

**Managerialism, Teacher Culture and  
Performance Review: a comparative study of state  
and independent schools**

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## Declaration and Word Count

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## Abstract

The view that the adoption of certain managerialist procedures and practices (such as performance management or performance-related pay) will inevitably lead to performance improvement has had an enormous impact on the state maintained sector.

This study, which uses mixed methods, examines the complex and contested relationship between managerialism, teacher culture and teacher performance review in state and independent schools. Schools in the independent sector are not under any statutory compulsion to implement a particular model of performance review – for example performance management – in the same way as state maintained schools.

Evidence from case studies (supported by national survey data) suggests that the predominant discourse in state schools is one of managerialism. Teacher cultures can be described as being generally *improving* and *learning* in nature. Performance review schemes have moved from being less managerialist, richly contextualised, and summatively reassuring to being explicitly managerialist, less contextualised, normative and developmental following the introduction of statutory performance management in 2000. In contrast, the predominant discourse in independent schools is one of anti-managerialism or, to a certain extent, a managerialism with little engagement with managerialist notions of teacher culture. Because of the prevailing anti-managerialism, performance review schemes are largely ineffective, the schemes' main function being to summatively reassure teachers that they are doing a good job.

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## List of abbreviations

CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DES	Department of Education and Science: The Government Ministry which introduced the 1991 model of performance appraisal.
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment: The Government Ministry which introduced the 2000 model of performance management and succeeded the DES.
DfES	Department for Education and Skills: The Government Ministry which succeeded the DfEE.
HMC	The Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference: A group of over 250 secondary independent schools (schools which primarily rely on fee income for support) whose headteachers are members of HMC
HRM	Human Resource Management
INSET	In-service education and training
IPD	Institute of Personnel and Development
ISI	Independent Schools Inspectorate: The inspecting agency of most independent schools
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
NCSL	The National College for School Leadership
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education: The inspecting agency of state schools
PRP	Performance-related pay

SCITT

School centred initial teacher training

SHMIS

The Society of Headmasters and  
Headmistresses of Independent Schools:  
A group of over 50 schools whose  
headteachers are members of SHMIS.

TTA

Teacher Training Agency

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## **Chapter 1**

### ***Introduction***

The undertaking of this thesis was inspired by a long standing general interest in people management processes in organisations – not just schools. For the last twenty five years or so my career has taken me through the various levels of the formal school hierarchy - firstly as a classroom teacher and subsequently into middle and senior management - in a number of independent schools. During this journey, I have been puzzled as to why some people management processes and practices have been either regarded as absolutely essential for organisational and individual success or damned as an unnecessary management intrusion to be ignored or implemented in ways that negate any original intent. I was also intrigued, following discussions with colleagues and friends working in the state and independent sectors as well as commercial organisations and other professions, that some processes and practices, which were regarded as absolutely essential in one field, were judged in a completely different way in another. Surely they couldn't all be right?

This interest (or puzzlement) was a major reason for my undertaking a part-time MBA in Education at Nottingham University from 1994-1998. The course programme was attractive to me in that it was structured to involve contact with students from a range of organisations – businesses, state and independent schools, health service professionals etc. For my dissertation, I chose to investigate a people management process being widely discussed at the time, individual teacher performance review in the form of appraisal – a process that was widely regarded as

having failed in state schools but which anecdotally seemed to be reasonably well established (albeit with little empirical evidence) in the independent sector. The main findings of the dissertation were that:

- The timing of a school inspection and the introduction of an appraisal scheme were closely related in many schools;
- There was a variance in views of the nature and purpose of appraisal at different levels of the school hierarchy.

Having completed the MBA in 1998, I started this PhD thesis in 1999 – the introduction of statutory Performance Management (PM) in state schools in 2000 presenting a further opportunity to proceed with a larger scale study comparing the purpose and nature of performance review systems in both the independent and state sectors.

At this time I held the view that teacher performance review could be made sense of as a discrete process. I felt that the difficulties in implementing teacher appraisal in schools were largely due to misunderstandings of the process itself rather than involving broader aspects of the organisational culture in any given school. Nevertheless I had a contextual difficulty in understanding why performance review in its various guises of appraisal, performance management etc. has been so persistent in many organisations - and not just in schools. This persistence has remained despite a recurring theme of failure (in many cases) to have any noticeable impact on individual or organisational performance. This persistence has also attracted the attentions of others – most noticeably Deming (1986).

Investigating a people management process, such as teacher performance review, takes place in a contested arena. Within the literature, battle lines have been drawn between the anti-managerialists (e.g. Ball, 2001; Wright, 2001; Gewirtz, 2002; Thrupp and Willmott, 2003) and those whose interest lies in the recognition of effective schools (e.g. Creemers, 1994; Teddlie and Reynolds, 2000) and improving schools (e.g. Fullan, 1992; Hopkins et al, 1994; Stoll and Fink, 1996). In essence, the former group believe that performance review, in the form of statutory performance management, is an element of New Public Management - a top-down, ideological, technician and managerialist driven version of Human Resource Management - which is 'fundamentally grounded in the (disputed) notion that there exist sets of principles and procedures which can be applied to bring about effective, efficient, economic modes of operation' (Mahony and Hextall, 2000: 66). For anti-managerialists the culture of schools is sufficiently different from that of organisations functioning in a business or commercial context to cause transplanted practices such as performance management (which have developed in the context of a market economy) to fail.

In contrast, the latter group (which anti-managerialists describe as being managerialist) believe that pupil and school performance has improved as a result of the adoption of certain organisational, leadership and management principles and practices and that 'school effectiveness and school improvement research have played a significant role in the last two decades in validating the belief that schools make a difference and in helping to illuminate those conditions and strategies that promote school improvement' (Harris and Bennett, 2001: 4).

In this context, and placing performance management as an aspect of Human Resource Management (HRM), Tyson (1995: 55) decries a shortage of empirical evidence derived from the experiences of members of organisations which have implemented HRM. For him:

One of the main gaps in HRM research is the absence of data in what people who actually experience HRM policies think or feel about them. Even with all the attention paid to HRM, the consumers of these policies only seem to be consulted by the HR functions within a few organisations.

Even with such a shortage, Vignoles et al (2000) complain that the research on aspects of school organisation has not been sufficiently soundly based on theory. As a consequence, I am in part answering Harris and Bennett's (2001: 4) call for researchers outside the school effectiveness and school improvement fields to collaborate in the endeavour of knowing and understanding the processes and conditions that support school improvement and how schools become and remain effective. I have looked at non-education based research for evidence of practice which could lead to improvements in the quality of management and the education that is offered to children.

Before I started this research, I believed that the people management practices adopted by school leaders made a difference for the better. In other words, I judged myself a managerialist. Others, such as Wright (2001), argue that top-down managerialism in the form of New Public Management has had an unremittingly negative impact by effectively ignoring any values that school leaders may hold. For anti-managerialists, school leaders (prior to the introduction of managerialism) would have provided 'the moral and value underpinning for the direction of schools'

(Wright, 2001: 280) – but this has now been replaced by the values of the political leaders of the country- a form of ‘bastard leadership’<sup>1</sup>.

Despite Wright’s assessment, I still hold my original view. I also believe that successful state school leaders are able to mediate and implement governmental directives without compromising their own values and in a way which will work to schools’ (and pupils’ and teachers’) advantage. This view is further buttressed by Gold et al (2003) for whom successful values-driven leaders are motivated by deeply held intrinsic values and not those imposed by the government. Because of their clear sense of mission, such leaders are determined to do the best for their schools and are able to implement directives (such as those applying to statutory performance management) without compromising what the school is trying to achieve. For Gold et al (2003: 135):

Successful school leaders are driven by personal, moral and educational values and are able to articulate these with total conviction, creating a clear sense of institutional purpose and direction.

Associated with this affirmation, and after eight years of investigation in the field, I no longer judge it possible to make complete sense of teacher performance review, whether as performance appraisal or performance management, as a discrete process. Sense making also requires an understanding of the prevailing teacher (or what managerialists may refer to as the school or organisational) culture in any given school - the process will only ‘work’ in the context of that teacher culture. Others

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<sup>1</sup> Wright (2001) uses a medieval metaphor based on the relationship between a great lord and his vassals and retainers – the leadership of headteachers in a managerialist context is not really leadership at all; ‘bastard leadership’ shows superficial similarities with ‘leadership’ but is essentially different. Power is now ‘located at the political level where it is not available for contestation, modification or adjustment to local variations’.

have taken the view that teacher performance review can be examined *either* discretely (for example Gregory, 2001; Hartle et al, 2001; Smith and Reading, 2002; Dean 2002) *or* as a less significant ‘add-on’ to performance related pay (for example, Luntley, 2000; Storey, 2000; Tomlinson, 2000; Mahony et al, 2002; Dolton et al, 2003; Wragg et al, 2004). Indeed Wragg et al (2004: 13) describe performance management as an ‘element of performance-related pay’ though they also recognise that performance management does need to be considered separately from performance-related pay.

In this sense, my research has been ‘values-driven’ and recognises that non-education based fields of management theorising and research have much to offer. This is particularly true in investigating those organisations in which a large number of professionals are employed and where line managers may know less about a particular field than the line managed. In this context, the perils of performativity (Ball, 2001) can have an effect on any organisation - not just schools in the early part of the twenty-first century.

This view has come to me over time and inductively following close examination of the evidence for the following reason. One of the strands of my research has involved national surveys of headteachers of state and independent schools. I was struck by a similarity in the nature and purpose of teacher performance review schemes functioning in schools which were judged as being highly effective by respondent headteachers and those judged as being of medium effectiveness. This contradicted an earlier hypothesis that highly effective performance review schemes would show distinct differences in both nature and purpose when compared with schemes of

medium effectiveness and these differences could, in part, be elucidated from an analysis of the survey data. However the survey evidence did not provide clear reasons for any similarity and following a preliminary analysis of state and independent school case reports, it became apparent that a key factor associated with the nature, purpose and effectiveness of a school's performance review scheme is the form of the prevailing teacher culture in those schools.

As a consequence, the impact of a managerialist process, such as statutory performance management, has been greater and more pervasive in state schools where teacher cultures have become sensitised and familiarised with the discourse of managerialism over the last ten to fifteen years with an accompanying narrowing focus on teaching and learning. In this way performance management is effective in developing teachers in a normative managerialist manner – for example by reinforcing the implementation of particular models of effective teaching. In contrast, the teacher culture in independent schools is largely anti-managerialist, or to a certain extent amanagerialist in nature, making the adoption of a managerialist people management process more problematic. Although teaching and learning is important, independent schools tend to offer as a matter of course a much wider range of extra-curricular activities for pupils, such as team sports, drama etc as well as highly developed pastoral systems – particularly in boarding schools. This presents a particular set of organisation problems for independent schools and, as a consequence, performance review tends to not develop teachers in a normative, formative and managerialist manner but simply to summatively reassure them that they are doing a good job in what can be a highly bureaucratised manner.



The structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 examine and critique the currently available literature. The first of these chapters examines contested theories and models of organisational, school and teacher culture and human resource management (HRM). This is followed by a chapter which looks at the development of one particular aspect of HRM – performance management – as well as other models of performance review, such as performance appraisal - and how they relate to theories of motivation and rewards. Chapter 4 investigates the implementation of models of performance review in schools (both performance management and performance appraisal) and the associated introduction of performance-related pay (PRP) in the form of the *threshold* in schools. The flow of these three chapters leads to the development of a number of research questions. The fifth chapter describes the theoretical basis for the research instruments used to investigate these questions as well as the research instruments themselves. (In short, this is a mixed methods study involving qualitative case studies supported by evidence derived from national surveys of independent and state school headteachers.) The sixth chapter describes the theory behind the analytical procedures followed for the case studies (the case studies provided the information leading to the development of a number of ‘fuzzy generalisations’ [Bassey, 1999]).

Chapters 7-11 describe the analytical process. The seventh and eighth chapters are concerned with the independent case study schools - the seventh describing the prevailing teacher culture and implementation of HRM, the eighth investigating the performance review process in the case study schools. Similarly the ninth and tenth chapters relate to the state case study schools’ teacher culture and aspects of HRM (the ninth) and aspects of performance review (the tenth). The eleventh chapter

clarifies the ‘fuzzy generalisations’ that emerge from the analysis of the case studies and describes evidence to support those generalisations from the national surveys of state and independent school heads.

The final chapter describes the conclusions that can be drawn from the thesis and various implications of the thesis for the future as well as suggestions for further research. One particular area of interest is in the development of city academies – schools funded by the state but which are largely free to implement people management processes as they choose and in the manner of independent schools. The independent sector has been encouraged to collaborate on the development of such academies (Hackett, 2004). The appendices include individual case analyses of one independent school and one state school, and a summary of the data collected from each of the surveys.

## Chapter 2

### *Organisational, school and teacher cultures*

#### Introduction

Organisational culture, as a notion, ‘arrived on the management scene in the 1980s like a typhoon blowing in from the far east’ (Mintzberg et al, 1995: 372) – an interest which Parker (2000) matches with the marketizing reforms of the UK’s Conservative and USA’s Republican governments of the 1980s combined with the economic threat of Japan. This chapter starts by describing the development of theories and models of organisational culture in the field of business and the parallel development of theories and models of school and teacher culture in education. The problem of defining organisational, school and teacher culture, from the contrasting viewpoints of what may be termed ‘managerialists’, ‘anti-managerialists’ and ‘amanagerialists’, is discussed and a number of theories and models are described and critiqued.

The association between theories and related models of organisational culture and the development of theories on Human Resource Management (HRM) is also described and critiqued, again placing them in the context of ‘managerialism’ and ‘anti-managerialism’ and focusing on the nature of HRM as a people management process with both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ aspects. The significance of HRM, as a form of people management which intends normatively to align the objectives of individuals working in an organisation with those of the organisation, is emphasised, including the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) in state schools. The chapter finishes with a discussion of areas of research interest considering the match between

organisational culture and HRM. Chapter 3 will examine one particular feature of HRM, individual performance review, in more detail.

### **Organisational, school and teacher culture**

According to Brown (1995: 2) interest in organisational culture stems in part ‘from a conviction that approaches which emphasise the rational and structural nature of organisation cannot offer a full explanation of organisational behaviour’. This has led to the drawing together of a mixture of ideas, theories and frameworks under the heading of organisational culture which according to Brown (1995) have been principally derived from two academic disciplines: anthropology and organisational sociology. Brown (1995) categorises organisational culture either in terms of *metaphor* (for example Morgan, 1986; Day et al, 2000) or as an *objective entity* with a set of behavioural or cognitive characteristics (for example Schein, 1985; 1992).

For Brown (1995), there is no consensus of definition of organisational culture and McMahon (2001: 126) warns that the concept of culture is ‘a very slippery one’. For Fidler (1997: 43) ‘to talk of the culture of an organisation is to imbue it with a reality which is illusory’. This has not stopped many from trying and organisational culture has often been defined in catchy and straightforward terms - for example Deal and Kennedy (1988) define what they term ‘corporate culture’ (a synonym for organisational culture) as ‘the way we do things around here’. However this simplicity hides a complex set of interactions.

Schein (1992: 12) defines the culture of a *group* (which includes social units of all sizes, including organizations and subunits of organizations ‘except where it is

necessary to distinguish (the) type of social unit because of subgroups that exist within larger groups') as:

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.

He distinguishes the use of the term group from a *crowd* or *collection of people* only when 'there has been enough of a shared history so that some degree of culture formation has taken place'.

Schein applies his definition of a group to individual schools as organisations and teachers in a given school as an organisational sub-unit. Given this, the culture of any group – whether societal, national, organisational, or of an organisational sub-unit - has three critical elements (Schein, 1992: 8):

- Certain things are shared or held in common;
- Some level of structural stability;
- Patterning and integration which binds the rituals, climate, values, and behaviours together into a coherent whole.

Developing this theme further, Senge et al (2000: 325) place culture as being 'deeply rooted in people. It is embodied in their attitudes, values and skills, which in turn stems from their personal backgrounds, from their life experiences (including their professional experiences) and from the communities they belong to (including the professional community of any school)'.

Armstrong (1999: 160, mirroring Schein; 1985) defines organisational culture as ‘the pattern of values, norms, beliefs, attitudes and assumptions that may not have been articulated but shape the ways in which people behave and get things done’. Given this, Dimmock and Walker (2002: 71) assert that organisational cultures differ ‘mostly at the level of more superficial practices, as reflected in the recognition of particular symbols, heroes and rituals’ – though with only minor differences in terms of deeply rooted values. In contrast, differences in societal cultures are more in terms of basic values than anything else.

Others view (organisational) culture as being more differentiated – for example, Prosser (1999a: xii) defines culture as ‘a system of related subsystems, which in turn organise the relationships among cultural patterns’ – examples of sub-systems including organising communication, resource allocation, social interaction, reproduction and ideology. In this way, organisational culture can be viewed as ‘as system of dynamically related sub-cultures’.

In this context, the definition of an organisation can be problematic, though Bennett (2001: 101) has settled on a number of propositions that for him ‘would probably gain widespread acceptance’. These are that organisations:

- Have members (for example in a school, membership would include teachers and other employed staff as well as pupils – though anti-managerialists accuse managerialists of limiting their view of the organisational culture of schools to teacher culture [Thrupp, 1999]);
- Have a purpose;
- Have to acquire and retain resources;

- Require some sort of structure through which to ensure that the tasks are carried out and the purpose met.

In an educational context, there has been some reluctance (particularly by anti-managerialists) to accept theories and models of organisational culture which have been developed in the area of business and commerce and transpose them on to the culture of schools. (For example, because ‘schools are not companies producing an objective product, where consensus on outcomes is agreed, or where there is acceptance that financial success is all important’ [Prosser, 1999b: 10]). Nevertheless, Prosser (1999a: xii), like many others, identifies culture as a useful if intricate and elusive notion and has identified four key factors have shaped the adoption and application of school culture research in the UK over the last thirty years (1999b: 2). These are:

- Trends in educational theory and practice largely as a result of the impact of the school effectiveness and school improvement (SESI) movements in the 1980s and 1990s and a distancing from the prevalent view of the mid-1960s and early 1970s that schools cannot compensate for the inequities of society;
- A profusion of meanings of school culture, confused by the use of terms such as ‘climate’, ‘ethos’, ‘atmosphere’;
- Trends in research methodology with a move from a preference for the use of quantitative to qualitative research instruments and now to studies using both quantitative and qualitative methods (an observation also made by Teddlie [2005]);
- Political trends and their influence on educational policy, for example by the introduction of a quasi-market in schools following the Education Reform Act

of 1988 and the implementation of managerialism in the form of New Public Management.

Given this, Prosser (1999b: 7) groups meanings of *school* culture into four emergent and broad categories:

- *Wider culture* – the societal or national culture in which schools and organisations function. This view of school culture emphasises the relationship between a nation's and society's culture and the culture of its schools and recognises that 'it is a myth to consider schools as enclaves operating in a separate reality to that outside of their walls'. For Dimmock and Walker (2002: 71) societal and national cultures are enduring and change only gradually over long time periods. School leaders can influence (and be influenced by) organisational culture. Societal culture on the other hand is outside the sphere of influence of an individual school leader;
- *Generic culture* – the culture of groups of organisations (for example hospitals, prisons, schools) reflecting similarities in terms of norms, structures, rituals and traditions, common values and actions. Prosser suggests that private and state schools have different generic cultures;
- *Unique culture* – the culture of, for example a school, which reflects the freedom of participants to interpret and reinterpret the generic culture of schools. Prosser suggests that the predominant organisational values which determine the guiding policies and which provide insiders with distinctive in-house rules are the basis of a school's unique culture. The difference between generic and unique culture is reflected in teacher folklore (a school's unique culture can be judged to be equivalent to its organisational culture);



- *Perceived culture* – the culture of a school as perceived by staff and casual visitors or alternatively as perceived by outsiders.

Prosser (1999b: 11) also recognises that ‘there is a belief that a school’s unique culture is the aggregation of its sub-cultures’ and a growing interest in sub-cultures and their dynamic relationship’ – for example focusing on teachers (e.g. Hargreaves, 1994) or pupils (e.g. Rudduck et al, 1996).

Prosser (1999b: 10) separates the notions of organisational culture and school culture because ‘schools are not (yet) directly related to organisations operating an enterprise ideology’. However he does acknowledge that the literature on organisational culture is an important source of ‘parallel reading’, though with conceptual weaknesses, and has provided a useful resource for reflecting on the management of schools. He also recognises (1999b: 11) that:

Organisational culture, then, is a way of looking at and thinking about behaviour of and in organisations, and offers a useful perspective for understanding what is happening in schools.

Difficulties in describing organisational culture or applying concepts related to organisational culture to schools in part stem from the views held by two alternative perspectives or camps – which Huczynski and Buchanan (2001) describe as being on the one hand, managerialists (mainly managerial writers, academics and consultants) and on the other, anti-managerialists (mainly policy sociologists).

Managerialists ‘believe that there is a relationship between a strong culture and organizational performance’ (Huczynski and Buchanan (2001: 637). For example,

Peters and Waterman (1982) claimed that the strength of organisational culture distinguished excellent companies from their less successful rivals – an interest paralleled in the public sector through the 1980s and 1990s. The notion that school culture (and in particular the leadership and management practices adopted by teachers and school leaders) make a difference to the performance of schools forms the theoretical underpinnings of the school improvement and school effectiveness (SESI) movements (Prosser, 1999) – a judgement supported by Hallinger and Heck (1998) and Witziers et al (2004), who conducted meta-analyses of respectively 40 and 37 studies, as well as others who have had a major influence on governmental policy (for example Barber, Hopkins and Fullan etc.). Similarly Stoll (1999: 33) places school culture at the heart of school improvement. For her, school culture is ‘one of the most complex and important concepts in education’ because (1999:47):

real improvement cannot come from anywhere other than within schools themselves, and 'within' is a complex web of values and beliefs, norms, social and power relationships and emotions.

The alternative camp of anti-managerialists, such as (in education) Ball (2001), Wright (2001), Gewirtz (2002), Thrupp (1999) and Thrupp and Willmott (2003), dispute the importance of managerialist, top-down, ‘best-practice’, problem solving models of organisational culture in their application to schools. For anti-managerialists, the message of SESI proponents that schools can make a difference ‘has been thoroughly overplayed’ (Thrupp, 1999: 4). Anti-managerialists accuse managerialists of taking a narrow or ‘thin’ view of the organisational culture of schools – which is in fact restricted to teacher culture - deriding the notion that organisational culture is generated primarily by the leadership and management of the school and which effectively ignores the socioeconomic status (SES) of pupils and

other contextual factors. In contrast, anti-managerialists propose that social class composition of a school's pupil intake (what Thrupp [1999] terms the *school mix*) reflects more clearly the organisational culture of the school in a far richer and 'thicker' way than any particular approach to leadership and management adopted by school leaders and teachers. As a consequence, pupils attending schools with high-SES mixes will *per se* be advantaged when compared with those attending schools with low-SES mixes – an advantage which masks the impact of leadership and management processes adopted by teachers in those schools (particularly those imposed top-down by governmental directive). In this context, anti-managerialists also accuse managerialists of underplaying the possibility that pupil characteristics might influence teacher practices, thereby influencing school performance, as well as the other way around. Anti-managerialists view the objectives of managerialists as being ideological and business-like, seeking to extend the rights of managers to manage and thereby displacing or subordinating the claims of professionals that they know best (Clarke et al, 2000).

In this context, anti-managerialists judge that the management of teachers in schools has moved from a form of Taylorism i.e. bureaucratic, inflexible and mainly concerned with control and cost cutting (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 22) or welfarism (Gewirtz, 2002) to a form of managerialism often described as the New Public Management (NPM). New Public Management is characterised by:

- Attention to outputs and performance rather than inputs;
- Organizations being viewed as chains of low-trust relationships, linked by contracts or contractual-type processes. The separation of purchaser and

provider or client and contractor roles within formerly integrated processes or organizations;

- Breaking down large-scale organizations and using competition to enable 'exit' or 'choice' by service users;
- Decentralization of budgetary and personal authority to line managers (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 23 taken from Clarke et al, 2000: 6).

There is a third group, which is largely unrepresented in the literature and who may be termed *amanagerialists* (for example Smith, 2001). These are not anti-managerial welfarists and their approach to managerialism is best summed up by the view that teachers are best being left to get on with teaching. Amanagerialists are essentially disinterested in the management of schools, though as Smith (2001: 209) explained:

If the head, the staff and the pupils all feel that they are broadly speaking, in the same boat, you are in a happy school. As a teacher you feel you are setting the pace and yet, paradoxically, you are being led.

He continued (2001: 209):

If, as a teacher, you feel undervalued by your head or disenchanted with the way you are being handled, you focus as clearly as you can on your pupils, on each lesson, on your primary function. Instead of eating yourself away, you say to yourself, 'It is not important whether or not I am working for the head. I am working for the school, and for my pupils. That is why I am here'.

Similarly, an amanagerialist culture could apply to those schools described by Deal and Kennedy (1983: 15) where teachers do not know what is expected of them and do not understand how their actions are related to school-wide efforts. Some forms of *rogue* school (Earley and Weindling, 2004: 73) can be categorised as being amanagerialist in nature.

Given these opposing views (one which focuses on the importance of the leadership and management processes and behaviours adopted by teachers in schools; another which focuses on the SES of pupils in schools; and a third which is indifferent to any of these factors), models of organisational culture have been criticised as impracticable, impossibly diffuse, and only explicable in terms of a children's *Lego* set. For Huczynski and Buchanan (2001: 624):

It is as if our knowledge of organization culture is contained on hundreds of separate children's plastic building bricks, and each time a model is constructed, a different collection of bricks is used. Depending on the chosen design, some 'bricks' will not fit, and are discarded, only to be integrated later when a different design is assembled.

This impracticability has not proved to be an obstacle for a number of influential management writers, consultants and academics - for example, in the field of business and commerce, Deal and Kennedy (1988), Schein (1985) and Handy (1993).

Deal and Kennedy (1988) categorise organisational (what they call 'corporate') cultures as four types:

- *Tough guy, macho cultures* which are made up of individuals who need to take high risks and at the same time receive rapid feedback. This places great pressure on individuals who tend not to work co-operatively and cohesively.
- *Work-hard/play hard cultures* which are low risk and rapid feedback. They emphasise fun and action - for example a fast-food business;
- *Bet-your-company cultures* which are high risk and only receive feedback over a long time period – for example an aircraft manufacturer;

- *Process cultures* which are low risk, low feedback in nature. They function best in known and predictable environments. A process culture is orderly and is characterised by long and rambling meetings.

For Schein (1985), organisational cultures can be categorised as:

- *Power cultures* which tend to be entrepreneurial and in which leadership resides in a few individuals;
- *Role cultures* in which the roles of individuals are clearly defined;
- *Achievement cultures* which value personal motivation and commitment;
- *Support cultures* which value mutuality and trust.

Similarly Handy (1993) categorises organisational cultures as:

- *Power cultures* which have few rules or procedures with a single source of central power and control. Power cultures can react quickly but their success depends on the abilities of the powerful individuals at the centre
- *Role cultures* which are highly bureaucratic. Work is controlled by procedures and rules. Role cultures function best in stable and predictable environments ;
- *Task cultures* which value the expertise of individuals and have the aim of bringing together the right people and letting them get on with it. Task cultures focus on getting the job done;
- *Person cultures* which exists only to serve the individuals in it. Individuals have almost complete autonomy and rules have minimal significance.

Given this range of models, Furnham and Gunter (1993) have critiqued and simplified them by reducing each to two overarching dimensions, which can be applied across

the whole organisation (see Table 2.1). They criticise each model's similarity, simplicity (in being 'top-down' and unacceptably limited in their unified view of organisational culture) and a lack of evidence to support their existence and effectiveness – criticisms also made by Parker (2000).

**Table 2.1:** A summary of organisational culture models (adapted from Furnham and Gunter, 1993).

	<b>Deal and Kennedy (1988)</b>	<b>Schein (1985)</b>	<b>Handy (1993)</b>
<b>Dimensions</b>	Risk (low/high continuum ) Feedback (slow/quick continuum)	Degree of individualism (low/high continuum) Degree of collectivism (low /high)	Degree of centralization (low/high continuum) Degree of formalization (low/high)
<b>Culture types</b>	Tough guy/macho culture (high risk/quick feedback)	Power culture (tends to be entrepreneurial)	Power culture (lot of faith in individuals, little in committees)
" "	Work hard/play hard culture (low risk/quick feedback)	Role culture (clearly defined rules and roles)	Role culture (power associated with positions not people)
" "	Bet-your-company culture (high risk/slow feedback)	Achievement culture (stresses personal motivation and commitment)	Task culture (job or project orientated - power resides in expertise)
" "	Process culture (low risk/low feedback)	Support culture (values mutuality and trust)	Person culture (organisation only exists to serve the individuals in it)

Attempts have been made to model school culture (using the term synonymously with organisational culture) in a similar manner (though anti-managerialists would argue that ‘teacher culture’ would be a more appropriate term to use). For example, Hargreaves (1995) categorised school (or, from an anti-managerialist perspective, teacher) cultures as being either:

- *Formal school cultures*, which put pressure on pupils to achieve learning goals. School life is orderly, scheduled, disciplined with a strong work ethic. Staff are strict and institutional loyalty is valued;



- *Welfarist school cultures*, which have a relaxed, friendly and cosy atmosphere. Work pressure on students is low and the goal of social adjustment and life skills are given a higher priority than life skills;
- *Hothouse school cultures*, which are frenetic in nature. Teachers are enthusiastic and committed and want pupils to be the same. Teachers and students become anxious if they are not pulling their weight or doing as well they should;
- *Survivalist school cultures*, which has poor social relationships within the school. Teachers strive to maintain basic control and allow pupils to avoid academic work in exchange for not engaging in misconduct. Teachers feel unsupported by senior colleagues and enjoy little professional satisfaction.

Stoll and Fink (1996) and Stoll (1999) grouped school (or teacher) cultures as:

- *Moving schools*, which are not only effective in adding value and the teachers in them are actively working together to respond to their changing context and to keep developing;
- *Cruising schools*, which are often perceived as effective by key stakeholders, but which are smugly marking time. They possess powerful underpinning norms of contentment, avoidance of commitment, goal diffusion, being reactive, perpetuating total top-down leadership, conformity, nostalgia, blame, congeniality and denial;
- *Strolling schools*, which have ill-defined aims which sometimes conflict with efforts to improve the school. They seem to be meandering into the future to the detriment of their pupils;

- *Struggling schools*, which are ineffective and expend considerable energy to improve but often end up thrashing about unproductively – though ultimately they will succeed;
- *Sinking schools*, which are failing schools. They are not only ineffective but staff are not able to change. Isolation, self-reliance, blame and loss of faith are the dominating norms and powerfully inhibit improvement.

These and other models – for example Torrington and Weightman (1989) and Fidler (1997) can be further simplified to a number of dimensions – for example two for Torrington and Weightman (1989), Hargreaves (1995) and Stoll and Fink (1996); and six for Fidler (1997). This can be seen in Table 2.2.

