, 4 of the interviewees mentioned "since the beginning of the school" because of the various reasons that the schools had decided to obtain the service of ETs. Only one IS implemented that decision at a "later on" stage. Conversely, the interviewees from the UPSs had mixed responses concerning the timing of employment practices. One school said that it was from the beginning of the school but the number was much less at that time. After the introduction of the English medium national curriculum and the London Ordinary Level and London Advanced Level examinations, the school started to increase the

number of ETs. Two other UPSs also mentioned that the recruitment of ETs began "later on" in their schools. Another respondent representing a UPS that has "recently" begun the practice said that it was because they had just started the English medium national curriculum. The underscoring argument is that the demand for ETs has predominantly arisen as a consequence of the shortage of English medium teachers in the education system in Sri Lanka. The growing number of ISs in the education system in the recent decades has created tight competition for English medium teachers in SL, leading to further opening up of opportunities for ETs.

Despite the interview data, table 4.2 depicts the results from the survey data revealing that 47 respondents answered the time that started employing of ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Many ISs implemented the employment of ETs at the beginning of the school (21 schools) whilst 8 employed them several years after the inception of the school. Among the UPSs, many of them have started the employment of ETs only recently, yet 6 of the schools have been employing them since the inception of the school.

Table 4.2 Employing Elderly Teachers

School Type	Beginning	Later on	Recently
UPS	6	2	9
IS	21	8	1
	27	10	10

Source: Survey Data, 2015.

It can be argued that the ETs that have already quit the labour market because of reaching the official retirement age and employing them in the private sector schools may cause some controversies in those schools. Thus, I inquired of the interviewees' information about any resistance or the demonstration of any reluctance from other stakeholders in the schools such as younger teachers, administrative staff, parents, students, and alumni members towards the employment of ETs. Interestingly, almost all of the interviewees stated that "no such resistance was indicated directly or

indirectly by any of those groups." Instead of resistance, as I mentioned earlier, sometimes the suggestion of employment of retired teachers came from the principals, parents, and alumni members of the school, emphasizing the need for having them in the schools.

In order to further assert the rationality behind that decision, some of the interviewees responded by saying that "there is no reason for resisting." They elaborated on their reasons for thinking that there was no such reluctance. It is obvious that, not having a sufficient number of teachers would deteriorate the quality of education and increase the workload of the existing teachers. Additionally, there is no unionized environment in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka to collectively demonstrate any protests or demands. If the teachers or administrators have any issue they can directly report it to the principal. Furthermore, employing ETs would evidently provide benefits for the young teachers for their career development. A comment made by interviewee 5 was that "employing ETs does not make anyone deprive rather than helping the stakeholders. Then why resistance?"

The cultural values and behaviours of the country too favourably affected the decision of employing ETs, such as respecting, cooperating, caring elderly rather than showcasing any sort of discrimination or undesirability towards the elderly, especially a profession like teaching.

Interviewee 3, who is a principal at mid age, revealed her reaction towards the ETs when dealing with them, stating that "whenever an elderly teacher comes into my office, I always stand up and welcome her. It naturally happens to me."

Through the survey it was revealed that the organizational culture of the schools is conducive for the ETs mainly due to the cooperation extended by other teachers and administrative staff towards ETs. That fact was confirmed by 61 out of 98 respondents in the survey. Interviewee 2 shared her experience, saying that "sometimes younger teachers are providing information technology support for the elderly teachers in type setting, entering marks and sending emails."

Interestingly, it was found that there was "good reception" of the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. At present, a considerable extent of employment opportunities is generated by the schools. Also, ETs employment is a cooperative decision effort not only taken from the top management but also from the parents,

teachers, and alumni of the school. As a result, it seems that the ETs are able to experience a pleasant environment while making a contribution to the school.

4.3.3 Recruitment and Selection of Elderly Teachers

In this section, I discuss the employers' practices of attracting teachers when announcing vacancies and the method of selection in order to find out whether there are any different treatments for younger and elderly teaching candidates in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

1) Announcing of Vacancies

Teacher quality begins with recruitment. If a school can attract the best candidates, it will ensure the outcome of education, and vice versa. According to the interviewees, the schools used different sources in announcing teaching vacancies such as newspaper advertisements, school websites, job websites, and through personal referrals. Further, the applications that are received earlier are kept in a databank and as and when vacancies arise, suitable candidates are called for an interview. Responding to the inclusion of an upper age clause in the vacancies, 5 of the interviewees said that they did not include such a clause. However, when I went through the vacancy advertisements in the newspapers and websites that stated no age clause, still there were age limits.

There were 5 interviewees that stated that they do include an age clause in the vacancy advertisement and out of them 3 were from UPSs. Though in the vacancy advertisements they stated an age limit, still they would consider applications from ETs.

Additionally the survey results showed that among the 71 respondents that answered the recruitment questions reported that 54 schools did not have an age clause and 41 of them were ISs. Also 17 schools practiced an age limit in advertising and among them 10 were UPSs. Nonetheless, only 3 IS respondents out of 71 schools stated that not only did they have an age limit but they even did not consider applications from ETs. Additionally, it was revealed that those 3 schools maintained a younger official retirement age of 55. Generally, the other 68 schools considered applications from ETs irrespective of having an age limit or not. The general age limits in the advertisements spread from 45 to 65 years. Nevertheless, restricting

applicants by means of age in the teaching profession would not be a wise move for selecting the best teachers for the schools.

In order to give an overall picture of the inclusion of age discriminatory practices in the advertisements, I have summarized both the data from the interviews and the survey into a tabular format (Table 4.3). Therefore the total number of responded schools was 81. Table depicts that UPSs adopted age restriction practice rather than ISs. The fewer number of ETs requirement in the UPSs made them have certain age restrictions in the recruitment process. Possibly because of the greater autonomy in the ISs and also compared with the UPSs, a large number of English medium teacher requirements in the ISs tended to relax age restrictions. Unlike the UPSs the whole system of ISs operates in English medium, which requires attracting many English medium teachers without restricting the qualified teachers due to the age.

Table 4.3 Age Limit Included in Advertisements

School Type	Yes	No	Total schools
UPS	48%	52%	27
IS	16%	84%	54

Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

There is strong evidence that ISs are less age discriminatory in advertising of vacancies. Instead of age restriction in the teacher vacancies ISs tend to include a clause which encourages "retired teachers".

The following advertising quotations were extracted from the ISs:

Quotation 1) "Recently retired teachers will also be considered for lower secondary, upper secondary and high school vacancies".

(on the school website, downloaded on 13/04/2015 which represented the IS of interviewee 5)

Quotation 2) When calling applications for trainee teachers the advertisement mentioned that "An Experienced Senior Teacher will act as your mentor"

(on the Top jobs website on 13/04/2015 which represented the IS of interviewee 9)

Quotation 3) "Retired government teachers can also apply"

(on the Top jobs website on 14/04/2015 which represented the IS of interviewee 10)

The above-mentioned advertising quotations can be considered as "affirmative action" taken by the private sector schools, openly inviting ETs beyond the retirement age while discouraging the age discriminatory practices in the labour market. The importance of such clauses in the advertisements was further validated through the explanations given by the interviewees from the schools that have age-restricted advertising. After including an age limit there were no applications received beyond that age limit (or it was very rare to have applications above that age limit). This obviously shows how strong the message of an age clause is in obstructing elderly employment. In such an age discriminatory labour market environment, the inclusion of elderly/retired motivating statements can be treated as a "groundbreaking" effort to eliminate age discrimination in the schools, particularly at the dawning of an ageing era.

Besides the age clause, as the literature indicated, there are other "indirect" ways of implying age of the candidate through specific content, such as wording and terms preventing elderly candidates from applying. However, I have gone through a large number of vacancy advertisements of both the UPSs and ISs from numerous sources, and other than the age restriction, no any age discriminatory indications were found. Except for the vacancy advertisements for primary teachers specifically targeting young teachers, appearing clauses such as "young and pleasant" candidates, there could not be found any other indirect manner of age discrimination in the vacancy advertisements. It can be considered that directly demanding young primary teachers is an obvious requirement of the schools.

Nevertheless, the interviewees explained that the main source of applications from ETs was "personal referrals," which means the personal networks and contacts in the education sector. Since those applications were carried with personal endorsements/recommendations, the schools did not hesitate to consider their applications. Interviewee 4 said that "when it comes to the ETs recruitment, personal

referrals are much more effective, because we are in a position to obtain additional information about the candidate from the person who referred the teacher."

Another recruitment method mentioned by both types of schools was "internal recruitment." At times they do not advertise vacancies for certain positions. Instead, they manage to fill that vacancy through the internal arrangement of extending the service of teachers that are about to retire. It is an age-friendly practice, recognizing ETs and increasing opportunities for retiring teachers. According to the survey results it was revealed that the private sector schools in Sri Lanka frequently implement the service extension practice for retiring teachers; that was confirmed by 66 schools out of 77 responded schools. An interviewee from an UPS explained it thus:

> For special instances if the school is in need of getting the service of a particular teacher, we will go for an extra mile and extend the service of that teacher above the retirement age. It serves our purpose and saves our time and cost. (Interviewee 1)

The internal recruitment seems to be an effective recruitment method in terms of time and cost savings, and more importantly retaining a reliable candidate, without getting additional recommendation. This can be considered as a part of the personal referral process. Since the ETs have been working in the same school, the administration is well-aware of their performance. If the school needs to retain that teacher, it can offer a service extension beyond the retirement age. The recruitment process is not complicated.

2) Selection Procedure

The process of selecting of teachers is not stringent in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. It is mostly a two-step process: having an interview with the candidate is an inevitable element in both the UPSs and ISs. According to the interviewees, the candidates are called for an interview with a panel (mostly the composition of the panel is the principal, the vice principal or deputy principal, and the sectional head) in order to validate the credentials provided by the candidate and to determine the physical and mental suitability of the candidate for the position.

If the panel is satisfied with the candidate, then the person is supposed to make a presentation (some call it as lesson observation while others as practical examination) in order to evaluate the teaching skills and language proficiency (which is related to English medium teachers) of the candidate. As indicated by the interviewees, a presentation is strictly implemented by the ISs compared with the UPSs for both the younger and elderly candidates.

However, in the UPSs the practice is on a case basis. When recruiting teachers for English medium classes, the candidate is essentially assessed for language competency, irrespective of the age. However, the teachers for the vernacular medium classes are selected only through the interview.

One interviewee explained a special situation in which this procedure would be exempted in the case of employing an ET that has been retired from the same school. Since that teacher has already been with the school for years and an evaluation is not needed:

> Usually in our school, the candidate has to do a presentation for us to make sure English language fluency and teaching skills. It is equally applied to the younger and elderly teachers except for re-employing our own retired teacher. (Interviewee 2)

One interviewee from an IS stated that apart from the panel, sometimes if the position is for upper grade classes, the students are asked to take part in the lesson observation and to provide feedback on the teacher.

The purpose of the whole procedure is to choose the right candidate for the vacancy. Having such a consistent process irrespective of the age ensures that both the younger and elder candidates are on equal ground. Seemingly, due to the longer teaching experience of ETs, the selection procedure is more flexible for ETs compared with the young teachers.

4.3.4 Employment Terms and Conditions Applied to Elderly Teachers

Age discrimination can often be intertwined with the employment terms and conditions offered. As the literature stated, the stereotypical perceptions towards EEs tend to treat them disadvantageously in the labour market. Further, an imposed

official retirement age generally sets a demarcation for the retirees/elderly group that is supposed to be out of the labour market and that perception itself forces the differentiation of conditions for younger and elderly employees. Thus, this study explored the terms and conditions applied in the private sector schools under several themes: annual renewable contract basis, full-time versus part-time employment, remuneration and other benefits offered to employees.

1) Annual Renewable Contract Basis

It was revealed by the interviewees that the "annual renewable contract" was mostly used by the private sector schools in Sri Lanka when recruiting ETs. Among the 9 interviewees that employed ETs in the schools, 8 stated that ETs are hired on contract basis while only 1 interviewee from an IS employed ETs on permanent basis. All 4 UPSs out of 8 interviewees offered employment for ETs on contract basis. However, 2 interviewees from ISs said that, irrespective of age, all teachers are recruited on the annual contract basis. The other 2 ISs recruit younger teachers on a permanent basis but ETs on a contract basis.

To further validate the above finding, I have compared them with the survey data. 70 respondents answered that particular question and 60 respondents reported that the ETs were employed on a contract basis, which represented 86 percent (23 UPSs and 37 ISs). This again confirmed that the UPSs offer employment for ETs only on a contract basis. There were ISs that recruited ETs on a permanent basis as they did with younger teachers and that was confirmed by 7 respondents representing 3 small, 3 medium and 1 larger schools. Three other respondents from medium scale ISs stated that they adopted both contract and permanent bases when recruiting ETs depending on the requirement.

The data from both the interviews and the survey concluded that the common basis for recruiting ETs in the private sector was an on annual renewable contract basis. Even if few ISs recruited ETs on a permanent basis, no UPSs employed them on a permanent basis.

The interviewees argued the rationale for offering contract employment for ETs. Specifying the official retirement age in an organization stipulates that it is the agreed age boundary for employment. Employing retired employees means that the organization has crossed that boundary and obtained the service of retired

employee or provided extended opportunity for the retired employee. From the school's standpoint, it is not practical to provide a life-long employment for a profession like teaching. Hence, one interviewee stated that it is not an age discriminatory practice; rather, contract employment is a specific arrangement to convey the boundary/limit of employment when employing retired teachers. According to interviewee 1, "likewise retirement age, contract basis employment is a method of conveying the limit of employment with the organization when employing retired teachers."

Further, one interviewee used the perspective of the "re-employment" of the elderly rather than employment. Based on the retirement age, he distinguished the concepts of employment from re-employment. According to him, any employee recruited beyond the retirement age can be generally considered as re-employment and the alternative strategy for such recruitment is the contract agreement, which is extensively practiced in the labour market when employing retired employees.

Also, some interviewees considered contract employment as the "best option" for employing ETs because ETs too are aware of the labour market preferences for younger individuals and of the administrative constraints involved in recruiting ETs in schools after retirement. Interviewee 7 stated that "it is the best and widely used practice for offering employment for retired employees. Elderly employees also understand it well."

Some of the interviewees viewed the annual renewable contract as a method of motivating employees to up keep their performance. The employment contract is renewed based on the performance of the employee. According to the terms in the contract, if the performance is not at a satisfactory level, then the school has the discretion to terminate the employment. As a result, employees are compelled to perform in a better manner. The opinion of interviewee 3 was that "recruiting on a renewable contract basis is automatically pushing employees for better performance to get renewed their employment contract for the next year."

Some interviewees from ISs said that all their employees are under contract employment irrespective of the age. Thus, no age preference was considered. The decision of continuing their employment was based only on the performance of the teacher. Interviewee 2 described their policy as follows: "our school recruits all the employees on contract basis irrespective of the age. Only performance matters."

On the other hand, an interviewee from an IS that recruits ETs on permanent basis explained that the "sense of job security" of teachers that are on permanent basis is higher than contract teachers. It is one of the main considerations and motivations, especially for elderly-age employment and leads to have stability in their employment, which in turn increases their contribution and loyalty towards the school. If the job is a permanent, efforts for shifting the job are also very unlikely. Further, the school particularly welcomes ETs and is not hesitant to offer them permanent employment, as seen in the following passage:

> I think sense of job security is one main motivation for work hard at the later age. I believe that, offering a permanent job would pave the way to obtain higher contribution, job retention and loyalty towards the school. (Interviewee 5)

As found, generally the recruitment of ETs is on contract basis and the interviewees reasoned out the merits and demerits of their decision in contrast with being hired on a permanent basis. Despite those facts, as long as employees are under a contract, employers can offer a different employment agreement from the normal terms and conditions tenured under the stipulated period, which directly affects the job security of the employee. A contract agreement can curtail the benefits for the contract employees, such as health and welfare benefits as to reducing the cost of employees as well. That may be the reason for some schools recruiting both younger and elderly teachers on a contract basis. However, from the ET's standpoint, it would still be a positive trend to have some opportunities to continue their career on a contract basis in the competitive labour environment.

2) Full-time Versus Part-time

The general tendency in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, as explained by the interviewees, is employing ETs on a full-time basis. Only two interviewees mentioned the part-time employment of ETs while one stated that they used both methods. In order to demonstrate the broader picture of this trend, I have combined both the interview and survey data as follows.

Table 4.4 Categories of Employment

School Type	Full-time	Part-time	Both	Total
UPS	17	9	1	27
IS	42	4	7	53

Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

The table 4.4 shows that the private sector schools in Sri Lanka prefer to employ ETs on a full-time basis, which was affirmed by both the UPSs and ISs. Among the 80 respondents, 59 (almost 75 percent) confirmed that they employed ETs on a full-time basis. However, the *trend* in part-time employment for ETs is higher in the UPSs compared with the ISs. Also, some schools employ ETs both full-time and part-time.

Considering the size of the school, part-time employment is rare among the large schools in the private sector, which accounted for only 3 among 80 schools. Part-time employment is offered by 8 medium schools and 2 small schools. Further, both methods are used by 6 small scale and 2 medium schools.

The interviewees elaborated their concerns about the practice of full-time versus part-time employment for ETs. Those that are employing ETs on a full-time basis explained that the teachers are supposed to work during the school hours in the school. Unlike the usual office employee, working hours do not last from morning to evening. The employment of ETs in the private sector schools is due to a variety of reasons. One is the inadequacy of the number of teachers, which means sharing teaching responsibilities. Except for teaching, the schools are expected to share other duties and responsibilities of the school by all the teachers, for example, administrative, mentoring, and student counseling services from the ETs. The schools are only able to obtain those services by utilizing them on a full-time basis because part-time involvement means only teaching the subjects and no additional responsibilities can be expected. Therefore, it is not useful to offer part-time employment for the teaching profession unless there is a specific reason for doing so. Interviewee 6 explained that "both the young and elderly teachers are supposed to

work on full-time basis. Since the school hours are not that long and no point of utilizing them on part-time basis if not for any valid reason."

On the other hand, some interviewees reasoned out employing ETs on part-time basis from the perspectives of the employee and employer. One interviewee stated that some ETs would not like to engage in full-time employment because of the higher responsibilities, such as extra-curricular activity involvement, event organizing, and after school activities. They prefer only engaging in teaching, and flexibility in their employment is expected. Since they are qualified and produce good results, their service is vital for the school. Considering all of those matters, the school is compelled to offer them part-time employment. Interviewee 7 shared the idea that "some qualified ETs like only engaging in teaching. They do not want to bear additional responsibilities. Therefore, we recruit them on part-time basis."

Another interviewee representing a small IS shared his concern when deciding to obtain part-time ETs. Since the number of students in the school was comparatively low (fewer than 500 students were in a small school) and some of the optional subjects were selected by few students, and then the school requires fewer teaching hours per week for that subject. In such a circumstance, it is always beneficial for the school to recruit ETs on part-time. That arrangement is cost effective for the school and convenient for the teacher as well. Interviewee 10 gave an example that "in our school the subject of Malay is taken by few students. So we hired an elderly teacher on part-time basis, which is cost effective and teacher also prefers that arrangement."

It was interesting to note that when designing the full-time versus part-time employment practices among the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, both the employer and employee perspectives were taken into consideration. This indicates that ETs are in a good position to negotiate their requirements and the schools are ready to accommodate them in a convenient manner, which facilitates an age-friendly work environment.

3) Remuneration and Other Benefits

According to Duthilleul (2005) some of the objectives of using contract teachers are: a) to expand the enrollment in the school; b) to improve the pupil-teacher ratio; c) to provide assistance to regular teachers; and d) most importantly as a cost-

saving means. The report he compiled for ILO after studying Asian and African countries revealed that, everywhere, the salaries and conditions of contract teachers are far inferior to those of regular civil service teachers. Contract teachers are typically hired for one year at a salary of one-half to one-quarter of that of a regular teacher (Fyfe, 2007, p. vii). In order to ascertain the truth behind those facts, it is worth considering the remuneration practice of the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, where recruitments are carried out mainly on a contract basis.

Some of the interviewees mentioned that they offer a "competitive salary" for ETs considering their experience and prevailing salary scales in the private sector schools. According to them, they do not under pay ETs when obtaining their service. That was basically emphasized by the interviewees from ISs. For some interviewees, it was better than government remuneration. The opinion of interviewee 9 was the following: "I think some retired teachers draw a salary more than what they got during the government teaching. Since I was a government principal I know the salary scale."

They further elaborated that, when deciding the remuneration of ETs, whether the teacher receives a pension or any other income is not taken into consideration. Not only that, in addition to the salary, some schools provide an annual bonus for the ETs just as with younger teachers. Further, ETs are given statutory allowances like an employee provident fund and trust fund. Interviewee 5 stated that "though elderly teachers are on contract basis, we give them annual bonus and other statutory entitlements such as employees' provident fund and employees' trust fund." Another interviewee representing a small IS however did not directly answer that question; instead, he explained the way he negotiated the benefit packages with ETs, facilitating the requirements of the ETs. However, an initial comment he made as one of the reasons for employing ETs in that particular small ISs was his ability to negotiate and meet the expectations of ETs, but not the higher expectations of young qualified teachers. It manifested that those negotiations will result in offering lower salaries to ETs compared with younger teachers. The comment is as follows:

Retired teachers do not much concern about the salary. But they highly expect flexibility, less work stress and less additional responsibilities. We have to understand their needs and on that basis we can negotiate the package. (Interviewee 10)

Nevertheless, interviewee 7 representing an UPS, straightaway claimed that full-time contract-employed ETs were paid lower salaries than permanent teachers, which was an another evidence that demonstrated the lower salaries of ETs.

In responding to the follow-up question, "Why do UPSs pay lower salaries to the ETs?" the interviewee elaborated with reference to the salary of the government teachers. Usually qualified senior government teachers earn a higher remuneration during a longer tenure with their career advancements. However, after the retirement age, though they are still qualified and experienced, having fewer opportunities and because there is less demand for ETs tend to keep their remuneration at a lower scale. Employers are not ready to offer higher remuneration for ETs. Also, knowing the limited opportunities in the labour market, sometimes ETs are compelled to accept offers without further negotiation. Additionally, the monthly pension of retired government teachers is a considerable factor when determining the remuneration package for ETs in the private sector schools. By and large, all of these factors affect the decisions regarding the remuneration package of an ET.

This point can be further validated through the comment made by interviewee 8 from an IS that did not like to employ ETs, who directly stated that "private schools know that the service of government retired teachers can be obtained under lower salaries." This may be a manifestation of the "general perception of the remuneration practice" among the private sector schools in Sri Lanka when employing ETs. In articulating that statement, the interviewee further justified his rationale for not employing ETs in that particular school as follows:

By giving a lower salary to retired teachers, the school cannot expect much contribution from them. Offering a lower salary is an indication for the retired teachers, that school would expect lower contribution from them compared to younger teacher. (Interviewee 8)

According to the interviewees' perceptions, negotiations and practices like ETs being employed with lower salaries are clear evidence for age discrimination in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. ETs are conceivably not only mistreated in terms of salary but also other benefits.

In responding to the idea of pension schemes for ETs, the interviewees from the UPSs explained that many of them are registered under the School Teachers Pension scheme, which is managed by the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka. This scheme is only open to regular permanent teachers on a contributory basis. However, the interviewees from the ISs stated that they had not set up such a pension scheme for teachers in the ISs. However, both types of schools adhere to contributing to the statutory funds of the Employees' Provident Fund and the Employees' Trust Fund.