**Table 2.2:** A summary of some school (or in anti-managerialist terms, teacher) culture models

	<b>Torrington and Weightman (1989)</b>	<b>Hargreaves (1995)</b>	<b>Stoll and Fink (1996)</b>	<b>Fidler (1997)</b>
<b>Dimensions</b>	Autonomy of staff (tight control/complete autonomy continuum) Degree of shared priorities (consensus/conflict continuum)	Social control (low/high continuum) Social cohesion (low/high continuum)	Level of effectiveness (effective/ineffective continuum). Level of improvement (improving/declining continuum)	Three external orientation dimensions: Attitude to innovation, aims of school, attitude to parents. Three internal orientation dimensions: Leadership style, working together, relationship with children
<b>Culture types</b>	Prescription culture (tight control, high conflict)	Hothouse culture (high control, high cohesion)	Moving school (improving and effective)	Type depends on position on each dimension. Fidler identified 729 possibilities
" "	Leadership culture (tight control, high consensus)	Formal culture (high control, low cohesion)	Cruising school (declining and effective)	
" "	Collegial culture (high autonomy, high consensus)	Welfarist culture (low control, high cohesion)	Struggling school (improving and ineffective)	
" "	Anarchic culture (high autonomy, high conflict)	Survivalist culture (low control, low cohesion)	Sinking school (declining and ineffective)	
" "			Strolling school (in the middle)	

These, and other models, have been criticised for ignoring the existence of sub-cultures in a differentiated, fragmented (Martin, 1992) or balkanised (Hargreaves,

1994) school culture. Torrington and Weightman (1989) recognise that each school has at least two cultures (one for adults the other for children), though the number of sub-cultures present will be greater (Stoll and Fink, 1996; West-Burnham, 2001a; McMahon, 2001: 127). Others have recognised the impact of ‘micro-politics’ in undermining the existence of a single identifiable whole school culture (Ball, 1987; Busher and Harris, 1999; Stoll, 1999). Indeed both Hargreaves (1999) and Stoll (1999) foreground the role of micro-politics in large secondary schools in balkanising or fragmenting organisational culture along the lines of departmental divisions or social networks.

However the most significant criticisms of such models have come from anti-managerialists (for example Gewirtz, 2002; Thrupp, 1999; Thrupp and Willmott, 2003). For them, the models are inappropriate, simplistic, ‘top-down’ and narrow assessments of school culture. For example, for Thrupp (1999) and Thrupp and Willmott (2003) they are essentially ‘thin’ models of teacher culture – not school culture - and effectively ignore the social context of schools and any wider social setting, in particular the SES of the pupil intake. For Thrupp (1999: 178):

(Managerialist models of school culture) fail to consider the impact of students and cultures, either individually or collectively, on school organization and management and instruction. As a result they do not acknowledge the reciprocal, negotiated nature of schooling and tend to attribute school processes to staff rather than students.

However, even with this limitation, this is not to say that such models cannot have further layers of complexity. For example Stoll and Fink (1996) include a series of cultural norms they would expect to find in an *improving* school, namely:

- Shared goals;
- Responsibility for success;

- Collegiality;
- Continuous improvement;
- Lifelong learning;
- Risk taking;
- Support;
- Mutual respect;
- Openness;
- Celebration and humour.

Similarly Earley and Weindling (2004: 157) have synthesised (from various studies in different countries) a range of practices, values, norms and attitudes which characterise the cultures of *effective* schools to include the following:

- An emphasis on learning;
- Effective classroom management;
- Good discipline and a safe and orderly school climate;
- Collegial and positive school leadership;
- Shared vision and regular monitoring of students' progress;
- School wide staff development and an effective school development plan;
- Effective parental involvement with parents being valued as full partners in the learning process;
- Effective LEA support.

In summary, the application of notions of organisational culture to schools is highly contested. On the one hand, there are those (whom anti-managerialists describe as being managerialist in intent) who believe that the adoption of particular models of organisational culture, which requires the adoption of certain work practices and procedures, is essential for organisational effectiveness and/or improvement independent of the social context of the organisation or whether in the setting of commerce or education.

In contrast anti-managerialists judge managerialist models to be fundamentally flawed, ignore the contextual factors of the school, and take a 'thin', top-down view of organisational culture which is effectively limited to the teacher sub-culture. For anti-managerialists the management practices adopted by teachers and leaders in

schools will have limited impact, particularly in the context of low-SES settings. They accuse managerialists of underplaying the ability of student culture to influence teacher culture and overplaying the reverse – particularly in low-SES settings.

### **Matching organisational culture with improved performance**

Despite the difficulties in devising a meaningful definition and categorisation of organisational culture, the managerialists' touchstone has been to match particular organisational culture models with improved performance. For managerialists (which in the judgment of anti-managerialists includes school effectiveness and improvement writers and researchers), there can be no doubt that organisational/teacher culture impacts on performance outcomes. For example, Creemers (1994) concluded that about 12% to 18% of the variance in student outcomes can be explained by classroom and school factors; Reynolds (1992) estimated that about 15% of the variance in children's achievement can be attributed to the school. In commerce, organisational culture has been attributed with an even greater impact, one study of manufacturing businesses (Patterson et al, 1997) judging that differences in organisational culture explained 29% of the variation in productivity.

For some, this requires a form of environmental scanning which links different models of culture to strategy - once the environment is identified and strategic objectives defined then an appropriate cultural model can be put into action and effective or high performance results. For example, for Torrington and Weightman (1989) a prescription culture is appropriate where consistency is necessary; a leadership culture is appropriate where there is uncertainty; and collegiality appropriate when the full commitment of individuals is necessary. Similarly

Hargreaves (1995) judged that, of his four cultural types, only the survivalist school is unlikely to be effective - the other three (formal, hothouse, welfarist) more likely to be effective depending on the school environment and context.

However, others have focused on a more universal high-performance or high-commitment model of organisational culture which will result in improved performance. For example, for West-Burnham (2001b: 25), a high performance culture is:

created and developed by the school; firmly rooted in values; expressed through shared language; reinforced by sophisticated social relationships; enhanced by collaborative learning; sustained by intrinsic and moral motivation.

Such cultural models have been developed from the idea of a learning organisation (Senge, 1990) which will inevitably result in improved performance. This model has been further refined by others as a knowledge-creating school (Hargreaves, 1998) or a professional learning community (Hargreaves, 2003; Earley and Weindling, 2004) and adopted by many (e.g. McMahon, 2001: 129) as the model for an ideal school improvement culture.

For Pedler et al (1997: 37), writing in a business context, organisations that learn are environmentally aware; develop in terms that maintains an appropriate 'fit' with their environment; and use human resources strategically. They are flexible, creative and high-trust organisations. They have:

a learning approach to strategy; participative policy making; widespread use of IT to make information available to everyone; formative accounting and control to help people understand the operations of organization finance; departments and sections which learn from each other; a flexible and creative reward policy with non-financial and

financial rewards tuned to individual needs and performance; organizational structures and procedures which are temporary and can be changed to meet task requirements; boundary workers who are environmental scanners; the organization learns from other organizations; a learning climate; self-development opportunities for all.

In a school context, McMahon (2001: 130) limits her definition to a form which emphasises teacher risk taking and collegiality combined with high levels of trust:

teachers feel able to experiment and take risks, where collaboration is valued and time is allocated to facilitate shared work, where information is used as a basis for joint enquiry and investigation and where sharing and partnership rather than competition between teachers is encouraged.

The Department for Education and Employment (DfEE, 2000d: 20) approves of the notion of a school as a learning organisation populated by reflective practitioners. However, the DfEE's version emphasises the importance of normatively aligning learning with (centrally determined) core activities - a managerialist 'hard' character.

For the DfEE:

learning is a continuing, strategically used process, integrated with and running parallel to core activities and where interactions occur with other organisations and communities are perceived to be further opportunities for learning.

The learning organisation model has been criticised by many. For example, Reeves et al (2002:170) have difficulty 'in working out who is exactly learning what and how the resulting knowledge is embedded and used in the organisation' and Keep and Rainbird (2000: 178) suggest that the practical utility of the literature concerning the learning organisation is limited. They suggest (2000: 184) that 'in many organizations, before any more learning is attempted there need to be greater efforts to harness existing pools of expertise and knowledge'. Citing Dench et al (1998: 61), and echoing Thompson (2001), they conclude that 'in reality most employers simply



want people to get on with their job, and not challenge things'. In this context, organisations (both schools and in business) do not help the process - there are few examples of individuals learning in the workplace as a result of organisation-wide strategies or initiatives (Eraut et al, 1998: 41) - most being relatively informal and initiated by middle managers, colleagues or the learners themselves. Institutional and cultural factors do little to provide a supportive climate for workplace learning (Stevens and Ashton, 1999). Keep and Rainbird (2000:185) suggest that 'given the choice between trying to get employees to work harder/longer or to get them to do more by working in smarter ways, the evidence suggests that many (perhaps most) British organizations appear to prefer the tried and tested route of increasing working hours'. This judgment is supported in a school context by others (e.g. Smithers and Robinson, 2001; PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2002).

Keep and Rainbird (2000: 185) eloquently develop their theme and describe the damaging effect of long hours on developing a learning culture.

Evidently, long working hours render it more difficult for staff to find time to learn (the more so in organizations where the current norm is for more and more learning to be undertaken in the employee's own time rather than during working hours).

In summary, managerialists assert that organisational culture does make a difference to performance. However, the favoured cultural model has moved from a contingent 'pick and mix' approach (i.e. pick the organisational culture to match strategic objectives and the organisation's environment) to the current favoured cultural model of the learning organisation, or in a school context, a professional learning community. However, the empirical evidence to support this assertion is contested – the long hours culture of many organisations inhibiting the development of a learning

organisation. Also anti-managerialists dispute the effectiveness of managerialist models of organisational culture primarily for ignoring the SES of pupils and minimising the potential impact of pupil culture in modifying teacher culture and overstating the reverse.

### **Organisational culture and leadership**

Though anti-managerialists assert that school culture is not solely generated by the school's leadership (for example 'school leaders have to respond to powerful student cultures [Thrupp, 1999: 178]), for Schein (1992: 1) 'leadership and culture are two sides of the same coin' and the main thing that leaders do is to maintain and shape culture. Similarly West-Burnham (2001b: 26) directly relates the indicators of a high performance culture to the quality of leadership. For him 'there is an absolute correlation between sustained, authentic high performance (culture) and leadership' - and this leadership focuses 'on values, relationships and the core purpose of educating young people rather than schooling them efficiently'. Leithwood et al (1999) similarly identify transformational leaders as those who (among other diagnostic features) can build a school culture in which colleagues are motivated by moral imperatives, share in the decision-making process and collaborate with each other. The importance of values-driven leadership by headteachers is also foregrounded by the National College for School Leadership (NCSL, 2001) and Gold et al (2003). This form of leadership is intended to create an active learning community as well as distributing leadership around the teaching hierarchy - with middle managers taking on a leadership role (and renamed as middle leaders) and becoming 'the key to school success' (Earley and Weindling, 2004: 111). In this way leadership affects school culture (Levacic, 2005: 199) - a challenging task given that Dimmock and Walker

(2002) assert that organisations differ culturally more in terms of superficial principles than deeply rooted values.

Others also caution that the role of leaders as cultural change agents may be limited in practice - managers being more likely to be driven by the existing culture (Alvesson, 1993). Indeed McMahon (2001:136) argues that macro-cultural pressures (dominated by the forces of managerialism and standards) make it:

very difficult for headteachers and their staff to build the kind of learning culture which leads to school improvement, not least because the pressure of the school agenda leaves less room for flexibility at school level.

Wright (2001) has further developed this difficulty into the notion of 'bastard leadership'. Wright uses as a mediaval metaphor to describe the 'capturing of the leadership discourse by the "managerialist" project' (2003: 139). For Wright, leaders of schools (no matter what moral or cultural values they hold) will be overwhelmed by the intentions of central government policy makers who emphasise 'markets as the central mechanism of economic transactions' (2001: 282). As a result some are privileged and others rejected affecting social groups. Central government does this by enforcing managerialism in the form of New Public Management (which is manifested by the introduction of markets to state education; league tables; performance management and performance-related pay). Gewirtz (2002: 2) associates the development of 'bastard leadership' (what she terms the post-welfarist education policy complex) with the ending of any formal commitment to Keynesian economics and distributive justice and its replacement with market 'democracy' and competitive individualism.

In summary, managerialists assert that leadership has a key role in developing and maintaining organisational culture though anti-managerialists accuse managerialists (including policy makers) of hijacking and distorting cultural values and assumptions through the imposition of top-down 'bastard leadership' delivered by means of New Public Management. Managerialists are also accused of minimising the impact of the social setting on the capacity of school leaders to improve school performance.

### **Organisational culture and Human Resource Management (HRM)**

Matching the development of theories and models of organisational culture from the early 1980s onwards has been the development of personnel management (with its welfarist origins) into Human Resource Management (HRM). Human Resource Management has become a diagnostic feature of particular forms of organisational culture (for example a high-performance or high-commitment culture) as well as being intimately linked with culture change. For Storey (1995: 8) 'the twin ideas of "managing culture change" and moving towards HRM can often appear to coincide and become one and the same project'. Similarly Armstrong (1999: 9) matches a strong corporate culture with the implementation of HRM. For him HRM requires 'the need for a strong corporate culture expressed in mission and value statements and reinforced by communications, training and performance management processes'. In this context, Storey (1995: 7) identifies, as one of HRM's distinguishing features, the emphasis on the management of culture as the key to unlock consensus, flexibility and commitment of staff – though Guest (1989), judges HRM's key impact as being to highlight the importance of matching personnel policies with the core competencies required by the organisation.

Despite this, most definitions match HRM with strategy rather than organisational culture. They also emphasise a normative alignment of the objectives of individuals with those of the organisation. For example, Storey (1995: 5) sees it as:

a distinctive approach to employment management which seeks to achieve competitive advantage through the strategic deployment of a highly committed and capable workforce using an integrated array of cultural, structural and personnel techniques.

For Armstrong (1999: 3):

Human resource management is a strategic and coherent approach to the management of an organization's most valued assets - the people working there who individually and collectively contribute to the achievement of its goals.

or Beardwell and Holden (1994: 74):

Human resource management has emerged as a set of prescriptions for managing people at work. Its central claim is that by matching the size and skills of the workforce to the productive requirements of the organisation, and by raising the quality of individual employees contributions to production, organisations can make significant improvements to their performance.

or Bach and Sisson (2000: 11):

(Human Resource Management's) novelty included an emphasis on pursuing a strategic approach to the management of human resources, developed with the full backing of senior management, embracing a tight coupling between human resources and business policy and a coherent or integrated set of personnel policies and practices.

Guest (1987) succinctly summarised the key features of HRM as being high levels of employee commitment, flexibility, taking a long-term view when investing in people, and a pro-active management approach to the treatment of employees. All definitions emphasise a normative role for HRM closely linking the people management function with overall corporate strategy. For example, Legge (1995: 37) characterised HRM (in theory) as being:

essentially a more central strategic management task than personnel management, in that it is experienced by managers, as the most valued company resource to be managed, it concerns them in the achievement of business goals and it expresses senior management's preferred organizational values.

Similarly, Schuler and Jackson (1987) have argued that successful organisations have a close association between their business strategy (following Porter's [1980] classification of organisational strategy options as either innovation, quality enhancement or cost reduction) and HRM policies.

In the field of business and commerce, the adoption of HRM by an organisation is often described in terms of adopting a bundle of high performance or high commitment management (HCM) work practices which will inevitably result in improved performance (e.g. Pfeffer, 1994; Wood, 1995; Huselid, 1995) – though Guest (2001) is concerned about the lack of empirical evidence in supporting such an assertion. The HCM prescription is relatively simple. For example, the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD, 2001:12) judges that high performance will result when the following work practices are adopted:

functional flexibility; breaking down of tight job descriptions; the ending of status differentials; greater use of teams for communication and problem-solving as well as routine work; careful job design to increase intrinsic satisfaction; merit pay; and high involvement of employees in the management of quality.

However for Storey (1987), the theoretical basis for HRM is more complex. He has identified two sub-sets of HRM - namely 'hard' and 'soft' normative models of HRM. The former model is rooted in 'utilitarian instrumentalism', the latter in 'developmental humanism' (Legge, 1995: 34-35). Legge (1995: 35) characterised the

'hard' model as stressing 'HRM's focus on the crucial importance of the close integration of human resource policies, systems and activities with business strategy'. Human resources (Storey, 1987: 8) appear passive rather than as a source of creative energy. The model emphasises 'the quantitative, calculative and business-strategic aspects of managing the headcount resource in as "rational" a way as for any other economic factor' (Storey, 1987: 8). Reeves et al (2002) and Oldroyd (2004) support this view in a school context. For Oldroyd, the 'hard' rational, managerial model is characterised by an emphasis on people management processes such as staffing the organisation, performance management of individuals and individual CPD, team development and planning for succession. Such 'hard' managerial approaches underpin the school effectiveness movement which makes learning requirements very explicit - the standards agenda.

In contrast, the soft model, while still emphasising the integration of HR policies and organisational objectives, 'sees this as involving treating employees as valued assets, a source of competitive advantage through their commitment, adaptability and high quality' (Storey, 1987: 8). As Legge notes 'The stress is therefore on generating commitment via communication, motivation and leadership' (1995: 35) and she associates this soft model with values aligned with mutuality. The 'soft' view of HRM (Guest, 1995: 113) assumes that the full utilisation of human resources requires Herzbergian 'hygiene factors', such as job security and pay, to be provided for through 'generous and fair provision, and to tap motivation by providing autonomy and challenge'. Cappelli and McKersie (1987) have suggested that organisations pursuing a strategy of high value-added growth should treat employees as resourceful individuals to be developed by humanistic policies following a 'soft' model. Oldroyd

(2004), writing within an educational context, describes the 'soft' model as a personal efficacy model emphasising being valued by colleagues, motivation and trust, job satisfaction and morale and learning collaboratively.

Despite this, there is some reluctance in the literature to use the terms 'hard' and 'soft' to describe HRM – possibly because of ambiguities in the conceptual language and values associated with HRM, such as integration, flexibility and commitment (Keenoy, 1990), or perhaps because of the debate on the role of teachers as managers, technicians or professionals.

This is exemplified by the use of the terms 'managerial' or 'professional' (for example Reeves et al, 2002), or by describing HRM in 'formal' or 'affective' terms (West-Burnham, 2001b) as substitutes for 'hard' and 'soft' respectively.

For example, Reeves et al (2002: 6) describe a continuum from a nominally 'harder' line management hierarchy ('managerial') to a nominally 'softer' one which encourages or allows individual autonomy ('professional').

The line management ('harder') hierarchy establishes systems of control through

- Policies;
- Codes of practice;
- Performance criteria and standards;
- Formal appraisal.

The 'professional' ('softer') organisation has a pervading sense of duty which involves

- Obligations;
- Self-regulation in interests of clients;
- The maintenance and enhancement of expertise;
- Self-monitoring of performance.



Similarly, though not identically, West-Burnham (2001b: 16) places the approach to people management as being on a continuum ranging from a 'harder' managerial formal, structured approach (the 'formal domain') to a 'softer' professional internally morally driven approach (the 'affective domain').

The formal domain defines performance in terms of:

- Policies and procedures;
- Performance criteria;
- Job descriptions;
- Conformity.

In contrast the 'affective' domain defines performance in terms of:

- Values and norms;
- Images and metaphors.

This lack of clarity has led a number of commentators to criticise the theoretical basis of 'hard' and 'soft' models of HRM. Legge (1995: 38) has suggested that both (but in particular the 'soft' model) contain potentially conflicting epistemological assumptions. For example, HRM policies are contingent on largely quantifiable performance outcomes and occupy a positivist paradigm. However internal consistency within the organisation (for example applying 'soft' human resource values associated with mutuality) requires a contradictory approach. Oldroyd (2004) also describes the 'soft' model as being more speculative than the 'hard' one for similar reasons. For Legge (1995: 39), further confusion in the conceptualisation of HRM by individuals or organisations 'may result in an inappropriate use of rewards and sanctions that serves only to induce behavioural compliance rather than to change deep-seated existent attitudes'. She further asserts that HRM can only follow a 'hard' model (even if it is wrapped up in the language of a 'softer' variant) in order to control and manipulate the workforce.

Indeed Truss et al (1995) found, in a survey of eight (seven private and one public sector) organisations, that where HRM was being introduced, it was of the 'hard' variety even though the organisations were using the rhetoric of 'soft' HRM. In this context, Townley (1993) depicts HRM as a power/knowledge regime and, in similar terms, Keenoy and Anthony (1992) describe HRM as a mechanism to legitimate management prerogative. As Bennett (2001: 117) suggests, 'faced with uncertainty and a colleague who has greater certainty, the individual is likely to follow "advice" or instructions'. If the objective of approaches to people management is to align organisational and individual objectives, in a 'hard' (and for that matter in some allegedly 'soft' cultures), the organisation is going to 'win' every time. This can alter an individual's sense of self, or disempower or inhibit the values and actions of those who are not formally powerful people within an organisation (Foucault, 1990). Educational anti-managerialists such as Ball, Wright, Gewirtz, Thrupp and Willmott support this view.

In contrast, Bach and Sisson (2000) warn against overstating management control as an organisational objective and underplaying the ability of employees to undermine managerial intentions (e.g. McKinlay and Taylor, 1996; Busher 2001; Knights and McCabe, 2001), though Keenoy and Anthony's comments are echoed in an educational context in the debate on 'performativity' in which the 'organisation's overriding goal is to optimise performance by maximising outputs (benefits) and minimising inputs (costs) and thereby provide "value for money"' (Elliott, 2001: 193). Performative cultures 'place organisations in a continuous state of fending off an impending crisis', leaving teachers with little time to reflectively develop their practice (Elliott, 2001: 198). Ball (2001: 215) has described the management of

teacher performance as a particular performativity. He views performativity as ‘a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation, or even a system of “terror” in Lyotard’s words, that employs judgments, comparisons and displays as a means of control, attrition and change’ (2001: 210). Ball continues (2001: 211-212):

It is not the possible certainty of always being seen that is the issue, as in the panopticon. Instead it is the uncertainty and instability of being judged in different ways, by different means, through different agents; the ‘bringing-off’ of performances - the flow of changing demands, expectations and indicators that make us continually accountable and constantly recorded.

In such a context, Purcell (1999: 36) suggests that a rich new vein of opportunities for research have now opened up. He disparages the utopian and universalist claims for particular models of HRM (for example the high-commitment, high-performance models of Pfeffer, 1994; Wood, 1995; Huselid, 1995) and casts doubt on the effectiveness of such ‘best-practice’ models. For him:

The claim that the bundle of best practice HRM is universally applicable leads us into a utopian cul-de-sac and ignores the powerful and highly significant changes in work, employment and society visible inside organisations and in the wider community. The search for bundles of high commitment work practices is important, but so too is the search for understanding of the circumstances of where and when it is applied, why some organisations do and some do not adopt HCM (high commitment approaches to management), and how some firms seem to have more appropriate HR systems for their current and future needs than others.

Marchington and Parker (1990) suggest that many UK employers are unwilling or unable to make the investment required developing and sustaining a high-commitment model of HRM. In addition, initiative fatigue may be leading to employee and managerial cynicism (Dean et al, 1998). However, as Hendry et al (2000: 51)

succinctly point out, 'no amount of "good" HRM will redeem bad (management) decisions'. Given the uneven and limited uptake of HRM in the UK (Sisson, 1995), Purcell (1999) has suggested that a rich vein of research has now opened up which does not look at mechanistically matching strategy with HRM policies and practices, but at a whole range of HRM choices and process in the context of the internal and external environment - in other words encouraging a closer investigation of the links between approaches to HRM and organisational and school culture.

### **Summary**

This chapter has reviewed the development of theories and models of organisational, school and teacher culture in an area contested by two groups - the managerialists (who believe that there are certain practices and processes of leadership and management which are in large part applicable to all schools and, when implemented by teachers and embedded in school culture, result in improved and effective performance) and the anti-managerialists (who believe that such practices have minimal impact on performance, the more significant cultural driver being the SES of pupils in the school). A number of managerialist models of culture has been discussed and critiqued and the significance of the model of the learning organisation (and its school equivalent of the professional learning community) foregrounded. The relationship between organisational culture and performance has also been examined - managerialists asserting that high performance is matched with the development of a learning, high commitment culture led by values-driven leaders who are prepared to distribute leadership around the organisational hierarchy. This is contested by anti-managerialists who judge managerialist organisational culture models as being inadequate and 'thin' descriptions of culture being largely related to the culture of

teachers and minimising or ignoring the influence of pupil culture on teacher culture and thereby the organisational culture of the school. Anti-managerialists criticise managerialist models for ignoring the influence of the SES of pupils on organisational culture. A third group, the amanagerialists, just want to be left alone to get on and teach.

The chapter also described the development of theories and models of HRM, matching them with the development of managerialist models of organisational culture. The importance of normative alignment of individual and organisational objectives has been foregrounded as a purpose of HRM, though HRM can have contrasting 'hard' and 'soft' aspects. Anti-managerialists have also matched the introduction of a form of HRM (New Public Management) with 'performativity' where the intention is not to improve performance but to exert state control – in other words 'bastard leadership'.

The next chapter will describe the development of models of performance review systems (such as performance management and performance appraisal) and their relationship with theories of motivation and rewards.

## Chapter 3

### *Performance review and employee motivation*

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter described the development of theories and models of organisational, school and teacher culture and how they are related to a particular approach to people management - Human Resource Management (HRM). A key diagnostic feature of HRM has been identified as the normative alignment of the objectives of individuals working in the organisation with those of the organisation itself. The importance of HRM as a strategic managerialist driver for the development of a particular form of organisational culture - for example a learning or high performance culture – has been foregrounded. ‘Hard’ and ‘soft’ aspects of HRM have been discussed and critiqued.

This chapter describes the development and implementation (in the fields of business and education) of one particular feature of HRM – that of performance management (PM). Bach (2000: 241) has recognised that the emergence of performance management:

is a microcosm of the debate about whether HRM is predominantly a ‘soft’ or ‘hard’ management style.

The introduction of performance management systems in commercial organisations in the 1980s is matched with the development of theories and models of organisational culture and HRM and is placed in the context of a disputed area, contested by both managerialists and anti-managerialists.

This section is followed by a description of other approaches to individual performance review, in particular performance appraisal (which can take on both 'hard' and 'soft' aspects as well as being less explicitly normative in intent). The difficulty of categorising performance review (whether in the form of normative performance management or non- normative performance appraisal) in terms of 'hardness' and 'softness' is discussed.

The claims of proponents of performance review (whether performance management or performance appraisal) for inevitable performance improvement as a result of improved employee motivation, and the views of detractors of performance review (whether managerialists or anti-managerialists) are matched with theories of motivation and rewards. The chapter is completed by a section on the relationship between theories and models of organisational culture and models of performance review.

## **Performance management**

Armstrong (1999: 12) describes the key activities of HRM under the following headings:

- Organizational and job design and development;
- The employment relationship;
- Resourcing (including recruitment and selection);
- Performance management;
- Human resource development;
- Reward management;
- Employee relations;
- Health safety and employee services;
- Employment and HR administration.

Each of these activities, and any association with organisational culture, could be productively investigated. However, given my earlier interest in performance appraisal (Carslaw, 1998) and the introduction of statutory performance management in state schools in 2000, this particular aspect seemed most worthy of close scrutiny.

Performance management, like HRM, became recognised as a distinctive approach in the mid-1980s (Armstrong, 1999). Another feature shared with HRM (and for that matter, organisational culture) has been a diversity of definition. Armstrong and Baron (1998: 7), for example, place performance management as:

A strategic and integrated approach to delivering success to organisations by improving the performance of the people who work in them and by developing the capabilities of teams and individual contributors.

For them, performance management is an integrated and coherent part of HRM practice and they stress that it 'is a holistic process that pervades every aspect of running the business' (1998: 28). They explicitly do not view performance management as a 'bolt-on' system or technique.

Armstrong and Baron (1998: 49-51) also discuss ten other definitions of performance management. Though they identify development as the prime purpose of performance management, of the examples they cite only one contains the word and the key feature of each definition, as with definitions of HRM, is the normative integration of organisational and individual objectives to achieve organisational effectiveness. Others (e.g. Sisson and Storey, 2000; Bach, 2000; and (in a school context) Tomlinson, 1999; DfEE, 2000a) have highlighted this normative function.

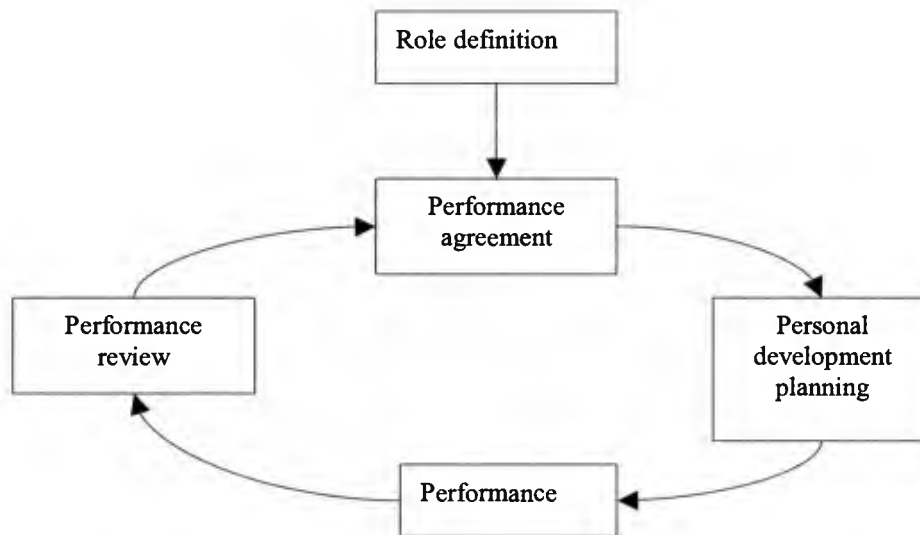


There is however broad agreement on what a performance management cycle looks like. For example, Armstrong (1999:438) describes performance management as a continuous, 'hard', top-down (in organisational hierarchical terms), self-renewing cycle (see Figure 3.1). The cycle has five main activities:

- *Role definition*, in which the key result areas and competence requirements are agreed.
- *The performance agreement or contract*, which defines expectations – what the individual has to achieve in the form of objectives, how performance will be measured and the competencies needed to deliver the required results. Armstrong describes this stage as the 'performance planning stage'.
- *The personal development plan*, which sets out the actions people intend to take to develop themselves in order to extend their knowledge and skills, increase their levels of competence and to improve their performance in specified areas. Armstrong describes this stage as the 'performance development stage'.
- *Managing performance throughout the year*, which is the stage in which action is taken to implement the performance agreement and personal development plan as individuals carry out their day-to-day work and their planned learning activities. It includes a continuous process of providing feedback on performance, conducting informal progress reviews, updated objectives and, where necessary, dealing with performance problems and counselling.
- *Performance review*, which is the formal evaluation stage when a review of performance over a period takes place, covering achievements, progress and

problems as the basis for a revised performance agreement and personal development plan. It can also lead to performance ratings.