When discussing the other benefits to the teachers, another interviewee from an IS commented that the school offers medical allowance for teachers, "but it is only for the permanent teachers" (Interviewee 9). Yet, that school employs ETs only on a contract basis and that means the medical allowance is not given to the ETs. Thus, it can be argued that sometimes employers use a contract service agreement as a tool to discriminate against ETs when determining the entitlement of benefits.

However, the mixed responses given by the interviewees indicated that though some of the schools provide better benefit packages to ETs, making them satisfied, but some still maintained age discrimination in deciding remuneration and other benefits. Those employers that offer lower salaries, however, would help ETs in other ways, such as through the employment flexibility, refraining from calling that practice as "age discrimination."

4.3.5 Training and Development of Elderly Teachers

As long as teachers are engaging in the profession, training is an essential part of their career irrespective of the age of the teacher. It updates the knowledge, upgrades the teaching skills, and upholds the confidence of the teachers. However, the literature consistently complained that EEs are highly discriminated against in the area of training and development. Thus, I explored training and development practices which are implemented in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, with special emphasis on ETs.

Almost all of the interviewees mentioned that one of the major reasons for employing ETs in their schools was "the commendable government training they have undergone," which underscores the vitality of trained teachers in the education system. Therefore, I initially inquired about the extent of adopting training and development practices in the schools and then probed the equal provisioning of training opportunities to the teachers.

Though the schools have admired teacher training to such an extent, among the interviewees only one large IS had a proper teacher training unit to provide training for the internal teachers of the school, including ETs. Another 2 ISs had taken occasional training efforts informally through workshops and seminars.

As interviewees from the UPSs have mentioned that the teaching cadre of the UPSs is consisted of the government approved permanent cadre and the excess cadre of temporary/contract teachers. According to the interviewees from the UPSs, their training focus was mainly targeting contract basis young teachers in the excess cadre, purporting to absorb them into the government approved permanent cadre after the training. They are either university graduates or Advanced Level qualified candidates; they may not go through teacher training. Therefore, the school administration directs them to follow the training courses conducted by the government training institutes such as the National Colleges of Education, the National Institute of Education, the education faculties in the National Universities and support them to be professionally qualified. Some UPSs have the training policy of annually sending a few of such selected young contract teachers to government programmes as full-time trainees with a paid leave for several years, but those trainees have to serve after the training for a certain period with the same school.

Since ETs are considered as trained teachers and they are not in the permanent cadre in the school, and the UPSs do not make special efforts to address their training needs, other than sending them to certain workshops and seminars organized by the Ministry of Education. They consider it as an "informal training arrangement," which means non-regular and short-term programmes. The programmes of the ministry are mainly for the teachers in the government schools. Knowing that the UPSs have limited access to such programmes, the principals of UPS are striving hard to get opportunities, as discussed in the following:

We are not invited for such workshops and seminars, but we request them to allow our staff (including elderly teachers) to take part in those programmes. Because we all teach national curriculum for the students and those programmes are very useful. (Interviewee 6)

Additionally, 3 schools have their own professional teacher training centers, where one is a UPS and the other 2 are ISs, yet the main purpose of them is not to cater to internal teacher training needs but to external candidates.

It was quite unanticipated that having recognized the dearth of trained teachers in the private sector schools and strongly emphasizing the importance of teacher training and development, very few initiatives have been taken to address this issue. That aroused the curiosity to search for the causes behind the lack of teacher training opportunities in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The following excerpts from some of the interviewees depicted their commitment and perception of teacher training in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka:

An interviewee from a small IS said that "teacher training is not at the priority of our school agenda." (Interviewee 10)

Another interviewee from a large IS said that "while teachers are engaging in teaching in the schools, they gradually sharpen their skills." (Interviewee 3)

According to interviewee 6, "young teachers attend training programmes, but not government retired teachers. It is because they have gone through a good training."

Seemingly the schools were not much concerned about providing training under their own presumptions and justifications. Additionally, some of the interviewees revealed that organizing training sessions involved a huge cost and the school was unable to retain such budgetary allocation. Therefore, the schools did not conduct training programmes but always tried to absorb trained teachers for the school in order to fill that vacuum. This is a clear reflection of employers' attitude towards training of teachers. They consider training as a costly affair and that has to be changed and training to be treated as future investment. The size of the budget for teacher training is a significant indicator for measuring the quality of education provided by the schools.

The interviewees alleged that, though they organized some teacher training, the poor participation of ETs could be found. Unlike young teachers, ETs are hesitant to participate. Possibly, they believe that they have undergone adequate government training and it is not necessary for them to have further training. The opinion of interviewee 4 was that "retired teachers dislike participating in training programmes. It is their attitude."

One interviewee stated that the school sometimes conducts training programmes such as student counseling for all the teaching staff, but the active participation of ETs cannot be observed in those programmes. Similar finding was noted in a study regarding the negative attitudes of elderly teachers toward professional development due to the extra time and extra efforts needed (Nabhani, Bahous & Hamdan, 2012). Not only that, but such attitudes are sometimes backed up by the perceptions held by the principals and employers as well. The reason is that some interviewees were of the opinion of that "retired teachers are well-trained. They do not need further training." This attitude itself discourages ETs from participating in the training programmes of the school. Therefore, an attitudinal change is required for both the ETs and the employers in terms of organizing more training and motivating all of the teachers to take part in those programmes irrespective of age.

Nonetheless, as I mentioned above, some schools provided training opportunities for teachers. Among them, several schools give priority to younger teachers and others provide training for all the teachers, including ETs. They have very positive attitudes toward training, believing that teacher training is an investment which brings future returns to the school. Two ISs (one was a small school and the other a medium-scale school) organize informal training programmes whilst another large IS has its own training unit.

Interviewee 5, representing a medium-size IS, shared the way he organized training for teachers. He is a well-experienced (nationally and internationally) retired principal from a government school. Therefore, he conducted training sessions by himself instead of hiring external trainers. It may be a cost reduction technique as well. His training focus was mainly on younger teachers. Further, he believed that trained government teachers do not need additional training. He recognized the training requirements of teachers based on the weaknesses and areas of incompetence

indicated by the teachers. Training sessions were conducted after school hours on an occasional basis. His style of organizing training, in his own words, was the following: "my focus is young teachers. When I found their deficiencies I frequently conduct some training sessions after school in order to impart my long-held knowledge and skills on them."

Interviewee 9, representing a small IS, shared her perspectives towards training. She is also an experienced retired principal from a government school and she highly valued teacher training. She highlighted that the absence of a proper training arm for the private sector education is a huge vacuum for the professional development of the teachers in the private sector. Their school is a small one and it cannot allocate many resources for teacher training in light of their financial constraints. Yet, her commitment to teacher training was strongly reflected through the following statement: "Somehow or other we need to train our teachers. That is the most important thing."

Therefore, she personally made efforts to organize training for all the teachers with the support of known teacher trainers and educationists from the government institutes. Moreover, she strongly believed that elderly teachers still should be required to update their knowledge with the contemporary world. Hence, she always encouraged ETs to take part in the training workshops, as she states in the following:

> The quality of the teacher is mainly reflected through the training received. How fortunate government teachers are to undergo a comprehensive training and practical exposure before entering into the career which is a missed opportunity to the teachers of private sector schools. In order to bridge that gap I personally organize workshops, seminars with the help of some resource personnel from the government educational institutes. (Interviewee 9)

Comparing the two training scenarios from two ISs revealed that the employer's attitudes towards the ETs highly affected the choice of training practices for the teachers in the schools rather than the size of the school, because both interviewees had come from similar work backgrounds; but the interviewee from the small school had a positive attitude toward the necessity of training ETs even if the school has financial constraints.

It is interesting to note that a large IS is operating its own Teacher Empowerment Unit to assist teachers that need support to develop their teaching skills. The unit is staffed by qualified teacher trainers, educationists, and mentors. It is open for both the young and elderly teachers to improve their teaching methods, language assistance, and any other guidance related to teaching. Not only that, their training desirability is reflected by the computer laboratory that the school owns. It is open to students as well as teaching staff. Having realized the vitality of IT skills, the school always motivates teachers to acquire and improve their computer skills. The school frequently conducts training sessions for teachers, including ETs. In addition, teachers are encouraged to spend their free time in the computer laboratory and practice IT lessons with the help of computer instructors, as described in the following:

> We believe all the teachers are required to participate in variety of training programmes we organize to update their knowledge and skills, irrespective of the age. Apart from that, we asked the teachers, whenever they have difficulties in any area, they can get the support from the teacher empowerment unit. That unit is consisted of qualified trainers and mentors. Especially newly recruited young teachers are supposed to work with a mentor for six months. (Interviewee 2)

Moreover, this school has a well-recognized teacher training academy, which offers a number of training programmes, both general and tailor-made, for the external candidates. Another large IS too has a teacher training center which offers internationally-recognized montessori teacher training courses for external teachers. An interviewee from an UPS described about their teacher training institute, which is an internationally-accredited professional teacher training institute and operates as a separate business entity to provide training courses for the external candidates, but not as a training facilitator for the internal teachers of the school. It seems that all three teacher training institutes are additional businesses of the schools. Their target is young candidates. However, they mentioned that the trainees that are qualified from those training institutes sometimes get an opportunity to join the same schools. Those

teacher training institutes addressed the need for facilitating teacher training for private sector schools (especially for ISs).

According to the descriptions of the interviewees regarding the extent of commitment to training practice among the private sector schools, they indicated the necessity of further attention to teacher training in private sector education, even for young teachers. Chasing after English language proficiency among the schools may leave behind other important aspects such as child psychology and pedagogical knowledge. Training opportunities for ETs are at a minimal level, as it is believed that they are "trained enough." Instead of teacher training, employers try to attract trained teachers; either government retired or privately trained teachers thinking that training is a huge cost for the school. Beyond that, few initiatives were elaborated by the interviewees for further development of teachers in the private sector schools. Seemingly the private sector schools have largely ignored or underestimated the core component of education, that is, teacher training, which echoes the quality of education.

Conversely, the reluctance or non-participation of ETs to train because they are satisfied with the training they have undergone or have lazy attitudes towards training is another serious concern. It sometimes curtails their training opportunities. However, in today's knowledge economy, teachers are required to undergo continuous training to catch up with new knowledge, adopt new teaching methodologies, acquire modern skills like IT, and change their attitudes.

It was found that the differences in implementing (or non-implementing) the training practices of the private sector schools was mainly determined by the attitudes of the employer/principal towards the significance (or not significance) of training. No relationship could be observed according to the size or type of the school.

Beyond those descriptions, I probed further any explicit age restriction that had been stipulated by the schools when providing training opportunities. Considering total respondents of 77, only 13 stated that they had age restrictions for teacher training. The schools did not show any relationship between the size and type of the school and training practice. The stipulated age restriction varies from the age of 40 to 60. A frequent age restriction is 55 years, which was reported by 7 respondents and it is the official retirement age of those schools, indicating that no training was provided for the teachers beyond the retirement age.

Table 4.5 Age Restriction for Training

School Type	Yes	No
UPS	6	20
IS	7	46
	13	64
School Size		
Small	4	17
Medium	5	33
Large	4	14
	13	64

Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

The analysis of the teacher training practice implied inadequate provisioning of training opportunities for teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Also, the prevailing training opportunities often restrict access to the ETs by stipulating age limits and/or the assumption of the employers and elderly teachers that ETs do not need further training. Recruiting the best teachers is a partial fulfillment of the quality of education, but continuously developing their career, and providing them with support, guidance, and opportunities represent the other half of quality education. Hence, training opportunities are equally applicable to the ETs so that they can keep up with the changes taking place in the education arena.

4.3.6 Performance Evaluation and Promotion of Elderly Teachers

Performance evaluation is the key to retaining the best performers by incentivizing teachers through performance-based financial incentives and promotions. However, it is often cited in the literature that employers presume that the performance of the employee deteriorates with age and hence performance evaluation practice unfavourably affects EEs, obstructing their salary increments and promotions. This phenomenon is explored in the private sector schools with regard to ETs.

Among the interviewees, 7 stated that the schools implement annual performance evaluation cycles for all the teachers, including ETs. The composition of those 7 was 3 UPSs and 4 ISs. However, it was revealed that 2 small-scale ISs and one medium-size UPS do not conduct formal teacher performance evaluation.

When discussing the overall trend of the teachers' performance evaluation among the private sector schools (including interview data) 82 schools responded to the question, out of which 8 said that they have not adopted proper teacher performance evaluation system in the schools. They were 4 small- and 4 medium-scale schools. Based on the type of schools 5 were UPSs while the other 3 were ISs. Accordingly, a total of 74 schools adopted performance evaluation schemes, including all of the large schools and a vast majority of the small- and medium-size schools.

The interviewees that adopted teacher performance evaluation mentioned that in the annual assessment, the same performance evaluation practice was used for all the teachers, including ETs in the schools. It means that the same performance criteria and procedures were used for both the younger and elderly teachers, irrespective of their employment basis and category. This was supported by the survey data too. Except for 2 small ISs, all of the other private sector schools practiced the same PE for all the teachers when assessing their performance. This is a strong indication to the teachers that the schools have similar expectations from all the teachers notwithstanding their age or any other personal differences. It is an opportunity given to the teachers to demonstrate their abilities irrespective of age. It convinces the labour market that employers expect similar performance from younger and elder teachers in the school education sector in Sri Lanka, which in turn invalidates the prevailing stereotypes regarding the ETs.

In order to confirm that the criteria used in the performance evaluation were reasonable measurements for young teachers and the ETs in the schools, some schools have explained their criteria. When scrutinizing those evaluation criteria, it seemed that they were reasonable indicators of the ability to appraise the teachers' performance irrespective of their age. The following are the main criteria stated.

1) Attendance
2) Punctuality
3) Subject knowledge

4) Depth/content of lesson

5) English language skills

6) Completion of lesson notes

7) Giving homework and assignments

8) Marking of books

9) Examination results

10) Meeting deadlines

11) Class control

12) Class cleanliness

13) Teachers' attitudes

14) Student counseling

15) Handling parents

16) Peer relationships

17) Commitment

18) Loyalty

19) Participation in extra-curricular activities

20) Accepting additional responsibilities

21) General adherence to the school rules and regulations

The evaluation criteria were mainly developed under the two main domains of "teaching competence" and "behavioural competence," but the weightage assigned to some of the criteria were different for each school. For example, some schools (especially large schools) gave a higher weight for student counseling while other schools for involvement in extra-curricular activities and taking up additional responsibilities. According to the interviewees, those differences depended on factors such as the number of students, the teaching and administrative staff, extra-curricular activities, and additional events in the school. Elaborating it further, as a mandatory requirement of large reputed ISs, they are supposed to have student counseling, which is very rare in small schools.

However, some of the interviewees claimed that the ETs were able to earn better or obtain more satisfactory ratings for many of the criteria compared with the young teachers, except for involvement in extra-curricular activities.

Interviewee 3 expressed his annoyance towards ETs: "Elderly teachers do not like to actively engage in other events in the school. But all the teachers are required

to share the responsibilities equally irrespective of the age. School cannot make any exceptions for them."

Another interviewee shared a remedy he had taken to avoid the less involvement of ETs in the areas of extra-curricular activities and other school events:

In our school it is mandatory for every teacher to be responsible for, at least one extra-curricular activity. It may be an in-charge of a school club/society, sports, organizer of an annual event and so forth. Then everybody shares the workload other than teaching. (Interviewee 5)

This was a progressive step that has been initiated by the school. After recognizing the areas where ETs' were less actively participating, the school made it compulsory for them to take part at least in one area. It is particularly a given opportunity to ETs to improve their performance and also such participation does not create any significant differentiation of extra-curricular involvement between young and elderly teachers and is finally beneficial for the school in general.

The annual performance evaluation in ISs is usually carried out by the support of sectional heads and deputy/vice principals. Some schools conduct performance evaluation annually while others bi-annually. Teachers are already aware of the assessment criteria and have performance evaluation discussions with the sectional heads and/or deputy/vice principals and then the initial ratings are forwarded to the principal for further adjustments. Yet, the final increments are decided by the board of governance or management having discussed with the principal.

Even if the schools have adopted the same performance evaluation for all the teachers, according to the interviewees and the survey respondents, it does not guarantee that all of the teachers are treated fairly in awarding returns based on the performance evaluation. It was found that age discrimination was prevalent and was intertwined with the objectives of the performance evaluation. According to the interviewees three objectives were stated regarding the teacher's performance evaluation: to decide the annual increments, to award promotions, and to renew annual contracts.

1) Annual Salary Increments of the Teachers

It is always better to link performances with financial incentives to motivate the best-performing teachers in the school. Though 74 schools adopted non-age discriminatory performance evaluation criteria and procedures in the schools, when giving salary increments to the teachers, it was found that a third of the schools did not give salary increments to ETs (Table 4.6). Based on the size of the school, the tendency of giving increments was higher among the small and medium schools compared with the large schools. In other words, they are less age discriminatory. It may be that they have a higher need to retain ETs in the schools and thereby incentivize teachers through salary increments. Also based on the type of the schools, it was revealed that ISs are more prone to give salary increments to ETs.

Table 4.6 Receipt of Salary Increments by ETs

	Yes	**No**	**Total**
School Size			
Small	15	5	20
Medium	26	10	36
Large	10	8	18
	51	23	74
School Type			
Pvt.	12	11	23
IS	39	12	51
	51	23	74

Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

Some of the interviewees explained the basis of not giving increments to the ETs, saying that those performance-based salary increments are mainly for the permanent full-time teachers. Hence, contract-basis teachers, including ETs and part-time teachers, are not entitled to the annual increments because they work for an agreed fixed salary, which is mentioned in the contract agreement.

Interviewee 6 said that the "annual salary increments are entitled for regular (permanent) teachers who are working on the full-time basis. Contract teachers (including elderly teachers) and part-time teachers are on fixed salary basis."

Apparently, this tends to create an age discriminatory condition between the elderly and young teachers. Because the common practice of the majority of schools is to recruit ETs on a contract basis and in turn the performance of such contract teachers is not considered for the annual salary increments.

2) Decision to Extend or Terminate the Contract of ETs

According to interviewee 3, "our school employs retired teachers on contract basis. Performance of them is annually evaluated mainly to decide whether to continue or terminate their service contracts." This statement clearly clarifies the objective of the performance evaluation in relation to the contract based ETs. The school administration believed that performance feedback was an appropriate way of communicating with the ETs about the employment decision. This is not only applicable to ETs; according to the interviewees it is a practice for all the contract teachers, even the younger teachers. Thus, performance evaluation cannot be completely categorized as age-biased practice. Rather than the age of the teacher school administration considered employment basis (permanent or contract) for performance evaluation. However, the survey results revealed that a vast majority of ETs are on contract in the private sector schools and they are the main victims of this decision.

3) Promotions of teachers

The interviewees revealed two progression tracks: the teaching track and the leadership track. The teaching track allows teachers to continue teaching in the classroom and advance to the master teacher level. Those that have sufficient experience and demonstrate leadership qualities can move on the leadership track. These positions include administrative positions outside the classroom, such as sectional head, department/unit head, assistant principal, deputy/vice principal up to the position of principal.

All of the 9 interviewees that employed ETs stated that there was "no age limit" for promotion in the schools. However, as a general practice in the private sector schools, teachers on a contract basis and part-time teachers are not awarded promotions. This indirectly conveys that for the ETs that are beyond the official retirement age, it is unlikely that they will receive promotions in the private sector

schools unless they are able to secure a permanent position. This constitutes a hidden age discriminatory practice. On the surface, the schools indicate that there is no age barrier in the promotion process and only performance of the teacher matters. In reality, however, the constructed norm is that contract teachers are not promoted and also the ETs are often recruited on a contract basis.

The table below illustrates the survey data of the 72 respondents and revealed that one third of the schools adopt age discriminatory promotion practices in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. According to the description given by the interviewees, the magnitude of the age-biased promotion practice is much larger than is depicted by the figures. The age limits on promotion spreads from 50 to 65 years, yet a commonly-used age limit is 55 years, which has been used by 17 schools out of 24. This was the widely-reported retirement age in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. It further indicated that, beyond the retirement-age, teachers are not allowed promotions. The small and medium schools are less likely to be age prejudiced. Regarding the small schools, many of them do not have a specified retirement age and they keep it open in order to attract and retain as many experienced teachers as possible. Comparatively large schools are more stringent in adopting age-related practices.

Table 4.7 Age Limit for the Promotion of ETs

	Yes	No	Total
School Size			
Small	5	16	21
Medium	11	25	36
Large	8	7	15
	24	48	72
School Type			
Pvt.	12	11	23
IS	12	37	49
	24	48	72

Source: Survey Data, 2015.

Under the UPSs, the teachers who are in the government approved cadre can be promoted through the various teaching grades after taking examinations, and with experience and performance evaluations. However, the ETs in the excess cadre are on a contract basis and they are not entitled to any promotion. Interviewee 7 succinctly expressed the idea that "promotions are only for permanent cadre teachers. No one on contract basis is given any promotion."

Nevertheless, the promotion practice in the ISs is at the discretion of the board of governance. Thus, it can be argued that ISs are less age biased in granting promotions for several reasons. According to the table figures, few ISs stipulated age limits compared with the UPSs. Further, there were some instances where the ISs employed ETs on permanent basis may allow them to have promotion opportunities, which could not be observed in the UPSs.

Interestingly, interviewee 4 from an IS had a different perspective regarding the promotion of ETs, saying that "our school does not have any age restriction for promotion. So we offer promotions for elderly teachers. But the elderly teachers are reluctant to take promotions saying it is a burden for them." This is an indication that the ISs still prefer to award promotions to the ETs, having confidence in them. However, the negative attitudes of the ETs prevent them from doing so, which leads to a confirmation of the stereotypes regarding ETs.

4.3.7 Official Retirement Age in the Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

No single official retirement age has been stated by the private sector schools, yet there is a range of official retirement ages, from 55, to 57, 60, 65, 67, 70, 75 and "no official retirement age." It is interesting to note that the frequently-mentioned retirement age was 55, which was reported by 38 schools out of 98. That age has been widely used by the UPSs and one third of the ISs. The condition of "no official retirement age" was adopted by small ISs, allowing the teachers to be in service as long as they are capable to perform. This may be due to the challenges small schools are undergoing when finding experienced teachers in the labour market. The opinions of small ISs regarding not having an official retirement age are different. According to interviewee 9, the "retirement age is the discretion of the management of the school" and interviewee 4 said that "if elderly teachers are physically and mentally capable in

performing their duties, no complaints about them, they can work as long as they can."

Further none of the schools in the study reported the implementation or encouragement of any early retirement schemes or phased retirement options. The usual retirement method was that when teachers reached the official retirement age, they were supposed to take a complete retirement from the job, unless service extension was given.

Regarding the question "How old is the oldest teacher in your school?," 53 schools reported different answers, within the age range of 59 to 79 as the oldest teacher in the school. Interestingly, the survey results showed that 25 schools were employing elderly teachers above the age of 70. This provides evidence that, despite the retirement age, employers still would like to employ ETs while they are willing and capable of performing their duties.

Following up the age of the oldest teacher, I probed the question "What would be the maximum official retirement age suggested?" and 50 respondents answered the question. The frequently stated age was 70 years, followed by 65. This indicated that employers support the suggestion of extending the official retirement age, which is a timely necessity of the country based on the premise of the rapid population aging in the country, the vitality of mature professionals, the younger retirement age in Sri Lanka, and the lessening of burdens on the tax payers and the society.