**Figure 3.1:** The performance management cycle (Armstrong, 1999)



Armstrong (1999: 440) simplifies this cycle further to a repetitive sequence of plan – act – monitor – review.

Like HRM, a range of claims have been made on the impact of performance management in both business and education sectors. For example, performance management:

- contributes significantly and measurably to organizational productivity and profitability (Armstrong and Baron, 1998);
- provides an opportunity to link rewards to performance (Bevan and Thompson, 1992; Storey and Sisson, 1993);
- facilitates cultural change (IRS, 1999);
- can introduce ‘best-practice’ from the private sector into the public sector in an attempt to increase efficiency and enhance managerial control (Winchester and Bach, 1995) (though quite often without an overarching strategic rationale, see Fletcher and Williams, 1992);
- ‘can deliver significant benefits to both individuals and schools. There is a potential win-win situation here’ (Hartle et al, 2001: xi).

### **Other models of performance review**

Performance management is not the only approach to reviewing an individual’s performance with the purpose of improving it. This section describes the development of other models of performance review, which are largely non-normative in intent. A particular emphasis is placed on the development of performance appraisal. Many features of performance appraisal have been incorporated into performance management (Armstrong and Baron, 1998; Armstrong, 1999).

Fletcher (1997) placed the purpose of early performance review systems as being the appraisal of an individual’s performance in combination with an assessment of long-

term potential. As Fletcher and Williams (1985: 12) have commented (echoing in part the normative intent of performance management systems):

early schemes were characterised by a view that the individual would see his or her aspirations as being consistent with the needs of the organisation and that the appraisal system would be the vehicle for both the carrot and the stick. People were expected to have faith in the fairness and efficiency of the appraisal system because they had faith in their superiors who operated it.

Reflecting the influence of 'Taylorism', such schemes were intended to compare the performance of individuals and, in the business sector by the 1950s, had developed into a form of 'merit-rating', which focused on personality attributes or traits arranged on a rating scale. Combined with such practices as management by objectives and critical-incident technique (Armstrong and Baron, 1998: 36-38), performance review developed into a form of essentially non-normative performance appraisal which became widely established in the 1970s and 1980s. Bach (2000: 243) has foregrounded the non-normative, free-standing nature of performance appraisal 'in which the outcomes of each individual appraisal are rarely linked to overall corporate objectives'.

In this context, performance appraisal schemes can be used for a range of potentially conflicting purposes (purposes which can equally apply to performance management schemes). For example, performance appraisal can be used for the purpose of assessment and comparison (Fletcher, 1997); or accountability (Middlewood and Cardno, 2001); or control (Torrington et al, 1991); or for making decisions about rewards (Beardwell and Holden, 1994; Bach 2000); or for purposes of motivation and development (Fletcher, 1997; Torrington et al, 1991; Beardwell and Holden, 1994; Bach 2000; Middlewood and Cardno, 2001).

Despite the criticisms of appraisal by managerialist advocates of performance management (for example ‘a top-down and largely discredited bureaucratic system’ [Armstrong, 1999]), others have acclaimed stand-alone performance appraisal as ‘as potent a form of organisation development as any you will find’ (Fletcher and Williams, 1985: 91) whilst Sisson and Storey (2000: 89) and Bach (2000: 244) have placed an effective appraisal system at the heart of any serious attempt (including performance management) to improve individual performance. Even anti-managerialists in education are not opposed to appraisal *per se* though with the proviso that ‘it needs to be part of a wider scheme of professional development’ (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 129).

#### **The nature of performance appraisal schemes**

From a managerialist perspective, Fletcher (1997: 11) viewed the form of performance appraisal as depending on two factors. If the aim of appraisal is primarily one of assessment, with a view to making comparisons between individuals or departments, then the process is centred on common dimensions that all staff within a particular group can reasonably be assessed on. For Fletcher, a developmentally orientated scheme has no need for common dimension ratings and the emphasis is on improving skills and setting personal targets.

Though a ‘control’ approach is needed to monitor departures from standards (Torrington and Weightman, 1989: 39), they (1989:31) also warn that ‘too much control makes monitoring spurious as people spend time in circumventing the rules

rather than following them'. For Torrington et al (1991: 204) a 'control' approach can result in:

- Negotiated modifications in order to ease the apprehension of those who feel vulnerable. These modifications frequently make the scheme ineffective because they become bland or pointless or the concession confirms that there was something to worry about;
- A 'them and us' attitude within the organisation because of the formality that is introduced into working relationships;
- Tight bureaucratic controls to ensure consistency and fairness of reported judgements;
- Bland, safe statements;
- Little impact on actual performance of most people appraised with the exception of self assured high achievers and lazy incompetents.

A straightforward match can be made between 'control' model of performance appraisal and 'hardness' in HR terms. Such a model is based on common and comparable dimensions for individuals in the organisation and is essentially utilitarian and instrumental in intent.

Fletcher (1997) considered that such a model would have some or all of the following features: appraisal of personality, appraisal of job related abilities; appraisal using rating scales.

- **appraisal of personality**

Fletcher (1997) highlighted a number of ways used by organisations to assess personality traits, often without any research into the relevance of the attributes to

performance. For example one scheme included an assessment of ‘moral courage’ (Fletcher, 1997: 12). Though now rare, Armstrong and Baron (1998) found that this form of performance review had not completely died out in the 1990s and the assessment of personality traits is still found in some organisations in the guise of competencies.

- **appraisal of job related abilities**

Fletcher (1997: 13 and 15) recommended the use of appraisal of job related abilities as a more detached, less personal way of discussing performance and one which (in theory) is less likely to be threatening to an appraisee’s self esteem. However, he also commented that this approach has the basic intention of comparing the appraisee with other individuals, particularly when a system of ratings is also used.

- **appraisal using rating scales**

Such schemes rate performance using a scale, often with a number of norm referenced ratings of performance. Fletcher and Williams (1985: 11) described one organisation’s spread of performance ratings as being:

Outstanding:	4.0%
Very good:	50.5%
Good:	39.0%
Fair:	6.5%
Not quite adequate:	0.5%
Unsatisfactory:	0.0%

In other words, 89.5% of individuals were rated as being in two (either very good or good) out of six possible categories. This approach was criticised by McGregor (1957) who identified a ‘reluctance of managers to give critical feedback to subordinates - appraisers felt they had to ‘play God’ and found this unacceptable’. As a result appraisers shied away from extremes. Managers using ratings are prone to

avoid carrying out appraisals when they can and, where they cannot, tend to give overly favourable ratings. More specifically, McGregor criticised the summative, backward looking nature of appraisal schemes such as these and urged that a more positive approach be adopted – one which involved the individual in reflecting on their performance and focusing in a formative manner on the future. As Armstrong and Baron (1998: 32) summarised, for McGregor, ‘the main focus in the management of performance should be the analysis of the behaviour required to achieve agreed results, not the assessment of personality’. Criticisms such as this, lead to the development of behaviourally anchored rating scales (BARS) on a number of performance dimensions (e.g. ‘teamwork’) and focused on specific work practices rather than personality traits.

In contrast, for Torrington and Weightman (1989: 204) a ‘developmental’ scheme:

- Can develop co-operative behaviour between appraisers and appraisees;
- Make it easier to confront issues and resolve problems;
- Does not work well with bureaucratic control;
- Produces searching analysis directly affecting performance;
- Requires high trust and candour from the appraisee and considerable skill and integrity from the appraiser.

Fletcher (1997) considered that such motivational and developmental schemes would have either or both of the following features: results-orientation and competency-based appraisal.

- **Results-orientation.**



Such schemes review the achievements of the appraisee against objectives resulting from the last appraisal and then set time-limited and quantifiable ('SMART') objectives. Target setting in this way is matched to a *process* theory of motivation as an approach to improving performance (Latham and Locke, 1979; Locke et al, 1981). Fletcher (1997) considered that results-orientated schemes have the advantage of shortening and simplifying appraisal documentation - with no need for using rating scales - and increasing objectivity.

Additionally, for Fletcher (1997: 21), the greater objectivity of a results-orientated scheme may reduce appraisees' apprehensions concerning the performance appraisal process and he suggested that this explains why such an approach is a more effective motivating mechanism. He assumed that it is easy to determine whether objectives have been achieved and that result-orientated appraisal is more job-related and enables any resulting decisions to be more defensible. However he also recognised the key difficulty in such schemes in making comparative assessments between people - their achievements never likely to be equal. Furthermore, not everything that is important in a job can be framed in terms of objectives and performance ends up being evaluated in terms of ends rather than means. In this context, Torrington et al's (1991) and Fletcher's (1997) descriptions of motivational and developmental schemes, despite a veneer of 'softness', nevertheless fit more comfortably with a managerial 'hard' utilitarian and instrumental view of people management - both approaches being essentially top-down in nature with targets and objectives being set 'from above'.

- **Competency-based appraisal**

Appraisal by means of competencies is also in essence a 'hard' process – competencies being often organisationally determined 'top-down' and imposed on employees as a means of providing accountability and control. In this context, competency can be defined in several ways (e.g. Boyatzis, 1982; Jacobs, 1989; Woodruffe, 1990). Whiddett and Hollyforde (1999) have suggested that the majority of definitions are variations on two themes, namely: descriptions of work tasks or job outputs and descriptions of behaviour. However Fletcher (1997: 32) warns against equating competencies with ratings of job related abilities – a feature of controlling schemes – and matches the development of individuals through performance appraisal as an intrinsically motivating aspect of people management, albeit in 'hard' terms. For him:

Competency-based appraisal does allow some scope for comparing people but its real strength is in analysing the progress of an individual and directing attention to those areas where skills can be improved. It is developmentally oriented and as such is likely to be motivating for the person appraised. The emphasis is on both parties in the appraisal working together to chart the levels of competence attained by the appraisee and decide on appropriate training and experience to make further progress. Because it is behaviourally based it is more objective and less likely to generate disagreement or conflict. It does not deal with results achieved in any direct way and is more concerned with the medium or long term rather than the next 6-12 months.

### **Criticisms of performance management and performance appraisal**

Despite the claims of proponents, performance management has been criticised on a number of grounds by both managerialists and anti-managerialists – managerialists largely because of failings in the implementation of the process, anti-managerialists largely because the process fails to adequately recognise the context of organisation.

There are at least six important generic criticisms:

- The process does not work effectively: a sizeable minority (37%) of respondents to an IPD survey in 1997 viewed performance management as being ineffective or only slightly effective in improving overall performance (Armstrong and Baron, 1998);
- The process lacks strategic focus, gives conflicting messages between encouragement and control, has limited impact, and stretches managers who often lack the skills and motivation to deliver it effectively (Streblar and Bevan, 2001: ix);
- For many line managers, performance management means no more than the appraisal process. It is time consuming, bureaucratic, paper driven and top down with little reference to organisational performance (Egan, 1995);
- Performance management systems set goals which are either too high (leading to underachievement relative to others' expectations) or too low (leading to underachievement relative to potential) (Rose, 2000);
- Mixing reviews of performance and potential with any reward review as part of the performance management process can result in the process failing (Sisson and Storey, 2000: 89);
- Assumptions 'that managers can establish clear unambiguous goals which can be broken down into individual components, be easily measured and accepted by the individuals concerned' may not be valid (Bach 2000: 244) - a view echoed in a school context by Mahony and Hextall (2000: 80).

Similar criticisms have been made of performance management in schools, including:

- The model is outdated (referring to the Performance Management Framework for teachers) (Bassegy, 1999);

- ‘Ethically it is a bankrupt social practice, employed by those in power to control those whom they do not trust’ (Clark, 2001: 79);
- Performance management is likely to ‘reward outcomes that are not grounded in authentic learning’ and ‘distort values of inclusion, favouring those already endowed with cultural capital’ (Gleeson and Gunter, 2001: 151).

Other difficulties are more specifically associated with performance appraisal (though which can also apply to performance management) and include:

- Rater bias (Carlton and Sloman, 1992);
- Inflation of performance feedback (Waung and Highhouse, 1997);
- Distortions of the appraisal interview – halo effect etc. (Grint, 1993);
- Recency bias (Bach, 2000);
- The impact of gender and ethnic origins (Simpson, 1998), cultural differences (Hofstede, 1980), and attributional error in assessing successful performance in female managers (Garland and Price, 1977);
- An ambivalent view of the process among managers (Carlton and Sloman, 1992);
- A failure to complete the process (Howell and Cameron, 1996);
- A failure to assess the validity of assessments (Fletcher and Williams, 1985);
- Failure to emphasise key managerial activities and skills such as creativity, impact or sensitivity which are hard to measure (Guest, 1995); and
- Inconsistency between appraisers and appraisees on recollection of the content of the appraisal interview (Sofer and Tuchman, 1970).

Randall (1994: 221) warns of ‘the muddle and confusion that still surrounds the practice of employee appraisal’ and places most of the above difficulties as *process*

failings. He categorises these failings as three issues which need to be successfully addressed if a scheme is not to fail. These are:

- What and how observations are made;
- Why and how these observations are discussed;
- What determines the level of performance in a job.

For Randall and other managerialist proponents of performance appraisal and performance management, if these *process* failings are successfully addressed then any scheme is bound to succeed. However if they are misunderstood and their implications misapplied, then performance appraisal can detract from performance and satisfaction.

Reasons for such misunderstandings are many. For Fletcher and Williams (1985), jobholders tend to have different views of their performance than their managers. In addition, the aims of the appraisee may not match those of the organisation (Williams et al, 1977) and the managers' agenda for the appraisal may not be the same as that formally laid down for it by the organisation (Napier and Latham, 1986). Managers also frequently reject the suggestion that appraisal can help them manage better (George, 1986). As a consequence the intended purpose and nature of formal performance appraisal can differ (Bach, 2000), for example by being presented to employees as an aid for career development, though in practice being used to discipline and weed out poor performers (Grey, 1994).

Critically the credibility of performance appraisal depends on the perception of senior management of the value of the process. Fletcher and Williams (1985: 152) warned

this key stakeholder group that 'If they do not see fit to devote time and resources to appraising and developing employee performance, they will draw a high price when employees draw the obvious conclusion'. In assessing the effectiveness of appraisal, appraisers have been shown to see little value in the process, irrespective of whether the general tone of the feedback is positive or negative and schemes may suffer from a degree of inertia and a failure to modify a scheme if it is not functioning effectively. This is particularly true if a lot of effort has been put into their introduction and 'organisations that did not bother much about the way appraisal was implemented are even less likely to notice when it goes wrong' (Fletcher and Williams, 1985: 83).

From the appraisee's perspective, Fletcher (1997) conceded that there is a lot of evidence that appraisees do not readily accept the more unfavourable aspects of their assessment. As Humphreys (1994) has suggested, professional criticism is likely to lead to personal offence. Though Torrington and Weightman (1989: 47) found that teachers are ambivalent to feedback, Fletcher and Williams (1985: 102) also assessed that:

criticism does not normally bring about an adverse effect on appraisal, although whether it achieves any beneficial effect depends heavily on a series of other factors such as the amount of critical feedback, the way feedback is handled, the existing relationship between the manager and the subordinate etc.

However in contrast, one study (IiE, 2000) judged that professional staff usually welcome feedback and a significant benefit for good performers stems from the existence of the feedback process.

Such criticisms have led a number of writers (both managerialists and anti-managerialists) to damn performance review in its various guises as, at best,

ineffective or, at worst, causing a decline in performance. For example, results orientated target or objective setting may have a demotivating effect in the context of excessive workload (Smithers and Robinson, 2001) and the setting of appropriate SMART targets for key performance indicators can be difficult (Murphy, 2001). Rose (2000) has given ineffective objective setting the alternative mnemonic of 'DUMB' (defective, unreliable, misdirected and bureaucratic). He also criticises the use of year-old objectives being used in organisations intending to lead or respond rapidly to change. Grint (1993) has suggested that performance appraisal promises, but fails to deliver, an objective solution to the subjective problem of how to improve performance. Seddon (2001), puzzled by the continuing expansion in the number of organisations formally appraising individuals and the persistence in using a mechanism of doubtful validity, has suggested that:

perhaps persistent reinvention is nature's way of indicating that we ought to question whether appraisals really work...Contrary to assumptions appraisal is not an effective means of performance improvement - it is judgment rather than feedback; a judgment imposed by the hierarchy.

Deming (1986), who provided the theoretical underpinnings for Total Quality Management (TQM), has suggested that appraisal leads to the erroneous perception that variations in performance are caused by individual employees, whereas in reality variations are caused by systems created and controlled by managers leading to a focus on the wrong responses to quality shortcomings and low morale among those appraised – in other words a failure to motivate key stakeholders. The next section will examine a number of theories of motivation and discuss their relationship with rewards and models of performance review, such as performance management and performance appraisal.

## Theories of motivation and their relationship with models of performance review

Proponents of performance review, whether performance management or performance appraisal, claim inevitable performance *improvement* as a result of improved employee motivation - though often with an unclear theoretical underpinning. Similarly detractors of performance review, whether managerialists or anti-managerialists, will often condemn the process as demotivating in reality, despite any motivating intent.

In an educational context, *content* theories of motivation (i.e. focusing on the goals to which individuals aspire), such as those Maslow (1954), Herzberg et al (1957), and Alderfer (1972) have had significant influence in developing an understanding of the motivation of teachers. For example, Torrington and Weightman (1989) have used Maslow's theoretical framework of a hierarchy of needs when examining school management. Similarly, and also in a educational context, Spear et al (2000) and Evans (2001) have developed Herzberg's theories - Evans, in particular foregrounding the role of a sense of achievement in motivating people.

However the two most important theories (both *process* theories focusing on how individuals make choices with reference to desired goals) in the development of performance management systems and related rewards are Vroom's (1964) expectancy theory and Latham and Locke's (1979) goal theory.

Vroom's (1964) expectancy theory is based on the idea that people are motivated to do things by the outcomes or rewards they expect to receive from doing them.



Individuals will prefer certain outcomes to others and will need to make a judgment as to whether their performance will achieve a desired outcome. If they feel their work will not be rewarded, they will be demotivated. The connection between the expectancy (that effort will lead to good performance), instrumentality (that good performance will lead to valued outcomes) and the valence (attractiveness of a particular outcome) becomes the motivational force that can be modified and manipulated by managers to achieve the organisation's objectives.

Vroom's theory enables managers to consider the appropriateness of rewards in relation to effort expended. It also minimises the influence of negative outcomes e.g. setting of unrealistic targets and is not organisationally bounded - managers can take into account non-organisational factors when assessing valence.

Though the theory is useless if individuals cannot see the link between outcomes and performance, it explains why the intrinsic rewards (i.e. those within the control of the individual, such as feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment) from the process of work can be more motivational than extrinsic rewards (i.e. those controlled by others, such as recognition, promotion and pay increases). It also offers an understanding of how extrinsic financial motivation can work if the link between reward and effort is clear and the value of the reward is worth the effort.

Latham and Locke's (1979) goal theory states that motivation and performance is higher when individuals agree to attempt to achieve specific but difficult goals and are given feedback on performance.

Goals need to stretch employees, but not go beyond their abilities. They should be quantifiable whenever possible and worded clearly. Goals also should be clearly explained and agreed and the feedback given should enable individuals to adjust their behaviour, if necessary, in order to improve future performance.

In this context, *process* theories provide the theoretical basis for performance management systems both in business and education. However their influence spreads further into determining the effectiveness of financial and non-financial rewards that organisations (both in business and education) can provide for employees for high levels of performance - a frequently cited objective of performance management systems (Bevan and Thompson, 1992; Storey and Sisson, 1993) – though *content* theories have been used to argue against the effectiveness of performance-related financial rewards (for example, Evans, 2001). Brown and Armstrong (1999: 25) have identified the key constraint in understanding the effectiveness of performance-related pay ‘given the difficulty of isolating variables and identifying and attributing causation, and due to the broader political and social philosophies which invariably interfere with objective research’. They also judge that ‘there are as many research studies suggesting that performance-related pay can reinforce and support high organizational and individual performance as there are suggesting that it doesn’t’ (for an example of the latter see Kohn (1993) and, of the former, Gupta and Shaw (1998) or Odden and Kelley (1997)).

In this context, Kessler (1995: 255) has identified the place of employee rewards as being ‘central to the regulation of the employee relationship’ – and a highly contested

area. Performance-related pay for teachers in the form of the *threshold* is discussed in the next chapter.

### **What is the relationship between theories of organisational culture and models of performance review?**

The relationship between people management processes, such as performance review, and organisational culture is complex. For anti-managerialists, many writers and academics (who they describe as managerialists) take an inadequately narrow view of the organisational culture of schools – effectively limiting their gaze to teacher culture and ignoring the social context of individual schools, minimising the impact of pupil culture on organisational culture.

Despite this assessment, a people (meaning teacher) management process ‘will never go beyond the superficial level of engagement if it does not become embedded in assumptions, values and norms, and this points to the difference between the management of a system and the leadership of a process’ (West-Burnham, 2001c; 16). Emphasising the normative potential of a high performance culture, West-Burnham (2001c: 20) highlights the requirement for ‘a complex interaction between collective and individual values and aspirations’.

Of all commentators, Hargreaves (1995: 33) has attempted to correlate most closely different organisational culture models to models of teacher performance review (though again anti-managerialists would argue that he is taking an inadequately narrow view of culture limiting it effectively to the teacher culture of a school). He

judges that teacher appraisal in his 'traditional school' culture is a management tool for judging and controlling teacher competence and so determining hierarchical status. He emphasises the impact of the low levels of trust in this culture. Change is accompanied by increases in paperwork, detailed records and minutes which are required to keep everyone informed and allay suspicions. Handy (1975) has similarly correlated heavily bureaucratic, stable organisations with detailed appraisal forms. Torrington et al (1991: 208) pointed out that, while there are pressures of equity and fairness affecting the documentation concerning an organisation's appraisal scheme,

those responsible for schemes try hard to make sure that judgements are consistent and fair. Those carrying out appraisals frequently ask for help and guidance because of apprehension about what they have to do. The combination of these drives can easily result in a level of documentation that is very cumbersome and resented by those involved - even though it is for their benefit and partly at their request.

Supporting Eraut et al (1998), Hargreaves places staff development as 'largely a matter of individuals volunteering for their own professional development, which is often career development' (1995: 34).

Hargreaves (1995:34) contrasts the traditional school culture with a high trust 'collegial school' culture. In this culture, 'appraisal is treated as an opportunity for strengthening mutual support among teachers, since there is a staff development policy that seeks to integrate professional development for individuals with staff development deriving from institutional plans' (1995: 35). Without giving clear reasons, he suggests that fee-paying boarding schools and selective schools would have a formal school culture though, with greater justification, he also suggests that his collegial school is more suited to handle change, but only if there is agreement to

the change. In such a situation, the traditional school may be more successful - whole staff agreement not being a precondition of staff acceptance.

Handy (1975) has also made a connection between organisational culture and performance review. He has suggested that a heavily bureaucratic, stable organisation might adopt a relatively formal scheme with detailed appraisal forms, regular yearly appraisal and a considerable degree of central control. In contrast, an organisation operating in a fast changing environment might require a more flexible system more subject to line management control with an emphasis more on development than assessment.

Others have foregrounded the need for a culture of trust if performance review is to be effective (Middlewood, 2001a: 138). Despite this 'a lack of trust and confidence may be an unavoidable feature' in existing teaching cultures (Thompson, 2001: 56) as well as the essential conservatism of the teaching profession (Cuban, 1987: 23). Evans (1998: 182) also describes as the impact of 'restricted professionals' reluctant to be part of change, who are a managerialist in approach and who:

enjoy teaching, are competent and conscientious, but who have no wish to take on responsibilities other than those which their class teaching demands.

Kennedy (2001: 89) has placed McGregor's (1960) low trust theory X as being the predominant managerialist driver determining the form of the current performance management framework in schools. Similarly, Armstrong and Baron (1998:20) comment that a command and control management style is likely to produce a task-oriented style of performance management.

A partial explanation for this (Reeves et al, 2002: 45) may be the lower quality of training received by team leaders and headteachers in the area of interpersonal management skills. Reeves and her colleagues judge the training that headteachers received when performance management was introduced to England and Wales to concentrate mistakenly 'on the "what" of performance management rather than on the complex human skills of making judgements and of communicating them constructively - the "how"'. Interestingly, this is in contrast to Handy's (1984: 33) and Torrington and Weightman's (1989: 39) advice on the need for the school leaders to keep a close eye on the 'what', (i.e. the key objectives, values and standards of the different parts of the process). Handy has suggested that the details of the 'how' can be delegated. As long as the key standards are maintained, the individual units should have as much freedom as possible in attaining those standards. For Handy, too many schools find it tempting to control the 'how' centrally and delegate the 'what'.

Given this, managerialists argue that the model of performance review adopted by a school can act as a driver for cultural change. However anti-managerialists argue that this view is limited to changing the teacher culture of any given school. For them, the broader social context of a school means that implementation of any particular model (as well as being anti-welfarist in intent and privileging one group to the disadvantage of another [Gewirtz, 2002]) could be rendered ineffective depending on the influence of pupil culture on teacher culture because it is 'easier to organize and manage middle-class schools than low SES schools' (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 35).

Despite this - and focusing on changing teacher culture - West-Burnham (2001c: 26) suggests that two directions can be taken. For him, 'an emphasis on performance

management will create a culture of conformity and compliance; leadership for high performance will foster the creation of a completely different culture, one focused on values, relationships and the core purpose of educating young people rather than schooling them efficiently'. Hargreaves (2003) describes these contrasting cultures as 'performance training sects' and 'professional learning communities' respectively. Performance training sects adopt a 'hard' model of HRM to ensure the achievement of outcomes determined centrally. Professional learning communities follow a 'softer', though still normative, form. For Hargreaves (2003b: 147):

- Professional learning communities transform knowledge and learning among community members; performance training sects transfer unquestioning canons of research knowledge and pedagogical beliefs that are defined by administrative and research authorities.
- Professional learning communities promote shared inquiry; performance training sects pursue imposed requirements.
- Professional learning communities use evidence and data to inform the improvement of practice; performance training sects require teachers to implement standardized scripts of change in an authoritarian system of false certainty.
- Professional learning communities get groups to engage in continuous learning about their teaching; performance training sects promote group-think and loyalty to external prescriptions through intensive training.

However a study by Industry in Education (IiE, 2000) provides evidence that supports the contention that performance management systems can be effectively implemented in organisations with specialist professional staff with many job characteristics similar to teachers, leading to the development of a learning organisation. The IiE study supports Reeves et al's (2002: 41) thesis that:

performance improves through the complex process of work-based learning, involving both the individual and other members of his or her working environment. It requires

structure and support for this learning process to take place and involves the personal challenge of changing professional identity.

Reeves et al (2002) place great significance on the LiE's judgment that measures of performance can be interpreted as 'local understandings' rather than nationally prescribed performance indicators. They suggest that it is possible to interpret the DfEE performance management framework when assessing pupil progress in the same way and consistent with the development of a learning organisation. However for Reeves et al (2002: 43) the critical barrier preventing the effective implementation of performance management and the development of a learning organisation – or what may be termed a 'professional learning community' - is 'the crucial importance of the inter- and intra-personal skills in use in the review of learning situations'. Reeves et al (2002) recognise this as an aspect with which many school leaders have difficulty – a conclusion also reached by Thompson (2001).

In summary, managerialists assert that there is a relationship between the model of performance review – whether performance appraisal or performance management – and the model of organisational culture. However anti-managerialists limit any significant impact of performance review in modifying teacher culture to schools which have a relatively high SES pupil intake. Performance management has been connected with the development of a form of learning organisation – though the line dividing the development of what has been termed a 'professional learning community' or a 'performance training sect' is a fine one. Managerialists judge the development of one rather than the other as being in broad terms a function of the nature of teacher culture and, more specifically, can be attributed to the personal skills of the teachers within the organisation and the nature of the performance indicators



used – an attribution which anti-managerialists argue incorrectly minimises the impact of pupil culture.

Additionally, some managerialists suggest that it is possible to use the model of performance review in place in an organisation as a diagnostic tool to identify the prevailing model of organisational culture, and vice versa (though anti-managerialists would argue that the diagnosis would be limited to the model of teacher culture in schools).

The next chapter will review the development of performance review systems in schools starting with a discussion of the build-up to the introduction of the 1991 model of performance appraisal – which had no clear relationship with a particular model of organisational or school culture – and continuing with a discussion of the 2000 model of performance management which has been judged as a managerialist mechanism to force through organisational culture change by attempting to force schools to become learning organisations (Thompson, 2001).

## Chapter 4

### *The implementation of performance review systems in schools*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter describes the development of performance review systems in state and independent schools with particular reference to the change, in state schools, from the 1991 model of non-normative, ‘softly’ developmental and reassuring *performance appraisal*, to the more managerialist 2000 model of normative, ‘harder’, formative and developmental model of *performance management*. This is associated with the governmental strategy of changing the organisational culture of state schools by means of New Public Management. The introduction of performance-related pay in the form of the *threshold* is discussed and the chapter concludes with two key research questions to be investigated further.

#### **Performance appraisal and performance management in schools**

Performance appraisal was first officially mentioned in government documents in 1983 (DES, 1983). It was initially intended to be introduced voluntarily and progress in this respect was considerably damaged by poor relations between teachers and the then Conservative Government in the mid to late 1980s (Wilby, 1987). Few schools had performance appraisal schemes functioning earlier and their character was different. For example, classroom observation was not common (Turner and Clift, 1985).

Earlier 'wish lists' for the purpose of performance appraisal schemes in schools suggested a range of purposes, which once again lend themselves either to 'hard' or 'soft' models, though with no reference to a matching with any particular model of organisational culture and infrequent reference to any normative attempt in aligning individual teacher and school objectives. A summary of some of the intentions is:

- Promotion of staff development, performance review, planning and career development (James and Newman, 1985);
- A focus on formative matters such as the identification of staff strengths and weaknesses, needs and interests (Turner and Clift, 1985);
- 'Facilitation of the professional growth of the individual and to effect institutional improvement' (HMI, 1989);
- The means to 'remove (unsatisfactory) teachers from a profession where they can do such disproportionate harm' (Joseph, 1984).

In 1991, as Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Clarke introduced a centrally framed mandatory scheme (The Education (School Teacher Appraisal) Regulations 1991; DES, 1991). The manner of this introduction can be seen in the context of a general increase in demand for accountability. As Wragg et al (1996: 6) pointed out 'In any activity involving the expenditure of large sums of private or public money, the sponsors are likely to ask for an account to be rendered, especially if financial resources are tight'.