4.4 Summary of Findings of the Interview Data

The interview data revealed that except for one interviewee almost all other interviewees in the study had a positive first impression of the employment of ETs in the private sector schools. The employers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka employed ETs due to the shortfall of qualified teachers who can teach in English medium, competency of ETs, expert contribution as decision makers, mentors, disciplinarians, bringing age diversity into the schools and financial and reputational issues of some of the new and small private sector schools. The number of ETs employed in the private sector schools indicated that more opportunities were available for ETs in the ISs compared with the UPSs in Sri Lanka. However, size of

the schools revealed that small and medium schools had favourable employment practices towards ETs. It was found that, current employment practices applicable for ETs were age discriminatory to a greater extent. In key employment practices of recruitment, determining employment terms and conditions, training and development opportunities, salary increments and promotions were identified as areas which were age discriminatory. However, there were some age friendly approaches too found in the study: inclusion of stimulating clauses for retired teachers in the vacancy advertisements, providing full-time employment for ETs, adopting late official retirement age and not implementing early retirement schemes were some of them. Amongst the two types of schools relatively less age discriminatory practices could be observed in the ISs in Sri Lanka. It may be due to the less government regulations over ISs that made them to decide their employment decisions autonomously according to the requirements of the schools. Further, in terms of the size of the schools, small and medium size schools adopted more age friendly practices compared with larger schools. Since small and medium size schools may be particularly affected by the teacher shortage and difficulties in retention of teachers compelling them to respond quite favourably towards ETs.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS
ELDERLY TEACHERS

The objectives of this chapter are to ascertain the employers' attitudes towards ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka and the factors affecting those attitudes among the employers. The data were collected through a country-wide survey using a self-administered questionnaire among the employers representing 98 private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The presentation of the data in the chapter is as follows: basic information about the schools, information about the survey respondents, percentage distribution of attitudinal variables, operational definitions and measurements of dependent and independent variables, and multiple regression analysis presented for examination of the factors behind those attitudes. Before the analysis, all of the relevant variables were checked for the required statistical assumptions.

5.1 Basic Information about the Surveyed Schools

Table 5.1 illustrates the key information about the schools, which have been considered for the study. Though the information were not detailed as with the interviewed schools, it provides an overview of the surveyed schools and general information about the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

Table 5.1 Basic Information about the Surveyed Schools

Variable Name	Category	Percent
Age of school (years)	10 or less	31.6
	11-25	35.7
	26-50	15.4

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Variable Name	Category	Percent
	51-75	4.0
	76-100	4.1
	Above 100	9.2
Type of school	Private	35.7
	International	64.3
Size of school	Small	30.6
	Medium	49.0
	Large	20.4
Location (Districts)	Colombo	35.6
	Kandy	18.7
	Gampaha	13.0
	Kalutara	6.2
	Matale	5.1
	Badulla	4.1
	Puttlum	3.1
	Matara	3.1
	Nuwala Eliya	3.1
	Kurunegala	2.0
	Jaffna	2.0
	Kegalle	1.0
	Anuradhapura	1.0
	Rathnapura	1.0
	Bandarawela	1.0

Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

Considering the history of the schools in the sample based on the age of the school, a vast majority of the schools (out of 98) had quite a short history, less than 25 years, i.e. 67.3 percent. Additionally, 15.4 percent of the schools were in the 26-50 age category. Surprisingly, there were older schools that reported a history of more than 100 years (9.2 percent), which obviously were the UPSs. Since the ISs emerged in Sri Lanka around the 1980s and private schools were banned after 1960, the schools with less than 25 years' history were ISs. Further, two thirds of the schools in the sample were ISs and the rest were UPSs. In terms of the size of the schools based on the number of students, the sample was categorized into 3 groups, and nearly half of the schools were of medium size (49 percent), followed by small schools at 30.6 percent and 20.4 percent of the large schools. The representativeness of the sample was evident through the distribution of the surveyed schools across the country. There are 25 administrative districts in Sri Lanka, out of which 15 districts were considered for the study. The majority of the private sector schools are located in the Western province of Sri Lanka, which consists of only 3 districts, namely Colombo, Gampaha and Kalutara, and the sample representation was 35.6, 13.0 and 6.2 percent respectively. Moreover, the central province is divided into three districts—Kandy, Matale, Nuwara-Eliya—and the sample covered the percentages of 18.7, 5.1 and 3.1 correspondingly. Briefly, it can be concluded that the composition of schools is a representative sample of the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, demonstrating a variety of attributes.

5.2 Information about the Survey Respondents

The survey exploring the employers' attitudes towards ETs was carried out with 98 respondents in the private sector schools, where 63.3 percent were the principals of those schools and the rest (36.7 percent) were directors of the schools. The age distribution of the respondents ranged from 30 to 79 years, whereas a majority was in the age category of 50-59, that is 27.6 percent, followed by 21.6 percent under the 40-49 age category, and another 21.2 percent was in the 60-69 age group. The employers that were in the age groups of 30-39 and 70-79 were at 15.3

and 14.3 percent respectively. Interestingly, the gender segregation of the respondents was maintained at a quite equal position, which was 48 and 52 percent, representing males and females correspondingly. Regarding the education background of the respondents, a vast majority of them had earned graduate or postgraduate qualifications (85 percent), while only 15 of the respondents had O/L or A/L qualifications. Further, 48 percent of the respondents had attained the postgraduate level denoting that almost half of the respondents, 36.7 percent, had achieved the graduate level. The respondent's service with the school meant the duration of time with the same school. Forty-two percent of the respondents were with that school for duration of 5 years or less, followed by 35 percent of the respondents during a 6 to 10-year period. An 11 to 20-year period of service with the same school was reported by 17 percent, while interestingly 6 percent of the respondents have been serving in the same school for more than 20 years.

Table 5.2 Information about the Survey Respondents

Variable Name	Category	Percent
Designation	Principal	63.3
	Director	36.7
Age (years)	30-39	15.3
	40-49	21.6
	50-59	27.6
	60-69	21.2
	70-79	14.3
Gender	Male	48.0
	Female	52.0
Education	O/L*	2.0
	A/L**	14.3

Table 5.2 (Continued)

Variable Name	Category	Percent
	Graduate	36.7
	Postgraduate	48.0
Duration with the school (years)	5 or below	41.8
	6-10	34.7
	11-15	13.3
	16-20	4.1
	Above 20	6.1

Source: Interview and Survey Data, 2015.

Note: *O/L- Ordinary Level

   **A/L- Advanced Level

5.3 Employers' Attitudes Towards the Elderly Teachers

As described in chapter 3, the employers' attitudes towards the ETs were measured by using 19 attitudinal variables, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. All of those 19 attitudinal variables combined to measure the total attitudes of the employers towards the ETs (Total Attitudes variable) while an exploratory factor analysis was performed with them and three attitudinal scales were constructed, namely; Effectiveness, Competence, and Adaptability.

The table 5.3 illustrates employers' rating of the attitudinal variables regarding the ETs as a percentage distribution. Positive attitudes were indicated by the percentages demonstrated under the ratings of strongly agree, agree, and somewhat agree, while the negative attitudes were reported under the ratings of strongly disagree, disagree, and somewhat disagree. The neutral attitudes denoted neither negative nor positive attitudes towards ETs.

Table 5.3 Percentage Distribution of Employers' Attitudinal Variables

Variables	Degree of Agreement						
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
ETs are more Responsible than YTs.*	0.0	6.1	1.0	6.1	20.4	37.8	28.6
ETs are more Punctual than YTs.	1.0	6.1	5.1	15.3	16.3	34.7	21.4
ETs are more Loyal than YTs.	1.0	10.2	1.0	12.2	18.4	29.6	27.6
ETs are more Cooperative than YTs.	2.0	13.3	5.1	29.6	15.3	18.4	16.3
ETs are more Stress tolerant than YTs.	0.0\	9.2	5.1	20.4	12.2	32.7	20.4
ETs Work harder than YTs.	0.0	9.2	6.1	22.4	17.3	28.6	16.3
ETs are more Reliable than YTs.	1.0	11.2	2.0	11.2	13.3	44.9	16.3
ETs have fewer Grievances than YTs.	2.0	17.3	6.1	18.4	16.3	33.7	6.1
ETs are more Competent than YTs.	1.0	13.3	6.1	16.3	20.4	27.6	15.3
ETs are less Costly than YTs.	9.2	25.5	14.3	15.3	7.1	25.5	3.1
ETs are more Creative than YTs.	1.0	16.3	10.2	27.6	23.5	15.3	6.1
ETs are more Efficient than YTs.	4.1	21.4	7.1	25.5	19.4	16.3	6.1
ETs exhibit lower Absenteeism	0.0	11.2	11.2	13.3	8.2	39.8	16.3
ETs' Quality of work is higher	6.1	29.6	6.1	19.4	7.1	24.5	7.1
ETs are more Technology adaptable	4.1	31.6	24.5	20.4	11.2	8.2	0.0
ETs are more Flexible	1.0	25.5	25.5	16.3	10.2	14.3	7.1
ETs are more Self-motivated	2.0	17.3	14.3	13.3	11.2	32.7	9.2
ETs prefer more Responsibility.	3.1	20.4	15.3	12.2	6.1	31.6	11.2
ETs are more interested in New skills.	4.1	16.3	11.2	15.3	16.3	28.6	8.2

Note: YTs* - Younger Teachers

Among the 19 variables, employers recorded the highest positive attitudes towards ETs under the variable ETs are more responsible, at 86.8 percent (summation of 20.4, 37.8 and 28.6). Except for that variable, employers held positive attitudes about ETs being loyal (75.6 percent), reliable (74.5 percent), punctual (72.4 percent), stress tolerant (65.3 percent), exhibiting lower absenteeism (64.3 percent), competence (63.3 percent),working hard (62.2 percent), having fewer grievances (56.1 percent), being self-motivated (53.1 percent), interested in new skills (53.1 percent), and cooperative (50 percent).

Three variables were rated by the employers' as negative attitudes towards ETs. The highest negative rating was reported for the technological adaptability of ETs, at 60.2 percent (summation of 4.1, 31.6 and 24.5). Additionally, the employers had negative attitudes about the flexibility of the ETs (52 percent) and also employers considered ETs as costly (49 percent).

Briefly, among the 19 attitudinal variables, it was noted that majority of the variables (12 variables) were positive regarding the ETs in the private sector schools, which is a good sign for the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

The exploratory factor analysis constructed three attitudinal scales as Effectiveness scale, Competence scale, and Adaptability scale based on those 19 variables. As mentioned in details in chapter 3, the Effectiveness scale consisted of 8 variables: ETs are more responsible than younger teachers, ETs are more punctual than younger teachers, ETs are more loyal than younger teachers, ETs are more cooperative than younger teachers, ETs are more stress tolerant than younger teachers, ETs work harder than younger teachers, ETs are more reliable than younger teachers, ETs have fewer grievances than younger teachers. The Effectiveness scale reported a higher Cronbach alpha reliability score of 0.876. It was noted that interestingly, employers rated positively all of the 8 variables included in the Effectiveness scale.

The Competence scale contained 6 variables: ETs are more competent than younger teachers, ETs are less costly than younger teachers, ETs are more creative than younger teachers, ETs are more efficient than younger teachers, ETs exhibit less absenteeism than younger teachers, ET's quality of work is higher than younger teachers. The Cronbach alpha reliability score for Competence scale was 0.875.

However, employers perceived negatively the variable of ETs being less costly than younger teachers included in the Competence scale.

The Adaptability scale was composed of 5 variables and had a Cronbach alpha reliability score of 0.795. The variables included in the scale were ETs are more technologically adaptable than younger teachers, ETs are more flexible than younger teachers, ETs are more self-motivated than younger teachers, ETs prefer jobs with more responsibilities, and ETs are more interested in learning new skills. The 2 variables of technological adaptability and flexibility were rated negatively by the employers.

In addition to the Total Attitudes variable and other three sub-attitudinal scales developed in the study, it was investigated that, factors affecting such attitudes among the employers' in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

5.4 Factors Affecting Employers' Attitudes

The theoretical and empirical studies on elderly employment suggested that employers' attitudes towards EEs were affected by the age of the employer (Chiu et al., 2001; Redman & Snape, 2002; Kim & Mo, 2014), the gender of the employer (Bittman et al., 2001; Kadefors & Hense, 2012), the employer's frequent contact with the EEs (Chiu et al., 2001; Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkens, 2005), and the type and size of the organization (Bittman et al., 2001; Kim & Mo, 2014). The current study adopted a multiple regression analysis in order to examine the relationship between the employers' attitudes towards ETs and several factors suggested by the literature.

First, a multiple regression analysis was performed under the dependent variable (DV) of Total Attitudes consisting of the 19-item attitudinal variable, purporting to investigate the factors affecting the overall attitudes of the employers. Additionally, three separate regressions were carried out under the sub-attitudinal scales of Effectiveness, Competence, and Adaptability as three different dependent variables. All four identified dependent variables were continuous variables. To regress those DVs, I used the same set of 6 independent variables (IVs), where 2 were continuous variables—age of the employer (Age_Empl.) and the employer's contact with ETs (No_ETs)—and 4 dummy variables—gender (Male), size of the school (Small and Medium) and type of the school (Int.). The described relationship between the DV and IVs is illustrated in figure 5.1.
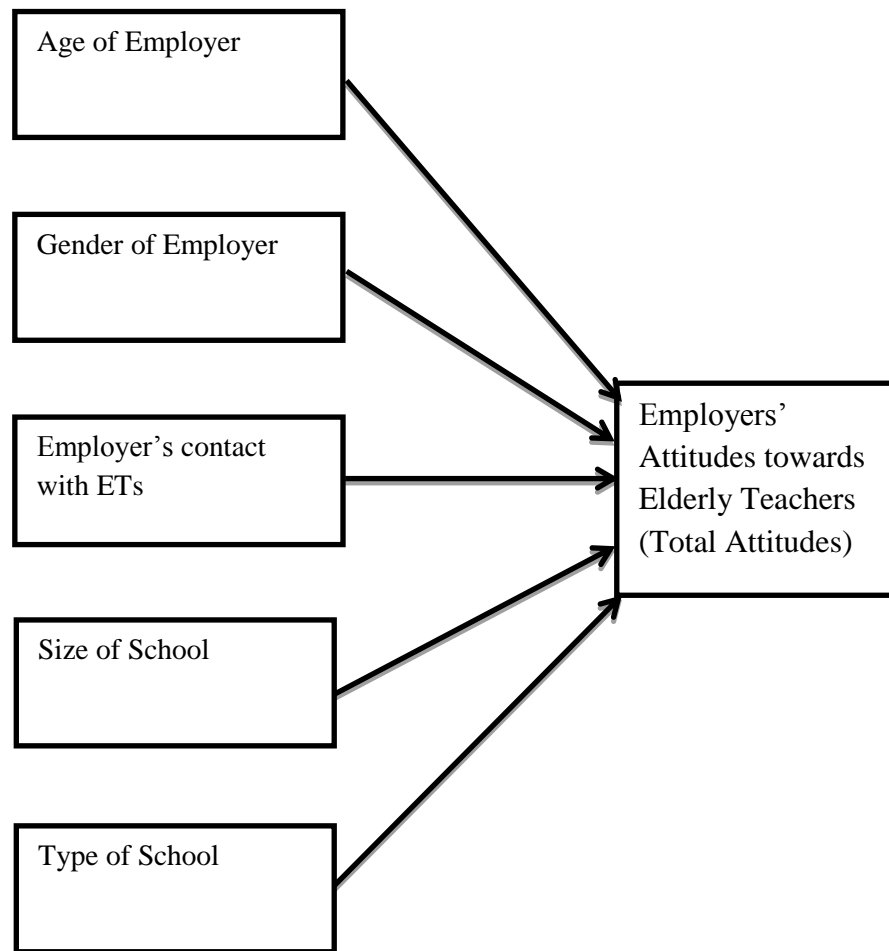
Figure 5.1 Factors Affecting Employers' Attitudes Towards ETs

5.4.1 Operational Definitions

When conducting an inquiry, the researcher should be clear about exactly what the concept is that is going to be measured and how it is going to be measured (Babbie, 2007, p. 128). Thus the purpose of constructing an operational definition is to make sure that the researcher employs proper measures to examine the concept. In this study, the definition of "an elderly teacher is one that has retired from the government or private sector school after reaching the stipulated retirement age and is employed in a private sector school in Sri Lanka." The other variable definitions and measurements are depicted in table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Variable Definitions and Measurements

Variable	Operational Definitions & Measurement	Label
Dependent Variable Employers' Attitudes towards the ETs	Measured by the 19-item attitudinal variable based on widely-used variables to measure attitudes towards EEs	Total Attitudes
Sub-Attitudinal Scales		
Effectiveness scale	8-item scale derived from factor analysis	Effectiveness
Competence scale	6-item scale derived from factor analysis	Competence
Adaptability scale	5-item scale derived from factor analysis	Adaptability
Independent Variables		
Age of Employer	Age in years given in the questionnaire	Age_Empl
Gender of Employer	Dichotomous variable: 1-Male, 0- Female	Male
Employer's contact with ETs	The extent of association of the respondent with ETs This was measured in terms of the number of ETs in the school.	No_ETs
Size of School	Categorical variable based on the number of students in the school	
(2 Dichotomous variables)	converted to a dichotomous variable reference to a larger school	

Table 5.4 (Continued)

Variable	Operational Definitions & Measurement	Label
	(where the number of students was above 3000)	
	1-small school (where the number was less than 500) 0- Otherwise	Small
	1-medium school (number between 501-3000) 0- Otherwise	Medium
Type of School	Dichotomous variable: 1- International, 0- Private	Int.

Before running the regression it was necessary to screen the variables for assumptions and transform the variables if any violations of assumptions were found and to make sure that the variables were suitable for the regression analysis. Then regression results were presented under each DV.

5.4.2 Assumptions for the Multiple Regression Analysis

Assumptions were checked for: sample size, treating for missing data, absence of outliers, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity of residuals, and absence of muticollinearity.

Having an adequate sample size is a crucial pre-requirement for multiple regression analysis. The ratio of cases-to-IVs has to be substantial in order to make the solution meaningful. The required sample size is determined by several factors, including the desired power, alpha level, number of IVs, and expected effect size (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 123). Thus, several rules of thumb can be found. Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) stated the formula as $N \geq 50 + 8m$ (where m is the number of independent variables). Stevens (1996, P. 72) recommends that "for social science research, about 15 participants per predictor are needed for a reliable

equation." Moreover, a higher cases-to-IVs ratio is essential if the DV is not normally distributed and transformations are not undertaken (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 123). Satisfying all of those criteria, I managed to have a sample size of 98 respondents, which was a representative sample in terms of number, geographical area, and the different sizes of schools covered, enabling the enhancement of the generalizability of the findings of the study.

In the variable of size of school, there were 3 data points missed. Though this may seem to have little impact, compared with the whole sample in the study, the exclusion of such 3 data points would further reduce the sample size. Therefore, as suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2013, p. 66), based on the prior knowledge about the schools and considering the given information in those 3 questionnaires, I made an educated guess for replacing them. According to the official retirement age of the schools, I assumed that one school which marked no official retirement age could be a small size school and that other two reporting retirement ages of 60 and 65 years could be considered as larger and medium schools correspondingly.

Outliers are of two types: univariate outliers are cases with an outlandish value on one variable, while multivariate outliers are cases with an unusual combination of scores on two or more variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 73). In this study the continuous variable of the number of ETs in the schools was detected for univariate outliers in some of the large schools with several branches. For example, the largest school in the sample had 460 ETs and another large school had 85. The deletion of those cases would reduce the sample size, and thus according to the suggestion provided by Tabachnick and Fidell, the outlier values were changed into raw values which were closer to next most extreme value in the distribution, so that they were still deviant but not as deviant as they were (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 77), reducing the impact of the univariate outliers. Therefore, the next most extreme value found in the study was 50 and thus I changed both the values to 51 in the distribution.

So as to confirm absence of multivariate outliers in the study, Mahalanobis distance was requested for the regression analysis, in which the Maximum Mahal Distance value was less than the Chi-squared critical value under the required number of IVs, indicating no outliers in the distribution (Pallant, 2011, p. 159). In this study Maximum Mahal Distance value obtained was 12.916 which was less than Chi-

squared value of 22.46 (under 6 IVs) and ensured that no multivariate outliers in the distribution.

The screening for multivariate linearity, normality, and homoscedasticity assure the normal distribution of scores and the nature of underlying relationship between the variables. Those assumptions were checked by statistical and graphical methods.

The normality of DVs (Total Attitudes, Effectiveness, Competence, and Adaptability) and IVs was illustrated under the descriptive statistics (Table 5.5). The calculated average for Total Attitudes was 4.57, which was above the "neutral" score of 4 along the 7-point Likert scale, indicating that employers hold overall positive attitudes towards the ETs. Among the three scales, the Effectiveness scale reported a higher average score of 5.16 indicating employers were more positive in that perspective. Employers reported positive perceptions for the Competence and the Adaptability attitudinal scales. But the Adaptability scale was slightly above the neutral attitudinal score, reporting an average of 4.14. Despite that, all four DVs were able to be distributed through normal curves, within the range of a +1 to -1 level skewness and kurtosis.

Among the other IVs in the study, two continuous variables used in the regression were age of the employer (Age_empl) and number of ETs (No_ETs). The mean of the employer's age was 52, which was in between the minimum age of 30 and a maximum of 79. The number of ETs employed was reported from zero teachers to a maximum of 51 teachers, yet the mean was 15 teachers. The skewness and kurtosis of those two variables were able to be retained in the range of +1 to -1, ensuring normality of the variables.

Table 5.5 Descriptive Statistics

(N=98)

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Skewness		Kurtosis	
					Statistic	SE	Statistic	SE
Total_Attitudes	2.42	6.00	4.57	.73	-.37	.24	.19	.48
Effectiveness	2.25	7.00	5.16	1.10	-.59	.24	.14	.48
Competence	2.00	6.67	4.44	1.15	-.38	.24	-.49	.48
Adaptability	1.60	6.40	4.14	1.17	-.04	.24	-.86	.48
Age_empl	30.00	79.00	52.11	12.27	.29	.24	-.83	.48
No_ETs	0.00	51.00	15.14	12.12	.97	.24	.81	.48
Male*	0	1	.48	.50	.08	.24	-2.04	.48
Small*	0	1	.31	.46	.85	.24	-1.30	.48
Medium*	0	1	.49	.50	.04	.24	-2.04	.48
Int.*	0	1	.64	.48	-.61	.24	-1.67	.48

Note: * Dummy Variables

Further, a graphical depiction of the standardized residuals through histograms, P-P plots, and scatter plots were used to screen for normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity assumptions (Appendix J). The standardized residual histograms showed that the residuals were normally distributed around the predicted DV values. Nonlinearity was diagnosed from the residual P-P plot, where the standardized residuals were plotted against the predicted values and had a straight-line relationship with the predicted DV values. The assumption of homoscedasticity was that the variability in the scores for one continuous variable was roughly the same at all values of another continuous variable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 85). As those authors stated, when multivariate normality was met, the relationships between the variables are homoscedastic, which had already been satisfied in the study. However, the continuous variables were further checked through standardized residual scatter plots and they showed that the residuals were able to maintain roughly the same variance around the predicted DV values.

Multicollinearity arises with the correlation matrix, which occurs when IVs are too highly correlated with each other (usually r =.9 and above) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013, p. 88). The correlation matrix was obtained, including 4 DVs (Total Attitudes, Effectiveness, Competence and Adaptability), which was not run in the same regression model and was used as DVs for separate models. Therefore, the higher significant correlations of .842 and .652 could not be considered as multicollinearity since each of them served in a separate regression model. Among the other IVs in the regression, no higher significant correlation could be observed (greater than .7), confirming no multicollinearity.

Table 5.6 Correlations Matrix for All the Variables of Multiple Regression Analysis

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Total_Atti	1	.842*	.652*	.486*	.447*	-0.05	**.429**	**-.219**	0.04	**.332**
2. Effectiveness		1	**.332**	**.318**	**.345**	0.00	**.373**	-0.07	0.03	**.281**
3. Competence			1	**.224**	**.331**	-0.08	**.291**	**-.318**	0.08	**.306**
4. Adaptability				1	**.300**	0.17	0.09	-0.07	0.04	0.19
5. Age_empl					1	0.04	0.16	-0.10	-0.06	**.291**
6. Male						1	-0.08	0.05	0.08	**.247**
7. No_ETs							1	**-.321**	0.15	0.07
8. Small								1	**-.585**	-0.03
9. Medium									1	0.03
10. Int.										1

Note: Bolded Correlations Significant at the .05 level

* DVs for separate regression models

Further, SPSS was used to perform "collinearity diagnostics" on the variables as part of the procedure and two values were produced: "Tolerance" and "Variance Inflation Factor" (VIF) in order to detect multicollinearity. Tolerance is an indicator of how much of the variability of the specified independent is not explained by the other independent variables in the model, which is calculated using the formula $1-R^2$ for each variable (Pallent, 2011, p. 158). If the value is small (less than .1), it indicates multicollinearity. The inverse of the Tolerance value is given as VIF, where the value above 10 would be a concern for multicollinearity. However, neither of the Tolerance

values produced in the study were less than .1 nor VIF values were above 10, confirming no higher correlation among the IVs in the study (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Collinearity Statistics

IVs	Collinearity Statistics	
	Tolerance	**VIF**
Age_empl	.874	1.144
Male	.914	1.095
No_ETs	.873	1.145
Small	.587	1.703
Medium	.631	1.584
Int.	858	1.165

The following section presents the regression results under 4 separate DVs, first for Total Attitudes and additionally for each sub-attitudinal scale of Effectiveness, Competence, and Adaptability. The results would reveal which factors have statistically significant effects on the employers' attitudes towards ETs in the private sector schools.

5.4.3 Factors Affecting Total Attitudes Variable

The factors affecting the overall attitudes (Total Attitudes) of the employers towards the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka were regressed with 6 IVs. The regression results are illustrated in Table 5.8. The table displays the relationship between the variables, the unstandardized regression coefficients (B) and intercept (constant), the standardized regression coefficients (Beta), t values, significant values, model summary stats of R^2, adjusted R^2, and the ANOVA-F value.

Table 5.8 Regression Results for Total Attitudes

IVs	B	Beta	t	Sig.	R^2	Adj.R^2	F
(Constant)	3.188		10.316	.000	0.386	0.346	9.551***
Age_Empl.	.019	.317***	3.609	.001			
Male	-.131	-.089	-1.043	.300			
No_ETs	.020	.331***	3.766	.000			
Small	-.155	-.097	-.903	.369			
Medium	-.067	-.045	-.444	.658			
Int.	.361	.237**	2.677	.009			

Note: N=98; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Among the 6 IVs, the overall attitudes (Total Attitudes) of employers towards the ETs were significantly influenced by three IVs in the study, which were able to explain 39 percent (adjusted 35 percent) of the variability of Total Attitudes (F = 9.551, p<.000). Those 3 significant variables were age of the employer (Age_Empl.), employer's contacts with ETs (No_ETs), and type of school being an international school (Int.). Among them the highest influential factors was employer's contact with ETs, which had a significant positive impact on the employers' attitudes towards the ETs (β=.331; p<.000). This implies that if the employers have frequent contact with the ETs, it influences having more positive attitudes towards the ETs. The next affecting factor was the age of the employer, which also had a strong positive impact on the employers' attitudes towards the ETs (β=.317; p<.000), indicating that older employers in the private sector schools would hold more positive attitudes towards the ETs. Additionally, the positive significant coefficient of type of school being an international school (β=.237; p<.01), signified that employers from ISs have a higher tendency of perceiving the ETs positively compared with UPSs.

5.4.4 Factors Affecting Effectiveness Variable

Irrespective of the overall attitudes (Total Attitudes), each sub-attitudinal scale (Effectiveness, Competence and Adaptability) was regressed in the study so as to

identify any factors given in the IVs that were able to create an impact on a particular dimension of attitudes or if any different influence could be detected through those relationships.

The definition of effectiveness according to the Oxford dictionary is "the degree to which something is successful in producing a desired result." The Effectiveness scale of the study consisted of 8 variables: ETs are responsible, punctual, loyal, cooperative, stress tolerant, reliable, work hard, and ETs have fewer grievances.

The DV of Effectiveness was run against 6 IVs, and again the age of the employer (Age_Empl.), employer's contact with ETs (No_ETs), and type of school being an international school (Int.) had a significant impact on the Effectiveness variable, explaining the variability of 26 percent (adjusted 21 percent) (F=5.405; p<.000) (Table 5.9). Among those factors the highest effect was made by the employer's contact with ETs (β=.342; p<.000), indicating that employers that have frequent contact with ETs tend to have higher positive attitudes towards the Effectiveness of ETs. The age of the employers was the next factor affecting the employers' attitudes on Effectiveness of ETs (β=.248; p<.05), which had a positive impact. Employers in the ISs remained a positive significant effect on the Effectiveness dimension of the ETs, but the size of the effect was comparatively low (β=.196; p<.05).

Table 5.9 Regression Results for Effectiveness

IVs	B	Beta	T	Sig.	R^2	Adj. R^2	F
(Constant)	3.171		6.269	.000	0.263	0.214	5.405***
Age_Empl.	.022	.248*	2.578	.012			
Male	-.080	-.037	-.392	.696			
No_ETs	.031	.342***	3.552	.001			
Small	.242	.101	.862	.391			
Medium	.109	-.050	.441	.661			
Int.	.445	.196*	2.015	.047			

5.4.5 Factors Affecting Competence Variable

The definition of competence given by Kim and Mo (2014) is that "it is a combination of knowledge, skills and behaviours used to improve performance" and the Competence scale of the present study consisted of 6 variables: ETs are competent, creative, efficient, less costly, ETs work hard and exhibit less absenteeism.

The DV of Competence variable was regressed against 6 IVs, and significant relationships were found between the employers' attitudes on Competence of the ETs and the employer's age (Age-Empl.), employer's contact with ETs (No_ETs), type of school being an international school (Int.), explaining a variability of 26 percent (adjusted 21 percent) (F=5.314; p<.000) (Table 5.10). Though the same IVs were significant in terms of the Competence variable, the size of the effect was different from previous regression analysis. The variable, the type of school being an IS had the strongest impact on the employers' attitudes on Competence of ETs, indicating that employers from the ISs have positive attitudes on the Competence of ETs (β=.279; p<.01). Further, the significant variable of age of the employer meant that older employers perceived positively the Competence of the ETs compared with younger employers (β=.210; p<.05). The employers that frequently contacted ETs showed a positive effect on Competence of ETs but comparatively the value was lower (β=.194; p<.05).

Table 5.10 Regression Results for Competence

IVs	B	Beta	T	Sig.	R^2	Adj. R^2	F
(Constant)	3.013		5.812	.000	0.259	0.211	5.314***
Age_Empl.	.020	.210*	2.177	.032			
Male	-.310	-.135	-1.432	.156			
No_ETs	.018	.194*	2.037	.045			
Small	-.488	-.185	-1.661	.100			
Medium	-.080	-.035	-.317	.752			
Int.	.668	.279**	2.824	.006			

Note: N=98; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

5.4.6 Factors Affecting Adaptability Variable

The definition of adaptability according to the Merriam Webster dictionary is being "able to change or be changed in order to fit or work better in some situation or for some purpose." The dimensions included in the Adaptability scale in the study were technological adaptability of ETs, flexibility, self-motivation, interested in learning new skills and ETs prefer more responsibilities.

Table 5.11 Regression Results for Adaptability

IVs	B	Beta	T	Sig.	R^2	Adj. R^2	F
(Constant)	2.438		4.367	.000	0.166	0.111	3.070**
Age_Empl.	.022	.228*	2.213	.029			
Male	.382	.164	1.640	.105			
No_ETs	.020	.210*	2.069	.041			
Small	-.076	-.029	-.240	.811			
Medium	-.039	-.017	-.145	.885			
Int.	.181	.074	.709	.480			

Note: N=98; *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

The employers' attitudes on the Adaptability of ETs was regressed by 6 IVs and it was found that the age of the employer (Age_Empl.) and employer's contact with ETs (No_ETs) had significant positive effect on the Adaptability of the ETs, explaining a variability of 16 percent (adjusted 11 percent) (F=3.070; p<.01) (Table 5.11). Older employers had positive attitudes on Adaptability of ETs (β=.228; p<.05). Further, the employers that have frequent contacts with ETs tended to indicate higher positive attitudes toward the Adaptability of ETs (β=.210; p<.05). In other words, it showed that regular association between the employer and the ETs could empirically prove to the employers, the adaptability of ETs and it may gradually diminish the stereotypical attitudes about the ETs. However, the type of school (Int.) did not have any significant impact on the employers' attitudes on Adaptability of the ETs.

However, in none of the instances, could a significant relationship be observed between the employers' attitudes with gender of employer and size of school, revealing that the gender of the respondent and the size of the school did not have any impact on the employers' attitudes towards the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

5.5 Summary of the Findings from the Survey Data

The country-wide survey data indicated that employers had overall positive attitudes towards the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, especially regarding the ETs being more responsible than younger teachers, more reliable, punctual, loyal, stress tolerant, competent, having lower absenteeism, and working hard. Nonetheless, the employers showed negative attitudes towards the ETs regarding technological adaptability, flexibility, and the cost factor. The factor analysis performed on the 19 attitudinal variables categorized them into three dimensions and constructed three sub-attitudinal scales as Effectiveness, Competence, and Adaptability.

The regression analysis was carried out in order to ascertain the factors affecting employers' attitudes towards the ETs regressed on several IVs: age of the employer, gender of the employer, employer's contact with ETs, size of the school and type of the school. The results revealed that the employers' overall attitudes (Total Attitudes) towards the ETs were significantly and positively affected by the age of the employer, the employers' frequent contact with the ETs, and the type of school being an international school. However, the gender of the employer and the size of the school were not seen to have a significant effect on the employers' overall attitudes.

Despite the overall attitudes of the employers, the study further explored the factors affecting each sub-attitudinal scale (Effectiveness, Competence and Adaptability) separately based on the same IVs. The purpose of this exercise is to identify any factors given in the IVs that were able to create an impact on a particular segment of attitudes or if any different influence could be detected through those relationships. It was found that employers' attitudes on Effectiveness and Competence

of the ETs were significantly and positively affected by age of the employer, employer's frequent contact with the ETs and type of the school being an international school. Further, employers' attitudes on Adaptability of the ETs were significantly and positively affected by age of the employer and employer's frequent contact with the ETs.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation has mainly sought to explore and explain current employment practices regarding the ETs and employers' attitudes towards the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. It has specifically drawn attention to finding out the employers' first impression of employment of ETs, the reasons for employing ETs, and current employment practices regarding the ETs, employers' attitudes towards the ETs and the factors affecting such attitudes in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Thus, the objective of the final chapter is to wrap up all of those findings in the study. The organization of this chapter is in three sections. First is a discussion of the findings related to employment practices and employers' attitudes towards the ETs by interpreting and explaining them along with the research objectives. The main functions were to make sure that the findings would answer the research questions adequately and discuss the policy implications regarding the employment of ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The next part concludes the study after taking into consideration the research objectives and overall findings of the study. Finally, some recommendations are suggested in the context of elderly teacher employment in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, which will generally be useful for facilitating an age-friendly labour market in Sri Lanka.

6.1 Discussion of the Employers' First Impression of the Employment of ETs

The findings on the first impressions of the employment of ETs expressed in the study revealed that irrespective of the age or gender of the respondents, or the size and type of the schools, the interviewees had "positive impressions" towards the ETs in the private schools in Sri Lanka. This was affirmed by 9 out of 10 interviewees. The interviewees who had previous work experience in the field of education

expressed positive impressions towards ETs, yet an interviewee with a business management background had negative impression.

That difference in the first impression is supported by the contact theory, which suggests that intergroup discrimination and prejudices can be reduced by contacting the members of different groups (Allport, 1954; Brown et al., 1986). In the context of elderly employment, frequent contacts among the people from different age groups, different professions will be useful to understand the actual behaviours of the EEs and eliminate the negative stereotypical attitudes towards them. The interviewees with an education background have been working with different types of teachers (in terms of age, gender, socio-cultural backgrounds, attitudes) for a long time, and this allows them to have a better understanding of the nature of teachers, their behaviours, attitudes, and strong and weak qualities. Consequently, they have hands-on experience in handling those matters rather than overlooking them.

The interviewee with negative attitudes towards ETs has come from a completely different background, whose orientation and perception has been affected by business perspectives and values. Lack of experience in the education field may have made it difficult for him to understand the nature and behaviours of ETs properly, which in turn compelled him to believe in the stereotypical attitudes towards ETs. Further, he might have had less work experience with ETs. As per his explanation, he had not employed any ETs in the school, and this has not given him any opportunity to contact ETs, thus driving the negative impression.

Hence, this indicated that sameness in the field of work experience would make it easy to understand the nature of EEs and frequent contacts with the EEs would reduce the stereotypical attitudes towards EEs. This suggests that if the employer (or the top decision maker) of the private sector school has been working in the education field and that person has more contact with the ETs, it will increase the likelihood of considering ETs for employment in those schools due to favourable first impression.

On the other hand, Australian studies have revealed that employers appreciate the skills of EEs and hold positive attitudes towards older workers, but they are reluctant to hire them (Artcraft Research, 1989; Reark Research, 1990; Steinberg et al., 1994; Young, 1999). A British study of Itzin and Phillipson (1993) found the same

results, saying that it would be difficult to get a job after the age of 50. Another Australian study stated that the reasons for such contradictory behaviour may be because the respondents would not like either to provide socially-undesirable responses openly or the exiting age discriminatory regulations prevented from them from doing so (Shacklock, 2002).

Considering the empirical findings it is cautioned that a mere first expression may sometimes be deceptive. Hence, the employment policies, practices, and embedded attitudes of the employers require further investigation in order to confirm their real perception towards the ETs.

6.2 Discussion of the Reasons for Employing Elderly Teachers

This study described reasons for employing ETs in several ways: shortage of qualified/trained teachers, the competency of ETs, the special expertise of ETs, age diversity within the school, and peculiar issues regarding newly-started and small schools. The first three reasons mentioned in the study have been commonly cited in other countries that are employing ETs (Redman & Snape, 2002; Botwinik & Press, 2006; Fyfe, 2007), yet the perspectives and implications that emerged from Sri Lanka might not be the same in other countries. Further, the latter reasons seemed to be specific to the Sri Lankan private sector schools. A detailed discussion for each reason would provide general and particular insights behind the employment of ETs.

6.2.1 Shortage of Qualified/Trained Teachers

As mentioned by the employers from the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, the shortage of teachers could be specifically found in the areas of English medium-qualified teachers for the upper classes and teachers with adequate pedagogical knowledge. Apart from that job attrition among the young teachers caused to elevate the teacher shortage. Whatever the causes, teacher shortage poses a threat to the quality of education in the private sector schools. Teacher shortages are prevalent not only in developing countries, as the OECD (2011) has stated that many of the advanced economies too face the same issue, because of the rapid ageing of the teaching workforce and the high rates of attrition among new teachers. Further, the

shortage will increase in the near future as large numbers of teachers reach retirement age.

In the case of Sri Lanka, the recent introduction of an English-medium curriculum and the growing trend in number of ISs have demanded higher numbers of English-medium qualified teachers for upper classes, especially for subjects such as English language, English literature, Science, Mathematics, and IT. A recent Australian study also mentioned about a teacher shortage in specific areas, such as English as a second language, Mathematics, and the Sciences (Ashiedu & Scott-Ladd, 2012, p. 17). It is noteworthy to mention that being an English speaking country, Australia also suffers from English language teacher shortage and thus, such a shortage in Sri Lanka is not indeed a strange situation where English is the second language. As mentioned in Nunun (2003), being a global language, English has earned much prominence in the academic, technology, sports, and employment realms, suggesting the governments around the world to introduce English as a compulsory subject in school education. An alarming finding has been stated by the same author after studying 7 countries in the Asia-Pacific region: "English language proficiency of many school teachers is not sufficient to provide learners with the rich input needed for successful foreign language acquisition" (Nunun, 2003, p. 607). This is another facet of the teacher shortage.

Having realized the teaching cadre requirements in the schools in Sri Lanka, it is necessary to supply a sufficient number of qualified teachers for the system either through the government or private training institutes. However, in the absence of adequate English teachers for the government schools (Hettiarachchi, 2013: Thirunavukkarsu, 2015), it is unlikely to expect the government to fulfill the private sector teaching cadre requirements. Consequently, schools have adopted alternatives as suggested by policy makers, such as hiring retired teachers, untrained/uncertified teachers, contract teachers, volunteer and community teachers, teaching candidates from other countries, providing on-the-job training and career-change programs designed to entice professionals into midcareer switches to teaching, and alternative certification programs to allow college graduates to postpone formal education training and begin teaching immediately (Ingersoll & Smith, 2003; Fyfe, 2007; Bayer, Brinkkjaer, Plauborg, & Rolls, 2009; Martinez et al., 2010). The impact of those

alternatives was compared in the OECD report and stated that accelerated hiring solutions by lowering teacher qualification requirements for the certification of new teachers or by assigning teachers to teach subjects or grades for which they are not trained would negatively affect the quality of teaching workforce. Also the report stated that the above issue is aggravated when the rest of the experienced teachers leave the profession through retirement. As Bayer et al. (2009) stated, recruiting teachers without full teacher qualifications may address the short-term recruitment problem; however, reducing the qualification requirements for entering the profession can further undermine teacher professionalism, as it can be seen as giving credence to a belief that "anyone can teach." This is an explicit indication that among the options available to the schools, absorbing experienced retired teachers into the system would comparatively be a more appropriate solution without deteriorating the quality of the teaching workforce.

Lack of pedagogical knowledge among the young teachers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka is another reason for employing ETs. The reason for relying on ETs is the government training they have undergone and their experience throughout the teaching career. Sometimes private sector schools tend to give priority for the English language proficiency of teachers over their pedagogical knowledge in hiring of teachers. However, it is doubtful that those young teachers will be able to undergo proper pedagogical training even at a later stage amidst the lack of opportunities and investment available for teacher training in the private sector schools. As an example, some schools directly hire graduates that have content knowledge but not pedagogical knowledge. A study researching science teachers' pedagogical content knowledge identified teaching experience as the major source of pedagogical content knowledge, whereas adequate subject-matter knowledge appeared to be a pre-requisite (Van Driel, Verloop, & de Vos, 1998). Further, a study compared experienced and novice chemistry teachers' instructional strategies and concluded that the experienced teachers quickly learn new content as well as adequate content specific to the instructional strategies while relying on their knowledge of general pedagogy (Clermont, Borko, & Krajcik, 1994). As a partial solution to the pedagogical issue among the young teachers, private schools can utilize ETs. However, in the long run, it is imperative to develop the pedagogical knowledge

among young teachers unless knowledge impartation is defective, especially for the students that are learning difficult subjects in English, which is the second language in Sri Lanka. This may generate a knowledge gap between the students that study the same syllabus in the local language (Sinhala) and the second language (English).

Another major challenge of private sector schools in Sri Lanka is frequent job attrition among the young teachers, especially among the small schools, persuading the schools to rely on ETs. The causes of attrition were the following: higher demand for young teachers, lucrative financial and non-financial benefits, less reputation in the small schools, limited career advancement, and lack of accountability towards the current school. Nonetheless, job attrition incurs huge replacement costs and frequent changes of teachers negatively affect the students and the image of the school.

Job attrition can be explained through the human capital theory of occupational choice, which stated that individuals make systematic assessments of the net monetary and nonmonetary benefits from different occupations and make systematic decisions throughout their career to enter, stay, or leave an occupation (Kirby & Grissmer, 1993). Thus, an employee calculates the accumulation of human capital and converts it into wage premiums. Accordingly, the greater is the capital accumulation, the more unlikely it is that the person will leave the organization. That theory provides adequate explanation for higher attrition at the early stage of career rather than mid or late career.

Similar findings have been reinforced by scholars from other countries as well. A U.S.A. study sampled 50,000 full-time public schools teachers and found that the largest proportion left after the first year of teaching career and the highest attrition could be seen for English, Science, Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics. The decision to leave depended on salary, changing one's profession, personal circumstances, and work conditions (Kirby & Grissmer, 1993). In examining the rate of teacher attrition in the U.S.A., a study reported that private school teachers were more likely to leave the school compared with their public school counterparts and the main reason it mentioned was salary (Luekens, Lyter, Fox, & Changler, 2004). Ingersoll (2001) conducted a statistical analysis comparing private and public school teachers longitudinally and revealed that large private schools experienced the lowest average turnover rate, and small private schools had the highest. The similar finding

was confirmed by the current study revealing that, mostly the small private sector schools suffer from job attrition in Sri Lanka.

The employers in the current study claimed that job attrition existed because of lack of accountability among the younger generation. But that may not be the real reason behind job attrition. High attribution may be mostly related to "higher demand for young teachers" in the education labour market. Higher competition among the schools and a short supply of teachers would obviously create a high demand for young teachers. Young teachers take advantage of competition to climb the career ladder. Employers can prevent young qualified teachers from leaving the job by offering them financial and non-financial benefits, proper induction programmes, healthy working conditions, and career advancement opportunities, which may be quite costly measures for small schools. In contrast, the demand for ETs may not be that high because still the priority in the labour market is for younger teachers. Therefore, once ETs secure employment in a school, they try to be stable there, rather than demanding and shifting their career. Although the interviewees did not express it directly, it is a known fact that ETs have a limited market after retirement, and having that mutual understanding between employers and ETs, both parties continue without disrupting the smooth operations of the schools.

The issue of younger teacher attrition in the inner-city schools in the U.S.A. and its associated teacher replacement costs, and the effect for children educational outcome has been studied in the research of Martinez et al. (2010). Considering the consequences, the author suggested that one of the alternatives was to get the support of retired/ older teachers on voluntary basis (Martinez et al., 2010). That study further revealed how job attrition could be prevented by employing retired teachers as a useful source of giving emotional support to young teachers in order to increase job satisfaction and to reduce absenteeism of young teachers, ultimately improving the quality of education delivered by satisfied young teachers.

The implications that arise from the shortfall of teachers in the private sector schools are multiple. Profoundly it is needed to increase the supply of qualified teachers. Retirement is one main path of leaving qualified teachers from the schools. As currently informed and implemented by the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, employing ETs is one of the better strategies for managing the shortage. Despite that,

making the teaching profession more lucrative in terms of benefits and career prospects is another way of attracting and retaining young qualified teachers in the system.

6.2.2 Competency and Special Expertise of Elderly Teachers

The study found that the employers in the private sector prefer ETs over younger teachers because of their competency and other expertise such as administrative capability, mentoring skills and school guardian/disciplinarian roles played by them.

The definition I used for competence in the study was multifaceted, including professional behaviour, values and attitudes, and skills and knowledge, which are enablers in terms of producing quality teaching. As the findings indicated, government training and the vast experience of the ETs were considered as the major factors for improving teacher competency, which in turn affect the students' achievements. It has been stated that teacher education and teaching experience have most often been used to measure teacher competence (Myrberg & Rosén, 2004, p. 2).