The aims of the 1991 scheme (House of Commons, 1991) were to:

- Recognise the achievements of school teachers and help them identify ways of improving their skills and performance;

- Help school teachers, governing bodies and LEAs to determine whether a change of duties would help professional development and improve career prospects;
- Identify the potential of teachers for career development, with the aim of helping them, where possible, through appropriate in-service training;
- Help school teachers having difficulties with their performance, through appropriate guidance, counselling and training;
- Inform those responsible for providing references;
- Improve the management of schools.

To fulfil these aims, the model relied on:

- Optional self-appraisal;
- Classroom observation and collection of other evidence to assess performance
- The opportunity to focus on one area of a teacher's work;
- Agreed (between appraisee and appraiser) target setting and discussion of areas for development;
- A high degree of confidentiality of documentation.

The model did not refer to any common dimension ratings. The emphasis was on improving skills, setting personal targets and was individual rather than organisation focussed. In this respect the model cannot be seen as reflecting a 'hard', normative approach to HRM and there appears to be a greater match with a 'soft' developmental purpose and nature with a considerable degree of teacher involvement. The nature of the model can also be seen implicitly to provide a protective 'fire-break' between individual objectives where they conflict with those of the school.

Fidler (1995: 99) concurred with this view – ‘It is clear that for the vast majority of teachers the process should be a developmental one’ - and he (1995: 104) suggested that this model has:

the power to begin to correct a creeping imbalance in the way individual school needs are monopolising priorities for in-service education. Schools...will be challenged to set up systems within schools which are able to reconcile the individual needs of each member of staff identified by appraisal with the resources for individual development which are allocated by the staff development policy.

Wragg et al (1996: 41), reinforcing this message, found that almost all Local Education Authorities (LEAs) played down the matter of quality grading and strongly signalled that performance appraisal was a tool for professional development, rather than an instrument of assessment.

Though not a statutory obligation, performance appraisal was also finding its place in independent schools. Graham’s survey of independent schools in 1988 found the developmental approach being favoured, the number of schemes in HMC schools increasing from 14% in 1986 to 40% in 1988 (Graham, 1989) and to 78% by 1998 (Carslaw, 1998).

Graham (1989: 356) found that most independent school headteachers viewed performance appraisal as a formative rather than a summative tool and concluded that ‘the nature and purposes of the majority of schemes are closely allied to maintained sector developments’.

Given the range of types of performance appraisal schemes that an organisation can adopt, Fletcher and Williams (1985: 30) observed that ‘the system an organisation

ends up with is inevitably the result of compromise between a variety of competing aims, interests and pressures'. In state maintained schools, the form of appraisal is based on statutory obligation - about as great a pressure on a public service as is possible.

But what are the competing aims, interests and pressures that may lead an independent school to institute a controlling or developmental scheme or indeed even bother having a formal scheme at all? Tapper (1997: 3) judged that educational change in the independent sector (for example the introduction of a teacher performance appraisal scheme) was driven by those institutional forces which seek self-preservation. If performance appraisal can enable an independent school to survive then appraisal will find its place. By definition, independent schools have always existed in a market, though the social pressures leading to the decline of the 'headmaster tradition' (with its concern 'first with the establishment of a religious, moral and social order within the school and then such scholarship as was appropriate to the social origins and destinations of the pupils of the school' by means of patriarchal domination and strong authoritarian leadership [Grace, 1995: 196]) in state schools through the 1960s and 1970s has been assessed (though without any empirical evidence) to be less noticeable in independent schools – particularly independent boarding schools (Hargreaves, 1995). However independent schools are not by any means free from governmental intervention (Tapper, 1997) and a recent study has found that headteachers in both sectors shared similar priorities as well as factors that were found to be motivating and demotivating. They also used similar sources of ideas and inspiration about work and practice (Earley and Evans, 2002). Though Graham (1989) found that, in general, teaching staff performance appraisal schemes in independent schools were being used as 'a tool to aid professional development,

rather than a monitoring device geared to reward or punishment' since this survey, the environment of independent schools has changed significantly; schools are regularly inspected and have had to cope with significant curriculum reform. Carslaw (1998) found inspection (an external governmentally framed factor) a key pressure for many schools. In this context, Middlewood (2001b: 182) judged that the less government influence there is, the more likely the model of performance appraisal is to be 'softer' with a greater focus on professionals' needs.

### **The demise of the 1991 model of performance appraisal**

The 1991 model of free-standing performance appraisal in schools had its supporters (e.g. Smith, 1997; Gunter, 2002), but dissatisfaction with its effectiveness came from a number of sources. Ofsted (1996), reporting on performance appraisal in maintained schools for the period 1991-1996, stated that 'the impact of appraisal on teaching and learning has not been substantial' and (performance appraisal is) 'a system that is functioning below its full potential'. Wragg et al (1996: 185) found little difference in classroom practice following appraisal, though there had been an impact on the organisational culture of schools. For them, 'The major impact of appraisal seems to have been more on beliefs, attitudes and relationships than on action'. Barber (1995) provided similar evidence of limited impact. Brearley (2001) also articulated practitioner dissatisfaction and judged that the process had effectively ceased to be a credible process by the middle of the 1990s. A survey of headteachers of HMC and SHMIS schools in the UK (Carslaw, 1998) also revealed disappointment with the effectiveness of the appraisal process in the independent sector.

Wragg et al (1996), Barber (1995), Ofsted (1996) and Middlewood (2001b) also provided a number of other reasons why the 1991 model had failed. These reasons can be summarised under the heading of appraisal 'getting lost' and included:

- A shortage of time for the process;
- An unnecessarily bureaucratic and paper driven process;
- A shortage of funding;
- A lack of commitment to the process;
- Problems with the confidentiality of the process;
- A lack of accountability;
- An emphasis on the individual at the expense of the organisation;
- A failure to set, or remember, appropriate targets;
- A failure in training;
- A failure of schools to evaluate what they did and how effective it was;
- A low standard of classroom observation;
- The exclusion of the chair of governors from the appraisal process of the headteacher thereby failing to recognise changes in the responsibilities and accountabilities of governing bodies.

The 1991 model of performance appraisal failed to define clearly, from the individual, organisational or national perspective, the level of effective performance in a job. Many of these criticisms relate to the non-normative nature of the 1991 model of performance appraisal as well as the 'softer' teacher framed developmental aspects of the process – aspects which 'protected' teachers from the demands for accountability and control from their hierarchical superiors.



## **Introduction of Performance Management in 2000**

Driven by the demands of ‘new’ professionalism (Thompson, 2000; Bubb and Hoare, 2001) and New Public Management (NPM), the Labour Government introduced a second centrally framed and more overtly managerialist ‘harder’ scheme based on a performance management model (DfEE, 1998) to be implemented in all state maintained schools in England. Anti-managerialists criticise the emphasis of the new model on the performance of teachers and the achievement of particular outputs while ignoring the wider social context of individual schools and the nature of the school mix (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003). The measurement of these outputs provide the ‘teeth’ of the model by means of the identification of key pupil performance indicators using baseline testing and value-added information. These have become powerful (and criticised - see Goldstein, 1997, 2000; Fidler et al, 1998) tools in determining levels of teacher performance and therefore performance improvement – an objective of managerialists in assessing the effectiveness of normative people management processes and despite disagreement on what constitutes ‘good’ practice (Bennett, 1995). In this context, a model of teacher effectiveness using graded competencies (DfEE, 2000b) and centrally framed competence based job standards (e.g. TTA, 1998) were available to demonstrate and provide benchmarks for the ‘right’ way of doing things. Using competences in this manner is characteristic of ‘harder’ developmental schemes (Fletcher, 1997).

The 2000 model of performance management describes performance management as:

a way of helping schools improve by supporting and improving teachers work, both as individuals and as teams. Teachers and their team leaders – and Heads and Governing Bodies - will agree and review priorities and objectives within the context of the school development plan. The outcomes of performance reviews will help set priorities for

future planning and professional development and will inform governing bodies decisions about discretionary pay awards (DfEE, 2000a: 3).

The implementation of the model in schools required verification by a range of external, nationally accredited bodies – for example external advisers for governing bodies on headteacher performance, performance management consultants, threshold assessors etc. – in order to ensure consistency of application in all schools. All state schools have to base their performance management scheme on a model performance management policy (DfEE, 2000c). The requirements of this policy have been described as ‘tight’ (Brearley, 2001: 208) leaving little room for modification by individual schools. The model policy focuses attention on more effective teaching and monitoring (by compulsory classroom observation and other relevant information). Teachers are set between three and five ‘SMART’ objectives (all of which should normatively relate to the school development plan) in the autumn term. Progress to meeting objectives should be monitored through the autumn and spring terms with a formal review (by a team leader – normally the teacher’s line manager) in the summer term followed by the setting of a new set of objectives. In order to make objectives measurable the model policy encourages the use of quantitative performance indicators. A degree of confidentiality is retained with access to review report being confined to the teacher concerned, their team leader and the headteacher. The process for the headteachers involves a similar cycle of planning, monitoring and review with a minimum of two objectives set (for school leadership and management, and pupil progress). Monitoring of the headteacher’s performance is by two or three ‘appointed’ governors working with an accredited external adviser

By nationally imposing expectations of performance and providing solutions to problems (by means of models of performance management and school development plans etc.) – an anti-managerialist criticism of ‘bastard leadership’ (Wright, 2001) - the DfEE performance management model can be categorised as a normative ‘hard’ HRM people management process. The use of common performance dimensions enables a more quantitative, systematic and controlling comparison of staff performance.

However the rhetoric of this new model was partially aimed at enabling teachers to achieve higher levels of job satisfaction – an intent characteristic of a ‘soft’ model aiming to develop ‘resourceful humans’.

Performance management means a shared commitment to high performance...It means providing appropriate and effective personal training and development in order to ensure satisfaction, a high level of expertise and progression of staff in their chosen profession (DfEE, 2000c: 1).

In this context, the new model could be judged to have fallen foul of Legge’s (1995) epistemological flaw. For her, performance management is an HRM process which uses ‘soft’ rhetoric to mask a ‘hard’ positivist and managerialist process. The strategic objectives of performance management in this example (involving defined time bounded national performance targets) conflict with the proposed introduction of ‘soft’ people management practices (based on values encouraging mutuality, collaboration and resourceful humans, etc.) which, in reality, are nothing of the sort. In other words, the DfEE scheme (2000b) is trying to have its cake (control teachers) and eat it (develop and gain teachers’ commitment in a ‘soft’ way). Wragg et al (2004: 176) in part concur with this view, the main impact of performance management having been ‘to raise teachers’ awareness of what they were doing and

give them welcome opportunities to discuss what professional development they needed’.

Despite this (or maybe because of), the mechanism that has attracted the most attention for producing a high commitment workforce has not been the performance management system itself, but the close linking of performance management to performance-related pay in the form of a *threshold* payment as a motivator (DfEE, 1999; Morris 1999). This feature has been viewed as a mechanism to reinforce the behaviours and practices needed for a ‘new’ professionalism (Thompson, 2000) and to ensure teachers’ behaviour is changed or reinforced (Draper, 2000) – an observation of both managerialists and anti-managerialists.

### **Performance-related pay as a reward for teachers**

Performance-related pay (PRP) is defined by Wragg et al (2004: 9) as ‘a reward for employees according to their perceived merit rather than for their length of service, qualifications or other attributes’. Performance-related pay has become widely used in both commercial and public sectors and Kessler (2000: 123) has identified two approaches to explain the ‘headlong rush towards Individual Performance Related Pay’. The first is that managers in an organisation choose a scheme suitable to their needs; the second where the choice is largely a managerialist political or ideological process acquiring symbolic value to support particular interests or values. The latter judgement is supported by anti-managerialists when applied to schools (e.g. Gewirtz, 2002; Mahony et al, 2002; Mahony et al, 2004).

As Tyson (1995: 37) has suggested:

Management intentions are expressed symbolically by rewards and the key objective in HRM terms is to work on the meaning and use of these symbols in the minds of employees and managers to produce appropriate efforts.

Though the 1991 performance appraisal model provided the opportunity of performance related financial rewards (an option not taken up by many schools [Ofsted, 1996]), the introduction of a performance-related *threshold* payment of £2000 per annum (DfEE, 2000e) allowed good honours graduates with nine years teaching experience to move on to a higher salary scale provided eight standards (grouped into five sets of criteria) are met. Unlike most other performance-related pay systems, the threshold was introduced *before* the implementation of the performance management cycle - a misordering of a 'hard' performance management cycle. A variety of reasons have been given for this - for example 'political expediency' (Wragg et al, 2004: 41) and 'to kick start the introduction of performance management' (Mahony et al, 2004: 453). The standards are nationally applied and focus on a narrow range of performance indicators relating to teaching and learning, in particular a key standard (on pupil progress) can be most easily measured quantitatively using comparable pupil performance data.

The standards are:

**Knowledge and understanding:**

- Teachers must demonstrate that they have a thorough and up-to-date knowledge of the teaching of their subject and take account of wider curriculum developments which are relevant to their work.

**Teaching and assessment:**

- Teachers should demonstrate that they consistently and effectively plan lessons and sequences of lessons to meet pupils' individual learning needs.
- Teachers should demonstrate that they consistently and effectively use a range of appropriate strategies for teaching and classroom management.

- Teachers should demonstrate that they consistently and effectively use information about prior attainment to set well-grounded expectations for pupils and monitor progress to give clear and constructive feedback.

**Pupil progress:**

- Teachers should demonstrate that, as a result of their teaching, their pupils achieve well relative to the pupils' prior attainments, making progress as good or better than similar pupils nationally. This should be shown in marks or grades in any relevant national tests or examinations, or school-based assessment for pupils where national tests and examinations are not taken.

**Wider professional effectiveness:**

- Teachers should demonstrate that they take responsibility for their professional development and use the outcomes to improve their teaching and pupils' learning.
- Teachers should demonstrate that they make an active contribution to the policies and aspirations of the school.

**Professional characteristics:**

- Teachers should demonstrate that they are effective professionals who challenge and support all pupils.

The effectiveness of the threshold has been contested not just by anti-managerialists. West-Burnham (2001c: 24), criticising a policy-driven approach to motivation, highlights some of the issues and tensions that are raised by the implementation of performance-related pay, in particular the fundamental assumptions that financial recognition actually motivates and that it is possible to isolate (to the exclusion of all other variables) the contribution of one individual. Others, placing financial rewards as Herzbergian dissatisfiers, agree (e.g. Evans, 2001) and Marsden and French (1998), in research commissioned by one of the teacher associations, provided limited evidence for the effectiveness of PRP for heads and deputy heads. They found that most headteachers disagreed with the principle of performance pay though many staff believed it had improved goal setting but had not raised their own motivation. They also found that many line managers believed that PRP had reduced staff co-operation with management. Similarly, Wragg et al (2004: 176) judged that the main impact of

PRP was more 'bureaucratic than strategic, as many teachers strove to meet targets and supply paper proof, rather than modify how they taught on the basis of sustained self-analysis'. They found no evidence that cash payments were influential on people's actual teaching behaviour.

In contrast, for Hargreaves (2003b: 136), 'linking evidence of commitment to professional learning communities to performance-related pay' is a means to promote strong professional learning communities, and Odden and Kelley (1997) argue strongly in favour as of PRP a reward for teachers.

However, recognising the diversity of the nature of rewards for individual teachers, Richardson (1999: 17) felt that, though PRP does not have a dramatic effect on teacher motivation, if performance-related pay were to 'energise even 20% of teachers it might on balance be considered a success, especially if there was only limited demotivation among the remaining 80%'. He (1999b: 7) judged that 'the Government is mostly concerned to make a section of the teaching profession somewhat less contented with their pay, without paying the broad mass of teachers a salary that is commensurate with that in other professions'.

In the business sector, PRP has also been judged to have limited value (Sparrow, 1996) though it may work for highly dynamic and motivated individuals working in a small organisation (Riley, 1992). Similarly Ryan et al (1983) have proposed that in high-control organisational cultures, financial incentives decrease intrinsic motivation, whereas in high communications cultures, both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation was increased by monetary incentives. Ackermann (1986) has also

suggested that a control HRM strategy would emphasise performance appraisal with performance-based rewards.

Performance-related pay may have as much potential to demotivate as motivate (Bevan and Thompson, 1991; Kohn, 1993; Hutton, 1996) given that different individuals have different reward preferences. This may result in the appraiser misjudging the preferred rewards of an appraisee (West-Burnham, 2001b) and Deci (1975) has suggested that excessive emphasis on extrinsic motivation in the form of pay can result in damage to intrinsic motivation – particularly in long working hour school cultures (Smithers and Robinson, 2000). Appraisees often become more defensive if pay or promotion is affected by the performance appraisal (Fletcher, 1997) and PRP is ‘an anathema to requirements for building a strong (high commitment) culture’ because it raises barriers between people (Deal and Kennedy, 1999: 257).

Associated with the failure of PRP to motivate many teachers, has been a failure to use effective non-financial reward systems (Hilton, 1992). Smithers and Robinson (2000: 63) have identified intrinsic rewards for teachers as being smaller classes, more non-contact time, better facilities and teaching children who want to learn. In contrast teachers’ extrinsic rewards are the right salary, as well as respect and security. Evans (1998) found that how teachers feel about their jobs is predominantly affected by contextual factors – a recurring contention of anti-managerialists - and others have identified a broad range of non-work related non-financial rewards ranging from getting someone in to do the ironing on a Sunday evening to manicures and car valeting (Stewart, 2003).



In this context, Marsden (2000) reported that teachers stand apart from other public servants (but alongside doctors and nurses) in their opposition to performance pay in principle. In addition, teachers stress the intrinsic interest of their work over the financial and status rewards of their jobs and Kyriacou and Coulthard (2000) have suggested that the introduction of PRP may well appeal to as many students who could potentially enter the profession as it puts off. For West-Burnham (2001a: 22) 'sustained high performance is the result of intrinsic commitment, not extrinsic (financial) inducement' and Luntley (2000) has revisited the theme of difficulties of measuring teacher performance as a reason for not accepting the concept of PRP. In this context, some commentators (for example Middlewood, 2001a; Slater, 2002) feel that the PRP label has been rendered redundant for teachers when 97% of applicants (Slater, 2002) to cross the first threshold barrier in 2000 were successful.

In summary, two governmentally framed models of performance review have been imposed on teachers in state schools. The first is a model of performance appraisal in 1991 which can be described as non-normative in nature and intended to reassure teachers that they are doing a good job – it was not intended to be a driver for cultural change. The 1991 model of performance appraisal was also not linked to any particular model of organisational culture, or performance indicators, or financial rewards. It fits more comfortably with a bottom-up, teacher driven, 'softer' approach to people management.

The second model, one of performance management, was introduced in 2000 and has been described as a diagnostic feature of New Public Management by anti-managerialists. Though the model uses 'soft' rhetoric with the intention of improving

teacher job satisfaction as a means to increase commitment, it is essentially 'hard' in nature. The model has the explicit purpose of normatively aligning teachers' objectives, not only with those of the school, but also with those of the government. Performance management is formative and developmental in purpose with the managerialist aim of changing organisational culture in all schools to that of a learning organisation – or in school terms – a professional learning community. Key performance indicators of pupil progress can be straightforwardly framed in quantitative terms and used to compare teacher performance by means of common dimensions – another feature of a normative 'hard' people management process. Targets also have to relate to the school development plan. The model is intimately linked to a form of performance-related pay, the *threshold*, and, in summary, can be characterised as being managerialist, 'hard', normative and formative and developmental in nature.

In contrast, independent schools are under no statutory obligation to implement performance review systems - whether performance appraisal or performance management - for teachers, though many have done so. The nature and purpose of teacher performance appraisal schemes in independent schools have broadly followed state school lines through the 1980s and 1990s in being predominantly 'softer' and non-normative in nature and intent. Independent schools are also not under any governmental or managerialist obligation to adopt a particular model of organisational culture or introduce people management processes such as New Public Management - though pressure to implement some form of teacher performance review has been exerted as a result of a governmentally initiated and framed school inspection process. Despite this, there has been dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of performance review schemes in place.

## Developing appropriate research questions

This chapter has examined an aspect of people management – performance review – and its relationship with Human Resource Management and theories of motivation and rewards – with particular reference to financial rewards in the form of performance-related pay. In Chapter 2, the relationship between theories and models of organisational culture and models of people management – in particular Human Resource Management – has been described in the context of a highly contested area, contested between:

- Managerialists, who believe organisational or school culture can make a significant difference to school performance, largely independent of social context. They believe that the learning organisation model of organisational culture (in the form of a professional learning community) will inevitably result in improved performance;
- Anti-managerialists, who believe that managerialists take too narrow a view of organisational culture, their gaze being limited effectively to an assessment of teacher culture. Anti-managerialists also believe that managerialists, to a great extent, ignore (or judge to be largely irrelevant) the social context of a school and the socio-economic status (SES) of its pupils and the community and that a managerialist form of HRM – New Public Management – has been implemented in state schools for ideological reasons and has failed;
- Amanagerialists, who generally don't consider organisational culture as having any lasting impact on an organisation's performance and just want to be left to get on with the job of teaching.

Chapters 3 and 4 have described models of performance review and their relationship with models of organisational culture. However a commonality of views of managerialists, anti-managerialists and amanagerialists concerning the effectiveness of models of performance review and the effectiveness of particular rewards is not apparent. In broad terms, both managerialists and anti-managerialists dispute the effectiveness of models of performance review – the effectiveness of financial rewards being particularly disputed – with amanagerialists just wanting to be left alone. The differences between the three groups is summarised in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1:** A summary of the views of managerialists, anti-managerialists and amanagerialists on various aspects of organisational culture.

	<b>Managerialists</b>	<b>Anti-managerialists</b>	<b>Amanagerialists</b>
<b>Views of organisational culture</b>	Organisational (and teacher culture) improves the performance of schools – particularly learning organisations and professional learning communities.	Managerial models of culture are limited and inadequate. Differences in the SES of pupils are far more important than differences in teacher culture in determining performance.	Indifferent to the organisational cultural model.
<b>Views of HRM</b>	People management processes which normatively change the model of organisational or teacher culture to a form of learning organisation are essential to cause performance improvement.	Managerialist and technicist HRM has been perverted in the form of New Public Management resulting in a form of ‘bastard leadership’ which places governmental control ahead of issues of equity.	Reject any attempt to introduce normative working practices.
<b>Views of performance review</b>	Managerialists are divided as to the effectiveness of models of performance review – some preferring a ‘hard’ model, others a ‘soft’ model more appropriate to professionals.	Anti-managerialists are not against appraisal per se – but favour ‘softer’ developmental models.	Prefer to be left to get on with the job – would only favour a non-normative development model if any.
<b>Views of financial rewards</b>	Managerialists are divided on their views of PRP as an effective motivator – some in favour, some against.	Anti-managerialists do not favour PRP as a motivator. They do not think it works.	Against PRP and the linking of performance with rewards

Given this summary, which appropriate research questions can inform the research process? When I started this thesis in 2000, my intention was to conduct a discrete longitudinal investigation on the changing purpose and nature of performance review systems in independent and state schools over time. However, I now judge an associated matching of the prevailing organisational culture of schools and, in

particular, the impact of the prevailing teacher culture in any given school and its relationship with the form of people management (whether a 'hard' normative form of HRM – for example New Public Management or not) is essential for my sense making process. In this respect, I am siding with the managerialists and one key issue has been the identification of the bounds of the organisational culture of individual schools. Anti-managerialists assert that managerialists take too narrow a view of organisational culture – managerialists are only interested in teacher culture (not the wider social context of the school or the impact of SES on pupil culture) as a means to improve school and pupil performance.

In this context, an opportunity arises to examine the prevailing teacher culture in state and independent schools (which for managerialists marks the functional limit of organisational culture impacting on pupil performance and independent of the social context of the school) and aspects of people management – in particular the implementation of different models of performance review which may or may not have the explicit intention of changing the prevailing teacher culture. Managerialists assert that a change in people (by which they mean teacher) management processes can change the prevailing teacher culture and result in improved school performance. For anti-managerialists whether there is any impact or not depends largely on the SES of pupils in the school, not the prevailing teacher culture – and in any case any change in teacher culture in state schools will be the result of the imposed implementation of 'hard' and normative New Public Management. For anti-managerialists, New Public Management has been introduced for purely ideological and technicist reasons and has resulted in the further deprofessionalisation of teachers. Anti-managerialists assert that the government, by means of 'bastard leadership' has removed leadership from

those who work in (state) schools and located at the political level 'where it is not available for contestation, modification or adjustment to local variation' (Wright, 2001: 280)

Schools in the state sector can be productively compared with those in the independent sector - developments in the state sector being imposed by government; those in independent schools outside government control. What differences and similarities in the form of teacher culture and associations with the form of performance review will be apparent in schools in both sectors?

As a consequence, my research interests can be framed as two questions:

- How do managerialist models of teacher culture and people management in state and independent schools relate to models of performance review? Has one had an impact on the other?
- What has been the impact of managerialism on teacher culture and performance review in state and independent schools?

The objective of the next chapter is to outline an appropriate research design to investigate these two questions

## **Chapter 5**

### ***Research methods***

#### **Introduction and context**

The previous chapters have provided an opportunity to demonstrate knowledge of the relevant literature and outlined the development of appropriate research questions. In this context, Johnson (1994: 3) has defined research as:

a focused and systematic enquiry that goes beyond generally available knowledge to acquire specialised and detailed information, providing a basis for analysis and elucidatory comment on the topic of enquiry.

In order to fulfil the requirements of this definition, this chapter is intended to:

- Describe a conceptual framework and the context in which the research is taking place;
- Discuss appropriate methods of enquiry;
- Describe the process of data collection;
- Outline the timetable for the research process.

#### **Paradigms and related methodologies**

Researchers who view knowledge as being hard, objective and tangible, with the researcher taking a positivist natural scientist's observer role (Cohen et al, 2002: 6), can be compared with phenomenological or interpretive researchers who view knowledge as personal, subjective and unique (Cohen et al, 2002: 22). This leads to a consequent further dichotomy, which aligns the use of quantitative research methodologies with a positivist epistemology in contrast to the use of qualitative



methodologies for non-positivist researchers. Cohen et al (2002: 22) referred to these perspectives as, respectively, normative and interpretive paradigms. The former paradigm ascribes an essentially rule governing view of human behaviour to be investigated by the rules of natural science with the researcher being separated from the study and functioning in a value-free framework. The latter aims to understand the subjective world of human experience, the researcher having a much closer value-laden relationship with what is studied.

Within the positivist paradigm, the research questions outlined earlier could, at one level, be answered in the form of a quasi-experiment examining the effect of the statutory introduction of performance management in state schools in 2000. This could be viewed as an opportunity to use a single-group (namely all state maintained schools in England) experimental design (Campbell and Stanley, 1963, cited in Scott and Usher, 1999: 55). Alternatively – again within the positivist paradigm - a static group comparison (Campbell and Stanley, 1963, cited in Scott and Usher, 1999: 56) could be made. Independent schools, which are not under an obligation to introduce performance management systems, would function as the control group. Such an approach could generate large numbers of statistically comparable quantitative data sets. However this would fatally neglect the significant impact of other variables potentially affecting school and individual performance, such as inspection, marketization, changing roles of LEAs and governors, and the introduction of managerialism in the form of New Public Management to name but a few. Thus any over-reliance on purely quantitative methods would make it difficult to derive valid and reliable causal links and lead to inappropriate deductions. In this way, the positivist paradigm neglects individuals' unique ability to interpret their own experiences and represent them themselves.

This would seem to suggest that the non-positivist or interpretive paradigm is more appropriate - one which does not assume that individuals respond mechanistically to their environment but can initiate their own actions. Such a paradigm, which generates data of a more qualitative nature, provides opportunities for individuals to represent their own experiences as well as a more intimate link between the researcher and what is being studied. Walker (2002: 110) has catalogued the key shift in educational research over the last 40 years from positivist quantitative to non-positivist qualitative methods and links this change to *ethical* considerations. For him, the key movement is from:

a conception of research in which the authority of the researcher depends on being kept separate from the researched (by methods, protocols and procedures) to a conception of research which is interactive and engaged. The central distinctions between methods are, therefore, not around words versus numbers, narrative versus statistics, findings versus interpretations, but around values.

In the context of the above discussion, a post-positivist paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 8) may be beneficial in addressing the research questions outlined in the previous chapter. Such a paradigm is associated with the use of research instruments with the greatest utility and shares quantitative and qualitative characters. It 'relies on multiple methods as a way of capturing as much of reality as possible' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 8). It emphasises the discovery and verification of theories, internal and external validity, and the use of qualitative data which can lead to the generation of 'fuzzy generalizations'.

A 'fuzzy generalization' (Basse, 1999: 46) is:

the kind of prediction, arising from empirical enquiry, that says that something may happen, but without any measure of probability. It is a qualified generalization, carrying the idea of possibility but no certainty.

In summary, Schofield (2002: 177) has associated an increased interest in generalizability with a rapprochement between qualitative and quantitative researchers. In this context, Langley (1999:708) has judged that there is much to be gained from collecting quantitative time series and qualitative data in the same research effort – a mixed methods approach - and encourages researchers to make sense ‘whatever way we can’. Similarly Kvale (1996: 69) has concluded that ‘qualitative and quantitative methods are tools, and their utility depends on their power to bear upon the research questions asked’.

### **Validity, reliability and trustworthiness**

Given the utility of a mixed methods approach, the objective of this section is to discuss briefly the concepts of validity, reliability and trustworthiness and, from this, suggest appropriate research strategies.

Hammersley (1987: 77) defined validity as:

how accurately the set of scores produced reflect the presence/magnitude of the target property in the objects measured;

and reliability (1987:78) as:

the ability of an instrument consistently to produce valid scores.

Though the notions of validity and reliability are associated with positivist research (Bush, 2002; Maxwell, 2002), Miles and Huberman (1994: 268) suggested that the quality of data may be stronger as a result of the field-worker’s validation efforts.

However, given the above definitions of reliability and validity, Hammersley (1987)

judged that if a reliable research instrument is used, it cannot produce invalid scores.

He (1987: 78) also pointed out that:

the central problem in measurement is that we have no direct access to the property we are trying to measure, and thus we have no straightforward means of assessing the validity of any particular score.....To the extent that the scores are consistent across .. different circumstances, we can have increased confidence that they are valid and that the instrument is reliable.

This leads on to the use of multiple methods or triangulation (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998: 3) as a strategy for this purpose and reflects ‘an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question’. Denzin and Lincoln (1998: 3) placed this approach at the heart of qualitative research:

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. Qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter in hand.

Miles and Huberman (1994: 267) also asserted that triangulation provides opportunities for corroboration or initiation of a new line of thinking. However Denzin and Lincoln (1998: 4) warned that, in qualitative research, triangulation is not a tool or strategy of validation but an alternative to validation.

Similarly, Bassey (1999: 74), referring to case study, asserted that the concepts of validity and reliability are not vital. For him (2002:111), reliability ‘is an impractical concept for case study since by its nature case study is a one-off event and therefore not open to exact replication’. He supported the contention of Lincoln and Guba (1985) that the idea of trustworthiness is an alternative to reliability and validity.

Bassey (1999: 75) has further modified Lincoln and Guba's views to eight questions (Table 5.1), which if answered appropriately, indicate a trustworthy piece of research. This again places triangulation as a key process.

**Table 5.1:** Questions relating to 'trustworthiness' (Bassey, 1999: 75).

- *Has there been prolonged engagement with data sources?*
- *Has there been persistent observation of emerging issues?*
- *Have raw data been adequately checked with their sources?*
- *Has there been sufficient triangulation of raw data leading to analytical statements?*
- *Has the working hypothesis, or evaluation, or emerging story been systematically tested against the analytical statements?*
- *Has a critical friend thoroughly tried to challenge the findings?*
- *Is the account of the research sufficiently detailed to give the reader confidence in the findings?*
- *Does the case record provide an adequate audit trail?*

### **Appropriate research strategies and instruments**

In the light of the above discussion, which strategies and instruments will provide appropriate reliability, validity and/or trustworthiness to address the research questions?

Robson (1996: 40) outlined three traditional research strategies: experiment, survey and case study. He (1996: 43) suggested that case studies are appropriate for exploratory work and surveys appropriate for descriptive studies. For the research questions being investigated in my work, experiment is not an appropriate strategy -

the isolation and control of variables being impossible. However case study and survey are both applicable.

Two strands have therefore been followed. The first strand involves investigating (by means of case studies) a sample of state and independent secondary schools. This enabled the inductive understanding of the prevailing teacher culture of the case study schools and matching it with the purpose and nature of the performance appraisal or performance management scheme as functioning in those schools. The second strand involves surveying longitudinally (by means of a postal questionnaire) national samples of state and independent secondary school headteachers. Though this strand gave only a partial insight into school culture, it enabled:

- identification of suitable case study schools in both sectors;
- the drawing of my attention to issues of significance;
- the provision of data to support some of the fuzzy generalisations resulting from the analysis of the case study school reports.

Both strands also provide ample opportunities for comparison and triangulation within and between independent and state sectors.

In this way, I have followed Miles and Huberman's (1994: 41) 'Design 2' in using a first survey 'wave' (State Survey 1, and Independent Surveys 1 and 2) to 'draw attention to things the field-worker should look for' (in this thesis, on issues relating to teacher performance review).

### **The first strand: case studies**

Yin (1994: 13) defined the case study method as being appropriate when the researcher ‘deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions - believing that they might be highly pertinent to (the) phenomenon of study’. Though Wellington (2000: 91) warned of the ‘importance of the context of the unit and the consequent problematic nature of generalization’, Yin proposed that case studies can ‘describe an intervention and the real-life context in which it occurred’ (1994: 15) as well as ‘explain the causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for the survey or experimental strategies’ (1994:15). Here the intervention is the introduction of statutory performance management in state schools in 2000.

In this context, Miles and Huberman (1994: 26) commended multiple-case sampling for adding confidence to findings and that:

multiple cases offer the researcher an even deeper understanding of processes and outcomes of cases, the chance to test (not just develop) hypotheses, and a good picture of locally grounded causality.

Yin (1984), Bassey (1999) and Bush (2002) have made similar comments. Though many qualitative researchers reject generalizability as a goal, or give it a low priority (Schofield, 2002), Bush (2002: 67) has asserted that ‘generalisations may become less “fuzzy” if several similar case studies are undertaken’.

Given this, an appropriate multiple-case sample of four state and four independent schools was generated from willing respondents to national surveys (refer to the following section of this chapter) of both independent (from Independent Survey 2 [Carslaw, 1998] in 1997) and state school (from State Survey 1 in 2000) headteachers. Each school had long running teacher performance review schemes (the state schools

schemes had been functioning in the period immediately before the introduction of statutory performance management) – and were within a two-hour travel radius (a pragmatic limitation for a solitary practitioner researcher). As a result, a suitable longitudinal investigation of performance review and teacher culture in the period before and after the introduction of statutory performance management in a sample of state schools was possible and matched with a sample of independent schools.

In this way, the selection of cases followed a comparable case selection strategy (Goetz and Lecompte, 1984, cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994: 28) by selecting individuals, sites and groups on the same relevant characteristics over time. The selection of informants within each case followed a quota selection strategy, as well as a replication strategy over time, by identifying the major stakeholder sub-groups within schools and taking an arbitrary number from each. The multiple-case sample is made up of schools in each sector where the culture of performance management and/or performance appraisal is apparently well embedded. This provided opportunities for contrast between and within schools and independent and state sectors although limited to four schools in each sector (n=8) for practical reasons.

A key feature of case study research is the use of multiple sources of evidence (Johnson, 1994: 20; Bassey, 1999: 69). Therefore, for each case study, evidence has come from taped and transcribed interviews with key stakeholders, and an analysis of relevant documentation, such as inspection reports and policy documents provided by the school. Where possible, a questionnaire was used to help triangulate informant opinions. Observation of appraisal interviews and teacher performance was judged



difficult to achieve in practice because of pragmatic and confidentiality issues and is unlikely to be a suitable method for a solitary part-time researcher.

Triangulation (Denzin, 1978, cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994: 267) not only stemmed from differences in data method, but also differences in:

- Data source by interviewing, at approximately annual intervals, key teacher stakeholders from different levels of the school hierarchy and using four schools as cases from both state and independent sectors;
- Data type by using, where possible, both questionnaire and interview evidence from the informant samples.

For Robson (1996: 189), interviews, as well as questionnaires, are suitable for finding out what people think. He (1996: 229) judged interviews as having the advantages of being flexible and adaptable combined with the disadvantages of being time-consuming and advises that an interview under half-an-hour is unlikely to be valuable. In addition, interviews are a source of unavoidable bias (as a result of the characteristics of the interviewer and interviewee, and the content of the questions), impacting detrimentally on internal validity (Bush, 2002: 66).

Despite Bush (2002) judging this difficulty to be endemic in semi-structured and unstructured interviews, I have followed Johnson's (1994: 51) advice. She recommended a probing (Hoinville and Jowell, 1978) strategy and suggested that semi-structured interviews were most likely to be used in small-scale research:

when it is of greater importance to gain the cooperation of a limited number of interviewees than it is to ensure that the information they give is supplied in a standardised and readily collatable form.

Problems of bias, stemming from the use of interviews as a research instrument, can also be minimised by careful formulation of questions and interviewer training (Cohen et al, 2002: 124).

Given these limitations, Kvale (1996) suggested that, in current interview studies, the number of interviews tends to be around  $15 \pm 10$ . For others, a point of saturation would be reached after 20 (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) or about 25 (Douglas, 1985) interviews. At this point, when newly collected data is not providing a different perspective, 'we can have *some* confidence that (a) the sample size has been adequate (b) our study has been thorough (c) our findings can be discussed and presented with some confidence in their generalizability and "trustworthiness"' (Wellington, 2000: 139). With this range in mind, the headteacher and other key stakeholders of each case study school were interviewed over a period of two years.

The other key stakeholders interviewed were the deputy headteacher or other senior manager responsible for administering any appraisal scheme, two middle managers (e.g. department heads or subject leaders) and four classroom teachers – though for practical reasons (e.g. availability of teachers) this was not always possible to achieve. The selection across the hierarchy of the school in this way is a useful triangulation device. Candidates for interview were invariably 'put up' by the schools concerned and interviewed (with four exceptions) on their school sites. The time and the place of the interviews followed negotiation with the key gatekeeper (normally the headteacher, but occasionally the senior manager concerned with administering the performance appraisal/performance management scheme). Such a strategy can lead to

two problems affecting validity: Firstly interviewees may feel constrained in expressing their views; secondly there may be a problem of 'witness wastage' over the period of study (Busher, 2002).

To minimise these problems, the advice offered by Busher (2002) has been followed. This involves the protection of participants through the anonymisation and fictionalising of participant schools and interviewees, as well as disguising dates, where appropriate, in preventing identification. As Busher (2002: 86) has pointed out:

Ultimately it is the researcher who has to decide how to carry out research as ethically as possible to minimise the intrusion to other people's working and social lives that social and education research implies.

### **Summary and timeline for the case study investigations**

In summary, a sample of four independent and four state case study schools has been investigated by means of interviewing key stakeholders at different levels of the school hierarchy. Semi-structured interviews were used and the nature of the structure of the interviews was developed inductively from issues raised by the responses to Independent Survey 2 and State Survey 1 (refer to the following section). The interview pilot was conducted in a school identified from a pool of willing respondents to Independent Survey 2. The pilot exercise demonstrated that the interview framework needed little modification for subsequent use in both state and independent schools (apart from use of appropriate terminology for addressing stakeholders and other organisational characteristics). As a result, it became possible to investigate issues relating to the nature of the prevailing teacher culture of the school as well as the purpose and nature of the school's performance review process scheme, the motivation of teaching staff and the role of rewards in modifying their

performance. Triangulation was achieved by asking interviewees to complete a follow-up questionnaire once the interview cycle had been completed, examining available documentation relevant to the case study schools performance review schemes and by re-visiting the schools over a period of two years. Analysis of the interviews and documentation has been assisted by the use of NVivo. Analysis of individual staff questionnaires has been similarly aided by the use of SPSS, as was the case for the postal surveys. The timeline for this strand is outlined in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2: Timeline for the case study strand**

<i>Independent Secondary Schools</i>	First Visit	Second Visit
Northlands School	12 June 2000: 7 interviews 16 June 2000: 1 interview	Unable to arrange - new headteacher in post.
Southlands School	19 June 2000: 8 interviews	4 June 2001: 8 interviews Follow-up questionnaire distributed to interviewees
Eastlands School	4 July 2000: 7 interviews	15 June 2001: 5 interviews 2 July 2001: 1 interview Head reluctant to allow circulation of a follow-up questionnaire
Westlands School	5 December 2000: 8 interviews	20 November 2001: 7 interviews Follow-up questionnaire distributed to interviewees

A total of 52 interviews in independent schools were completed.

<i>State Secondary Schools</i>	First Visit	Second Visit
Uplands School	10 November 2000: 1 interview 4 December 2000: 4 interviews	17 January 2002: 3 interviews. 30 January 2002: 1 interview. 19 April 2002: 1 interview. Follow-up questionnaire distributed to interviewees
Downlands School	23 January 2001: 2 interviews 1 March 2001: 4 interviews	7 March 2002: 7 interviews Follow-up questionnaire distributed to interviewees
Fairlands School	10 May 2001: 1 interview 26 June 2001: 7 interviews	27 June 2002: 8 interviews Follow-up questionnaire distributed to interviewees
Woodlands School	24 May 2001: 4 interviews Unable to arrange remaining 4 interviews.	Unable to arrange - new headteacher in post.
Forelands School	28 July 2000: 1 interview School didn't want to proceed further	
Hindlands School	23 January 2001: 1 telephone interview School didn't want to proceed further	

A total of 45 interviews in state schools completed.

The trustworthiness of the data collected stems from differences in data method, data source and data type. Interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed. I took contemporaneous notes during each interview and these were matched with the interview transcripts as appropriate. Interviewees were offered sight of the interview transcripts once completed for correction as required though no interviewee took up the offer. Once transcribed the tapes were rerun and matched for accuracy with the transcripts. Following this, transcripts were coded and analysed using NVivo. I maintained a diary through the period of data collection and analysis to provide an appropriate audit trail. Preliminary findings were discussed with my supervisor and other interested colleagues and friends providing many opportunities for reflection and further refinement.

### **The second strand: postal surveys**

In summary, the second strand involved surveying the headteachers of a stratified random sample of state schools in England in 2000 (State Survey 1) and re-surveying respondent headteachers in 2002 (State Survey 2).

State Survey 1 was matched by an earlier survey (Independent Survey 2) in 1997 of HMC (The Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference) and SHMIS (The Society of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Independent Schools) school headteachers. Independent Survey 2 was completed in 1997 by Carslaw (1998) and was based on a third survey (Independent Survey 1) by Graham (1989) in 1988 which used a similar sampling frame. The sample for Independent Survey 3 was respondent headteachers to Independent Survey 2. The repetition facilitates an examination of the effects of changes in the internal and external environment of respondent schools over time with

particular reference to the nature and purpose of performance management and performance appraisal systems. The timing for the surveys is summarised in Table 5.3.

**Table 5.3:** Summary of the timing of surveys of headteachers of state and independent schools

<b>State Schools</b>	<b>Independent Schools</b>
	Independent Survey 1: late 1988 (Graham, 1989)
State Survey 1: May 2000	Independent Survey 2: October 1997 (Carslaw, 1998)
State Survey 2: May 2002	Independent Survey 3: October 2001

The questions in Independent Survey 2 and 3, and State Survey 1 and 2 were based on Graham's (1989) study. Graham's questions (and analysis) have respectability (and hopefully, validity and/or trustworthiness) as a serious and rigorous study published in a refereed academic journal. In this respect the questionnaire provided an opportunity to gain some sort of understanding of the views of an important stakeholder - the headteacher - on the benefits, nature and purpose of the performance review scheme in his or her school.

### **Surveys and associated problems**

Surveys by means of questionnaires are a widely used, though potentially flawed, instrument. Johnson (1994) identified the strength of the survey approach as its great breadth of coverage. However she warned against the weakness of producing seriously biased statements though Cohen et al (2002: 262) recognised that postal



questionnaires might be the only viable way of carrying out a particular enquiry given any constraints of finance and resources.

Postal questionnaires have the advantage of potentially producing large numbers of respondents though the response rate may be low (Wragg et al, 1996). As a consequence, the validity of any questionnaire will be affected by any assumption that answers given by non-returnees would give the same distribution as those of returnees (Belson, 1986). Oppenheim (1992: 106) also viewed the main concern as being 'not the number or proportion of non-respondents, but the possibility of bias'. Though for Scott (1961), a non-response rate of 10% would not distort the results, anything higher would have an effect. Despite this, Oppenheim (1992: 107) advised that it might be safer 'to do no more than to indicate the direction of bias due to non-response'. Fogelman (2002:106) commended the use of longitudinal study as a research instrument in identifying the impact of bias by enabling a comparison of non-respondents in any follow-up survey through the use of data submitted by those non-respondents at an earlier stage. This facilitates a clearer identification of any atypical representation in the achieved sample in any follow-up survey.

In order to maximise the likelihood of return, Hoinville and Jowell (1978: 137) have asserted that target potential respondents are more likely to complete a well-constructed questionnaire. Robson (1993) and Cohen et al (2002: 263) also advocated three follow-up reminders as being the most productive way to maximise response levels (as shown in Table 5.4).

**Table 5.4:** Response levels suggested by Cohen et al (2002:263).

<b>Time of despatch</b>	<b>Suggested response levels (%)</b>
Original despatch	40%
First follow-up	+20%
Second follow-up	+10%
Third follow-up	+5%
Total	75%

In addition, the workload of respondents may be a significant factor in determining the likelihood of a satisfactory response rate. Workload at all levels of the teaching hierarchy has increased significantly in recent years (Smithers and Robinson, 2001; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2001). Troman (1996) has described the negative impact of increased workload with particular reference to the effect on teacher participation in providing evidence for academic research. He (1996: 75) commented that:

Frequent curricular and assessment reviews have meant that the teachers have considerably more work to do in implementation and they have to do this in a changing context, one characterised by ambiguity, uncertainty and insecurity.

The Better Regulation Task Force (2000), focusing on the work activities of headteachers, found evidence that red tape has increased in recent years. It (2000: 21) listed the following reporting requirements for headteachers:

- Annual school “census” - Form 7;
- OFSTED pre-inspection report;
- National Curriculum Key Stage assessment data;
- Exam results;
- Returns to LEAs on the range of plans which they are required to submit to DfEE - potentially some 22 different requests;
- Other request by LEAs for planning purposes - perhaps another 8 returns.

A survey (Osborne, 2000) by the NAHT (the National Association of Headteachers) of headteachers also provided further evidence of this trend.

Given this context of a long working hours culture among headteachers, other studies investigating similar target audiences have produced a range of response rates. For example, Marsden and French's (1997) survey of heads and deputies resulted in a 39.2% response rate. They refer to the response rate as being 'low' and attribute this to the high workload of the target audience. They did not send out a follow-up letter to non-respondents, despite the survey included supporting letters from the General Secretaries of the NAHT and SHA (Secondary Headteachers' Association). Dinham and Scott (1998) also judged a return rate of 38% from a sample of headteachers as being disappointingly low and similarly associated this poor response with a general increase in workload for the sample group. Ferguson et al (2000) surveyed samples of secondary headteachers on five occasions between 1994 and 1997 and received response rates ranging from 45% to 80%. The NAHT (Osborne, 2000) surveyed its own members on teacher workload in June 1999 and achieved a 16% response rate. Given this, Fogelman (2002: 106) suggested that a 60% response rate as being acceptable.

#### **Other methodological issues relating to the use of surveys**

There are a number of other issues relating to surveys that need careful consideration.

These are:

- Piloting the survey;
- Determining an appropriate sample size.

## **Piloting**

The pilot for Independent Survey 2 (Carslaw, 1998) followed the advice given in Bell (1993: 84-85). The questionnaire was piloted by five people; an independent school headteacher, two middle managers of different independent schools, a management consultant, and a recently retired managing director of a large plc. The secretary of HMC and the chairman of the HMC professional development committee also gave assistance. Responses to the pilot indicated a satisfactory questionnaire design, with minor modifications, that would be an appropriate instrument to investigate the research questions and help to identify suitable case study schools.

The questionnaire was modified in two areas - presentation and content. Clearer presentation was achieved by:

- Inclusion of tick boxes for some responses;
- Clarifying instruction requesting the circling of the most appropriate response or by ticking the relevant box;
- Separating more clearly the sections for schools with no performance appraisal schemes from those schools with schemes;

Additional content came from:

- An extra question which identified the headteachers' views on the benefits of their schools' performance review schemes when first introduced;
- An extra question asking for headteachers views on the effectiveness of their schools' schemes;
- The inclusion of an option of 'other' for many of the responses where previously not available, as well as an option to indicate additional responses which take into

account developments in performance review since Independent Survey 1 - for example the development of competency based approaches, peer appraisal, and 360° appraisal;

- Additional questions for schools without performance review schemes to determine reasons for and the perceived advantages of not operating a scheme.

The State Survey 1 questionnaire was piloted (again following Bell's (1993: 84-85) advice) in March 2000 by two state school governors, two state school middle managers, three state school headteachers, my supervisor, a management consultant and the Director of an Educational Study Centre. Responses to the pilot once again indicated a satisfactory questionnaire design with minor modifications - the most significant of these being the consistent use of appropriate terminology for state schools (for example 'headteacher' for 'head' etc.).

### Sample sizes

The number of HMC and SHMIS schools in the United Kingdom defined the size of the sample for Independent Survey 2 and included, as a sub-set, the sample of schools surveyed by Graham (1989) for Independent Survey 1. These schools educate secondary age children and, as such, provided an appropriate match for State School Surveys 1 and 2. The sample for Independent Survey 3 was the respondents to Independent Survey 2. This provided an opportunity for comparison between schools in the independent sector over a period of four years.

A similar survey of all state secondary schools was impractical. Though Oppenheim (1992: 43) has pointed out that the 'a sample's *accuracy* is more important', careful consideration of a number of issues was required to determine an appropriate size of sample and the stratification and randomisation procedures adopted. Firstly, the sample size should provide adequate opportunity for comparison over time within state sector schools and between state and independent sectors. Secondly, a sample size of between one and five hundred seems to be well established in studies using a similar methodology (Graham, 1989; Scanlon, 1999; Collard, 2001; Ferguson et al, 2000). Thirdly, a sample size of between two and three hundred corresponds well with that of Independent Surveys 1 and 2. Fourthly, Oppenheim (1992: 42) has suggested that, with two sub-groups (in this case state and independent school headteachers), 200-300 respondents would be acceptable. All these considerations provided a natural limit, in my context, of around three hundred. Matching Independent Survey 3, the sample for State Survey 2 were the respondents to State Survey 1, once again providing an opportunity to examine changes within the sector over a period of time.

### **Selection of schools and stratification of sample for State Survey 1**

Initially 74 LEAs were randomly chosen for State Survey 1 from an alphabetically ordered list of all LEAs in England. Schools were randomly selected from within each LEA from a list of alphabetically arranged schools and the number selected stratified according to the size of the LEA by the number of secondary schools in the LEA (Table 5.5). This gave a sample size of 277.

**Table 5.5:** Stratification of schools according to size of LEA

<b>Size of LEA (by total number of secondary schools)</b>	<b>Number of schools randomly selected from within LEA for May and October sub-samples</b>
>80	10
>70	9
>60	8
>50	7
>40	6
>30	5
>20	4
>10	3
>5	2
Five or fewer	1

## **Timetable for questionnaire delivery**

### **Independent Surveys 2 and 3**

Independent Survey 2 was completed as part of an MBA dissertation undertaken at Nottingham University (Carslaw, 1998) and was distributed in the week before half term of the Autumn Term of 1997. Because of the time-limited nature of the MBA course, no follow up mailings were undertaken - though a satisfactory 61% response resulted.

Independent Survey 3 was distributed to respondents of Independent Survey 2 in the week before the half term of the Autumn Term of 2001. Second and third follow-up mailings were sent to non-respondents of the first mailing and an 83% overall response was achieved.

### **State Surveys 1 and 2**

Following the completion of the pilot exercise, the original intention was to distribute State Survey 1 in May 2000. However given concerns about headteacher workload described earlier and the introduction in mid-2000 of *threshold* assessments of teaching staff by headteachers, the possibility of an unsatisfactorily low response rate was raised. In the first year following the introduction of the *threshold*, the deadline of completion of assessments by headteachers was 31 July 2000 (with a deadline extension for a small number of schools with special circumstances to 30 October 2000). One estimate of the time taken to complete each assessment was four hours (Revell, 2000). Revell described the example of one secondary school Headteacher with 85 applications to complete out of a staff of 125 teachers. Because of this increased burden (as well as additional anecdotal evidence) and the consequent worries of an unsatisfactory response rate, the original intention to circulate the questionnaire at the end of May 2000 was modified by splitting the survey into two



sub-samples. The targeted audience for each sub-sample was determined by randomly sorting the alphabetical list of LEAs into two sub-sets. The first sub-set was made up of 133 schools and with the questionnaires being distributed in May 2000. The second was made up of 144 schools with the questionnaires being distributed in October 2000.

The first sub-sample was therefore distributed during a period of perceived increased workload as a result of completion of *threshold* assessments. The second sub-sample was distributed at a time when the perceived burden would have been reduced following the completion of the assessments by most headteachers.

In order to match the conditions for both sub-samples, the first despatch was posted at the beginning of the week before the relevant term's half-term. The first follow-up letter (sent approximately one month later at around the time when a reply to the first despatch had been requested) contained another copy of the questionnaire and stamped addressed envelope. It also contained a return slip which gave the respondent the opportunity to state that they were too busy at that time but would respond at a later date or that they were not going to respond. Respondents who indicated the former were sent an appropriate reminder in the second follow-up. A third follow-up letter was assessed to be counterproductive in a survey of this nature.

In fact, concerns of a poor return were not realised - both samples produced an almost identical response rate of just over 50%, suggesting that the completion of the *threshold* assessments had a negligible impact on the willingness of headteachers to complete and return questionnaires of this kind. It is certainly true to say that there

may be no ideal time to survey headteachers. Their workload is diverse and varied throughout the year and the contingent temporary demands on any given headteacher may preclude the likelihood of a response.

State Survey 2 was distributed to respondents of State Survey 1 in May 2002 - two years after the introduction of statutory performance management systems – and again with two follow-up letters to non-respondents. Table 5.6 summarises the timeline for the distribution of the surveys as well as their response rates.

**Table 5.6: Survey timeline and response rates**

<b>Survey title</b>	<b>Time of distribution</b>	<b>Response rate</b>
<b>Independent Survey 1 (IS 1)</b> A survey of headteachers of the 241 HMC and SHMIS schools in the UK.	Distributed in 1988 by Michael Graham (Graham, 1989)	76%
<b>Independent Survey 2 (IS 2)</b> A survey of headteachers of the 298 HMC and SHMIS schools in the UK.	Distributed in October 1997.	61 %
<b>Independent Survey 3 (IS 3)</b> - distributed to respondents of IS 2.	Distributed in October 2001	83%
<b>State Survey 1 (SS 1)</b> A random stratified sample of 277 Secondary Schools in England.	Sub-sample a: Distributed May 2000 Sub-sample b: Distributed October 2000	51% (combined response rate for both sub-samples).
<b>State Survey 2 (SS 2)</b> Distributed to respondents of SS 1.	Distributed May 2002	50%

## Summary

By the use of multiple methods and the inductive nature of the development of interview questions from both the state and independent school surveys, an appropriate toolkit of research instruments has been deployed to address the research questions. The main source of information is the case study reports – the function of the surveys being to identify suitable case study schools and provide information to support ‘fuzzy generalisations’ developed from the case study reports. Table 5.7 summarises the research questions developed in Chapter 4 and relates each to the appropriate research instrument.

**Table 5.7:** A table to show the matching of research instruments to research questions

<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Semi-structured interviews of key stakeholders in case study schools</b>	<b>Documentary analysis of case study schools (inspection reports etc.)</b>	<b>Survey of key stakeholders in case study schools</b>	<b>National surveys of headteachers of independent and state schools</b>
How do managerialist models of teacher culture and people management in state and independent schools relate to models of performance review? Has one had an impact on the other?	✓	✓	✓	✓ (only in part and to assist the assessment of the trustworthiness of ‘fuzzy generalisations’ from the case reports )
What has been the impact of managerialism on teacher culture and performance review in state and independent schools?	✓	✓	✓	✓ (again only in part)

## **Chapter 6**

### ***Approaches to qualitative data analysis***

#### **Introduction**

Given the reliance, as described in the previous chapter, on case study as a key research instrument – though supported by survey evidence - the objectives of this chapter are to:

- Discuss some issues relating to the analysis of qualitative data;
- Describe the sense making process I am using, working towards an appropriate categorisation framework and common template that can be applied for the analysis of each case study.

#### **Some theoretical issues**

##### **A warning for qualitative researchers**

As Wellington (2000:95) commented, one problem with qualitative research is the accumulation of an enormous amount of material of which only part ends up in the final thesis. This problem is most succinctly put (and answered pithily) by Kvale's (1996: 176) '1,000 page question' which states 'How shall I find a method to analyze the 1,000 pages of interview transcripts I have collected?' His (paraphrased) answer is – don't let yourself get into a situation where you have 1,000 pages to analyse. Therefore, bearing in mind Wellington's (2000: 145) advice to return to the original research questions when faced with this difficulty, what is the most appropriate way to make sense of a large amount of qualitative data such as that derived from interviews?

### **Stages of qualitative analysis**

For Watling (2002: 263), the analysis of qualitative data is ‘the researcher’s equivalent of alchemy’. The qualitative researcher is likely to be searching for ‘understanding, rather than knowledge; for interpretations rather than measurements; for values rather than facts’ (Watling, 2002: 267). He or she will be using a process which is ‘essentially about detection, and the tasks of defining, categorizing, theorizing, explaining, exploring and mapping’ (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002: 309). Wellington (2000: 149) referred to the main intellectual tool in the process as being ‘comparing and contrasting – with the objective of some type of higher level synthesis’.

For Tesch (1990: 97) in order to qualify as being scholarly, qualitative data analysis needs to be undertaken by a researcher who commits no logical or ethical errors and who adheres to ten principles. These principles (adapted by Wellington, 2000: 149-150) require researchers to:

- Analyse data concurrently with data collection;
- Analyse data in a systematic and comprehensive way;
- Make analytical notes which record the reflective and concrete process of data analysis;
- Divide data into relevant and meaningful units;
- Categorise data segments inductively by means of an organising system which is predominantly derived from the data;
- Use comparison as the main intellectual tool to discern conceptual similarities;
- Use data categories as flexible working tools;
- Use intellectual craftsmanship to analysis qualitative data;

- End up with some kind of higher level synthesis as a result of the analysis.

Given these, or similar, basic principles, commentators on qualitative analysis have identified a number of key stages in the process. Put most simply, Miles and Huberman (1994) recognised three, namely:

- Data reduction;
- Data display;
- Conclusion drawing and verification.

For Ritchie and Spencer (2002: 312) there are five stages in the process:

- Familiarisation;
- Identifying a thematic framework;
- Indexing;
- Charting;
- Mapping and interpretation (this being the stage at which the key objectives of qualitative analysis are addressed).

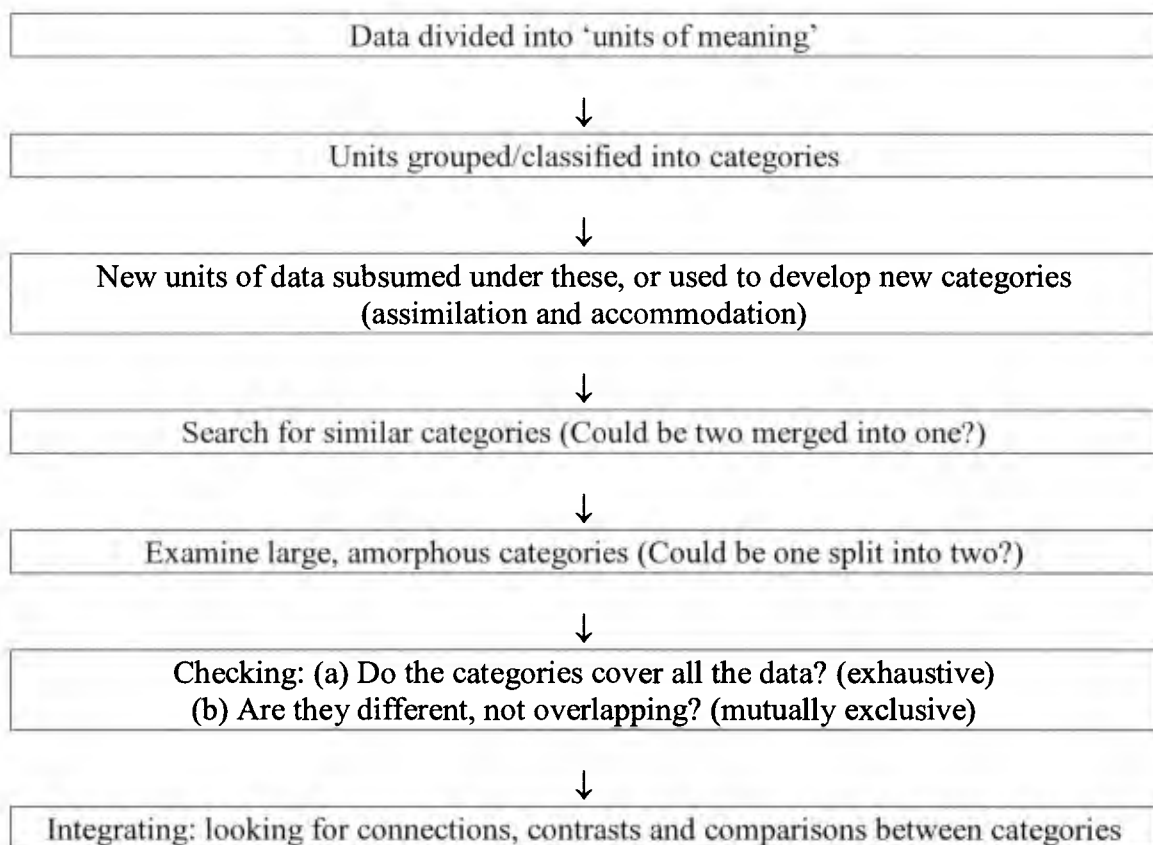
Wellington (2000: 136) thought the process to be messier and commended the use of six stages:

- Immersion;
- Reflecting;
- Taking apart and analysing data - by categorizing or coding units and attempting to subsume subsequent units of data into provisional categories, or if the units don't fit, into new categories;
- Recombining/synthesizing data;

- Relating and locating your data;
- Knowing when to stop.