The Swedish researchers Fransson and Morberg have distinguished the competencies of experienced teachers with newly-qualified teachers as follows: 1) experienced teachers are well-prepared and confident on content and teaching strategies, adaptable with unpredictable situations; 2) they understand the learning difficulties of pupils and explaining within the specific learning situations rather than the student's personal and social circumstances, providing a more solution-oriented approach; 3) they are prepared for teaching profession challenges posed to them with regard to classroom management and tackling disciplinary problems; 4) they are capable of exercising leadership and handling conflicts (Bayer et al., 2009, p. 15). Further studies have demonstrated the impact of well-qualified teachers on student achievement. A study by Elliot (1998) provided evidence that well-qualified teachers had a significant influence on high school students' achievement in Mathematics and Science, which measured teacher qualification according to education, experience, and teaching methods. Therefore, it can be considered that the initiative taken by the private sector schools in Sri Lanka to employ qualified and experienced ETs is an appropriate measure, under the prevailing circumstances.

The life cycle of the career teacher explains six progressive phases of teaching career along a continuum from novice, apprentice, professional, expert, distinguished to finally emeritus teacher (retired but continue to contribute to the profession) (Steffy, Wolfe, Pasch, & Enz, 2000). Following the retirement, many career educators choose to honour their lifelong commitment by serving the profession in alternative roles, such as administrators, consultants, volunteers, mentors, and advocates. As theory posits, sometimes ETs are offered employment opportunities by the private sector schools in Sri Lanka in order to obtain this additional expertise. Many of the studies found that, those expertise roles of the ETs are admired by employers, young teachers, and parents. In the study of Goddard and Habermann (2001) it was found that when establishing formal mentoring programmes for novice teachers, an innovative strategy was utilizing the skills and knowledge base of retired teachers so as to obtain their service as mentors. Another study described numerous ways of retaining teachers, facilitated by the retired educators and older volunteers in terms of educating newer teachers regarding school expectations, identifying problems faced by new teachers, and suggesting solutions, imparting classroom management skills, providing both instrumental and moral support, improving novel teacher satisfaction, and playing an important role in bringing together teachers and parents in a partnership that fosters greater parent involvement (Martinez et al., 2010). As noted in the same study, at the early stage of the relationship between the mentor and mentee, there are some instances where misunderstandings can take place, believing that retired educators and older volunteers are threats to the new teachers in the classroom. However, gradually that is settled between the mentor and mentee. This implies that there are certain conditions that have to be met for the development of the mentor-mentee relationship between the elderly and younger teachers. However, as suggested by contact theory, close association over time avoids such situations provided that the schools facilitate the necessary pre-requisite to build the mentor-mentee relationship.

Another vital role that the private sector schools were expecting from the ETs was to serve as guardians of the preserved values of the school culture and to help maintain students' discipline. Schools should take initiatives for the life enrichment of the students through elderly teachers' intervention, beyond the formal educational support from the ETs. As revealed in the study, endorsement comes from many other

stakeholders, such as the school administration, and parents and past pupils. This does not mean that the young and new teachers in the school are incapable of cultivating that environment. However, age and seniority explicitly showcase a dominant role in Asian culture, where a high degree of deference is shown toward the elderly (Bond & Hwang, 1986; Kim & Mo, 2014).

Similar initiatives have been found in the schools of other countries, through the means of retired educators and retired citizens. One such interesting programme is the "Granddad" project in the Stockholm schools in Sweden, which was a measure for augmenting the social capital among the students by staffing one "granddad" (retired person) compulsorily in one school on a voluntary basis (Boström, 2004). The study concluded that elderly seniors were able to have a positive impact on the social character of the students via making them comfortable, feeling secure and trusting the adults, imparting values, and exemplifying adult role models while the retired elderly citizens too enjoyed the new experience, with the sense of worthiness including them with other professionals. The Japanese schools also have adopted senior citizen engagement with the senior citizens by performing roles as educators, conveyors of culture, and as companions for pupils (Kaplan, Kusano, Ichiro, & Hisamichi, 1998). In the U.S.A. the senior citizens in the intergenerational programmes in schools may function as mentors, tutors, caregivers or nurturers, and mature friends or coaches (Newman, Ward, Smith, Wilson, & Mccrae, 1997).

The concept of "prototype matching" (Perry, 1994; Perry & Finkelstein, 1999), describes that an employee's age is often compared to the age of a ''prototypical'' job holder, where certain kinds of jobs are considered for younger employees (characterized by certain traits and skills such as being energetic and adaptable), while other jobs are more suitable for older employees or are age-neutral because of their reliance on steadiness and corporate knowledge (Cleveland & Landy, 1987; Perry, 1994; Perry & Bourhis, 1998).

In essence, those findings emphasized that even if they are retired, still the ETs have greater social responsibility in numerous ways when upbringing of the next generation of the country. Apparently it is beneficial for both the schools and ETs as well. In addition to the solution of the shortfall of qualified teachers for the private sector schools, the schools utilize the other expertise of the ETs as well. This measure

can be considered as an appreciation of elderly wisdom without condemning older people as a burden to the society, and on the other hand, widening them employment opportunities. Moreover, the interaction of ETs with young teachers and children can mitigate the generational gap and lead to establish favourable attitudes towards elderly employees, which is a timely necessity.

6.2.3 Other Particular Reasons for Employing Elderly Teachers

Among the other reasons for employing ETs, the study found that some of the schools wanted to maintain age diversity in the teaching staff in order to persuade students to have the real life experience of getting acquainted with younger and elderly teachers as a part of their learning process. Particularly, another reason was related to newly-started and small schools having the challenge of improving the school's reputation while overcoming financial constraints.

At a glance organizations articulate "workforce diversity" policies impressively but at a practical level it may exclude the dimension of "age diversity" (Bittman et al., 2001). From that point of view, considering age diversity in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka is a positive employment practice because organizations in today's context are required to maintain age diversity, due to the growing elderly employees in the labour market and rising labour shortage has made it difficult to find qualified young employees.

Nevertheless, some scholars have proposed that age diversity in the workplace may lead to eliminate age discrimination, because other employees may get familiarized working with the EEs (Hassell & Perrewe, 1995; Chiu et al., 2001). This is the argument presented in the contact theory, where the more association among the different age groups the less the chance of stereotypes existing.

However, the expressed intention of the private sector schools in Sri Lanka for employing ETs included maintaining the age diversity among the teachers would bring different perspectives to the schools which would ultimately enrich the school environment. As explained earlier, the age diversity in the schools stems from tripartite benefits—for the students, for the younger teachers, and the ETs. A related argument has been presented in Backes-Gellner, Schneider, & Veen (2011) examining the age-diverse workforces in German labour courts and found that a more diverse

workforce was better able to serve multiple performance dimensions resulting in an increase in organizational performance.

Yet, the maintenance of age diversity requires the attention on the "right age composition" of employees in an organization without demoralizing employees in the each age category. The study of Kunze, Boehm, & Brunch (2011) found that higher age diversity would lead to higher levels of perceived age discrimination climate in companies, which would give cautious signals to organizations. As they pointed out there may be occasions where young employees may get frustrated because of delaying their promotions by retaining the EEs in the organization. That may be a circumstance for the development of negative attitude towards EEs, assuming that EEs are "blocking the way". Therefore, employers need to be concerned about other organizational dynamics as well when deciding the proper mix of age diversity.

The employers from new and small schools (especially the ISs) considered the option of employing ETs due to the financial constraints. It was an indication of the service of ETs can be obtained at a lower salary. In the survey of Bittman et al. (2001) discussed the same issue of financial pressure under the special needs of small organizations that are operating with lower overhead and profit margins yet striving hard to be competitive. Hence the schools compromise the benefits with the ETs under the different employment terms and conditions such as offering flexible employment, releasing ETs from extra-curricular activities. Nevertheless, lower financial incentives cause the deterioration of the quality of education provided by less-motivated ETs and in turn that can make a huge damage to the students and the reputation of the school.

6.3 Discussion of Employment Practices

This section explains the key findings and the implications concerning the number of employed ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, employment practices towards ETs in the areas of recruitment and selection, employment terms and conditions, training and development, performance evaluation, promotion and retirement.

6.3.1 Number of Elderly Teachers Employed

A striking finding of the study was that 82 out of 98 schools (84 percent) in the study have been employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The percentage of ET employment out of the total teaching cadre ranged from one to 41 percent. This is an encouraging signal in many ways: the shortfall of teachers in the private schools was able to partly be filled through the qualified retired teaching staff; due to the competence of ETs there is no doubt about the quality of the education provided by the private sector schools; it facilitates employment opportunities for the elderly teachers; importantly private sector schools set an example for elderly employment for other industries in Sri Lanka which suffer from labour shortages.

The analysis of the number of ETs in the schools in terms of the type of the school revealed that ISs in Sri Lanka have a higher tendency to employ ETs compared with UPSs. This is because, though the management of UPSs enjoys considerable autonomy, partial government control may have a certain influence over decisions. The composition of the teaching staff in the UPS is a government approved cadre, which has no ETs and only in the excess cadre has ETs, temporary teachers, and contract teachers. Therefore, in any UPS the room for an excess cadre is limited and thus the number of ETs employed in the UPS is less. Unlike the UPS, the ISs in Sri Lanka are not regulated by the government and therefore they enjoy greater autonomy and the discretion of teacher employment is purely with the school management. Therefore, depending on the teacher vacancies and the discretion of the management, the IS decides whom to hire and the number. Furthermore, compared with the ISs, there are few English-medium classes in the UPSs because the English-medium national curriculum initiative in the UPSs began around a decade ago and still the trend is at the growing stage. Therefore the UPSs do not have a higher demand for ETs that are fluent in English. On the other hand, all of the classes in the ISs are taught in the English medium, demanding a large number of English-medium qualified teachers, opening more avenues to the ETs. All of those reasons have led to the limitation of the number of employed ETs in the UPSs. The growing tendency in the ISs in Sri Lanka will generate more opportunities for ETs in the future.

The recruitment policy of "reserving 20-25 percent of total teaching cadre for elderly/retired teachers" as explained by an interviewee from an IS, is a very strong

anti-age discriminatory message given to the labour market. It further indicates that, even after their retirement ETs have a good demand from the private sector schools. Having such policies in the private sector schools allow retired teachers to contribute to the development of the private education sector in Sri Lanka. That fact is exemplified by many of the interviewees of the current study (they are principals, directors in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka), who have been retired from the government schools and currently performing their professional responsibility to the society.

The size of the school and the percentage of employed ETs indicated that more opportunities were offered in the small- and medium-size schools compared with the large schools. As explained by the interviewees, this may be due to the fact that the reputation and other benefits offered by the large school may easily attract the young qualified teachers while financial constraints and other issues prevailing in the small schools would compel them to employ many ETs. This is consistent with the study of Loretto and White (2006), where the flexible approaches towards EEs in the smaller organizations tended to attract more EEs compared with the large organizations. Further, Van Dalen Henkens and Shippers (2009) found that organizations with a large portion of older workers would prefer to hire and retain older workers than "younger" organizations. Therefore, knowing about the favourable conditions offered in the small and medium schools, ETs would prefer to work there.

From the standpoint of the employer and ETs, attracting ETs for the small and medium schools would be a viable solution for those schools, yet importantly one has to look at the effect on the students and the standard of education provided in those schools, especially in the ISs. As discussed, none of the ISs in Sri Lanka is under the direction or supervision of the Ministry of Education, allowing them to operate according to the discretion of the management and thus creating loopholes in the private school education sector. Increased access for many students is undoubtedly an admirable move, but the quality of the education provided by them is far more important.

Not only the number of ETs employed in the schools confirmed their welcoming nature of ETs to the schools, but the cooperative environment demonstrated by the stakeholders also shows anti-age discriminatory attitudes. It has

been said that the decision of employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka is mainly taken by the board of management, depending on the requirements. Yet, sometimes that decision has been positively influenced by the parents and the alumni members of the schools. Moreover, the finding of "non-resistance for employing ETs in the schools and rather assisting the ETs" is an evidence for believing in the receptive attitudes among the young teachers, administrative staff, and students in the schools. In fact those behaviours showcased that the decision to employ ETs in the private sector schools is embraced by many stakeholders in the society. That respectful concern for the elderly may be due to an inheritance from the Asian culture.

Despite the cultural norms, stakeholders have also realized the timely necessity of obtaining the services of ETs amidst the labour shortage and for several other valid reasons. This is evident through the "started year of employing ETs" in the private sector schools. Many ISs employed ETs at the beginning of the schools whilst the UPSs mostly began with the introduction of an English-medium curriculum in the schools. It highlights the dearth of English-medium qualified teachers in the country. This trend can be expected to further continue the rising number of ISs and the expansion of the English curriculum among the government schools and UPSs in the country. The inability of the government to produce a sufficient number of English teachers for the public sector schools will not guarantee support for the private sector schools. Hence, the private sector schools will either have to train young teachers by themselves or rely on qualified ETs. Concerning the training cost and time spent for young teachers, the schools may assume that it is always better to obtain the readily-available services from the qualified ETs. Somehow in the long run, the private sector schools may think about other viable alternatives in addition to ETs, for example, training for young graduates and recruiting foreign teachers.

6.3.2 Recruitment and Selection of Elderly Teachers

Many studies on age discrimination of EEs have indicated that age discrimination begins with the recruitment, where the advertising of vacancies includes an age bar or certain unfavourable wording for EEs.

The main source of recruitment of the ETs in the private sector schools was found as personal referrals or personal networks, followed by advertisements and

internal recruitments. Though it was not directly expressed by the interviewees (or principals), I realized while conducting the interviews that the reason for the effectiveness of personal referral is sometimes because of the networking between the ETs and principals/administrators of the private sector schools. Some of the administrators/principals in the private sector schools are government retired principals with a wide contact base of teachers of government schools and they compelled to favourably consider applications from those known teachers after their retirement. Therefore, upon the retirement of those teachers that are intending to continue their career, they would forward the applications to such known principals/administers of the private sector schools for consideration. When vacancies arise, if they are suitable for the position, the school will consider applications from ETs. However, this does not mean that they will be selected for the position, but at least applications from elderly persons are considered and/or the chances of getting employments are higher. The study of Bittman et al., (2001) found that personal networking was the major recruitment method for EEs in the Australian context as well. Almost the same recruitment source has been stated by other researchers in the name of "word-of-mouth communication," which is an informal dissemination of information about vacancy through the current employees or other parties that have a particular beneficial effect on applicant attraction (Zottoli & Wanous, 2000; Van Hoye & Lievens, 2007, 2009). In the globalized world the tendency is higher for networking of people and it will set a better platform to have an effective and reliable source of recruitment.

Another common recruitment source is advertisements. The contents therein are partly a reflection of the age policy of the school. It was noted that age limits in the vacancy advertisements were frequently in existence. This occurred often in the UPSs while occasionally in the ISs in Sri Lanka, indicating that ISs are comparatively less age discriminatory in their recruitment practice. The age-friendly approach in the ISs was further confirmed by some of the clauses included in the advertisements for inviting retired teachers. That initiative can be considered as a best practice implemented in the teacher labour market. Employers reflect a clear preference for responding to the changing needs in the labour market and publicly communicate it through advertising to the employees and strongly showcase their less age

discriminatory behaviours to the rest of the industries that are suffering from labour shortfalls.

Internal recruitment method was found to be frequently adopted by both types of schools in the private sector, extending services of the teachers that are closer to retirement. This is another reliable and cost effective method for schools and provides opportunities to the ETs to continue their career upon retirement. Sometimes internal recruitment is done by service extensions of retired teachers for a higher administrative grade in order to utilize other expertise areas such as mentors, decision makers, disciplinarians.

The selection processes of the private schools were mostly similar in nature, having an interview to peruse the academic credentials and a presentation for the purposes of language proficiency and teaching skills. Interestingly, no age discrimination was reported during the process of selecting candidates. Rather, sometimes it indicated an unfavourable attitude towards young teachers making the presentation mandatory while relaxing it for the ETs due to their vast teaching experience.

6.3.3 Employment Terms and Conditions for Elderly Teachers

The terms and conditions in the private sector schools are discussed here with regard to the basis of employment, full-time versus part-time, remuneration, and other benefits offered.

The study found that the common basis for employing the ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka was on contract basis, except for a very few schools. In the UPSs, it was strictly on contract basis. There were very few ISs that employed all of the teachers on contract basis, irrespective of age. Since UPSs are registered under the Ministry of Education, there is an approved permanent teaching cadre for each UPS under certain conditions. Beyond that number, still the school management can recruit teachers according to the requirements, which is called an "excess cadre." With this administrative restriction, inevitably ETs are under the excess cadre and hence the only alternative to recruiting them in the UPS is on a contract basis. However, ISs are free from such restrictions and they can recruit ETs according to the discretion of the school management. That may help some ISs recruit all of the teachers on a contract basis.

In the context of ageing employment, contract employment has become a widely-popular method of hiring retired employees in the labour market. Empirical studies have confirmed that many countries follow this practice in employing retired teachers. When a country is suffering from a teacher shortage, as an alternative strategy they recruit retired teachers on a contract basis even if it has inherent pros and cons (Fyfe, 2007; Bourdon, Frölich, & Michaelowa, 2010). The Ministry of Education in Singapore has also launched a scheme for re-employing retired teachers in the public schools only on an annual renewable contract basis. Not only that many countries in Asia and Africa that are suffering from teacher shortage recruit retired teachers under a contract agreement (Duthilleul, 2005).

Duthilleul (2005) further argued that there is a contradiction involved in job stability and performance of contract teachers. The job stability of teaching is one essential element to ensure the provision of quality education. If the teacher is not stable in a particular school setting, it causes frequent job attrition and commitment issues in performance. Conversely, job instability associated with contract employment serves as an incentive for those teachers to perform at the best level in order to extend their contract further or to secure a permanent position. However, when employing retired teachers on a contract basis in Sri Lanka it would not question about their qualifications and experience and they are unlikely to leave the job because of competition from the young teachers.

The next concern is the employment of ETs on full-time versus part-time basis. The study observed that most of the private schools in Sri Lanka prefer to adopt full-time employment practices for ETs. This was confirmed by 75 percent of the respondents out of 80 schools, where especially ISs would offer full-time employment. Comparatively UPSs employed a higher number of ETs on a part-time basis. This implies that ISs are suffering from a higher teacher shortage compared with UPSs. On the other hand, even after retirement, ETs are still in a position to secure full-time employment in the same profession in the private sector schools, indicating a growing tendency in the education labour market for retired teachers and the readiness of ETs to take up full-time opportunities. The employers in the present study revealed that they preferred full-time employment since the school hours were not too long and also lack of teachers in the schools required all the teachers to share academic and extra-curricular activities equally.

The literature on the working patterns of EEs indicated that EEs would either like to continue working in some form after retirement or stay with the existing employer by downscaling their commitments in terms of hours and working patterns, mostly targeting flexible working opportunities (Loretto, Vickerstaff, & White, 2005). In contrast to that, generally ETs in Sri Lanka are looking forward to continuing their career on a full-time basis and employers are also willing to employ them accordingly.

Considering the size of the schools, it appears that large schools always offer full-time employment while part-time employment could only be observed in medium and small schools. Also, in offering teaching employment to ETs, sometimes the decision of full-time versus part-time was based on the considerations of both the employer and the ET. The reasons for a part-time arrangement by the medium and small school may be those schools are still at the growing stage and they may face certain constraints such as financial constraints, the number of students, gaining reputation, and they are facing competition and high job attrition of young teachers. From the ETs' standpoint, they tend to teach and engage in the profession but do not want to take up additional responsibilities. Therefore, the better way to find a compromise for those objectives is to create an age-friendly environment to attract more ETs and to offer them part-time jobs. Studies have highlighted the potential contribution of the small and medium sector organizations in providing employment opportunities for EEs and in particular flexible working options for older workers (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick, 1997; Loretto & White, 2006).

The different benefit packages offered to ETs against younger teachers are a crucial factor demonstrating age discrimination in the organization. Bal and Visser (2011) mentioned that bridge employment (employment beyond retirement) is often accompanied by a lower level of working hours, consequently a lower level of remuneration, yet it is very important income for filling up possible pension gaps. The way in which employment practices changed in Japan with the ageing labour force was explained by Clark and Ogawa (1996), as firms replaced lifelong employment policy with a mandatory retirement and seniority pay system changed into performance based pay, which reduced earning at an older age. In South Korea also under the seniority wage system, the practice of wage reduction for EEs could be seen

in the name of "wage peak system" based on the length of time they have been employed after a certain age (Kim & Mo, 2014).

Nevertheless, the findings of the study provided a mixed picture regarding remuneration and other benefit practices in the private schools. In some schools, ETs were provided a competitive remuneration and other benefits irrespective of age, while other schools gave lower benefit packages compared with younger teachers. However, it was found that sometimes small and medium schools tended to offer lower remuneration and benefits compared to large schools because of the financial and other numerous challenges faced by those schools. Hence they tried to compromise those challenges by negotiating with other demands of ETs such as flexibility, lower responsibilities and reduced working hours. Since financial incentives play an important role in performance, such bargained benefit packages for ETs may have direct implications regarding the motivation of teachers and in turn the quality of the education provided in the schools when employing ETs.

As the interviewees mentioned, if the schools offer competitive salaries and other benefits such as bonuses irrespective of age, it will motivate the teachers by maintaining an equal employment environment. Teachers are the heart of quality education. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the schools to maintain a "satisfied" teaching staff. However, if the ETs are paid lower salaries than younger teachers it will obviously demotivate the ETs and the school cannot obtain higher contribution from them. This treatment for ETs is an underestimation of their knowledge and experience, solely because of "being a retiree or an elderly employee." It is also contradictory to the reasons given by the interviewees for employing ETs in the private sector schools as competence of ETs, expertise, and experience. Further, creating a perception that ETs could be hired at a lower salary would tarnish the image of the ETs and the schools that employ those ETs. This will in turn diminish the demand for ETs, establishing another stereotypical attitude in the education industry. As emphasized by Duthilleul (2005), the long-term sustainable answer to teacher shortages is not institutionalizing low cost, non-professional teachers, but decent working and living conditions that make teaching an attractive profession.

6.3.4 Training and Development of Elderly Teachers

Scholars have strongly emphasized the need for provisioning training and development opportunities for EEs in an ageing arena and during the labour and skill shortages in the economies; nevertheless in reality it is a rare practice among the employers (Taylor & Walker, 1998; Stassen & Templer, 2005). The employers claimed that EEs were hesitant to participate in training whilst the EEs complained that employers did not provide them training opportunities (Gray & McGregor, 2003). Accordingly, the study investigated the practice of training and development for ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

The study found that meager attention has been paid by the private sector schools when providing training to the ETs. The reasons elaborated were that ETs did not require further training, training consumed large budgets, and also ETs were reluctant to take part in training programmes. It was found that training programmes are mainly targeted for young teachers and often ETs are discriminated. It was evident that having upper age restrictions for training opportunities in some schools. Further, the training sessions were informal arrangements and even younger teachers did not have adequate opportunities. In general, the schools have not been highly involved in training and development programmes. This tendency may be because the profit oriented private sector schools do not consider training as a priority, training consumes huge costs, and the employers' attitude towards training is that it is a cost not an investment. Thus employers assumed that rather than providing training to the teachers, it is beneficial to hire trained retired teachers. In essence, the study found that the dominant determinant of providing training and the selection of teachers for the training programme is the attitudes of the interviewee (employer or principal).