He also commended the ‘constant comparative method’ of analysing data (see Figure 6.1)

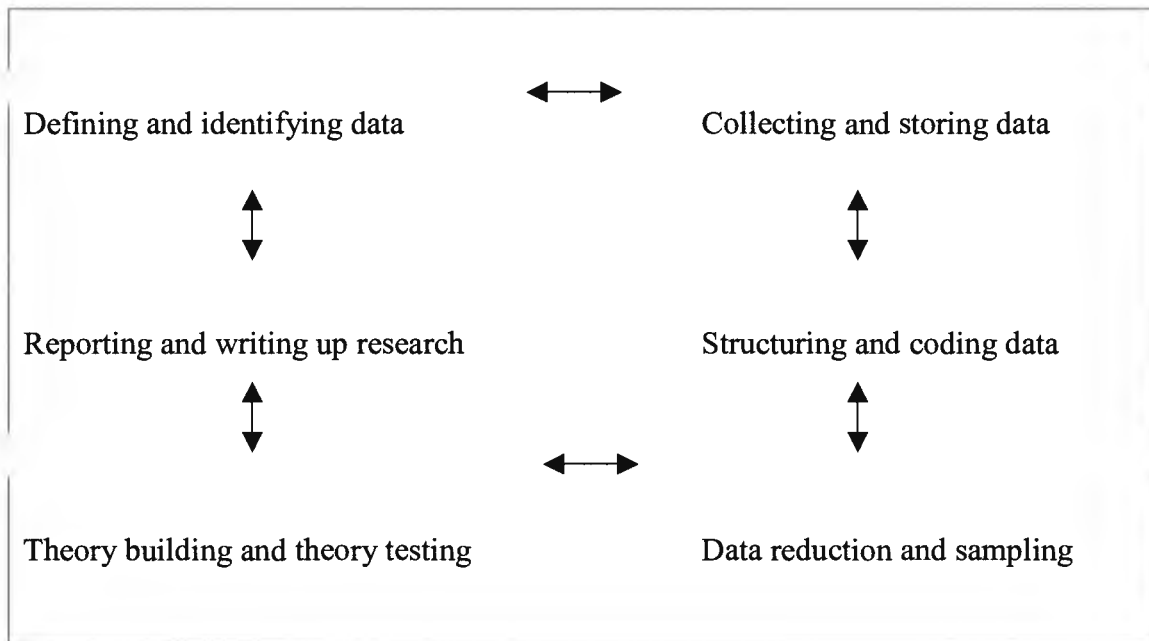
**Figure 6.1:** Stages of the ‘constant comparative method’ (from Wellington, 2000: 137)



The cyclical and reflective nature of the process has probably been put most succinctly by Watling (2002: 266) whose illustration of six elements of qualitative data analysis are shown in Figure 6.2.



**Figure 6.2:** Elements of qualitative analysis (from Watling, 2002: 266)



### **Case study data and their analyses**

Though I recognise that for the school case studies I will be deriving information from documentation and questionnaires, most data will come from interviews. To assist this process, Wellington (2000: 145) recommended:

- looking for buzzwords;
- looking for commonly used words and phrases;
- searching for and examining commonly used metaphors. Why have they become commonplace?

This should result in the discovery of patterns, themes and categories, which Wellington (2000: 146) recommended should be as mutually exclusive as possible and encompass as much data as possible. For Wellington (2002: 146) this process requires ‘a certain amount of creativity’ though, once completed, Riessman (2002: 228) has warned that there are limits of representation. For her, ‘meaning is fluid and

contextual, not fixed and universal. All we have is talk and texts that represent reality partially, selectively, and imperfectly’.

### **Cross-case analysis**

I am undertaking a collective case study (Stake, 1994) where a number of different cases have been chosen in order to generate theories about a larger collection of cases – in other words to be able to generalise. Though Schofield (2002: 193) has warned that:

one cannot just look at a study and say that it is similar or dissimilar to another situation of concern. A much finer-grained analysis is necessary. One must ask what aspects of the situation are similar or different and to what aspects of the findings these are connected.

If any kind of generalization is to be undertaken, some form of cross case analysis needs to be done. Though Wellington (2000: 96) judged that ‘the ability to relate to a case and learn from it is perhaps more important than being able to generalize from it’, for Bassey (1999: 67), ‘generalisations may become less ‘fuzzy’ if several similar case studies are undertaken’. Cross-case analysis can also deepen understanding and explanation (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 173), though Huberman and Miles (1998: 194) warned of the dangers of using multiple cases where analysis at high levels of inference leads to a smoothed set of generalizations which may not apply to a single case. These difficulties can be minimised by replicating the study in similar settings (Yin, 1994: 45).

Miles and Huberman (1994: 173) have identified three kind of cross-case analysis:

- case-orientated;
- variable-orientated;

- mixed.

### **Case-orientated analysis**

For Miles and Huberman (1994: 174):

A case-oriented approach considers the case as a whole entity, looking at configurations, associations, causes and effects within the case - and only then turns to comparative analysis of a number (usually limited) number of cases.

This approach (Huberman and Miles, 1998: 195) is good at ‘finding specific, concrete historically grounded patterns common to small sets of cases, but its findings remain particularistic’. Many researchers use this (case) approach to form “types” or “families”. ‘Cases in a set are inspected to see if they fall into clusters that share certain patterns or configurations. These clusters can be arrayed along dimensions’ (Huberman and Miles, 1998: 195).

### **Variable-orientated analysis**

This approach is used to find themes cutting across cases and is:

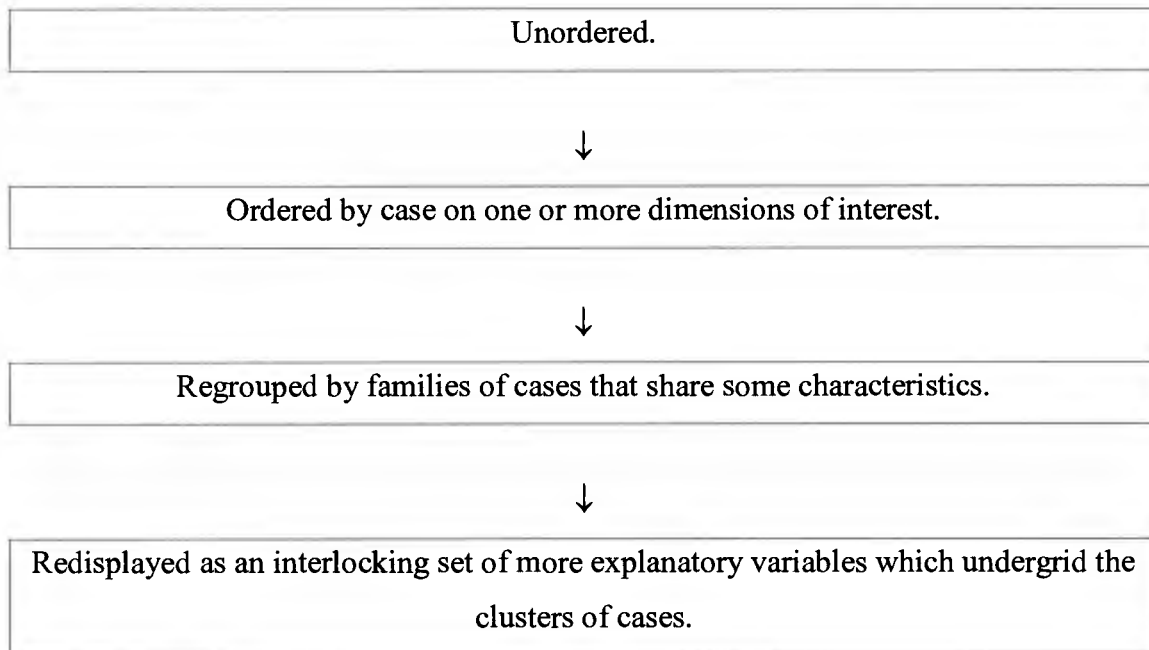
conceptual and theory-centred from the start, casting a wide net over a (usually large) number of cases. The building blocks are variables and their intercorrelations, rather than cases. So the details of any specific case recede behind the broad patterns found across a wide variety of cases, and little case-to-case comparison is done (Miles and Huberman 1994: 174).

Huberman and Miles, (1998: 195) judged it to be good at ‘finding probabilistic relationships among variables among a large population’. However it does have the difficulties ‘with causal complexities, or dealing with sub-samples’.

### **Mixed analysis**

Miles and Huberman (1994: 176) referred to this as 'stacking comparable cases'. In summary, the researcher writes up a series of cases on one large chart, using a more or less standard set of variables (with leeway for uniqueness as it emerges). Matrices and other displays are then used to analyse each case in depth. After each case is well understood (the cross-cutting variables may evolve and change during this process), the researcher 'stacks' the case-level displays in a 'meta-matrix', which is then further condensed. This enables a systematic comparison.

Huberman and Miles (1998: 198) described the sequence of displays as being:



### **My sense making process**

I have followed Miles and Huberman's (1994: 41) 'Design 2' in using a first survey 'wave' (State Survey 1, and Independent Surveys 1 and 2) to 'draw attention to things the field-worker should look for'. In this way, State Survey 1 and Independent Surveys 1 and 2 informed the interview process at the case study schools. The case study sample was generated from a pool of respondents to the surveys, enabling a linkage of data types through the use of questionnaires and other qualitative research instruments. Miles and Huberman (1994: 41) approve of such a linkage of qualitative and quantitative data which enables a researcher:

- to confirm or corroborate;
- to elaborate and develop analysis, providing richer data;
- to initiate new lines of thinking.

A detailed explanation of the research instruments used is found in the previous chapter.

### **Preliminary categorisation and coding**

Given that Maxwell (2002: 44) warned that ‘ambiguity and fuzzy boundaries are the rule rather than the exception in categorization’ and described the development of ‘fuzzy’ categories, Wellington (2000: 142) and others have identified three types of categories for analysing data:

- a priori (categories of data are pre-established);
- a posteriori (categories derived from the data by induction);
- a mixture of both.

Wellington (2000: 142) suggested that the final category is the most common and the most rational approach to analysing qualitative data. For him (2000: 143), ‘new research can help to refine and clarify existing categories – new research can also help to develop new categories, frameworks and theories’.

In this spirit, by examining the quantitative data provided by State Survey 1 and 2, as well as Independent Surveys 2 and 3, a number of lines of enquiry were revealed which were further examined using qualitative data derived from case study interview transcripts. Similarly an analysis of the case study transcripts can be referenced back to the survey data for further supporting evidence of generalisability. In this way qualitative and quantitative data could be linked in a productive and appropriate manner.

For example, the surveys revealed only minor differences between those schemes judged by respondents to be highly effective or having medium effectiveness (refer to the Appendix A for examples of the relevant tables). A review of the tapes and transcripts led me to consider that a key factor in explaining any similarity (or the few differences that were apparent) related to the nature of the prevailing teacher culture of the school. In other words, the nature or purpose of the scheme does not have as great an effect on determining the schemes level of effectiveness, as judged by respondents, as the prevailing teacher culture of the school. This was a turning point for me and foregrounded the importance of matching the prevailing teacher culture in the case study schools with the nature and purpose of performance review in those schools – the key theme of this thesis - and the inappropriateness of investigating performance review as a discrete and isolatable process.

### **Generating and refining categories**

To this end, one helpful way of generating and refining analytic categories is network analysis. This method uses networks to ‘enable a more delicate level of analysis to be carried out’ (Brown and Dowling, 1998: 92) in which categories constitute ‘a logical set insofar as they can be taken to refer to what is evaluated and how it is evaluated’. Brown and Dowling (1998: 98) referred to this process as a *dialogic* process which involves moving between the empirical and theoretical fields. Given the interest in examining the teacher culture of schools and its relationship with the nature and purpose of performance review schemes, the starting point for the categorisation process was found through reference to my initial research questions.

Having done this, what other tools can assist the further analysis of qualitative data? One increasingly common method is using computer assistance in the form of a

software application such as NVivo. Some (e.g. Wellington, 2000: 147) have warned that, though computer programs can help the process of data analysis, they ‘cannot replace the researcher’s own analysis, intuition and ‘craftsmanship’” having a tendency to fragment the data. However others (e.g. Gibbs, 2002) claim that such applications can encourage an exploratory approach to analysis. For him, by using NVivo:

It is easy to be playful with the data, to try out new ideas (especially in searching), to introduce new data throughout the project, and to be flexible in how the theoretical model is constructed and portrayed (Gibbs, 2002: xxii).

Given the large quantity of data involved, and keen to avoid having to answer Kvale’s (1996) ‘1,000 page question’, I have used NVivo as a tool to assist the coding process. This has been done by coding transcribed data (as well as documentary evidence provided by the schools and other agencies such as Ofsted) using NVivo type ‘nodes’. These nodes were placed in categories and used to identify patterns and links.

Referring back to the research questions, and examining responses given in the transcribed data, eventually led to the formation of five categories for each case study report (refer to Appendix B for two examples of the case study school reports) and ultimately the mixed analysis report of the case study schools which makes up the next four chapters. These categories were:

- Teacher culture;
- Evidence of a normative managerialist HR approach to people management;
- The purpose and nature of the performance review schemes;
- The impact of performance review;
- Teachers’ reward preferences.



The development of codes within the five categories stemmed from a careful examination of the interview data. The initial placing of codes within each category derived primarily from an examination of the literature and a reference back to the research questions. NVivo has been used as a tool to code responses within each case and for each level of each case's teacher hierarchy as well as enabling the identification links between categories.

In summary, by coding the transcribed interview data, I have attempted to locate indicators of various models of teacher culture and in turn match them to aspects of performance review. The next four chapters describe the resultant cross-case mixed analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) of the independent and state case study schools.

## **Chapter 7**

### ***Teacher culture in independent schools***

#### **Introduction**

This chapter is an analysis of the prevailing teacher culture and approaches to people management at three independent case study schools.

The three schools were:

- Southlands School. Southlands has an ancient foundation and is a selective independent boarding school for boys in a London dormitory town in the south-east of England. The school has over 1000 pupils and 150 teachers. All pupils board and most are British in origin though more than 30 ethnic groups are represented in the school. The parents of most pupils have careers in business, the professions and public service. The profile of the ability of pupils is above that of state grammar schools and none has a statement of special educational needs. Southlands is consistently found in the top twenty schools in the national league tables. The latest Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI) reports finds that Southlands ‘provides an exceptionally good quality of education for all its pupils’. The headteacher had been in post for ten years and was coming up to retirement. He was commended by the inspectors for providing ‘decisive leadership and educational direction to the school’s work’ and the commitment of managers to ‘continuous improvement, in particular to striking the right balance between freedom for house and academic staff to use their experience and expertise to best

advantage, and the need to secure a common educational entitlement for the pupils'. Nearly all teachers live in school provided accommodation on the Southlands site.

- Eastlands School. Eastlands is a non-selective independent school for boys aged from 11 to 19. The school is sited in a rural setting on the fringes of a London dormitory town. The school has over 400 pupils and around 40 full-time equivalent teachers. ISI assess the ability profile of pupils entering Eastlands to be broadly similar to that of all maintained non-selective secondary schools nationally. About a third of the pupils are supported by charities because they come from disadvantaged families. The school has few pupils from ethnic minority groups and most pupils live in the local area. About a quarter of the pupils are boarders. The school has grown in size over the last ten years from just over 300 pupils who were nearly all boarders. The school has also moved from a six day a week timetable, typical of many boarding schools, to five teaching days a week. The most recent inspection commends the headteacher (who had been in post for five years) for leading the school effectively for providing clear and appropriate direction to the school. The inspection also judged the Eastlands to be 'a successful and happy school that has many significant strengths and comparatively few weaknesses'. About half of the teaching staff and their families live in school provided accommodation.
- Westlands School. Westlands is a selective co-educational independent school for pupils aged from 11 to 19. The school is sited in a London dormitory town. The school has over 700 pupils and more than 60 full-time equivalent teachers. Most

of the pupils come from middle-class homes within a 15-mile radius and the overall ability of the pupils is judged to be above the average for maintained selective schools nationally. Ethnic minority pupils make up less than 10% of the school. There are no boarders. ISI commends the headteacher (who had been in post for seven years) for giving a strong lead and the school was judged to be 'a good school' with many strengths and few weaknesses. ISI judged that overall the management of the school is good and that pastoral team leaders give 'good leadership to teams of tutors and heads of department are efficient and effective'.

A fourth school, Northlands did not participate long enough for a full case report to be completed - there was a change of headteacher midway through the study and the new headteacher did not wish to continue.

Each school was identified as a suitable candidate school for further qualitative investigation after completion of Independent Survey 2 in 1997. Each school had indicated in the survey that a teacher performance review scheme had been operating for a number of years and were prepared to become case study schools subject to closer investigation. The only other factor that the schools have in common is that they are independent (i.e. most of their income is derived from fees), not state-maintained, and have secondary age pupils – and that they were within a two hour travel radius (a pragmatic limitation for a solitary practitioner researcher).

The interviews were completed with teaching staff over a period of two years (between 2000 and 2002). These interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed. NVivo was used to assist the analytical process. The interviewee sample was stratified

and included senior managers, middle managers and classroom teachers. Interviewees were identified by the following selection criteria, namely:

- a willingness to be interviewed;
- availability for interview.

This second criterion provided an element of randomisation in the sample of interviewees selected.

Each interview lasted approximately between 30 and 45 minutes. Information was also taken from documentary sources supplied by the schools and the most recent HMC/ISI inspection reports. Within one month of the final interview cycle being finished, all interviewees were asked to complete a questionnaire which also provided additional information and opportunities for triangulation.

The coding process of the interviews and other documentary evidence involved the formulation, in part inductively, in part with reference to the research questions, of five categories:

- the prevailing teacher culture of the schools;
- evidence of an HR approach to people management;
- the purpose and nature of the performance review schemes;
- the impact of performance review;
- teachers' reward preferences.

This chapter examines the first two categories; chapter 8 examines the remaining three.

## **Teacher culture**

It became more apparent - particularly following a preliminary analysis of the first set of interviews from each case study school - of the importance of aspects of organisational culture of the schools, in particular the prevailing teacher culture, and its relationship with the implementation of people management processes such as performance review.

In summary, the key identifying features of the prevailing teacher culture of the independent schools investigated were found to be:

- The wide range of job tasks that teachers are expected to undertake - not just in the classroom;
- The balkanised or, more predominantly, the ‘foggy’ nature of the middle tier of management. Balkanisation refers to the range of largely discrete sub-cultures within the organisation and carries with it an implication of separateness and a lack of mixing. In independent schools, balkanisation is further complicated by a predominating ‘fogginess’ or lack of line management clarity which is associated with the wide range of job tasks that teachers undertake. Individual teachers have a multiple number of nominal line managers to whom they can be answerable depending on the task (which need not necessarily be an aspect of teaching and learning). As a result there is a lack of clarity in the organisational structure which makes it more difficult to implement a ‘hard’ normative and managerialist HR approach to people management;
- An absence of the discourse of managerialism (for example, teachers never referred to a school development plan or rarely to any departmental development plan as informing their actions or to describe the nature of their organisation.

Terms such as line manager, team leader, targets, performance indicators etc. were rarely, or never, used). The predominant discourse is one of anti-managerialism, and to a certain extent, a managerialism.

### **Range of job tasks and 'fogginess' of management structure**

In each school, teachers and middle managers had a wide range of tasks that were not limited to teaching or other academic duties.

For example a new Southlands head of department listed his duties:

Until this year I took a cricket team and a football team and I was involved in debating and drama, magazines and I ran the school's social service programme. Now that I have taken on the department, which is a big one, I've had to necessarily strip some of that away but I still take a cricket team and I still do a little debating. I used to do the film society as well and I'm still a deputy housemaster.

In Eastlands, one teacher outlined his job specification:

I teach two subjects one up to A Level. I am also a day housemaster. I'm now directly responsible for about 40 boys. I have also been a live-in tutor (in a boarding house) as well. I also look after anything sort of technical in the school and I coach two teams.

In this context, a Westlands teacher described his appointment:

I felt I was a (subject) teacher first but also other things as well along with it. Whenever the appointments go up on the board and it's mentioned who's coming in and it also mentions what sort of sports they do and that sort of thing. So it is never just what they teach. Equally, when I first got here it was expected that you would actually do some sort of extra curricular activity.

As a result in each of the case study schools, the line management structure is confused and divided into units of varying status (for example the pastoral unit of the house and the academic unit of the department). This is accompanied by a 'fogginess'

of organisation. Balkanisation in itself with its notion of discrete borders is only a partial explanation of the middle management muddle that is apparent. Both balkanisation and 'fogginess' have the potential to limit the capacity for learning within the organisation as well as the effectiveness of any top-down normative pressures exerted on teachers - for example the implementation of a performance review process.

The 'fogginess' is due to the wide range of tasks that teachers are expected to complete though there are two explanations for the accompanying balkanisation. In the case of Southlands and Eastlands (both boarding schools) it is due to the existence of two middle management groups (one group being the pastoral middle managers - the housemasters - and the other being the heads of academic departments). However with Westlands, a day school, the reason is the preparedness of the headteacher to bypass middle managers in order to communicate with and receive information from classroom teachers. In the case of Southlands and Eastlands balkanisation combined with fogginess empowers one sub-group of middle managers (the housemasters) while disempowering another (the heads of department). In the case of Westlands, housemasters are an insignificant group, because of the mainly day nature of the school, but nevertheless heads of departments are still marginalised.

A Southlands senior manager explained:

The status (of housemasters) is high in the sense that they run their own fiefdom and they run their own house in the way to a degree that they want to. I think many people would see housemasters as a career progression from a head of department although not everybody goes through head of department to be a housemaster. It is an important role. There is the feeling that houses are front line as it were.



Given this context, a Southlands head of department, described a low cohesion department:

It's a department in many ways of individuals or rather, I inherited a department of individuals, where individuality and self reliance were I think not consciously encouraged but effectively allowed and that kind of culture blossomed. There is an ingrained culture of self-reliance which will take time to break down.

Similarly in Eastlands, the headteacher bemoaned the quality of heads of department but at the same time offered an explanation for this - they are being promoted internally to being housemasters. He explained:

I am convinced in my own mind that one of the hardest jobs to do in a small school is to be an inspirational head of department, because if you are a good head of department invariably in a small school like this you would get promoted to another position because of the fact that you had shone quite quickly in terms of the school. So if I looked at the good heads of department in the 10 years I have been here, they have all been promoted to housemasters, in which case they can't do the head of department job.

The marginalisation of heads of department was recognised by one Eastlands middle manager. For him 'something you think is a decision making body (the heads of department) is only a recommendation making body'.

The consequent confusion in the line management structure can cause difficulties for Eastlands classroom teachers. As one explained:

I still find it (the management structure) confusing partly because of having a house system and a year system running in parallel. That can create confusion knowing who is directly responsible for individual pupils. In terms of communicating upwards that can be quite difficult because the staff are quite busy and it's sometimes very difficult to get an appointment. There

are an awful lot of tasks put on the staff which are not necessarily within the teaching remit but are expected part of the job anyway - which does create a little bit of resentment in the staff room - I'll freely admit that.

Others agreed. When asked about the management structure, another Eastlands classroom teacher said that:

I don't know that there is a structure. Many of the (middle management) posts are centred on the same few people which I find extraordinary. The head of (my large department) is also a day housemaster - both of which are quite big jobs. There's no second in department. And with the best will in the world I think it's very hard for one person to do all those things efficiently. That I think is a big stumbling block.

This multiple task culture also impacts on Eastlands classroom teachers' performance.

As one explained:

I have had the opportunity to handle a lot whilst I have been here. But whether or not I've had freedom to pursue things? I've had the freedom to develop ideas to a certain level but I don't think I've had the opportunity to do as much as I was hoping to simply because of the number of different tasks I'm expected to do. I honestly don't think I've had the opportunity to really get stuck into any one particular job.

### **Low levels of trust and risk**

Low levels of trust were particularly apparent at Southlands - traditionally a school where classroom teachers have considerable autonomy. This has had a number of consequences. For example, it has been very difficult for Southlands senior managers to assess, or even identify, key performance indicators for housemasters - the most powerful group of middle managers. As the headteacher explained:

What we found was that it was very difficult to find ways and means of getting behind a housemaster's own assessment of how things were going in the

house. If you're dealing with a (classroom teacher) the most obvious way of getting behind the master is to go and watch him teach for instance, observing lessons are a critical factor in the exercise.... That's an accepted thing. But how do you observe a housemaster? And the question soon began to raise its ugly head ... do you ask boys... do you ask parents....and we mucked about in one way or another with variations on the theme of whether we should ask boys subtly or unsubtly, whether we should ask parents subtly or unsubtly, and various experiments, particularly over asking parents were put into place. And I have to say it sometimes worked but it sometimes created great anxiety and indeed hostility.

In this context, teachers are reluctant to take risks. As a senior manager explained:

It (risk taking) is not a very Southlands thing to do. You know, I don't know if this is true or not....there are a lot of able people around and the feeling is that no-one wants to cock it up basically.

Similarly a middle manager explained:

I mean it depends how minor the mistake is.... occasionally I make a mistake and somebody will say you forgot that I am already committed to doing so and so. That's a black mark against my name. That annoys people greatly.

### **Amount of paperwork**

There was a contrast in the amount of paperwork circulating in each of the schools. At one extreme - and probably associated with a low trust culture was Southlands - at the other - probably associated with the high level of monitoring by the headteacher - Westlands.

A Westlands middle manager explained:

You do have here a head who is very much present around the school all the time, and does keep a very close eye on what is going on. And I think you do know - I mean everyone is aware that the senior management

team as a whole does know what is happening and I don't think we really need to be constantly sending each other pieces of paper. I mean people do know where things are going wrong. I mean I think ... at the previous school I worked in.. there have been situations where things have been going on in various areas of the school and have gone out of control before people knew what was going on. But I don't think there's ever been a danger of anything like that happening here.

In contrast, the paperwork at Southlands is immense. A Southlands head of department described it:

The administration of the school, and by that I mean the paperwork, is very efficient. And that's the thing that really does work. The scale of it, and it's so slick. It's almost frightening. It actually makes it slightly impenetrable because it is so well done.

### **Evidence of a human resource management approach to people management**

None of the schools showed much evidence of a normative 'hard' HR approach to people management - where teachers are made aware and expected to work towards the achievement of defined, widely articulated organisational objectives using imposed processes or working practices and in the context of a managerialist discourse. This was most apparent at Southlands where the approach could be framed probably best in anti-managerialist or amanagerialist terms. As a head of department explained:

One isn't really managed. There isn't as much inspiration as about what we're doing as there should be.

This view was echoed at senior management level in Southlands. One senior manager referred to top down initiatives as 'a pain in the backside'.

As a result, initiatives at Southlands tend to be generated more ‘softly’ by consensus seeking committees rather than senior managers. These committees are made up of staff from all levels of the school hierarchy and are selected through expertise or interest in a particular area – for example performance review. The purpose of the committees is to contextualise issues appropriate to the prevailing Southlands culture – an anti-managerialist indicator.

In Eastlands, despite the disempowering and marginalisation of the heads of department, attempts at a harder approach were evident. When asked how his job had changed, a head of department felt that ‘there are a lot more instructions coming down from the top - kind of being dispersed through the heads of departments’.

Describing the key performance indicator of the head of department as exam results, the Eastlands headteacher was reluctant to indicate a preferred set of competencies for the middle managers or classroom teachers – an anti-managerialist feature.

I am very keen that heads of department and housemasters are able to stamp their own individuality, character and charisma in whatever role they have. They may not see it in those terms of course, but having been through all those posts myself, it’s pretty vital. But at the same time they need to know that their head is interested and taking a note of what is going on.

He was also reluctant to evangelise an ‘effective teaching’ model for classroom teachers.

I am very keen that individual staff members get some leeway on that (teaching styles) because no one teaches in exactly the same way. People have different strengths and weaknesses.

Despite this middle management is clearly seen as a problem area by Eastlands senior managers (a view endorsed by the most recent inspection). As one, who judged this to be a problem to be resolved by training, explained:

I think management is something they (heads of department) find very difficult. In other words there isn't any great training for teachers about how they manage appropriately and effectively and that's the hardest job for them, isn't it? Particularly if they have been in one post for 15-20 years.

However placing this difficulty in the context of a long hours teacher culture with a reduced capacity for organisational learning, he assessed that:

perhaps our heads of department are not as good a group of managers as they ought to be but I think it is because they haven't got the time to do it.

For the Eastlands headteacher, the inability of heads of department to adapt has been coupled with an increase in pressure as a result of the requirements of greater accountability of classroom teachers. The headteacher judges the pressures on classroom teachers, not to come from middle managers, but elsewhere.

They (classroom teachers) have to be more accountable at every level which I think puts incredible pressure on them. That's probably the biggest difference. We've also increased the number of lessons in the week, which has probably meant teaching more classes. So I think the pressures in general are greater - whether it's pressures from headteachers, whether it's pressures from parents, pressures from exam boards.

This marginalisation of middle managers - in particular heads of department - was also apparent at Westlands and Southlands.

At Westlands, the recently appointed head of a large department foregrounded the difficulties of imposing a managerialist departmental HR model in the context of a flat school hierarchy with the potential of by-passing conventional line management structures by means of easy routes of communication (for any teacher) with the headteacher. For the head of department:

I don't think there is much of a line manager culture. Staff ultimately feel their validation, their rewards come from the centre - the Headmaster - and more or less directly and personally actually. So in the end you (as a middle manager) can only act as a facilitator for that.

As a consequence, another Westlands head of department similarly felt unable to challenge his departmental colleagues 'there's little one could do that that wouldn't seem impertinent'.

This perception of a Foucauldian panopticon with the headteacher in the anti-managerialist 'headmaster tradition' mould occupying a central role was also apparent at the classroom teacher level of the Westlands school hierarchy. As one teacher explained:

I think the thing about this school (is) I would feel quite happy making an appointment to see the Head and say, look... and you could feel quite happy to chat to him about anything. In the back of your mind you wonder if he has a clear idea exactly what's going on. You think he has already worked it out actually and when you walk in you think he knows what I'm going to say.

Reflecting an anti-managerialist/amanagerialist culture of not restricting Westlands middle managers to any particular people management strategy, one middle manager

commented on the consequent gentle 'drift' of people management processes within his department.

I have never been told that I have to fill out certain forms in terms of the teachers who are with my department. It is part of the stated responsibilities as a head of department, as part of the job description, that you are responsible for the professional development of people within your department. But in terms of my having to fill in forms to say, you know, I have told X to go on these courses, or I have sat down and discussed with him where he wants to be in 5 years' time.... It's nothing like that.

Consequently, the impact of such people management approaches on the lowest tiers of the Westlands school hierarchy, as well as individuals' views of their own professional development, was typically illustrated (in complimentary terms) by a classroom teacher in a different department:

I've been free to do just about anything I want really. I mean...I've been trusted to get involved with whatever activities - any new activities I wanted to.....The good thing about the school is they just leave you to get on and do it.

He continued:

We get on very well together and, again, in our department it's great because he (the head of department) is very, very supportive but he will never push you in any way. He just trusts you to get on with it and get on with the job in the way you see fit. He knows you can do it.

In this context, a Westlands head of department felt his role to be a 'co-ordinating and managing job'.



In Southlands, heads of department are similarly marginalised, but the performance monitoring role is done, not by the headteacher - who is keen to distribute leadership to middle managers - but by other teachers. New teachers to the school have to go through a period of enculturation following their recruitment to Southlands. This, in the past, had been a brutal process. As a teacher explained:

Induction was something that we really didn't do. There was very much an attitude that this was sink or swim. I came nearly 15 years ago. There was very much a feeling then that the old guard would stand around saying he's not going to last. It was like watching a man drown. There was no feeling on the school's part that it had to do anything other than watch this drowning.

Nevertheless even now, a Southlands classroom teacher commented on the rarity of praise as a reward:

If you do things quietly and get on well with them, people don't necessarily know what's going on but I suppose they say, well, there have been no disasters that I've heard about, so it must be working OK. It seems to run along those lines rather than people making a song and dance about what you are doing.

In this context, resource sharing even within departments is variable. As a new Southlands head of department ('I don't really have a job description, or if I do, I can't remember it, it's very vague') explained, wary of the prevailing mistake intolerant culture:

I asked everyone in the department last term to have two sessions of mutual observation, one within the department and one with someone outside. And then we all forgathered over a meal, at the end of last half, for a working supper INSET when we discussed teaching, good practice, what works, what doesn't, and what we'd seen in other departments. Not in a negative way but in terms of sharing positive experiences. And I am going

to do something similar next term with a smaller group involving the two new members of the department who are joining us, and those who have just been appraised.

Though for others, as a Southlands classroom teacher explained:

We don't talk about it (our teaching) necessarily specifically but if one needed support or help or whatever there is very much the feeling that it is here. And I know for instance, with all our shared resources, when heads of other departments have seen it they've stepped back and said, oh my god you do that...

He continued:

If however it looks as though you are flapping around a bit and the situation isn't coming back under control then someone will notice and probably do something about it. I wouldn't know who that person would be though. It would depend on the situation and so on.

## Summary

The independent case study school headteachers and senior managers couple the objective of high levels of external exam performance by pupils with a requirement for all teachers to keep busy by undertaking a wide range of non-teaching related activities - not just classroom teaching. Coupled with a 'foggy' management structure – management lines are not clear - teachers have to undertake a variety of time-consuming and unrelated job tasks making it difficult for them to assess what needs to be learnt to in order to improve their own performance and, for that matter, their schools.

In this context and given the objectives of school leaders, the source of the key normative pressure to perform satisfactorily on teachers varies from school to school. In Southlands it is to be seen by your peers as not making mistakes. How teachers

identify what is a mistake follows a lengthy enculturation process after appointment. In Westlands and Eastlands, this monitoring role is taken by the headteacher.

The discourse of normative developmental managerialism is almost completely absent. The benefits of imposed managerialist processes and practices in improving teacher performance were rarely referred to as were references to a school or departmental development plan. The predominant discourse is one of anti-managerialism - teachers and leaders generally taking the view that there are few, if any, practices or procedures (for example managerialist approaches to people management or teaching and learning being implemented in the state sector) which would benefit their schools. The adoption of managerialist models of teacher culture as a learning organisation, professional learning community or an improving school has had little impact on the teacher culture of these schools and none can be said to be following a 'hard' normative HR approach to people management. Teachers are given considerable autonomy in determining their own professional development in a non-normative manner. As a consequence, the teacher culture in each school shows a close match with Hargreave's (1995) *formal* culture with a high level of control exerted by headteachers in the 'headmaster tradition' (Grace, 1995) – particularly in Eastlands and Westlands – coupled with low levels of staff cohesion – a consequence of the 'foggy' and complex organisational hierarchy in each school.

## Chapter 8

### *Performance review in independent schools*

#### **The purpose and nature of the performance review schemes**

Performance review, whether in the guise of 'harder' performance management or a 'softer' model of performance appraisal, can provide an indication as to whether a people management process overlays (i.e. is viewed as a standalone 'event') or is more deeply embedded in the values and assumptions of organisational culture. A harder normative performance management process focusing on a narrow range of performance indicators assessed using common dimensions would fit well when embedded in a harder normative and managerialist HRM approach to people management. In contrast, a 'softer' or an ineffective performance review process would fit well with an anti-managerialist or amanagerialist teacher culture.

The teacher performance review schemes in each of the independent case study schools are different in nature from each other, having been contextualised and largely developed 'in-house' - an anti-managerialist characteristic. In each school, the main impact of any performance review process has been the recognition or validation of teacher performance by senior managers. This may have an impact on teacher performance - praise is an important motivator - but is delivered by a time consuming and highly bureaucratised process in two of the schools and with little opportunity to enable organisational learning. In the third school the process is being implemented haphazardly and in a manner largely left up to heads of department. In addition, each case study school's performance review process marginalises a key group of middle

managers - the heads of department. They also have little impact on performance improvement or changing teacher culture and reward the retention of a balkanised and 'foggy' teacher culture. An analysis of the nature (though not necessarily the purpose) of the performance review schemes functioning in the case study schools shows that, as implemented, they fit closely with the prevailing teacher culture.

### *Performance review at Eastlands*

At Eastlands, the main mechanism of performance review is called 'appraisal'. The purpose of the appraisal scheme is 'improving the performance of the School in its provision for pupils across the whole range of their work, activities and welfare, and to develop the careers of the academic staff' (Eastlands appraisal documentation).

The current scheme has been running since 1999, functions on a two-year cycle, and has three strands. One involves an appraisal of a teacher's academic performance, a second of pastoral performance and a third of extra-curricular ('activities') performance. The second master (deputy head) is tasked to coordinate the three strands and pass the documentation on to the headteacher who conducts the final interview which involves the setting of targets. This puts an enormous load on the second master. A minimum of two lessons is observed using an ISI inspection lesson observation form. Appraisers are asked to 'glean' comments on the appraisee from colleagues and pupils.

In interview, the headteacher was clear as to the aims of the appraisal scheme. For him, the intention of appraisal is to develop staff and enable them to achieve a form of Maslowian self-actualisation. The benefits stem from it being a non-normative

standalone process which does not form part of an HR approach to people management.

First and foremost I see the advantages of an appraisal system as a support mechanism for staff so that one can help to identify first of all their strengths and weaknesses. And then act on developing the strengths and putting any weaknesses to right, hopefully, by support, by help, by training, whether inside school or outside school. Besides which it gives a level of feedback and, hopefully in the vast majority of cases, a really encouraging outcome which makes them valued, and having ownership both of their own lives within the school, and certain aspects of the school.

However, in contrast, he also described the implementation of appraisal as a top-down summative, monitoring process which enables middle managers (a marginalised group) to audit the performance of teaching staff.

Heads of Departments for instance, are always in and out of classrooms as members of their department and I think are much more aware of the teaching, let's say, and the marking, and the quality of learning in the classes within their department. And without a doubt appraisal has highlighted the importance of that, and so I think the appraisal has influenced a greater awareness of what good practice is, and should be. I think it has also made people aware that, in every aspect of their professional life, they must maintain standards and be seeking to raise those standards

As a result of the completion of the process, the headteacher also thought of the appraisal process

in terms of reward and encouragement too and, at times, in terms of a mild rebuke or kick up the backside or whatever.

In this context, a head of department felt that the scheme failed, in developmental terms, for teachers at the start of their career. He explained:

I think that, for young members of staff coming into a school like this, it is very easy for them to get completely involved in everything that goes on. And I think it just needs someone to say, look hold on a minute, this is what you are doing - don't forget your priorities and at the same time where are you looking to be in five years' time? I think we sometimes overlook that.

However culturally, a senior manager felt that the scheme matched the school ethos because of its emphasis on appraising, not just academic performance, but also pastoral and extra-curricular ('activities') performance.

Because appraisal runs through those three strands of academic and pastoral and activities, I think - particularly on the pastoral and activities side - it is very much appraising in line with the school's ethos.

At Eastlands, a system of annual departmental audits, completed by the headteacher, runs parallel with the teacher performance appraisal system. The headteacher interviews each head of department. The interview focuses on exam results as the key performance indicator. The purpose of the audit is a summative view of academic performance of the department. As the Eastlands headteacher explained 'we would look (at the department), after the results are finally in - at the whole picture of the previous year - at the performance of the Head of Department - and the members of his or her department'.

A head of department confirmed the summative nature of this report.

Every head of department has to produce a report (for the headteacher) by the start of the term on the public examination results and any other concerns and issue they've had coming out of those results, for example setting or results of summer examinations that didn't go well.

In summary, the Eastlands performance review process has two components; a summative departmental review focusing on academic performance and an individual teacher appraisal which summatively reviews performance in three areas - teaching, pastoral and extra-curricular activities. Performance indicators in each of these areas are not clearly defined.

All teachers in the school have to go through the same performance review process. However the performance review process (though intended to be developmental in purpose) is, in nature, more summative and functions as a mechanism to provide accountability to senior managers and to reassure them that teachers are performing satisfactorily.

The teacher performance review process structure matches the prevailing teacher culture of the school i.e. one in which teachers are expected to perform a wide range of tasks in the context of a 'foggy' organisational structure. In this context, the teacher performance review process fails to address the key school performance indicator of academic performance of pupils which is addressed separately in the summative departmental review.

One of the consequences of the 'foggy' organisational structure is an enormous pressure placed on a small number of senior managers as key performance reviewers - reflecting the marginalisation of middle managers in the process.

### *Performance review at Westlands*



At Westlands, the teacher performance review process is labelled the 'review and development scheme' - deliberately not appraisal. The scheme has been running for six years. Additionally (as at Eastlands), a summative departmental review takes place every year half way through the first half term. As part of this review the head of department meets the headmaster to talk through the progress of the department over the year. The head of department will also comment on both pupil and staff performance and the review normatively foregrounds the primacy of academic achievement.

A head of department explained the summative departmental review's purpose:

If you get good results - fine - that's what you should have got. But if you've got poor results then, what did you get wrong, what did you do wrong?

The senior manager responsible for the review and development scheme described his role as an overseer who makes sure the process is happening. In this context and reflecting the range of choices available to middle managers, one head of department explained that:

The word appraisal isn't used here. Although I do know there have been appraisals, and I do know that my predecessor who was (a head of department) was appraised by (the head of faculty).

Therefore, beyond this annual departmental review, the Westlands headteacher leaves the form of performance review and development up to individual departments. Some do the process relatively formally and include target setting and classroom observation - most do not. The senior manager responsible for the scheme explained the 'softer' intent of senior managers:

I think our hope really is that we keep it as informal as possible because the heads of departments are talking to members in their department every day. I mean I appreciate that a formal meeting is very useful.. you sit down and set targets and things like that - but we would like to think that the review process is going on all the time.

Classroom observation is rarely formal. One classroom teacher explained the monitoring strategies adopted by his head of department:

I haven't had someone sitting in my class since my first half term when the headmaster came and sat at the back of the lesson. Also at A Level we have two teachers teaching the same group it's quite easy for him (the head of department) to see what's going on in. I mean he doesn't pry, but he is aware of what's happening. Whenever we have departmental meetings he wants to know what stage you've got to and how things are going. You're not spied on but you know he is there and is fully aware of what's happening.

The headteacher, or a member of the senior management team, complete the first formal monitoring of performance as part of the induction process. Once this has been done and the teacher has satisfied the headteacher of his competency, the teacher is left to get on with it.

By following a model of people management where the centre controls the 'what' by regular departmental auditing and review can be judged to be a 'harder' HR approach - there is an expectation of particular academic outcomes in terms of exam results. However once this task is completed, middle managers can adopt either a 'harder' or 'softer' people management approach within their own departments to fulfil the 'how' of management – in this way processes and practices are not imposed but contextualised by middle managers and teachers – an anti-managerialist characteristic.

This approach has been commended by Handy (1984) and Torrington and Weightman (1989), though Reeves et al (2002) have warned that the low quality of training received by team leaders mean that they are poorly equipped to fulfil the complex human requirements needed if this approach is to be successful.

In this context, classroom teachers are free to adopt a range of approaches to their teaching which they (and, at a considerable distance, the headteacher) judge to be effective. Monitoring is minimal and the teacher will be left to continue with whatever practices they have adopted as long as academic outcomes in terms of exam results are satisfactory. As one highly regarded middle manager explained 'the Head did ask me once whether I was feeling I was coping with everything alright - but I suppose he assumes that if I wasn't I would tell him'.

Another head of department welcomed this anti-managerialist approach. For him, 'you can tailor it (the review and development process) to the individual's needs'.

As a consequence, most middle managers have adopted a 'softer' approach - though this is not a straightforward decision as exemplified by the approach adopted by the head of one large department.

Essentially we don't use the word appraisal here at all from what I've picked up. It's a different culture to (his previous school) where appraisals were very much a part of what we did. But that was strong arm management tactics which I wouldn't want to replicate here. It's the difficulty of finding the right path between that and what I see as a rather successively haphazard and liberal approach at times which I think for all his many virtues my predecessor as head of department tended to have.

In contrast, another head of department had borrowed from managerialist developments in state schools. He explained how that within the department, the form of review was:

heavily taken from colleagues in state schools and what they're doing. It's very much preliminary discussions of what we're going to base it on, then we have the discussions, and then people get a written feedback. It doesn't affect the curriculum as such. But what it does is keep everybody on the same course.

Another middle manager has based the process in his department on the departmental audit process operated by the headteacher. '(I) asked them (the teachers in her department) to produce a review of the year of things that have gone well and things that they wish had gone better and then we sit and discuss that'. Though backwards looking in nature, this process is teacher driven - a 'softer' approach. She explained:

It seems to have worked quite well because I think what has happened is that the members of my department think, that they get the feeling they are in control of the conversation, because they produce the document and it's not me saying, you haven't done this or what have you.

Such a mixed approach can leave middle managers potentially 'beached' by a shortage of cues on the normative processes required from school senior managers. The senior managers are nevertheless functioning as 'Foucauldian' monitors, expecting departments to 'perform' using particular performance indicators - namely GCSE and A level grades.

Such observations support the assertion that the school cannot be described as a learning organisation, though it is effective as judged by school leaders.

Some heads of department welcome this situation, whereas others find it difficult to push through what they judge to be necessary reforms. In this context, the nature and purpose of the school's performance review system is contingent on the pressures exerted on the head of department either from below or above him/her in the school hierarchy. However this also has to fit into a context of a constant drive to improve academic results - a recurring theme with the headteacher who places performance review as a contingent tool which can be used as required by the head of department, the model of which depends on the academic performance of that department at any particular time – an anti-managerialist approach.

One head of department described - though not in complaining terms - the lack of guidance of the form of performance review that a department could adopt.

There isn't a clear framework for how you do (performance review). I think it's largely up to the department heads as to how we approach that.

Despite this, the freedom of middle managers is bounded by the perceptions of what they judge the school culture will 'allow'. To exemplify; one head of department felt that the school culture failed to support the longer-term development of teachers. For him, 'I think it would be good if there was some kind of development plan for each individual teacher but it's difficult to do that unless you feel the whole culture of the school is going to support you. And I'm not convinced that it does'. Despite this, he was clear about his role. 'We work very strongly as a team and I've got to facilitate the smooth working of that team'.

An articulation of a desire for short-term academic success is the key normative outcome and a highly significant objective – it's difficult to call it a cultural value - of the school culture. In this respect, the school does have an HR approach to people management of classroom teachers (though not of middle managers) which is 'soft' in its implementation. However by expecting teaching staff to take on a wide range of other pastoral and extra-curricular roles, this core objective is less foregrounded in documentation, such as the prospectus and other external and internal marketing tools, than might be otherwise expected.

The foregrounding of academic results is widely recognised at other levels of the school hierarchy. For example, for one classroom teacher 'at the end of the day I judge my own success by the results the students achieve. And it's not necessarily obviously that they all get A grades but I obviously want them to do as well as they can and that's the way I judge it'.

In this context the headteacher has chosen a contingent and pragmatic 'pick and mix' approach to aspects of HRM in order to drive up results. He places great importance in the recruitment and selection of the 'right' teachers and then lets them get on with it. There is no linkage between the performance review process and the school development plan - there is no insistence on the setting of targets or the developing of particular competences by individual teachers unless the teacher or head of department requires there to be.

In this respect the nature of the review and development scheme fits well with the culture of the school. Foregrounding the monitoring role of the headteacher, one head of department explained:

(the review and development scheme) fits the atmosphere of the school and the personalities within the management team, and the fact that we are still in many respects quite a small school. We're constrained by the size of the school because it stops it from becoming unwieldy. So everything does function on a very personal level. So, while I wouldn't think of it as precisely line management, I would say I've got very easy access to all members of the senior management team in their various different capacities. And I'm dealing with all of them all of the time over different things. And that the headmaster has an excellent overview of what we are all up to.

A senior manager concurred in this view of accountability when asked to describe the nature of management of the school. For him:

The word that immediately came to mind was that it is much more "intrusive" - that's not the right word - but it is much more .. hands on ... there's much more, I think, of a link between what's happening, and the idea of line managers is now much more accepted than it was before - its answerability isn't it - whatever I do I'm answerable to so and so.

In summary, like Eastlands, the performance review process at Westlands has two components. Firstly a summative departmental review and secondly individual teacher performance review. Neither of these are developmental processes which facilitate organisational learning within the school. The key performance indicator emphasised normatively by the headteacher is exam performance, though teachers are expected to undertake a wide range of other duties in the school. Individual teacher performance review happens haphazardly if at all. The headteacher, as well as most other teachers, does not view it as a relevant process.

Westlands heads of department are a marginalised group - the headteacher taking on the key performance monitoring role – but in an ad hoc manner. Individual teacher development is left largely up to the teachers themselves. The performance review system, given its haphazard nature, reflects a teacher culture which marginalises middle managers.

### *Performance review at Southlands*

Appraisal at Southlands has been in place since the mid-eighties. The earliest scheme involved an interview with the headteacher and very little accompanying documentation. The scheme did not require classroom observation or target setting. This system became impracticable because of the excessive importance placed on the role of the headteacher and, to a great extent at his request, was replaced. The current performance review system was established in 1995 following a lengthy consultation period involving a committee of teachers chaired by a senior manager. The intention of the scheme is to assist teachers to ‘carry out their duties more effectively’. The scheme is also intended to encourage openness and to improve communication between teachers, though the professional development of teachers is not foregrounded in the written aims of the scheme. The scheme is paper heavy (the basic explanatory documentation for the scheme is 21 pages long) and involves reports from teaching, pastoral and extra-curricular performance reviews (involving 13 pages of documentation). Lesson observation uses a form based on inspection criteria, though lessons are not graded. From this, the intent of the scheme can be judged as being more summative than formative.



The reviews are collated by a grandfather figure called a reviewer who need not necessarily be the teacher's line manager. Reviewers are experienced and senior members of staff (though not necessarily in terms of the conventional school hierarchy) and make up around 15% of the teaching staff of 150. The reviewer completes an appraisal interview with the teacher. This interview generates an evaluation form which, along with the rest of the documentation, is passed on to the headteacher who also has an interview with the teacher. This interview will determine a number of professional development 'recommendations' (the scheme does not use the vocabulary of objectives and targets). 'Recommendations' are not quantitative in nature and are not restricted to particular areas of whole school development. The impact of any recommendation depends on the effectiveness of their implementation. As the headteacher commented:

Masters think that the Achilles heel of the exercise is that recommendations are not followed up. The following up of recommendations must be the responsibilities of masters themselves. You can make a fetish over recommendations. You find yourself chasing recommendations with no particular point.

The basic performance review cycle is five years but can be shortened to two years for teachers who are new to the school or who have taken up a position of responsibility.

For those who do not take up positions of responsibility, this can make appraisal fade into the distance. One classroom teacher, who had been at the school for fifteen years, articulating the mistake intolerant 'process' nature of the school culture, could not remember the timing of his last appraisal.

Must be five years.... four years ago.....in all honesty I couldn't tell you. I can't remember how often it is supposed to be but I'm thinking either they have missed me out or ... I'm not too worried about it. I think I've been here long enough now... and I think the things I do just keep rolling on and I don't think I'm a big threat to anybody. I don't think I'm doing anything hideously wrong otherwise the wheels might fall off certain areas but no I think it seems to be OK so perhaps they are not too worried about it.

Despite the seeming thoroughness of the scheme, housemasters (traditionally a powerful group within the school hierarchy) have not had their performance formally reviewed until recently. Even now the review of their performance is different from other teachers, being more in the form of a discussion with the headteacher rather than being mediated through a reviewer. The housemasters' scheme is also called a 'review' unlike the term 'appraisal' which is use for the whole school performance review scheme.

A difficulty in merging the performance of housemasters into the performance review scheme has been identifying key performance measures. The senior manager responsible for administering the scheme described some of the problems retrieving difficult to measure qualitative information.

We did encounter problems trying to get information... really data... on how well a housemaster was working. For a while, we tried to get opinion from parents and I think the system was mishandled. We collectively, the school, those people doing it, mishandled that experiment as it were.

He continued:

We were threatening people (housemasters) who were feeling isolated.

This judgment is combined with a recognition of the importance given by Southlands to the housemasters' role and the nature of the school's notion of accountability. The senior manager continued:

Houses can go wrong very quickly so it doesn't make sense to appraise a housemaster under our usual cycle.

As a consequence the monitoring of houses differs – again reflecting the relative importance of housemasters in the school hierarchy. The headteacher described how the housemasters' review scheme differs by being less 'open' and more frequent than the teacher appraisal scheme:

What it (the housemaster's performance review) does do is that it means that I talk to each housemaster every single year. Because one of the pities about the appraisal process was that it created the impression that I only saw a housemaster every three or four years when his number came up and that is not enough. A house can go uphill or downhill a long way in three or four years and you have not had a mechanism for getting to grips with it. So it's annual. And at this point I think I had to say to housemasters that this (their performance review) can't quite operate according to one of the fundamental principles that we built into the appraisal process. For better or worse, I cannot guarantee always to be dealing with you according to the principle of openness that we thought was fundamental in appraisal. After all if a head of department forms a view that somebody has taught a bad maths lesson he has to say so and he has to say so openly. It has got to be fronted up. But if I have a boy or a parent saying to me, so and so as a housemaster is not doing his job, I cannot guarantee to do that on the principal of openness because the parent frankly will not speak to me on that basis.

The importance of housemasters, who will also have a place in the hierarchy of an academic department, skews the effectiveness of the performance review system

within their department. One head of a (large) department who had been in post for four years, explained the problem:

I've done only one (appraisal) properly. My department is stuffed full of senior men. I've got housemasters, directors of studies, heads of science who are appraised by a different system because, although they work for me within the department and I get an input...you know, we're torn in far too many ways in schools like this.

In this context, the head of department judged his role in the hierarchy to be an administrative 'enabler' who makes sure 'the whole thing ticks over'.

In summary, most teachers (85%) at Southlands have their performance reviewed in the same way. However, a powerful group of middle managers, the housemasters, have their performance reviewed differently. The performance scheme is summative in nature and purpose and aims to build a picture of the teacher's total performance - not just in the classroom - and which can reassure the teacher that he is doing a good job. The heads of department is a marginalised group of middle managers. They are only partially responsible for reviewing a teacher's performance. The performance review scheme fits well with the prevailing anti-managerialist (if not amanagerialist) low trust, consensus seeking teacher culture.

## **Impact of performance review**

### ***Impact of performance review at Westlands***

The review and development scheme at Westlands has had minimal impact. This view was most vigorously held by the headteacher. For him, the act of setting up the most appropriate performance review scheme has more impact than its continuing

implementation. In this way, he judges his school's staff culture to be 'strong' enough (i.e. with a sufficient proportion of actualised highly motivated individuals who are so tuned into the objectives of the organisation that a formal performance review system is unnecessary). He explained:

My feeling is that the importance of an appraisal scheme is, largely, perhaps 75%, in the setting up of it in the first place, and the agreement of the processes that ought to take place. Once it has been through a cycle of maybe two years, paradoxically it becomes far less important to have it at all, formally, because people know what is expected of them. There are no surprises in the appraisal scheme and it does become part of the texture of life in the school. I think we have reached that stage. And I am not terribly exercised if heads of department are not appraising all of their staff every two years. Because I think they know now, everybody knows now, and I don't think there is any disagreement about it, what appraisal is designed to achieve, and therefore the achievement of those things can take place without going through the formalities of appraisal of every year or every two years.

The headteacher felt that the review and development scheme had served its purpose.

I think it (the review and development scheme) made its difference sometime ago so, yes, and it is probably enough now to keep things on track. I think its days of being revolutionary and making significant changes were real - but are now done - it has had its effect. But it is not doing anything new now I think.

The headteacher is not formally appraised. As he explained:

The governors pay lip service to the idea that they are reviewing me. I am responsible for ensuring that there is an on-going development plan and I'm accountable to the governors for the performance of the school as a whole. And so far they seem to have been fairly happy with it. While the curve is upwards, I suppose they would be!

Reflecting a common theme, a Westlands classroom teacher described how the impact of the process had been limited by his workload. For him 'I've been so busy this term, I haven't really put into practice many of the things we discussed'. One middle manager, who, on her own initiative had devised a scheme for her own department, felt that the key impact on her has been to ensure she leaves an appropriate audit trail providing evidence of accountability to senior manager - 'It has certainly made me better organised on paper. I think I always was well organised but I didn't have it all written down and I certainly do now'. However she also recognised that, identifying a normative approach to people management, as a result of the review and development process 'we certainly work better together as a unit. In the past I think we were nine individuals doing our own view of education but we certainly now have a united idea of how we are doing things'.

Given this, the key element of the Westlands performance review is the annual departmental audit. The schedule and thoroughness of this audit is rigorously maintained by the headteacher. However, the cycle for performance review within each department is irregular and determined by the head of department. As one classroom teacher explained 'I expect there'll be one in another couple of years but it's on-going really - the process of review and development. If he (the head of department) feels that he has suggestions to make he'll come out and say them, rather than necessarily doing it formally'.

For another, the process is equally haphazard 'I haven't had an official appraisal or review. I was looked at in my first term of teaching. The headmaster came in and

watched me teaching - and the head of department - but that's about as official as it got.

In departments which did value performance review, the timetable for the process could be readily delayed. One classroom teacher explained that

Every couple of years it is supposed to go on as far as (my) department goes. But when things get a bit tight it is the first thing that gets pushed back. If we have other things on it can get delayed. This is my seventh year and I've been appraised once. Every two years doesn't quite work!

For others, the existence of the review scheme took on snark like qualities.

- Teacher** In terms of appraisal there's an appraisal system but I haven't been through it yet.
- Interviewer** Does it (appraisal) feature much in the department?
- Teacher** It doesn't seem to.
- Interviewer** Does it feature much anywhere?
- Teacher** Not sure really... I haven't heard too much about it.

These responses would not have been a total surprise to the senior manager responsible for administering the scheme:

I am sure that the people you talk to will say... appraisal? What's that?...but they'll be aware there is a system and it is running. My role really is to oversee it and make sure it is happening.

In departments where a performance review scheme is being implemented a range of what might be termed a 'softer' approaches and reward strategies were evident - one middle manager explained 'I try to make it a positive experience and really congratulate things that have gone well to boost people's feelings or how they are getting on'.

In summary, the Westlands scheme has had limited impact on teacher performance. The headteacher attaches little value to the performance review scheme and the scheme marginalises the status of heads of department.

### *Impact of performance review at Southlands*

In contrast to Westlands and Eastlands, one of the Southlands scheme's objectives (though not apparent in the documentation) has been to change the staff culture. As the headteacher explained, this has been partly successful:

(Appraisal) has contributed quite significantly to a change in culture. People are learning more from one another than they used to. The observation of lessons is something that people don't worry about. Two of the problems about teaching are you don't learn enough from your colleagues and you get very good very early – the only way of doing it is the way you (the teacher) are doing it. Appraisal helps over both these things.

The scheme is also intended to enable younger teachers feel valued and reassured. For him:

They (younger teachers) get, in a more direct and concrete way than they possibly had before, the idea that their work is valued and their contribution is valued and that is immensely reassuring I think.

A classroom teacher, who felt the process to be a summative one, agreed:

Mine was unbelievably nice. I just couldn't believe all these reports people were writing on you. It just made your head feel immense and you walk around thinking, well everybody loves me.

However, the scheme did not always work in this way. For some, appraisal was too cosy a process which missed opportunities to improve performance. A classroom teacher explained:



And I know at times you don't necessarily do everything right and you do need a kick up the back side every now and then, and I think the appraisal sometimes should point one or two of those things out.

For more established Southlands teachers, the impact of the scheme was less obvious and more indicative of a paper driven *process* culture. For the headteacher:

I think they (teachers) sometimes wonder at the end of the exercise whether it is effective enough in ongoing terms. When they do fill out their surveys they do quite often say that the recommendations arising from it are perhaps less precise than they would want them to be, or less precisely followed up than one would want them to be. So it is a good exercise. It makes them feel good while it lasts but there is a slight tendency for them to feel that the papers end up in a file or a drawer and therefore haven't been followed up.

For example a middle manager judged the current form of performance review to have little impact. He explained:

I don't think it (performance review) is an honest procedure. It's dishonest in several ways. It's dishonest in that it is made out to be 'this is just a chance for you to air your weaknesses, for us to suggest areas which might improve and this will have no effect on your future promotion'. Nobody believes that in a month of Sundays. So everyone comes out with the trite things.... my weakness is I work too hard. So you're never ever really going to get anybody to put anything stronger than that on to paper. So it's dishonest in that sense.

Though again a common advantage of the current system is that it enables teachers to have a lengthy discussion with the headteacher as part of the performance review process and as a validation of their performance by the lead stakeholder. For one middle manager:

That's the only real advantage I can see for it, because otherwise ordinary members of staff would never see the Headmaster. I mean I get to see him only once a year for a one to one chat unless I flagged something up... so goodness knows how often an ordinary troop would get to see him. And that's important I think.