Apparently, the attitudes of employers in the schools were not positive or persuasive regarding teacher training. Similarly, the attitudes of the ETs were also a discouraging factor for not providing them training. The presumption of both the interviewees and the ETs that "adequacy of government training" is not a valid argument in the contemporary knowledge economy. It may be a cost saving attempt of the employers or laziness of the ETs to take part in training. Human capital theory suggests that training is beneficial not only for the employee but also for the organization, which brings future returns. Especially today training for the elderly is

inevitable than earlier, since the country is reaching an aged status and thereby EEs are required to secure an employment. Further, in the area of education, knowledge is swiftly updating and the ETs are necessity to catch up that knowledge and skills through the training. Therefore, teachers are supposed to have continuous training irrespective of age. Sometimes discontinuation of service for a considerable period among the retired teachers requires them to undergo training before they return back to normal teaching career. Moreover, the ETs in the private schools have mostly come from government schools, where numerous differences could be identified in the private sector schools in terms of the school culture, the religious environment, the medium of instruction, teaching methods, and subject contents. Engaging merely in routine teaching is a repetitive job; it does add experience but it does not develop the teacher. To sharpen their knowledge, teaching methods, and skills, teachers are supposed to undergo proper teacher training under the expert educators/ trainers/mentors. For instance, many of the interviewees criticized the IT skills of the ETs, which are an integral part of knowledge searching and modern teaching methods, especially in the private sector schools.

The empirical evidence showed consistent findings with the study results. Some scholars reported that EEs do not have the same access to training and development opportunities as younger workers (OECD, 2005; Taylor & Urwin, 2001). On the other hand, the literature remarked on the less likelihood of EEs participating in training programmes (Brooke, 2003) perceiving that they possess less cognitive abilities compared with younger teachers and therefore try to avoid training in order to protect their self-concept (Kanfer & Ackerman, 2004).

Merely providing informal training would not yield effective returns. In order to gain a significant impact teacher training needs to be organized formally and implemented constantly. The implications of a lack of teacher training will directly be reflected through the quality of education provided by the schools. In the future, private sector schools may face severe repercussions with the shortage of teachers if formal training is not provided for teachers including ETs, because employing ETs is a partial solution to mitigate the teacher shortage in the schools. Even ETs are required to continuously undergo training in order to sharpen their skills. Thus training and development practice call for the serious concern of employers. On the

other hand, if the ETs want to continue their career and remain in the labour market, it is equally important for them to change their attitudes regarding participation in training programmes and upgrading their knowledge and skills.

6.3.5 Performance Evaluation and the Promotion of Elderly Teachers

The present study found that not all the private sector schools in the sample were adopting a formal performance evaluation process, particularly some of the small and medium schools. However, the schools conducting performance evaluation followed the same performance evaluation criteria in the domains of teaching competence and behavioural competence for both the young and elderly teachers without any discrimination. This indicates that employers expect similar performance standards from all the teachers and they are evaluated against those criteria. Further, the schools implement the same evaluation procedure for all of the teachers. The study revealed that the ETs earned better scores for their performance except for the participation in extracurricular activities in the schools.

Age discrimination in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka cannot be visible in the performance evaluation practice directly but indirectly; it is not in the performance criteria, procedures, or ratings but in the given performance rewards. The study indicated that, approximately a third of the schools would not give salary increments for ETs even if their performance was evaluated. This trend could be particularly observed in the medium and large schools. In terms of the type of school, half of the UPSs would not pay salary increments. The reason given by the employers for not paying increments was that the teachers that were on a contract basis worked for a fixed remuneration and none of these teachers received salary increments, even the younger contract teachers. Since the common basis of employing ETs is a contract agreement, they are not supposed to get annual salary increments. Then, the purpose of performance evaluation for the ETs was for the decision of the renewal of the contract. On the surface performance evaluation seemed non-age discriminatory, but in the end it reflects covert discrimination.

In the context of employment of EEs, scholars have examined the relationship between the supervisor (rater) and performance rating of elder workers and found that EEs received lower performance ratings than young employees due to the

stereotypical attitudes of the supervisor (Hassell & Perrewe, 1995; Chiu et al., 2001). Further Steele and Aronson (1995) revealed that employees were afraid of being judged (under rated of performance) on the basis of negative stereotypes, a phenomenon is known as a "stereotype threat," which leads to anxiety and impacts performance negatively. In the long run, lower performance can be expected from the ETs in the private sector schools if the performance evaluation practice will continue in the same manner.

The implementation of performance evaluation practices obviously has implications regarding teacher performance. If the schools expect to have a motivated teaching staff, it is essential to provide them with some financial incentives on performance other than mere annual feedback to the teachers. Throughout the performance evaluation, all of the teachers received equal treatments but finally and most importantly rewards were given unequally. At least those ETs can be motivated by giving them other allowances in the absence of performance increments. Apparently, recruiting ETs on a contract basis deprives their benefits a lot. Livingston (1969) noted that managers that have high expectations of EEs are likely to foster higher motivation and work productivity than managers with low expectations. In Singapore the teacher re-employment scheme recruits retired teachers on a contract basis but in order to keep them motivated, the system provides them a standard annual salary increment and re-engagement bonus. Therefore, this may affect the contribution extended by the ETs. Further, in Sri Lankan context that might be the reason why the ETs do not additionally engage in the extracurricular activities of the schools and restrict their responsibility to only teaching.

Moreover, the current study found that the private sector schools in Sri Lanka do not offer promotions to the ETs, even though many stated that there is "no age limit" for promotions in the schools. Almost a third of the survey respondents confirmed that they specified an age limit for teacher promotions, which obviously discriminates the ETs. The mentioned age limits ranged from 50 to 65 years, indicating that becoming elderly in the teaching profession deprives these teachers for career advancement in the private sector schools. However this practice is contrary to the justifications given by the employers for employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, i.e., admiring the competence and experience of ETs.

Furthermore, among the schools stated that there was no age limit for promotions they would not award promotions to the ETs due to contract basis employment. Nonetheless, the chances are higher for ISs offering promotions for ETs, especially among the small- and medium-size schools, where no official retirement age has been fixed.

The findings from other research have also confirmed that promotions are rare for EEs. Taylor and Walker (1998) studied the U.K. personnel managers and directors in large organizations and stated that EEs were less likely to be promoted because of prevailing negative attitudes about the EEs such as lack of creativity, having a short tenure left for them in the organization, being too cautious, and EEs were marking time until retirement. Lee (2008) mentioned that EEs in the Korean economy were also deprived of opportunities for promotion due to their older age. In the study of Chiu et al. (2001) noted that employers' stereotypical attitudes towards the elderly negatively affected their promotions.

However, a contradictory finding was revealed by an interviewee in the study, who said that sometimes ETs refuse promotions considering promotions as an additional burden. When carefully observing the elderly labour market, awarding a promotion for ETs is a rare recognition. Refusing promotions may send a negative message to employers, making them believe that ETs are expecting less work load or are afraid of getting responsibilities. This may lead to further establishing stereotypical attitudes towards EEs in the labour market.

6.3.6 Official Retirement Age in the Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

There was no one particular stipulated official retirement age among the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. It varied from school to school and the study found a range of official retirement ages from 55 to 70. In certain small ISs there was "no official retirement age" at all. In the schools that implemented official retirement age they would allow teachers to have complete retirement at that age. However, no early retirement or phased retirement was offered. A vast majority of those schools employed ETs beyond the official retirement age. Interestingly, the study found that a majority of the respondents would like to extend the existing official retirement age up to the age of 65 and 70. These findings are consistent with the explanation given in

the maintenance model for retaining employees, which considers employees as valuable assets and tries to keep them by designing employment policies and practices. Those findings unveiled the age-friendly retirement practice among the private schools and opportunities available for ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

Since the government sector retirement age is being criticized as younger compared with higher life expectancy and the rising ageing population in the country, it is always better to have an extended retirement age in the private sector. Looming teacher shortage in the private schools may compel the schools to attract and retain teachers in service as long as possible by postponing their retirement. That is possible by maintaining a late retirement age and extending the service after retirement. Also, in the circumstances like that, it may be necessary to reconsider the complete retirement options in the education labour market. Because some schools may want to have part-time teachers and reduced teaching hours for certain subjects and teacher mentoring role would suggest different alternative employment strategies such as phased retirement, which is beneficial for the ETs as well as the schools. However, the choice of retirement practice depends on the organizational requirements.

6.4 Discussion of Employers' Attitudes

The attributes of the sample justifying its goodness and validity for the study, employers' attitudes toward ETs, and the factors affecting such attitudes and the implications are discussed below.

6.4.1 The Respondents and the Schools in the Sample

The sample of 98 respondents (employers) from the 98 private sector schools made a representative sample in terms of demographic characteristics of the respondents and the coverage of private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The 98 employers have been the decision makers of the schools bearing the positions of directors and principals. They demonstrated a wide spread of age, 30-79 and an appropriate gender balance. It helps to ascertain whether any age or gender differences are involved in the employers' attitudes toward ETs. A vast majority of

the employers in the sample had secured graduate or postgraduate level qualifications and they managed to have sufficient work experience in the same school so as to understand the ETs.

Further, those 98 different schools adequately represented many administrative districts in the country, both the categories of UPSs and ISs, school histories from the earliest to the latest and different size of schools. All of those attributes would be able to demonstrate a bigger picture of the employers' attitudes toward ETs in the private sector schools, and enabling to produce generalizable findings regarding the population.

6.4.2 Employers' Attitudes towards Elderly Teachers

The results of the factor analysis suggested that the attitudes of the employers towards ETs could be distinguished into three categories, and enabled the construction of three attitudinal scales with higher reliability values: Effectiveness, Competence and Adaptability. Among the 19 attitudinal statements regarding the ETs, the majority of the attitudinal statements were perceived by the employers in a positive manner, such as ETs are responsible, punctual, loyal, reliable, competent, etc. One interesting finding was that all of the attitudinal variables in the Effectiveness scale were reported positively by the employers. However, the ratings given for the attitudinal statements of technology adaptability and the flexibility of ETs were negative. These results were consistent with many of the prior studies on attitudes towards EEs in general (Chiu et al., 2001; Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkens, 2005; Kadefors & Hanse, 2012; Kim & Mo, 2014).

The implications derived from these attitudinal findings are multiple. Having overall positive attitudes among the employers were a favourable indication for prospective career opportunities for ETs in Sri Lanka. Employers admired highly the effectiveness of the ETs but less the adaptability. The reason for having negative attitudes towards the adaptability of ETs may have been due to the influence of deep-rooted stereotypical attitudes in the labour market towards the EEs and not based on factual evidence. However, it was clear that when making the employment decision, employers may be very concerned about the adaptability of the ETs, specifically their technological adaptability and flexibility. Thus the ETs that intend to find employment in the private sector schools are required to improve those skills.

6.4.3 Factors Affecting Attitudes Towards the of Elderly Teachers

After examining the nature of the attitudes held by the employers, the study further explored the factors affecting their attitudes towards ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, the age and gender of the employer, the employers' contact with ETs, and the size and type of the school were examined. Social identity theory suggests that older people tend to have more favourable attitudes towards EEs. This has also been empirically proven in prior studies (Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkins, 2005; Kim & Mo, 2014). Contact theory suggests that more frequent contacts with EEs would lead the elimination of stereotypical beliefs and create positive attitudes toward EEs. This has also been affirmed by a number of studies (Redman & Snape, 2002; Henkens, 2005). However, the effects of gender of the respondent, and the size and type of the organization have produced mixed results, allowing those factors for further researching (Bittman et al., 2001; Axelrad et al., 2103; Kim & Mo, 2014). The present study focused on the same factors under four attitudinal categories: Total Attitudes, Effectiveness, Competence, and Adaptability.

The findings revealed that employers' contact with the ETs, the employers' age and the type of school (being an International School) had a significant positive effect on the Total Attitudes of the employers. Further, the employers' attitudes toward the Effectiveness and Competence dimensions were also positively influenced by the same factors; that is, the employers' contact with the ETs and the employers' age and the type of school (being an International School). However, the attitudes toward Adaptability were positively affected by only the employers' contact with the ETs and the employers' age, and no significant effect derived from the type of school (being an International School). In all of those instances, the gender of the respondent and the size of the schools did not have any influence on the employers' attitudes towards ETs.

As explained by social identity theory, the findings confirmed that older employers have more positive attitudes towards ETs. Conversely, the younger employers did not have positive attitudes towards ETs. In light of the teacher shortage, if private sector schools want to recruit more ETs, it may be necessary to educate younger employers about the consequences of population ageing on the labour market and the benefits of employing ETs in the schools. On the other hand, it

was found in the study that frequent contacts with the ETs tended to result in more positive attitudes toward the ETs. Therefore creating opportunities for younger employers and other stakeholders in the labour market to often mingle with the ETs will change their attitudes towards the ETs. That was explained by the contact theory. However, in order to make it empirically happen in the labour market, first expanding the employment avenues for the ETs in the private sector schools is required. Therefore, this suggests that both public and private sector organizations need to increase the openings for EEs where labour shortage is acute.

The ISs in the study demonstrated more positive attitudes toward ETs compared with UPSs. This may have been due to the tight competition among the ISs for qualified teachers that can teach in the English medium, allowing them to demand a higher number of ETs. Moreover, the autonomous decision-making ability of the ISs allowed them to hire more number of ETs in the ISs. Consequently, the number of ETs is greater in the ISs, and the employers have frequent opportunities to work with the ETs that made employers to perceive ETs positively.

Nevertheless, the positive attitudinal trend towards ETs in the ISs is another good sign for ETs to have an increasing number of employment opportunities. The number of ISs has rapidly grown in the recent decades, but limited number of UPSs can be seen in Sri Lanka. Also, the legal restriction imposed by banning UPSs would not allow those schools to further expand. However, for the ISs, there are no such government controls allowing ISs to grow further and make their own recruitment decisions. Despite that, the escalating demand from students to enroll in the ISs is another reason for setting up new ISs in Sri Lanka. Those grounds imply that growing employment opportunities are available in the ISs for the ETs.

6.5 Conclusion

The demographic changes that are taking place in Sri Lanka are triggering labour shortfalls in the economy. The labour market for private school teachers in Sri Lanka has been increasingly tight in terms of searching for English medium qualified teachers. Additionally, the labour shortage among the private sector school is intensifying, especially with the rising number of ISs in the country and the recent

introduction of national curriculum in the English medium in the UPSs. As an alternative strategy to overcome the teacher shortage private sector schools are employing ETs. Therefore, the objectives of conducting the study were to find out the reasons for employing ETs in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, current employment practices applied to ETs and employers' attitudes towards the ETs and factors affecting such attitudes. In order to accomplish those objectives the study used the semi-structured in-depth interview method to examine the reasons for employment and current employment practices while a country-wide survey to ascertain the employers' attitudes towards ETs and factors behind such attitudes.

According to the findings it was revealed that ETs have considerable opportunities in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka, especially for those that can teach in the English medium. Other than because of the teacher shortage, the private sector schools prefer employing ETs because of their competence, their expert performance as administrators, mentors, disciplinarians, for the purpose of age diversity in the schools, and to meet some particular needs of new and small schools. Compared with two types of schools, ISs provided more employment opportunities for ETs. Though the first impression among the employers in the private sector schools was positive towards ETs, employment practices applied towards them were age discriminatory to a great extent. Applying age restrictions in recruitment, determining employment terms and conditions, training and development, and performance-based salary increments and promotions were indications of employment practices that were intertwined with age discrimination. However, there were some instances where the schools adopted age-friendly approaches: sometimes inclusion of clauses to encourage the ETs in the vacancy advertisements, often provisioning of full-time employment, practicing a late official retirement age, and no early retirement schemes. Between two types of schools, relatively fewer age-discriminatory practices could be observed in the ISs in Sri Lanka. Sometimes government regulations affected the UPSs, compelling them to have different treatment for younger and elderly teachers. In terms of size of the schools, the small- and medium-size schools adopted more age-friendly practices compared with the larger schools. Since the small and medium schools have been particularly affected by the teacher shortage and issue of teacher retention, they tended to respond quite favourably towards the ETs.

Overall the employers in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka revealed positive attitudes toward the ETs among the 19 attitudinal statements given. Out of them, employers more positively perceived the responsible nature of ETs, their reliability, punctuality, loyalty, stress tolerance, competence, lower absenteeism, and hard work. Nonetheless, the employers indicated negative attitudes towards the technological adaptability and flexibility of the ETs and also the ETs were considered to be costly. The factor analysis carried out in the study on the 19 attitudinal variables categorized them into three factors, enabling for the construction of three scales in terms of Effectiveness, Competence and Adaptability. It was found that all of the variables included in the effectiveness scale were positively rated by the employers.

In order to examine the factors affecting the employers' attitudes towards the ETs, the study used the regression analysis method. The results revealed that the employers' overall attitudes towards the ETs were significantly and positively affected by the age of the employer, the employers' frequent contact with the ETs, and type of school being an international school. However, a significant effect could not be found regarding the gender of the employer and the size of the school on the employers' attitudes. Finally, the study concluded that the employers in the ISs in Sri Lanka demonstrated more positive attitudes towards the ETs and fewer age-discriminatory practices towards the ETs in comparison to the UPSs.

6.6 Recommendations

The research findings and implications led to the suggestion of policy recommendations that practices could increase the labour market participation of ETs and eliminate the age-discrimination in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. The study suggests both the demand- and supply-side policy interventions targeted at employers in the private sector schools, employed (or potential) ETs, and the government of Sri Lanka.

1) It appeared that the employers' attitudes were positive towards the ETs yet employment practices reflected age-discrimination against ETs due to the stereotypical effect, which created employment barriers for the elderly. Limited awareness on the part of employers about the ageing population and potential labour

shortages in the economy may cause the age-discriminatory practices in the schools. Therefore, the study urges the introduction of age-awareness campaigns targeting different stakeholders in the labour market, including employers, employees, retirees, and the general public about the rapid population ageing trend in Sri Lanka and its impact on the labour market. Early intervention measures are essential before the economy reached the grave labour shortages. Awareness campaigns will have a direct effect on the attitudes of the employers. The growing trends in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka have the potential to absorb further ETs into the system. Creating such awareness will lead to changes in the age-discriminatory employment practices in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka and provide more opportunities for ETs.

2) The employers' attitudes towards ETs showed that frequent contact with ETs can reduce stereotypical attitudes, which suggests to maintain age diversity in the schools by increasing the number of ETs. This allows employers, younger teachers, students, and parents to have more contact with ETs, enabling them to have real work experience with ETs rather than blindly believing socially-constructed attitudes. The government can promote this initiative by rewarding and recognizing the private sector schools that are recruiting ETs and facilitating an age-friendly work environment.

3) The findings of the study revealed that the ISs in Sri Lanka indicated a large potential to create employment opportunities for ETs compared with the UPSs in Sri Lanka. The growing demand for ISs in Sri Lanka also supports that argument. Thus, the Ministry of Education of Sri Lanka should monitor and support the establishment and improvement of the standards of ISs in the country. This will enable the enhancement of the quality of education, the facilities provided for the students, the reputation of the schools, especially among the small- and medium-size ISs, resulting in an increase in the student enrolment in the schools.

4) The popular method of recruiting ETs was personal referrals or personal networks. In order to increase the participation of ETS in the schools, there should be avenues enabling them to have more networking. For example, retired teachers' associations, social media groups among teachers and getting connected with school alumni associations are possible strategies. Those relationships can provide access to related employment information and new career opportunities for

retired teachers. Apart from that, vacancy advertisements for teachers must be posted in an age-neutral manner or include motivational content for retired teachers.

5) The implications that emerged from the training and development practices of the private sector schools emphasized the urgent need for provisioning more training opportunities for ETs. Both the inadequacy of training programmes provided by the private sector schools and the age discriminatory nature of training programmes have become a hurdle for effective ET deployment. As per the findings, the attitudes of the employer (decision maker) played a vital role in determining the training programmes. Since the schools are supposed to provide quality education and to be competitive in the education sector, employers need to change their attitudes towards provisioning of teacher training and invest more resources in the same. Employers should have a training plan for teachers, including ETs, and make training sessions mandatory for all the teachers irrespective of age. As reveled in the employers' attitudes, the ETs particularly need to improve their skills in the adaptability dimension. Perhaps ETs may require more IT skills compared with younger teachers. Since the private sector schools suffer from a shortage of qualified teachers and the government's support in this regard is minimal, it is the responsibility of employers to develop teachers that can serve in their schools. They can set up more teacher training institutes that can train internal and external teachers.

6) As another alternative to enhancing the employability of ETs, the Ministry of Education should initiate some training programmes especially for the teachers in the private sector schools, including ETs, in order to manage the teacher shortage in those schools. Since the majority of the ISs follow the national curriculum in the English medium, it is necessary that the teachers in the ISs have to undergo training programmes provided by the ministry. Those training sessions will encourage ETs to be in the labour market and to compete with the young teachers. This would be beneficial for the individual ETs and for the Sri Lankan education sector in general.

7) The study was able to ascertain some of the attitudinal issues among the ETs in participating in training and development programmes. From the standpoint of the ETs, if they want to continue their teaching career after retirement, they should keep up with modern knowledge, skills, and attitudes appropriately. Taking part in the training and development programmes is a crucial factor for

performance improvement rather than assuming that they are trained enough. Today, the knowledge economy demands teachers with up-to-date knowledge and upgraded skills. This will increase the employability of the ETs and challenge the stereotypical attitudes towards ETs.

8) The practice of the late official retirement ages implemented in the private sector schools conveyed a strong message to the government and the labour market in Sri Lanka, convincing that employees can work longer than the prevailing young retirement age in the country if employees are provided opportunities. Therefore, the study suggested that both the government and the private sector employers need to reconsider the existing official retirement age so as to extend it further in the sectors where labour shortages are encountered and facilitate the retention of employees in the labour market. Additionally, employers should discourage offering early retirement schemes and relax restrictions vested in service extension procedures beyond the official retirement age, especially in the government sector.

6.7 Contributions of the Study

The dissertation can be contributed to the existing knowledge of ageing employment in a triple manner: theoretical, methodological, and practical contribution.

6.7.1 Theoretical Contribution

A vast majority of ageing employment research has been carried out in either developed countries or in the western world where the ageing population has become a severe issue. Also, a great amount of the extant literature suggests that EEs were researched on general basis rather than doing an in-depth examination of one specific sector or a profession. Therefore, the present study was able to bring developing-country perspectives in the Asian context, where the ageing population is currently threatening many areas of the economy. Further, the study concentrated on a single profession, i.e. ETs that have largely entered into the private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

The study adopted several overarching theories and concepts in understanding and explaining the context of ageing employment: ageism, age discrimination, human capital theory, labour productivity theory, the maintenance model, the depreciation model, social identity theory, contact theory, etc. Some of the findings in the study were consistent with the theories applied. Two of the attitudinal hypotheses even confirmed their accordance with the theories. Yet there were inconsistencies found in the study, calling for further research and/or different explanations.

Further, those theories helped to understand the ageing employment from the stances of economics and socio-psychology, but have not taken into consideration the cultural context, values, and norms embedded in a particular society. This study brought cultural perspectives in the Asian context where the elderly have been treated with much respect and superior to their counterparts in the labour market and its consequences in ageing employment were discussed. This does not convey the message of provisioning of any benevolent employment for elderly is worthwhile. However, those perspectives highlighted that how such dynamics have come to affect the Sri Lankan labour market in creating employment opportunities, accepting elderly employees, designing employment policies and practices and shaping the attitudes of the stakeholders. Additionally, the Sri Lankan school education sector is still dominated by the government schools and the reputation earned by the government teachers is at a high level, which creates strategic opportunities for retired teachers to be employed in the private sector schools in Sri Lanka. Those distinctive features in one profession of the labour market cannot be captured by exploring EEs in general. Therefore, studying that specific profession in an isolated manner provides insights into education system and more practical solutions for teacher shortage, which were accomplished in the present study. Those novel and unique aspects have been addressed in the current study regarding the employment of ETs in Sri Lanka.

6.7.2 Methodological Contribution

As indicated in the literature, the study adopted the research methods that previous studies have used: in-depth interviews for employment practices while attitudinal survey was used regarding the employers' attitudes. However, when examining the attitudes of the employers, instead of adopting previously-constructed

and validated attitudinal scales, a new scale was developed for the study, customizing it for the teaching profession. Since the study was able to test and validate the new scales, it is ready for further adoption and screening in future studies.

6.7.3 Practical Contribution

The findings of the study would be beneficial for several key players in the labour market in Sri Lanka so as to increase elderly labour participation. First, the government of Sri Lanka and the policy makers need to reconsider the existing retirement age, and design new policies and practices in order to create an age-conducive labour market, and to bring about attitudinal changes on the part of employers and employees. Secondly, the employers in the private sector schools and educationists will also be able to understand the larger picture of the employment of retired teachers and the best practices that can be adopted from the other schools. Thirdly, for the retired teachers that are already employed, those that are retired but currently looking for employment opportunities, and those that are in service (or future retirees) would be able to get an adequate knowledge about the opportunities available for them, employment terms and conditions they may undergo when they are re-employed, the types of skills and attitudes they need to improve for potential employment. Finally, by and large the study is beneficial to the society to change their attitudes towards the ETs and support to make an age-friendly environment in the society given the looming reality of ageing arena.

6.8 Constraints and Future Research Directions

The major limitation of this study was the sample size. The inability to get sufficient information regarding the number of ISs in Sri Lanka caused the restriction of the size of the sample. Surveying a large sample size would have been obviously supportive for the generalization of the employers' attitudes. Further, the qualitative part of the study concentrated only on the western province in Sri Lanka due to the highest number of private sector schools located there. Perhaps extending the in-depth interviews to other provinces would further broaden the employment practices in employing ETs.

Therefore, I would suggest further research in two directions. First, surveying of the employers' attitudes is further encouraged by increasing the sample size so as to affirm any different results that may be found. In order to search different employment practices, interviews can be carried out in the private sector schools in other provinces in which considerable number of schools are operating. Secondly, in order to understand the other side of the phenomenon, it would be interesting to investigate attitudes and employment practices from the standpoint of ETs, which would make a platform for comparing and contrasting the findings of employers and ETs. This would provide better understanding about the reality and necessary policy interventions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PRIVATE SECTOR SCHOOLS IN SRI LANKA
USED IN THE STUDY

1) Unaided Private Schools in Sri Lanka (UPSs)

1. Buddhists Ladies College, Colombo 7
2. Ladies College, Colombo 7
3. Musaeus College, Colombo 7
4. St.Bridget Convent, Colombo 7
5. Carey College, Colombo 8
6. Bishop College, Colombo 3
7. St. Thomas Preparatory School, Colombo 3
8. Alexandra College, Colombo 10
9. Methodist College, Colombo 3
10. Vidyani Vidyalaya, Pamunugama
11. NCEF Buddhists College, Mulleriyawa New Town
12. St. Joseph Juniorate School, Nugegoda
13. Sujatha Vidyalaya, Nugegoda
14. Highlands College, Nugegoda
15. Alethea College, Dehiwala
16. St.Thomas College, Mount Lavinia
17. Ashoka Vidyalaya, Horana
18. Rathnaloka Vidyalaya, Mathugama
19. Bolawalana Ave Maria College, Negombo
20. Suraduthika Balika Vidyalaya, Payagala
21. St.Jones Balika Vidyalaya, Panadura
22. Siddhartha Vidyalaya, Gampaha
23. Sri Sumedha Vidyalaya, Gampaha

24. Clayton Vidyalaya, Maradagahamula

25. Hillwood College, Kandy

26. Mowbery College, Kandy

27. Trinity College, Kandy

28. Lakpahana Vidyalaya, Kandy

29. Asoka Vidyalaya, Kandy

30. Sri Chandananda Buddhists College, Kandy

31. Sinhala Buddhist College, Matale

32. St.Thomas College, Bandarawela

33. Mahinda College, Hali Ela

34. St.Thomas College, Guruthalawa

35. Minarwa Vidyalaya, Matara

36. K.S.F. Vidyalaya, Anuradhapura

37. Sri Rahula Vidyalaya, Anuradhapura

38. Jaffna College, Jaffna

39. Uduvil Girls' School, Jaffna

2) **International Schools (ISs)**

Members in the Association of International Schools in Sri Lanka (AISSL)

40. Royal International School, Kurunegala

41. Royal International School, Kegalle

42. Republican International School, Nuwara Eliya

43. Royal English School, Matale

44. Highlevel International School, Hatton

45. Gampola International School, Gampola

46. Jennings International School, Nainamadama

47. Oxford International School, Balangoda

48. Aql International Girls School, Akurana

49. UNH International School, Wattala

50. Nawalapitiya Oxford International School, Nawalapitiya

51. Cambridge International School, Chilaw

52. Good Hope International School, Mawanella

53. Amal International School, Colombo 06

54. Al Manar International School, Colombo 09

55. Bright International School, Kandy

56. Brilliant Stars International School, Matara

57. Greenwood College International, Matale

58. Giggles International School, Gothatuwa

59. Hill Country International School, Kandy

60. Oxford International School, Warakapola

61. The Evergreen International School, Gelioya

62. Unique International College, Kurunegala.

63. Wesswood International College, Katugastota

64. Crescent International School, Kalagedihena

65. Al – Imran International School, Kandy

66. Monte Vista College, Gampola

67. Leeds International School, Nawalapitiya

68. Oxford International School, Badulla

69. Gate College, Thalawathugoda

70. Wisdom International College, Beruwala

71. Unique International School, Katuneriya

72. Sailan International School, Seeduwa

73. JMC International School, Kollupitiya

74. Welimada International School, Welimada

75. Keenlee & Willems International School, Mawanella

76. Negombo South International School, Nittabuwa

77. Netherfield International School, Batagoda

78. Cambridge International School, Colombo 15

79. Negombo South Internationa School, Negombo

80. Greenwood College, Ambatenna

81. President AISL, Matale

82. Vision International School, Kandy.

83. Univenture College International, Hatton

84. C. J. International School, Kelaniya

85. Matale International School

Members in The International Schools in Sri Lanka (TISSL)

86. Asian International School, Colombo 5

87. Belvoir College International, Colombo 5

88. Burhani Serendib School, Colombo 4

89. College of World Education, Colombo 8

90. Colombo International School, Colombo 7

91. Elizabeth Moir School, Colombo 5

92. Gateway College, Rajagiriya

93. Ilma International Girls' School, Colombo 5

94. Leeds International School, Panadura

95. Leighton Park International School, Colombo 7

96. The British School in Colombo, Colombo 08

97. Wycherley International School, Colombo 3

98. Lyceum International School, Nugegoda

99. OKI International School, Wattala

100. Regent International College, Gampaha

101. Royal Institute, Colombo 05

102. Stafford International School, Colombo 7

103. The Overseas School of Colombo, Battaramulla

APPENDIX B

BRIEF PROFILE OF THE INTERVIEWED SCHOOLS AND THE INTERVIEWEES

School 1

This school is an IS that started in 2006, is registered under the Companies Act and managed by a board of directors. The school is an affiliate body of a principal organization of a postgraduate institute, which is a regional campus for a number of internationally-recognized colleges, universities, and professional bodies in the U.K. The chairman/principal/owner of the school originally had the idea of expanding higher education opportunities for students. Later on, however, he realized that it would be appropriate to begin the child's development from scratch and accordingly set up a school from primary education up to the Ordinary Level, which teaches the national curriculum in the English medium. It is a co-educational school, having around 250 students and 30 teachers. Additionally, the school operates a day care center too. The school is located in Colombo district, in the vicinity of a populous city area and transportation is very convenient. Yet the space, design of the school, and the facilities available do not have a conducive school environment. The school has few buildings, in which small classrooms are in close proximity to each other, are not properly partitioned, and are poorly furnished. Further, no cafeteria is available, there is an open office without any privacy, and the open area provided for sports and other activities is inadequate and not properly landscaped for the activities of children. Hence, the original purpose of quality education is questionable after carefully observing the physical environment and other facilities provided by the school. However, the information contained in the school brochures and advertisements stated that the school has basic learning infrastructure facilities. To promote extracurricular activities among the students the school organizes several events such as sports meets, New Year celebrations, concerts, and art and craft exhibitions annually. Overall the school is small scale in terms of the number of students and staff, space, and other

physical facilities available and also it does not showcase a conducive learning environment for children and in turn it would not guarantee a standard education.

Interviewee 1

The interviewee was the chairman/principal/owner of the school whose age was 45. The establishment of the school was a result of his passion and vision for education. He is an educationist and has secured a doctoral degree. He pioneered the school and it has been almost 9 years at the time of this writing. The principal organization of the postgraduate institute also functions under his leadership. Additionally he shares his knowledge with several universities, professional educational institutes in Sri Lanka.

School 2

The school was recently set up in 2010 and was registered under the Companies Act as an IS and is governed by a board of directors. It is located in a suburban area in Gampaha district yet with direct access to main road. The founder of the school had a passion for contributing to a community project and finally it was achieved through establishing a new IS which is close to his residential area. Having realized the prevailing higher demand for private sector schools, and the tight competition in Colombo district and the metropolitan areas, the founder thought of setting up a school to cater to the education needs of suburban residents in Gampaha district. The surrounding of the school is calm and quiet, which facilitates a good environment for the students. By taking into consideration the income level of the targeted parents, the founder decided to have an affordable school fee structure. Though the founding values of the school are based on Catholicism, the school promotes diversified faiths and cultures. This is evident through the Buddhist shrine room placed in front of the main building of the school. The school maintains strict discipline among the students and thereby a declaration of rules is announced for the attention of students and parents. It is a co-educational school, and teaches both the national and Cambridge curriculum in the English medium. The school currently has around 350 students and 40 teachers. Classes are conducted from pre-school to Advanced Level. As per the guidance of the founder, when recruiting teachers, often

the school considers the attitudes of the candidates to serve in the suburban areas. Apart from the academic activities, the school has placed much emphasis on extracurricular activities such as sports, religious and cultural activities, various students' clubs and national Independence Day celebrations. Compared with the other interviewed schools, a key feature I found in this school was it has given equal priority to all ethnic groups and religious events in Sri Lanka, cultivating a harmonious and mutually-respectful learning environment in the school. It annually celebrates all four religious festivals in Sri Lanka, including Vesak, Christmas, If tar, Sinhala and Hindu new year. In terms of the facilities provided, the school has spacious classrooms, a library, a computer lab, a science lab, a student cafeteria, and a moderately-sized playground for children. Overall, the school is small scale in terms of the number of students and staff, space, and other physical facilities available but shows future growth potential.

Interviewee 2

The interviewee here is the principal of the school, who has been serving since the inception of the school. She is 63 years old and her tenure with the school is almost 6 years. She has completed a diploma in education. Her total service in the government schools was nearly 38 years as a teacher, a vice principal, and a principal. Before this appointment, she served as a principal of one of the leading government girls' schools in Colombo district. Even after her retirement, she was passionate about sharing her teaching and administrative experience with the private sector education institutes, which compelled her to take up the principal position in this school.

School 3

This school is registered under the Companies Act as an International school and is governed by a board of directors. It is a co-educational school which began in 1991 and is located in proximity to a metropolitan area. The school offers classes from grade 1 to the Advanced Level and has a student population of 390 and a teaching staff of 50. The students are prepared only for the British examinations. Although the history of the school dates back to more than two decades, at a glance not much development can be observed in terms of physical facilities, classroom environment, number of students, and the staff. Apparently, the school does not have

sufficient space and therefore the buildings are squeezed close together. Even the corridors and pathways are very narrow, and seemingly it is uncomfortable for the students in the primary classes. Though the classrooms are properly furnished, they are confined to a small space, which does not create a pleasant learning environment. Other than that, the school provides basic infrastructure for the students such as a science laboratory, library, and IT center, a music and dancing room, and a cafeteria. Even if the school encourages the students to take part in sports and other games, the congested physical environment in the school does not help them to do so. As a solution to that the school gets the service of a rented playground close to the school premises for sports practices during the sports meet periods. Furthermore, the school promotes other types of extra-curricular activities such as music, dancing, religious and cultural events, science exhibitions, and on several occasions school won awards in inter-school competitions. My specific observation about the school is that, except for the principal all other teaching and administrative staffs in the school are young and mature age categories.

Interviewee 3

He is the principal of the school, is 69 years old, and has been serving for 6 years in the school. He has earned a lot of accounting and management professional qualifications apart from his Master in Business Administration degree. He worked in several private sector organizations and therefore his professional experience comes from the business management sphere. Upon retirement from the business sector, he got the opportunity to join the education sector.

School 4

The establishment of the school was in 1900, another noble deed of a devoted Catholic educationist (late) who had tirelessly committed herself to the upward mobility of the children in Sri Lanka. Initially the school served both girls and boys and with the gradual expansions, it was exclusively available to girls. It is a government-approved private school, which is governed by the Church Mission Society. The school currently offers education for about 1650 students with a teaching staff of 76. The classes are conducted from primary to the Advanced Level and follow the national curriculum in both the Sinhala and the English media. The school is

sufficiently equipped with a library, a science laboratory, a modern computer center, an auditorium, a cafeteria, etc. Compared with the other private schools, the academic achievement of this school is at a higher level in the national examinations. Apart from that, the school supports the development of other skills and capabilities of the students through the co-curricular and extra-curricular activities and they perform well in areas such as sports, drama, oratory competitions, and creative writing. Recently the school was able to win a national productivity award. Though the school is located in a city area, its commitment towards the environmental friendly approach and the availability of adequate physical area made the school more pleasant and studious environment for the students.

Interviewee 4

The principal of the school who has been serving in the school for nearly 28 years was one of the interviewees of the study. She is 72 years old and acquired postgraduate qualifications in education. She started her career as a teacher and then moved into school administration. Her experience in education and long employment history in the school has provided her with the opportunity to reflect on the gradual changes that have taken place in the school.

School 5

In 2015, the school marked a historical moment with a golden jubilee celebration, being one of the prestigious government-approved private schools, established under the visionary thinking of a late educationist in Sri Lanka. The late founder was inspired by the mission of facilitating quality education for Buddhist girls as a part of the nation-building process during the post-independence era. The inaugurated school had only 30 students. At present, the school caters to 2900 students together with 130 qualified teaching staff. Though the school revolves around Buddhist guidance, it embraces religious and cultural diversity among the students. Today, the management of the school has been overtaken by the son of the late founder, who is bringing novel expansions to the school. Students are taking classes from pre-school to Advanced Level examination, covering the national curriculum in both the vernacular language (Sinhala medium) and the English medium. Students have been able to record higher results in all the government

examinations conducted under the Ministry of Education. Further, the school awards several scholarships for the students that achieve best results in the examinations as a gesture of appreciation and motivation. Other than the recommended syllabus, much priority is given to improving the IT skills among the students. Apart from that, students are encouraged to take part in extra-curricular activities, fine arts performances, and the religious and cultural events that are annually organized by the school.

Due to its central location, the access to the school is convenient but the size of the physical area is limited. Generally, the school is able to provide a comfortable learning environment for teachers and students, with adequate facilities of a library, a laboratory, a computer center, an auditorium, a cafeteria, and educational infrastructure.

Additionally, the school has an affiliated institute which provides a variety of professional and teacher training programmes on a fee basis. The teacher training programmes offered by this institute are accredited by the government and some international education accredited bodies. Also it conducts courses in IT and English language. The institute serves to both the government and private sector schools and the introduction of English medium schools has increased the demand for the institute.

Interviewee 5

The principal of the school was interviewed for the study, who recently joined the school (nearly two years). She is 63 years old and is holding postgraduate qualifications in education and a vast amount of experience in teaching and education administration. She has served as a teacher in different schools and then as the deputy principal and the principal of one of the leading government girls' schools in Colombo district. Additionally she worked for the Ministry of Education in Sri Lanka as a coordinator and as a director of various education projects. After retirement she thought of contributing her administrative experience to the private sector educational institute and accordingly she accepted the position in this school.

School 6

The school was set up in 1999 as a limited liability company under the Companies Act of Sri Lanka. Before setting up the school, a detailed market survey

was carried out to find an appropriate location where the school could meet its targeted student community from the educated middle class segment of the society. Having realized the ardent need of parents to get their children admitted to the popular schools and because of all sorts of difficulties faced by them, the founder of the school decided to establish a school which offers a national curriculum in the English medium at an affordable fee. Because in the absence of admission to a reputed government school, as the next alternative, many of the parents seek opportunities in the private sector schools, where school fees are quite high, and it is especially unbearable for middle class families. That opportunity was strategized by the founder. Furthermore, he laid down the foundation of the school based on Buddhist philosophy and Sri Lankan cultural traditions and values.

The school is located away from the bustle of the city area and it provides transportation facilities free of charge for the students and teachers to and from the school premises on a daily basis. Currently, the school accommodates over 2500 with a teaching staff of 255. The school is governed by a board of directors, which consists of professors and other qualified educationists in Sri Lanka. The students are prepared to sit for the local examinations conducted by the Department of Examinations, Sri Lanka, as private candidates. Apart from academic achievements, the school always encourages students to take part in co-curricular activities such as sports, aesthetics, and cultural events. Since the school is spread in a large area, it has its own playground as well. Interestingly, religion plays a major part in the school culture and in the personality development of the students.

Interviewee 6

Interviewee number six is the Managing Director/principal of the school, and is 76 years old. He is a retired principal after serving in several popular national schools in Sri Lank as well as in Sri Lankan international schools in other countries. He has completed his postgraduate in education and acquired a wide range of experience and exposure in school administration. Having a thorough understanding of the background of government schools in Sri Lanka, he wanted to inculcate a similar school culture within his school as well in terms of academic and, extra-curricular activities and the discipline of the students. In order to materialize that objective, he opted to get the support from the retired teachers that had trained and served in the government schools.

School 7

The school has inherited to a proud and long history, where the history of the school dates back to 1891. The founder of the school was a well-educated foreign lady that worked in an educational mission to uplift the Buddhist education among the people of Sri Lanka. She had a great passion for spreading education among the young Sinhala Buddhist women in Sri Lanka. At the beginning, the school taught students in the English medium along with Buddhist principles. Today the school is one of the most popular girls' schools in Colombo district, enrolling students from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. It is a government-approved private school. However, the school is run by a board of trustees comprising distinguished personnel in the country.

The school is organized into three main sections; namely, nursery, primary (grade 1-5), and senior (grade 6-13), which teach both the national curriculum (both in the vernacular and English media) and the London examinations. At present it has an enrollment of over 6,700 students and a qualified staff of over 330 teachers. The aim of the school is to produce well-balanced and all-round personalities, and it always encourages students to excel in their academic records while taking part in extra-curricular activities, and getting memberships in the school societies and the clubs. Though the school is located in a city, it is sufficiently spacious for extra-curricular activities. The school is well-equipped with all the related educational facilities for the students such as a playground, a library, a laboratory, a computer center, etc. Being a Buddhist school since its inception, priority is given to Buddhism in all the activities of the school. Not only that, but special emphasis is given to the teaching of the English language, spoken English beyond the subjects prescribed by the Ministry of Education. It conducts English medium classes from grade 4 to the Advanced Level examination. Even today the school is able to maintain its rank at a high level in terms of both the academic and extra-curricular activities and because of its popularity in Sri Lanka.

Interviewee 7

She is the principal of the school, who has been serving the school for 7 years. She is 67 years old and completed her postgraduate studies in education. She started her career as a government teacher and finally she retired from one of the leading

government girls' schools in Sri Lanka as a principal. Her vast teaching and administrative experience, and also the reputation she earned during her tenure, invited her to serve in private sector school.

School 8

This is one of the pioneering international schools in Sri Lanka, established in 1982 under the Companies Act. This school can be considered as an accomplishment of a longstanding expectation of a prominent educationist in Sri Lanka. The hands-on experience of the founder in the field of education led him to penetrate private school education. The strategic location of the first school in the Colombo metropolitan area made good progress within a short period and compelled the founder to open five other branches in the Western province. At the beginning of the school, classes aiming only the Cambridge examinations were offered, and currently the school prepares students for the national curriculum in the English medium, and the Cambridge and Edexcel curriculum as well. Today all of the schools cater to a student community of 5,000 with a teaching staff of 600. The school admires diversity among the students and welcomes students from different religious and cultural backgrounds. The school provides a wide learning experience for the students by offering a total education package from nursery school up to university education. The founder took extra effort to obtain collaboration and accreditation from foreign universities and to help students to have smooth continuity in their learning experience. Additionally, the school awards a limited number of scholarships on admission and based on the performance of the students.

All of the branches are ensured to provide a good learning environment with sufficient infrastructure facilities such as modern classrooms, libraries, laboratories, computer units, etc. However, a separate sports complex with a standard swimming pool has been constructed for the usage of all the school branches in a convenient location close to the metropolitan area. Since all of the branches are unanimously committed to providing a well-balanced student community for the society, the schools always support the students with numerous co-curricular and extra-curricular activities such as sports, cultural events, performing arts, involvement in numerous societies, and clubs in the schools in addition to academic excellence. An annual art

exhibition has been a major event of the school which reflects the aesthetic talents of the students.

Despite the core school education, there are several other courses offered by the school such as English language and information communication technology for external students. A teacher training center is attached to the school as a separate unit to award diplomas in montessori and primary education only for the external teachers.

Interviewee 8

This interviewee is the coordinating principal who has been serving the school for a decade. She is 41 years old and completed her postgraduate studies in management. With her educational qualifications initially she served as a teacher for the upper secondary students and then gradually became involved in the administrative functions of the school as well. Her professional experience in both education and administration paved the way for her to take up the coordinating principal position. The sound interpersonal and leadership skills demonstrated by herself indicated to me how confidently she was established in the position.

School 9

The school was founded in 1993, as a registered international school under the Companies Act of Sri Lanka, with very few students, and today it has become a group of schools in different parts of the country. The founder of the school is an educationist that had the intention of establishing an IS that could produce global citizens in the local context that were enriched with values. It is a co-educational school consisting of the main school plus 6 branches, offering both national curriculum in the English medium and Cambridge curriculum. Classes are held from pre-school to the Advanced Level. The reputation that the school has been earned and maintained so far for its academic standards and extra-curricular activities, and for keeping the school admission very competitive. Grade 1 to grade 12 admissions are based on an examination and interviews. Increasing demand for the school wanted to expand its branches beyond the Colombo area and accordingly the school set up new branches in the several metropolitan areas of the country. Currently the student population of the school is around 15,500 (in all the branches) with a teaching staff of 1,700. All of the branches are fully-fledge educational institutes with spacious and modern classrooms, air-conditioned library, science laboratory, computer center,

swimming pool, playground, theatre, and student counseling unit. Thus, the students are given a wide choice in terms of participating in extra-curricular activities. The school takes part in almost all the events and competitions organized among the international schools and has won national and international awards in academic, sports, drama, literature, public speaking, and productivity. This school is ranked among the top ISs in Sri Lanka. One of the most significant events in the school calendar is the annual aesthetic performance by the students joined by all the branches on one stage for the preservation and appreciation of Sri Lankan culture.

Another unique feature of the school is operating a "teacher empowerment unit" for the improvement of teaching methods and practices. Generally, teacher training is provided for all the teachers and special attention has been given to the provision of information technology training for the teachers in order to familiarize them with modern technology usage in the classroom and when dealing with the students. Apart from that, as a social and professional responsibility, the school has recently set up a teacher training academy so as to fill the vacuum of teacher training institutes for the English medium private sector schools in Sri Lanka.

Interviewee 9

This interviewee is the directress and the coordinating principal of the school, and is 52 years old. She has served in the school since its inception and currently it is her 22nd year in the school. Hence, she knows each and every milestone of the school. She has completed her postgraduate studies in education and has acquired vast experience in the educational sector, serving as a teacher and holding several other administrative positions. Even today, she plays a major role as the figurehead of the school in administering all of the branches and getting the support of teachers, non-academic staff, parents and students.

School 10

This is not about one particular school, but a collection of schools that comes under the Management of the Catholic private schools in the western province of Sri Lanka. This management body was established in 1869. As mentioned in Pinto (2015), Catholic schools were established in Sri Lanka to protect the Catholic children from deterioration of faith and morals and to provide them with a quality secular

education. Hence, student discipline has become a unique feature in Catholic schools. Another distinct character is the priority of the English language education among those schools compared with government and other private schools in Sri Lanka. At present, 20 schools are under the governance of the management body, and all of them are single-gender schools, i.e. either girls or boys schools. Catholic guidance is pre-dominantly reflected in all aspects of the school activities and thereby priority has been given in the admission process for Catholic children. Approximately a student population of 42,500 is studied under a teaching staff of 2100 in those schools. Classes are conducted from primary up to Advanced Level. Many of those schools teach the national curriculum in both the Sinhala and the English media. Comparatively all of those schools are sufficiently provided with relevant teaching and learning facilities, such as spacious classrooms, libraries, laboratories, computer centers, auditoriums, playgrounds, etc. Also students actively engage in extra-curricular activities such as sports, debating, exhibitions, fine arts performances, etc. It is interesting to note that usually very active alumni associations can be found among the Catholic schools in Sri Lanka and mostly they financially support the schools as well as influence the decision making process of the schools.

Interviewee 10

This is the General Manager of Catholic private schools who is responsible for Catholic schools in the western province in Sri Lanka. He is 51 years old and completed his postgraduate studies. He has been serving in this position for almost 9 years. Prior to that, he was the director of education in the Colombo archdiocese. He mainly oversees all of the administrative matters pertaining to the Catholic schools in the western province.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

Reference No ☐

☐ ☐ ☐

Questionnaire on

Employment Practices and Employer's Attitudes Towards Elderly Teachers[1]

in the Private Sector Schools in Sri Lanka

Part 1: Information about the Respondent

1. Current designation in the school ……………………………………………….
2. How long have you been holding this designation?………………years
3. Age …………………years
4. Gender 1☐Male   2☐Female
5. Highest education achieved

    1☐O/L   2☐A/L   3☐Graduate   4☐Post-graduate

Part 2: Information about the School

6. Year of establishment of the school …………………………………..…………..
7. Number of branches of your school (if any) …………………………………..
8. Total number of students..………………………………………………….………..
9. Total number of teachers …………………………………………………………
10. District of location..……………………………………………………..……..

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[1] An elderly teacher (ET) is a teacher that has retired from the government or private sector school after reaching the stipulated retirement age and is employed in a private sector school in Sri Lanka.

Part 3: Employment Practices towards Elderly Teachers

11. What is the official retirement age of the teachers in your school?

……………………………………………………………………….……..

12. Has your school ever employed elderly teachers?

1☐Yes   2☐No

If NO, Please Proceed to Part 4 of the Questionnaire.

12.1 If YES, in what year did this begin? ………………………………..

12.2 Why did your school decide to employ teachers beyond the retirement age?...

12.3 Whose idea was it? ……………………………………………………

12.4 Was there any resistance to the idea? …………………………………

12.5 Which groups or persons were opposed to the idea? ……………………

12.6 Why were they opposed? ………………………………………………...

12.7 If so, would you say the resistance was,

1☐Strong   2☐Middling   3☐Weak

12.8 What about the resistance now?

1☐Strong   2☐Middling   3☐Weak

13. How many elderly teachers are currently employed in your school? …………

14. How old is the oldest teacher in your school?..

15. Do you support the idea of employing teachers beyond the retirement age?

1☐Yes   2☐No

15.1 If yes, what do you think should be the maximum employment age?...

15.2 If no, why not? ……………………………………………………

Recruitment and Selection

16. Does your school specify any upper age limit when advertising vacancies for teachers?

    1☐Yes   2☐No

    16.1 If yes, what is the upper age limit? ……………….. years

17. Does your school usually consider applications from retired/elderly teachers?

    1☐Yes   2☐No

18. On what basis does your school employ elderly teachers?

    1☐Full-time basis   2☐Part-time basis

19. In which category have these teachers been re-employed?

    1☐Permanent   2☐Contract

20. Has your school extended the services of teachers after the official retirement age?

    1☐Yes   2☐No

21. The reasons for such extensions or re-employment of elderly teachers are:

    1☐ Competency of the teacher

    2☐ Shortage of qualified teachers

    3☐Any other reasons (please specify)

    4☐ Do not know

Training and Development

22. Has your school specified an upper age limit when providing training for teachers?

    1☐Yes   2☐No

    22.1 If yes, what is the upper age limit? ……………….. years

23. Do elderly teachers get equal opportunities to participate in training programmes compared with younger teachers in your school?

    1☐Yes   2☐No

Performance Evaluation and Promotion

24. Are elderly teachers entitled to rewards based on their performance evaluation?

1☐Yes   2☐No

25. Are elderly teachers evaluated under the general performance evaluation system of your school?

1☐Yes   2☐No

26. Is there any upper age limit for promotions of teachers in your school?

1☐Yes   2☐No

26.1   If yes, what is the upper age limit? …………………….………..

Retirement

27. Does your school encourage early retirement when teachers are approaching the retirement age?

1☐Yes   2☐No

28. What type of retirement does your school offer to teachers?

1☐Complete retirement   2☐Phased retirement

29. Has your school created additional policies/ practices (except the above mentioned) to accommodate elderly teachers?

1☐Yes   2☐No

If yes, please elaborate: …………………………..………………………………

Part 4: Please Indicate Your Agreement/Disagreement with the Following
           Statements

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
30.	Elderly teachers are more competent than younger teachers.							
31.	Elderly teachers are more creative than younger teachers.							
32.	Elderly teachers are more costly than younger teachers.							
33.	Elderly teachers are more efficient than younger teachers.							
34.	Elderly teachers record higher absenteeism than younger teachers.							
35.	The quality of work of elderly teachers is higher than that of younger teachers.							
36.	Elderly teachers are less interested in learning new skills than younger teachers.							
37.	Elderly teachers prefer jobs with less responsibilities than younger teachers.							
38.	Elderly teachers are less self-motivated than younger teachers.							
39.	The technological adaptability of elderly teachers is less that of than younger teachers.							

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
40.	Elderly teachers are less flexible than younger teachers.							
41.	Elderly teachers have fewer grievances than younger teachers.							
42.	Elderly teachers are more reliable than younger teachers.							
43.	Elderly teachers are more cooperative than younger teachers.							
44.	Elderly teachers are more punctual than younger teachers.							
45.	Elderly teachers are much loyal to the school than younger teachers.							
46.	Elderly teachers work harder than younger teachers.							
47.	Elderly teachers can tolerate more stress than younger teachers.							
48.	Elderly teachers are more responsible than younger teachers.							

49. What kind of support would you expect from the related parties (e.g.: elderly employees, the government, other schools) to promote elderly employment in Sri Lanka? Please elaborate.

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

50. Any other comments

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

-Thank you very much for your kind cooperation-

APPENDIX D

BRIEF PROFILE OF TWO EXPERT EDUCATIONISTS

1) Dr. Lalitha Batuwitage

Education Qualifications

- Doctor of Education, University of Wollongone, Australia
- Master in Leader-ship in Education, University of Wollongone, Australia
- Master of Philosophy, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka
- Master of Education, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka
- Post Graduate Diploma in Education. University of Colombo, Sri Lanka
- Bachelor of Arts, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
- Educational Management Course, Sweden

Professional Qualifications

- Teaching Experience (1979-1984)
- Teacher Educator (1985-1990)
- Lecturer (1990-1995)
- Education Consultant (1996-to date)

2) Mr. Andrew de Silva

Education Qualifications

- Bachelor of Arts (University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka)
- Postgraduate Diploma in Development Studies (University of Cambridge)

Professional Qualifications

- Secretary of Land Reforms Commission in Sri Lanka (1972-1975)
- Government Agent of Ampara Administrative District, Sri Lanka (1975-1978)

- Senior Assistant Secretary of Ministry of Public Administration & Home Affairs, (1978)
- Government Agent of Kalutara Administrative District, Sri Lanka (1979-1996)
- Secretary of Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka (1997-2000)
- Member of the Senate of University of Colombo, Sri Lanka (2000-2002)

CORRELATION MATRIX OF VARIABLES IN FACTOR ANALYSIS

	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	X12	X13	X14	X15	X16	X17	X18	X19	No*
X1 Competency	1.00	**.68**	**.59**	**.50**	**.31**	.16	**.47**	.21	**.44**	**.27**	**.37**	**.28**	.08	.20	.09	.07	**.78**	**.59**	.18	12
X2 Creative		1.00	**.69**	**.51**	**.31**	.07	**.29**	.13	.24	.07	.15	.24	.05	.20	.02	.03	**.58**	**.46**	.05	7
X3 Efficient			1.00	**.44**	.25	.12	**.34**	.16	.22	.09	**.29**	.14	.03	.12	-.05	-.08	**.50**	**.37**	.15	7
X4 Qlty_work				1.00	.23	.11	.23	.13	.18	.02	.19	.24	.12	.22	.21	.22	**.37**	**.29**	.00	6
X5 Relaible					1.00	**.68**	**.51**	**.41**	**.34**	**.49**	**.40**	.19	.20	**.40**	.26	.24	.19	.20	.14	9
X6 Cooperative						1.00	**.57**	**.48**	**.49**	**.61**	**.51**	**.28**	**.26**	**.37**	.22	**.29**	.07	.15	**.29**	11
X7 Punctual							1.00	**.58**	**.65**	**.43**	**.65**	.15	.12	.26	.06	-.01	**.35**	.25	**.46**	11
X8 Loyal								1.00	**.44**	**.44**	**.65**	.06	.17	**.26**	.00	.05	.06	.03	**.31**	8
X9 Workhard									1.00	**.45**	**.56**	.17	.06	.22	.04	.09	**.33**	.24	**.31**	9
X10 Stress_torel										1.00	**.56**	**.26**	.25	**.35**	.18	.16	.09	.20	**.31**	10
X11 Responsible											1.00	.09	.15	.24	.05	.10	.24	.21	**.41**	9
X12 Re_Newskil												1.00	**.35**	**.31**	**.38**	**.27**	.19	.25	.14	7
X13 Re_responsib													1.00	**.65**	**.35**	**.38**	.09	.22	-.03	5
X14 Re_selfmoti														1.00	**.55**	**.53**	.11	.18	.14	8
X15 Re_Techadapt															1.00	**.76**	.11	.08	.04	4
X16 Re_Flexi																1.00	.07	.14	.07	5
X17 Re_costly																	1.00	**.72**	.07	7
X18 Re_Absebt																		1.00	.05	5
X19 Grievances																			1.00	6

Note: Bolded Values Indicate Correlations Significant at the .01 Significance Level.

* Number of Significant Correlations N=98

APPENDIX F

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR FACTOR ANALYSIS VARIABLES

Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
ETs are more Competent than YTs. *	2	7	4.80	1.492	-.459	-.626
ETs are more Creative than YTs.	1	7	4.24	1.486	-.067	-.757
ETs are more Efficient than YTs.	1	7	4.08	1.648	-.091	-.967
ETs' Quality of work is higher	2	7	4.37	1.365	.000	-.601
ETs have fewer Grievances than YTs.	2	7	4.93	1.270	-.541	-.255
ETs are Reliable than YTs.	2	7	5.24	1.560	-.983	-.118
ETs are Cooperative than YTs.	1	7	4.63	1.658	-.238	-.806
ETs are Punctual than YTs.	1	7	5.30	1.487	-.871	.082
ETs are Loyal than YTs.	1	7	5.36	1.594	-.981	.139
ETs Work harder than YTs.	2	7	4.99	1.503	-.466	-.675
ETs are more Stress tolerant than YTs.	2	7	5.15	1.542	-.623	-.610
ETs are more Responsible than YTs.	2	7	5.68	1.313	-1.345	1.680
ETs are less costly than YTs. **	2	7	4.54	1.401	-.579	-.600
ETs exhibit lower Absenteeism**	2	7	4.62	1.418	-.298	-.810
ETs more interested in New Skills**	1	7	4.42	1.741	-.333	-1.098
ETs prefer more responsibility**	1	7	4.39	1.666	-.134	-1.185
ETs are more self-motivated**	1	7	4.49	1.748	-.278	-1.282
ETs are more Tech-adaptable**	1	6	3.69	1.304	-.123	-.676
ETs are more Flexible**	1	7	3.70	1.386	.194	-.677

Note: *YTs- Younger Teachers

** Re-Coded into positive attitudes

(N=98)

APPENDIX G

TOTAL VARIANCE EXPLAINED

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.990	31.525	31.525	5.990	31.525	31.525	4.299	22.624	22.624
2	2.854	15.021	46.547	2.854	15.021	46.547	3.918	20.623	43.248
3	2.485	13.079	59.626	2.485	13.079	59.626	3.112	16.379	59.626
4	.999	5.258	64.884						
5	.948	4.992	69.876						
6	.841	4.429	74.305						
7	.815	4.289	78.594						
8	.670	3.524	82.118						
9	.542	2.850	84.968						
10	.484	2.548	87.516						
11	.439	2.309	89.825						
12	.394	2.075	91.900						
13	.364	1.915	93.815						
14	.261	1.374	95.189						
15	.238	1.252	96.441						
16	.213	1.119	97.560						
17	.194	1.020	98.580						
18	.162	.851	99.430						
19	.108	.570	100.000						

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis
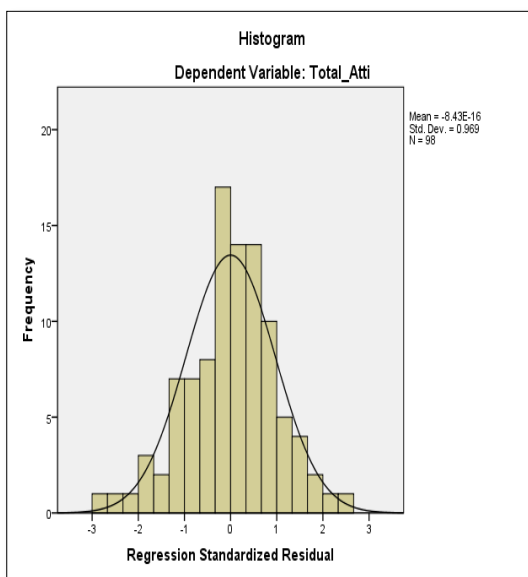
APPENDIX H

SCREE PLOT
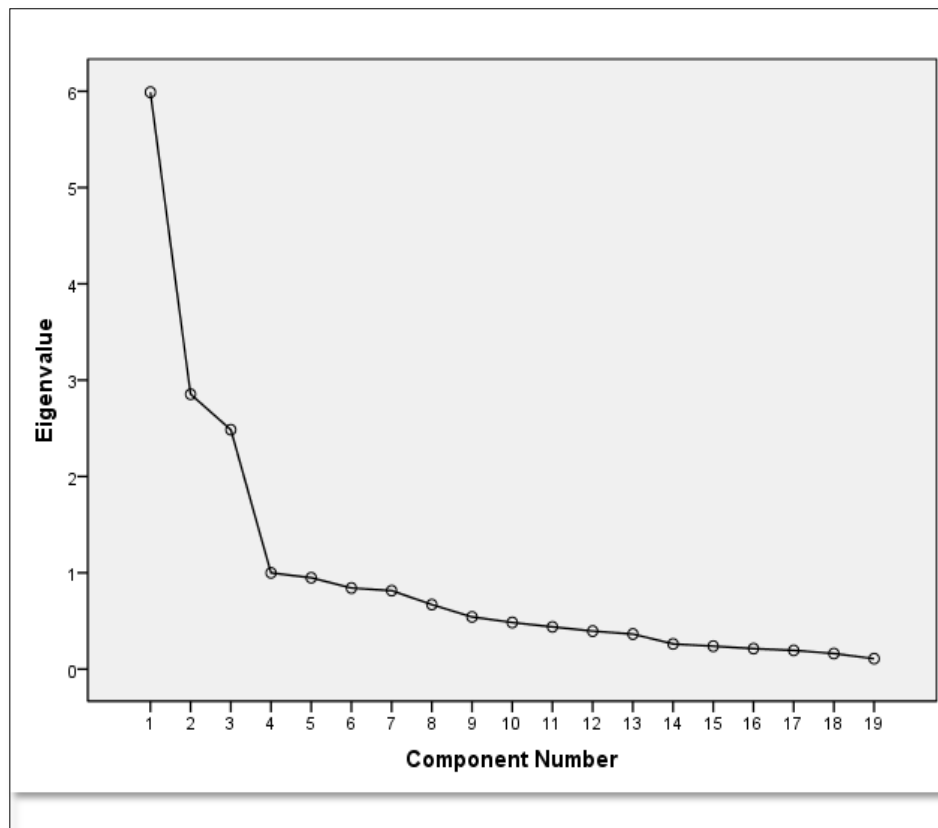
APPENDIX I

COMPONENT MATRIX

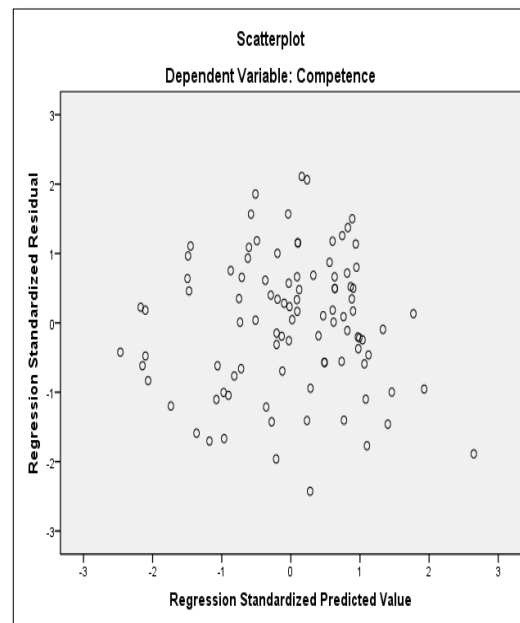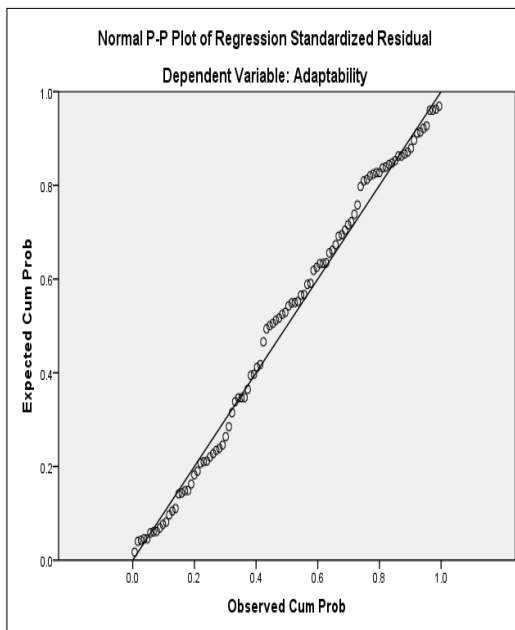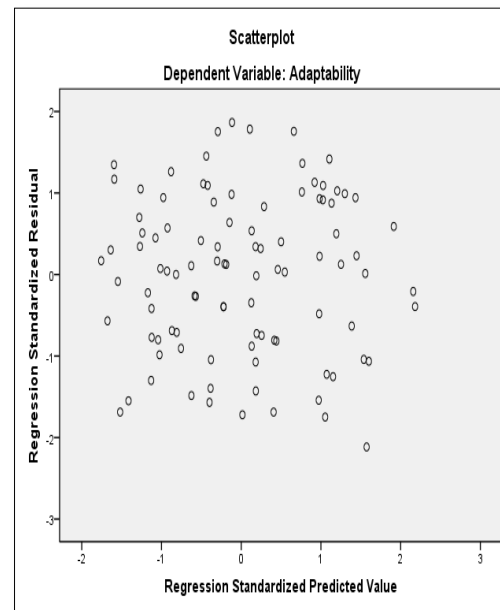|	Component		
	1	**2**	**3**
Competency	.716	-.540	
Creative	.561	-.601	
Efficient	.531	-.565	
Quality_work	.479	-.349	
Reliable	.664		
Cooperative	.659	.462	
Punctual	.750		-.417
Loyal	.565		-.440
Work_hard	.661		-.347
Stress_torelance	.611	.387	
Responsible	.689		-.430
Re_newskills	.426		.390
Re_responsibility	.370	.363	.469
Re_selfmotivation	.550	.410	.446
Re_tech.adaptability	.330	.411	.654
Re_flexibility	.333	.435	.617
Re_costly	.577	-.599	
Re_absenteeism	.534	-.430	
Grievances	.388		-.351

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

APPENDIX J

HISTOGRAMS, NORMAL P-P PLOTS, AND SCATTER PLOTS FOR REGRESSION STANDARDIZED RESIDUALS

Histogram
Dependent Variable: Total_Atti
Mean = -8.43E-16
Std. Dev. = 0.969
N = 98

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual
Dependent Variable: Total_Atti

Histogram
Dependent Variable: Effectiveness
Mean = -4.57E-16
Std. Dev. = 0.969
N = 98

Scatterplot
Dependent Variable: Total_Atti

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual
Dependent Variable: Effectiveness

Scatterplot
Dependent Variable: Effectiveness

Histogram
Dependent Variable: Competence

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual
Dependent Variable: Competence

BIOGRAPHY

NAME	Mrs. Lokuhetti Arachchige Pavithra Madhuwanthi
ACADEMIC BACKGROUND	B.Sc. Management (Special) degree, University of Sri Jayewardenepura (SJP), Sri Lanka (2002)
	Master in Public Policy, National University of Singapore (NUS), Singapore (2009)
	Postgraduate Diploma in Research Methods and Skills, Maastricht School of Management (MSM), The Netherlands (2012)
PRESENT POSITION	Lecturer, Department of Public Administration, University of Sri Jayewardenepura (SJP), Sri Lanka
AWARDS/SCHOLARSHIPS	Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy Scholarship (LKYSPP) (2007-2009)
	NUFFIC Scholarship under the Netherlands Fellowship Programme (2012)
	Ph.D. Scholarship of National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA), Thailand (2013-2016)
RECENT PUBLICATIONS/ CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS	Madhuwanthi, L. A. P., & Mmbali, O. (2015). Cultural diversity and classroom experience: A

phenomenological case of graduate students'
Response to new classroom experience,
*International Journal of Management,
Knowledge and Learning, 4(2) 221-239.*

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school: Employment policies and practices
towards retired teachers in the private sector
schools in Sri Lanka. Paper presented at the
*GSPA 50th Anniversary Conference, National
Institute of Development Administration,*
Thailand.

Madhuwanthi, L. A. P., & Uluwaduge, P.
(2015). Leading for innovation: A case of
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Paper presented at the *GSPA 50th Anniversary
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                          studies

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