From the headteacher's perspective, this is a significant and time-consuming disadvantage. For him, each appraisal requires two hours of his time – reading the documentation, completing the interview and then making recommendations.

Most appraisals have taken me one and a half hours or two hours and, though I could see that the system was very, very, very much better because of what heads of departments and others were doing, it wasn't liberating me in any significant sense from the sort of burden that (the previous headteacher) complained about.

The low tolerance of mistakes has had a significant impact on the development of a more distributed approach to leadership. One manifestation of a reluctance of middle managers (and classroom teachers) to take risks has been the buck-passing of the responsibility for actioning recommendations (made as a result of performance review) up the school hierarchy. When asked who should take responsibility for this, a classroom teacher felt reluctant to take on a self-monitoring role and felt that:

Ultimately it is down to the head man but he can't do it because he would be superhuman but, yes, someone of a senior management level ought to have the clout to say right you know, we were looking at this (a particular recommendation). Has it happened?

Given this, and the bureaucratic and paper heavy nature of the performance review system, the headteacher described his frustrations at ending up as being perceived as

the only individual (by nature of his position) who had the credibility to enable the fulfilment of objectives.

There was a time they (middle managers and reviewers) thought a very good way of forming recommendations was to do quite a lot of upward delegation. They would say, recommendation 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 - responsibility for implementation - (head-teacher) and, you know, they soon learned that that sort of recommendation was (a) unworkable because I wouldn't be in a position to manage it and (b) that it made me cross because I just did regard it as being an improper upward exercise. I mean, obviously, if a head of department says to me, I think so and so is ready for some new challenges, or whatever, that's something for me to put in my pipe and smoke. But a recommendation is not going to emerge from the paperwork and charge me with doing something that a head of department has thought of. I mean otherwise it just becomes an intolerable big wheel that I can't hang on to. It flings me off. So I am not going to impale myself on a series of recommendations of that kind. Now, most of the recommendations place the responsibility for managing firmly on to the master in question.

Given this, several teachers commented on the thoroughness and fairness (in that everyone had to do it) of the system. For example, for one classroom teacher:

I think the bottom line is that the appraisal system is really good and it's very thorough and it's very fair.

However, reflecting the low trust nature of the school, he did feel that in some departments the scheme's impact has been limited because he felt some underperforming teachers were 'getting away with it...and that pisses me off'.

In summary, the Southlands scheme's main impact has been to enable teachers to feel valued and reassured that they are doing a good job - particularly by having an interview with the headteacher. The length of time between appraisals makes it

difficult for the process to have a significant impact on teacher performance and the scheme's structure marginalises a key group of middle managers - the heads of department.

### *Impact of performance review at Eastlands*

An Eastlands classroom teacher felt that the main impact of the appraisal scheme was to highlight his non-academic activities in a more formal way.

I think perhaps it highlights a little more about what you do behind the scenes which I think is good especially in my case because I have so many diverse roles around school. I think it kind of puts together exactly what I do quite nicely and sums it up.

The headteacher also judged the appraisal scheme to be having limited impact - the scheme standing or falling on the actions of marginalised and self-interested middle managers. For him:

some line managers are protective of themselves and therefore reluctant to make comments, good or bad, about people that they are appraising. They are happy to put just bland comments in because that's the path to least disruption or discomfort later.

The headteacher's response to improve the quality of appraisal is to send line managers on external inset and by 'continually having to talk to the line managers about how they should appraise'.

Other teachers agreed with this lack of success and a failure to make appropriate summative judgments as part of the process. One senior manager 'found it rather a negative experience which I don't think it was intended to be' though another felt it to be superficial. He explained:

I think some people would say it is a little bit of a cosmetic exercise but, even if it is only that, at least it means you've got usually, at minimum, an hour and a half of uninterrupted time with the Head, and I think some would have come out and said well, yes, I think it was really nice of him to say all those really nice things about me, but I'm sure he can't actually be 100% satisfied with what I'm doing, and really ought to be perhaps challenging some things - and that is where I suspect it is not as good as it might be.

Other teachers at different levels of the school hierarchy mirrored this view. For example, a classroom teacher felt that:

I think it (appraisal) is one of those things that's simply endured really. It's very nice to be told at the end of the day that you're doing a good job, and actually you read in three separate reports that you're doing well in this, this, and this area, and knowing you've met your targets. But I think at the end of the day a lot of the content of the appraisal is what people knew already.

Another recognised the benefit of appraisal in providing opportunities for praise.

It's all very nice to see some nice things written down about you - you've got them on paper - but it is necessary to make people feel appreciated - even as adults we need that.

However one middle manager was unable to couple the appraisal scheme with increased accountability or indeed with any impact on teacher performance.

I think we are all much more accountable generally, in the way the school works, the way that any school works, the way the departments work, especially the public examination results but I don't think the every two year appraisal system has had an impact on what we do here. I think it is too unwieldy and I think two years apart is too far apart. I don't think we can make a difference in the way we do things by sometimes not seeing our line manager formally for two years.

Despite this, a senior manager judged that the new scheme was having a greater impact:

I'm convinced in my own mind that appraisal is becoming a little bit more direct and frank which I think is good. I think to some extent when we first introduced it I think we pussy footed a little bit, and that a bit more bite is coming into the appraisal where necessary. I think that targets that the head sets are being followed up more scrupulously I think and that greater accountability is coming from that.

A classroom teacher agreed with this. For him:

I think it is much more rather than just being a general kind of back slapping session. I think it is far more going to be based on, right, well what are you going to do now kind of thing you've justified your place here for two years, what are you going to do for the next two years? And I think that will become more evident as the appraisal system gets further and further down the line.

In summary, the Eastlands scheme's main impact has been to recognise and value the performance of teachers, though the scheme has had little impact on improving teacher performance. As with Southlands and Eastlands, the scheme has marginalised heads of department – a key group of middle managers.

### **Teachers' reward preferences**

In each school, teachers cited the high quality of relationships most frequently as a reward for working in their school. One Southlands classroom teacher explained:

The rewards are the contacts you make and the people that you meet. The opportunities, if you want to, to develop as a classroom practitioner.

Similarly a Southlands middle manager explained:

The reason I'm in teaching is I like the actual classroom teaching. I'm a teacher first and a head of department second.

The Eastlands headteacher reflected the views of many.

The relationships between staff and staff, and staff and pupils, are about as close as in any school I've seen in this country or elsewhere. It is not an academic hothouse and therefore, of course, there are pressures. And some of the children have got emotional difficulties - that brings its own problems. But the rewards of dealing with such children, and seeing them come through very strongly, and get high A Level grades, is reward in itself. It's a good campus to work in. It's a beautiful environment.

The nature of these rewards encourages the retention of teachers. One Eastlands classroom teacher explained:

I think that's a feature of the comfortable environment - you've got your house on site - you've got your perks and all the rest of it and, even if you don't like your job, you're going to stay put.

Teachers in Southlands and Westlands agreed - teachers tended to stay put with many (most noticeably at Southlands) spending their working careers at the school. As one middle manager explained:

(Teachers) either stay for two years and go, because they can't abide the stuffy sort of place it is, or they stay forever.

He continued:

It's even very difficult for people to leave to be heads of departments (at other schools) because of the pay structure. They are likely to be paid less as a head of

department in another school than they are as an ordinary bod here.

Praise also comes across as a motivator - though all too rarely used. For example one Westlands middle manager, foregrounding the normative function of academic performance as the key performance outcome, praise from pupils - not other teachers - was a key factor.

Sometimes I think you are castigated when you get things wrong and you are expected to get things right. And there isn't a great deal of - what's the word - congratulations, appreciation. For example, if you get good results.....fine - but that's what you should have got. But if you've got poor results then, what did you get wrong, what did you do wrong. I think the rewards are the pupils. They come back when they have left and occasionally they drop things in. I'll never forget one boy said, 'it's because of you that I could do it'... and you think, 'Oh... my life is worthwhile!' But it comes more from them. I don't mean that the Headmaster and Senior Management don't say 'well done', but it always seems to be that this is what we (the senior management) expected.

This was also apparent at Southlands. Another classroom teacher explained:

I generally find, with the exception of appraisal, that there is very, very little patting on the back here (though) this headmaster has been much better about it. But generally I think it's such a big school that everyone just gets on with their own thing. And unless you are doing something disastrously wrong you don't tend to hear a great deal about what's happening.

### Performance-related pay

Westlands and Eastlands (though not Southlands) operate a form of performance-related pay (PRP) which has very limited linkage with the schools' teacher performance review schemes.



The Westlands headteacher, articulating an intent to reward teachers for the wide range of job tasks they are expected to undertake, explained how the opportunity to introduce PRP arose following a review of the salary structure.

In reorganising our salary scales we really took up a position against the facile equation of performance (linked) with results, because we expect from our staff a much broader commitment to the performance of the school than that. And I think it would be most unhelpful to put in place the sorts of threshold structures that exist in... are now coming into being ... the maintained sector. So we haven't done that.

This approach has had an impact on the nature of how teaching staff are monitored, relying as it does on judgements of highly qualitative and nebulous performance indicators by a group of senior managers. The headteacher continued.

(We) have a very amorphous set of tools for performance management which have an awful lot to do with discretion and intuition. But I think the salary spine we put in place gives us a great deal more flexibility (a) for rewarding people who deserve it even if this (the reason for deserving a reward) is unconventional and (b) for not rewarding people who may be able to tick all the right boxes but actually aren't pulling their weight.

The senior manager at Westlands responsible for administering the review and development scheme matched the introduction of performance-related pay as a reward for taking on multiple job tasks and rewarding those who reinforce the values of a 'foggy' teacher culture. He described the process.

What happens is that the (senior deputy) and I and the head meet every Easter term and we go through every member of staff, and we decide - it's done really on a balance of both performance in the classroom and also

their contribution to the life of the school - extra curricular stuff and so on. So in a sense I know there is this kind of dichotomy between performance and exam results and responsibility for extra curricular things and they are supposed to be kept separately, but actually we look at them together so we try and decide what the total contribution to school life is of a particular member of staff and then they, you know, go up one or two or whatever points on our many-tiered level.

The Westlands headteacher concurred in broad terms with this analysis distancing the performance review scheme (but not disconnecting it completely) from PRP.

There is not straightforward, quantifiable, financial link between appraisal and review and development and salary - no directly quantifiable one. But each year all staff salaries are reviewed by senior management, and that represents, (because it's quite a large body), I am confident that a very large body of awareness of experience of who is doing what in the school. And on the basis of that, that information has in some degree been generated by the appraisal process, recommendations from heads of departments to me about how individual staff might be assessed in salary terms. Recommendations are then put to the governors about who should get what, whether promotion should take place and so on.

One Westlands classroom teacher described the process from his perspective. He foregrounded the overarching role of the headteacher in monitoring a broad range of performance indicators (though these do not include formal monitoring of classroom performance) and which again reward those who help maintain the values of a 'foggy' teacher culture.

(The headteacher) discusses (the teacher's performance) with the head of department. He can see various aspects of your job. He can see how you are writing reports. He can see how the letters home are going. He can see the way in which you contribute to the Tutors' Meetings, or whatever and, obviously, dealing with parents. He knows what's happening. He is certainly not an aloof headmaster. And you know when you take on responsibilities - I took on the charities from the

charity fund raising event that was an extra pay point - and then he gave me another pay point in recognition of the GCSE commitments I'd taken on - and all the extra curricular musical stuff I was doing.

Though responsibility for certain tasks could be financially rewarded, another Westlands head of department recognised that the headteacher 'has a certain discretion over the salary points he awards to heads of department for example. So I can see a potential to increase my salary through what I do'.

In this context, the annual departmental audit has a significant impact in determining financial rewards though the performance indicators, which will result in a reward, are varied in manner and some ill-defined. Indicators need not exclusively be academic and involved complex, though not particularly transparent, judgements. The Westlands senior manager responsible for administering the scheme explained.

There are a huge numbers of things - as in many schools like ours - a huge number of things going on out of school which require huge staff presence. And we look at what people are doing, how much time they are putting into it, and how good a job we think they are doing - and how much responsibility they've got. I mean there's a big Duke of Edinburgh Scheme and you know some people are very committed because they are leading expeditions and things. So all that is looked at (as part of the departmental audit).

Eastlands also operates a PRP system which is separated from the appraisal scheme but which foregrounds academic performance outcomes more than the Westlands scheme. However the system of PRP does again reflect the cultural value of expecting teachers to undertake a broad range of job tasks. As the headteacher explained:

It wouldn't make much sense for me to give an increment to somebody who I thought had done a brilliant job and I'd seen them working all hours that God gives, but then the results aren't very good - so I just wait until those results are in.

Again performance indicators for PRP are not transparent. This can lead to disappointment as one classroom teacher explained:

Everyone goes up normally by one (salary) point a year and at the headteacher's discretion can go up two. But one thing I would say that having had an appraisal where all sections were glowing, I still haven't got the extra point. Which makes you wonder what I have to do to go up. That has been probably one thing that has made me rather disappointed in the system.

Another explained:

As I understand it, everyone is taken kind of on an individual basis rather than saying have you achieved x many grades or whatever else it is. And so because it is I feel a little bit nebulous. I guess I'm not sure exactly what I am supposed to do to get it.

In summary there is little connection with the performance review process in schools which operate a form of PRP. PRP is largely used as a reward to high performers in a 'foggy' culture. The performance criteria for a PRP reward are not clearly defined and are not transparent in nature. The main intrinsic reward for teachers is contact with pupils and colleagues and praise is an underused reward. Other rewards include high rates of salary and accommodation.

## **Chapter 9**

### ***Teacher culture in state schools***

#### **Introduction**

The case reports that inform this analysis were of three state schools:

- **Fairlands School:** Fairlands is a selective grammar school for girls in a small town in the south-east of England. The school has just over 1000 pupils and 70 teachers. The most recent Ofsted report describes the school as ‘an excellent school, which refuses to be complacent and continually strives to become even better’. Pupils are drawn from a wide area including neighbouring counties. Socio-economic indicators are high - very few pupils have free school meals and almost all the girls are white. The school is a Beacon School. Ofsted inspectors lionised the headteacher, describing her leadership as ‘excellent’. This has resulted in ‘a strong and distinctive ethos in the school, which encourages everyone to excel’. The headteacher ‘is very well supported by other senior staff and the school is succeeding particularly well as a result. Her determined and highly successful leadership lies behind all of the improvements that have been made and have resulted in the excellent standards the school now achieves’.
- **Uplands School:** Uplands is a selective grammar school for boys in a large town in the south-east of England. The school has just over 800 pupils and 60 teachers. The most recent Ofsted report describes the school as ‘an excellent school where

pupils of all backgrounds achieve standards that are very much higher than would be expected given their attainment on entry to the school' and 'the quality of leadership and management provided by the headteacher is outstanding'. The headteacher has been in post for five years and the inspectors attribute the improvement in the results (from what was already a high level and at a rate above the national average) to him. Most pupils are white, but there are significant proportions from ethnic minorities. Overall, the socio-economic status of the pupils is high in national terms.

- Downlands School: Downlands School is a comprehensive school for pupils aged from 11 to 19. The school was previously a secondary modern school and is sited in an outer London borough. Downlands has a wide catchment area with more than 30 feeder schools. The school has over 1000 pupils and more than 70 full-time equivalent teachers. A quarter of the pupils are eligible for free school meals and over 60 different languages are spoken in the home. Usually the school fills on second choice applicants - though the number of first choice applicants is increasing - and the intake is skewed towards the middle/lower ability range. The school almost merged with another 10 years earlier following a decline in numbers (to less than 600). However following the appointment of the current headteacher, numbers have risen year on year. The socio-economic status of the students is much lower than Fairlands or Uplands with many families experiencing social disadvantage. The largest ethnic pupil group is Indian. The most recent inspection by Ofsted described Downlands as 'a strongly improving school' and commended the general standard of teaching as a major strength of the school. They also recognised that 'the headteacher has nurtured the school's

traditional preference for teamwork with professional development as a strong focus'. The staff profile is unusual, with a significant number of senior and middle managers having been employed at the school for the major part of their careers, but a high proportion of other staff with little experience.

As with the independent school case study sample, a fourth school (Woodlands) did not participate long enough for a full case report to be completed - there was a change of headteacher midway through the study and the new headteacher did not wish to continue.

Each school was identified as a suitable candidate school for further qualitative investigation after completion of State Survey 1 in 2000. As with the independent case study schools, each school was selected because it had a functioning performance review scheme running for some time – in particular for a number of years immediately before the introduction of statutory performance management in 2000.

The interviews were completed with teaching staff over a period of two years (between 2000 and 2002). As with the independent case study schools, these interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed. NVivo was used to assist the analytical process. The interviewee sample was stratified and included senior managers, middle managers and classroom teachers. Interviewees were identified by the following selection criteria, namely:

- a willingness to be interviewed;
- availability for interview.

This second criterion again provided an element of randomisation in the sample of interviewees selected.

Each interview lasted approximately between 30 and 45 minutes. Information was also taken from documentary sources supplied by the schools and the most recent Ofsted inspection reports. Within one month of the final interview cycle being finished, all interviewees were asked to complete a questionnaire which also provided additional information and opportunities for triangulation.

The coding process of the interviews and other documentary evidence involved the formulation, in part inductively, in part with reference to the research questions, of five categories:

- the prevailing teacher culture of the schools;
- evidence of an HR approach to people management;
- the purpose and nature of the performance review schemes;
- the impact of performance review;
- teachers' reward preferences, including the impact of performance-related pay.

This chapter examines the first two categories; chapter 10 examines the remaining three.



## **Teacher culture**

As with the independent case study schools it became apparent (particularly following a preliminary analysis of the first set of interviews at each school) of the importance of organisational culture, in particular the prevailing teacher culture, and its relationship with teacher performance review, whether in the form of performance management or performance appraisal.

In summary, the key identifying features of the teacher culture of the state schools investigated were found to be:

- The prevalence of a discourse of managerialism (illustrated by a familiarity and ease of use of such terms as targets, performance indicators, line managers, team leaders, development plans, and an acceptance that particular managerial processes and practices – for example those of a learning or improving school - make a difference to performance);
- A clear line management structure combined with a ‘hard’ developmental HR approach to people management and an absence of ‘fogginess’ (the expectation that all teachers have a range of different job tasks with different nominal line managers);
- The normative focus on a small number of quantitative performance indicators relating to teaching and learning;
- The adverse impact of difficulties with teacher recruitment in maintaining a ‘hard’ HR approach to people management.

The range of contexts of each of the state schools was apparent from the descriptions given by teachers as well as inspection reports and other information. Almost every teacher described their job roles in terms of teaching in academic departments or with reference to particular managerial or pastoral functions.

Teachers also connected cultural values with the nature of the school. For example at Uplands, all teachers (with one exception) mentioned the academic nature of the school. Typically a classroom teacher explained 'The commitment to results is significant' and for another:

The school has very strong set of values. Obviously it is a selective school and the aim is to get high achievement but also to focus on learning and how boys are learning. That's very important and as a result of that I think my teaching, and I imagine pretty well everyone else's teaching, is going to reflect that. But equally there is room for some of the more experimental stuff and to do things that are within your own type of teaching style as long as it does not stray away from the obvious aim.

Another classroom teacher described Uplands as having an ethical heart. Uplands 'is a school which has its traditions and ethos at its heart in the interests of the boys, their development, growth and future lives'. However the shadow of managerialism and performativity is changing the teacher culture. For him 'because of impositions from outside I'd say it (the style of management) is increasingly bureaucratic while it tries not to be'.

Despite this, an Uplands NQT complimented the school leaders for keeping aware of the school's ancient foundation at the same time as making a point of being accessible and 'modern'. For him:

I think the school, being as old as it is, has a feeling, you know...this is the way it's done. But that doesn't mean they don't implement things as they come along and try and make them work.

For the Uplands headteacher, this desire to make things work connected to the underlying cultural values of the school has been key to the development of a high commitment, high performance teaching staff.

There has been a philosophical buying of the concept that we ought to continue striving for improvement and a driving out of complacency in the school. Actually the money (PRP) has frustrated that to some extent rather than aided it. And I think it has got to be... in an intellectual profession...there has got to be a deep philosophical commitment to things otherwise they won't happen. If that could coincide with money...fine...but often it doesn't. So here, there is actually a desire to be a good teacher and continue to improve.

In contrast, the word that all Downlands teachers used when asked to describe their school was 'supportive'. 'Support' has taken the form of enabling teachers modify their own values in the context of the organisation they find themselves in. For example, a middle manager judged the school as having a transformational effect on teachers:

I watch people come in with one set of values and attitudes and within 18 months - I'm watching it in my own department at the moment - that's transformed.

For another middle manager, the Downlands culture is rooted in values. 'There's an underlying equal opportunities commitment which is crucial to all the things'. A commitment from the school to support teachers was apparent from the beginning. For him, 'I felt when I came for interview and I got the job I really got the impression that I was wanted and that they really wanted to support me'.

He also reported 'I've got a student (teacher) now who said he's never experienced a school that has such support and development for students as well which I think is part of the whole thing'.

This emphasis on values was also found in other levels of the Downlands hierarchy. One classroom teacher explained that the school culture engenders a 'general respect for teachers, adults. You know, there's a sense of wanting to learn'.

A Downlands senior manager also placed the quality of relationships with pupils and the central role of an enthusiasm for teaching and learning at the heart of the school improvement process. For her, the key to high performance was two-fold.

The strongly performing department retains an enthusiasm for teaching and learning and retains a strong tradition of positive relationships with pupils. I think there also are staff who keep themselves abreast of a lot of developments in a subject area and they will develop themselves professionally, not just by courses because that's only one aspect of professional development, but looking for new challenges.

A driver for school improvement by using collaborative strategies has been the behaviour of challenging pupils. Because of this, the senior manager responsible for managing the performance management scheme felt that 'people have to work together to look at the right kinds of strategies to put in place to deal with those issues and we do like to share our practice'. This has had the consequence, as one middle manager explained, of making Downlands a school 'that sees a challenge and goes for it and the strength comes a lot from the staff and the staff's enthusiasm - it just spills over to the pupils'.

Another stimulus for collaboration at Downlands has been the failure of externally provided INSET to meet school requirements. As a senior manager explained:

the other thing we've done which I think has been very, very successful but leading from a dreadful course that was delivered externally to us, was to say - we have the experts on site why not use them? So increasingly what we're doing is that we have the INSET delivered by members of our own staff supplemented by external contacts.

On being interviewed a year later, she exemplified this approach. For her, a school culture which foregrounds an entitlement of teachers to professional development delivered primarily through collaboration with colleagues is critical.

One of the best ways of achieving that professional development is to work alongside another colleague who in a sense has what you want. Whether that is knowledge, skills, attributes, insights, whatever... and I think in a way we already had this way of identifying the fact that in order to be better at what you were doing. You didn't have to go to Euston for the day.

She linked the nature of the Downlands school culture to staff development. For her, 'once you've got the culture, the training almost takes care of itself'. Similarly embedding performance review in the heart of such a culture:

the best training is the way in which you are developed. And if someone sat with you and has gone through your career in that way, and it is an expectation for yourself, then it is much easier to transfer that to other people.

The role of the Downlands headteacher as a key cultural change agent was identified by one long serving middle manager. For her:

Under the old head, it was like he was cruising into retirement. He did a lot of delegation. I don't know, we just seemed to be like any other school and then the new head came in and a lot of the staff left... well we stayed

with it and, it's like a football team. We seem to hit the troughs, we went down to Division 2, and now we're premiership and it's an exciting place to be.

Fairlands showed more of a superficial similarity to Uplands - both being selective grammar schools. Nevertheless, this concealed an imaginative approach to school organisation (less obvious in Uplands and Downlands) and the use of CPD as a driver leading to school improvement and the embedding of the values of a learning organisation or professional learning community in the teacher culture.

As a Fairlands senior manager explained:

(Fairlands) is a selective school where academic achievement and excellence in all fields is very highly prized. And there's a culture of improvement. Pretty competitive. And people (teachers) have very, very high expectations of the standard of teaching and learning and of their own achievement. Quite a supportive school. But the main thrust is towards achieving in the academic arena.

This culture of normative improvement and learning at Fairlands is not restricted to the pupils. Another senior manager, contextualising a 'rich' view of the organisational culture, judged that:

There is quite a strong culture in the school of feeling that we want to invest in helping individuals develop because it is important for the school to have a culture where everybody is learning and moving on in the way that, you know, the girls are encouraged to feel they've got to do as well as they can with the ability they've got. I think that's true of the staff. There is that sense of, almost pressure, to get on.

For the Fairlands headteacher this convergence of pupil and teacher values has other consequences:

In some ways our staff are as high achieving and competitive as the girls and in the same way that I have to save the girls from themselves sometimes and say, stop working so hard, you also have to do the same for the staff. You have to save them from themselves otherwise they'd work themselves into the ground.

Despite this a newly qualified teacher commented that, for her, Fairlands is more than an academic hothouse.

I don't think this school is just about results. I think there is a friendly atmosphere. I certainly found it to be very friendly and supportive both to girls and to me.

This view was shared by a Fairlands middle manager:

We're trying to get away from the reputation where it's very much all about exams and it's all about getting results, but certainly as far as performance the pupils are concerned - we try to make them realise it is a whole life we're trying to educate them in.

Like Downlands, many teachers at different levels of the school hierarchy felt that an important value of the teacher culture was 'support'. However - also like Downlands - this was conditional on the impact of any support given on the key normative objective of school improvement and academic excellence. In this context, one classroom teacher described the school as being 'supportive for both staff and pupils. Friendly atmosphere. People have time for each other'; a middle manager felt that 'Teamwork is very much part of the culture'. Though for another head of department 'I find everything is compounded by too much administration'.

Foregrounding support in part enabled a rapid review and correction of poor performance. One middle manager explained that '(Fairlands) does have everything you need and you're encouraged, and if you're not doing things right, then you are

told...but in a very supportive way'. Given the micro-politics of the school and reflecting a managerialist approach by school leaders, some teachers are prepared not to co-operate if they feel they are not being rewarded appropriately. A middle manager explained:

Because the management here has not always been quite so charitable, or they haven't perhaps seen where they have rubbed somebody up the wrong way, people are increasingly not inclined to do anything for nothing anymore. You know, they are not prepared to spend their own time doing things because the management have maybe done something against them some while ago and they are just not going to do that.

In this context, the formal line management routes of contact (which are clearly defined) can be easily by-passed with the headteacher giving 'pep talks' at times she felt necessary. A Fairlands classroom teacher gave an example: 'Most recently I had a one-to-one with the headteacher. She invited me in. I was left feeling very positive about things'.

As a consequence, another classroom teacher felt that the teacher culture had become more 'open', improving and learning both within and between Fairlands departments - an approach encouraged by senior managers. For him:

We expect, and we receive, people coming into our lessons. We are much more open door now. Much more encouragement (from senior staff) for us to arrange it between ourselves not just to have a team leader or senior member coming in but, you know, if for example I know I'm doing something with the computer and projector, someone else will come in who wants to learn about that. And we keep a record of peer observations for people to see and also we're encouraged to do it outside our departments as well.



Fairlands school leaders also encouraged a formal audit of their own performance by other teachers. This is viewed positively by leaders though others have misinterpreted the intention of the process. As a senior manager explained:

It was lovely to get feedback from staff where they felt we needed to go. And one comment which I really took on board, from a very junior member of staff, she said that in staff meetings she felt that because this was such a highly successful school that really she couldn't possibly criticise anything because everything must be wonderful! And I just thought 'oh dear, that isn't what we want' And that is something we have to act on. We want to make it a take-a-risk-culture, we do, we very much want to make it that sort of culture but we know that not all teachers feel comfortable with that.

One teacher explained this nature of this dilemma.

The culture of the school still remains the same. If you can try something and it works the school will support you.

With the development of staff departmental areas, more opportunities to share good practice have been created. A classroom teacher explained:

One of the things which I think makes an informal relationship more possible recently is the setting up of department staff areas. So we have a staff work room for (my) department and so therefore some of that exchange of 'I've just done a good lesson', or 'that was awful' tends to be far more interactive now.

In addition, in part to create a range of CPD opportunities within the school, Fairlands also separates of strategic and organisational management tasks with two groups taking the place of a school leadership team made up solely of senior managers. The two groups are:

- a Strategic Management Group - made up of senior managers and governors with a long term strategic remit and;

- a School Management Team (SMT) - made up of middle and senior managers which deals primarily with school organisation and day-to-day administration.

In this way Fairlands middle managers can be brought into leadership roles which would, in many other schools, be viewed as available only for senior managers. By distributing leadership in this highly visible way, the opportunities for normative alignment of staff are many and varied.

### **Evidence of an HR approach to people management**

Each state case study school show strong evidence of a harder HR approach to people management. The introduction of performance management only partially explained any movement towards such a stance. For example at Downlands, an additional key driver has been the marginalisation of teachers who fail to perform at a satisfactory level and the withdrawal of trust by school leaders from those teachers. This is combined with the development of a large school centred initial teacher training (SCITT) programme which encourages self-review by middle managers - most of whom are involved in the programme - and classroom teachers. In the case of Uplands, a key driver has been an introduction of a thorough system of departmental self-evaluation and close monitoring of academic departments by members of the school leadership team. In the case of Fairlands, key drivers have included the introduction of a thorough CPD programme, which relies mainly on teaching staff providing training relating to whole school objectives (and for a small financial reward) to their colleagues. This has been coupled with a thorough system of departmental reviews and an imaginative reorganisation of the management hierarchy

described in the previous section which gives teachers in the school a large number of opportunities for professional development.

Movement from a previous softer managerialist or antimanagerialist approach to a form of managerialism was most apparent at Uplands. Here the harder approach at Uplands was manifested by the development of 'link leadership group mentors' - members of the school leadership team - who have each been assigned to monitor the progress of two or three academic departments. This development followed the expansion of the senior leadership team from three to seven.

The mentors sit in on departmental meetings and are tasked to ensure that departmental objectives match those of the school development plan. As one Uplands head of department explained:

Whereas departments had been fairly autonomous in the past, (now) with directives coming right, left and centre, the senior management team presumably had an agenda which was to become involved in departmental issues and make sure departments addressed literacy rather than ignoring it and addressed self-review rather than ignoring it. That seems to have been the function of having the senior management team assigned to the departments.

Coupled with the introduction of link leadership mentors, the system of annual departmental self-review, which also involves teacher observation (rating lessons as good, satisfactory or poor) and target setting was instituted. This system runs in tandem with performance management (PM). The Uplands departmental self-review foregrounds implementation of school objectives at a departmental level, whereas PM foregrounds the matching of individual teacher's performance with school objectives.

By running two normative systems in parallel, an effective 'hard' HR strategy has been implemented. As a senior manager explained, these parallel processes have the advantage of using lesson observation and target setting, for a range of purposes; PM, threshold assessment, departmental self-review, normative alignment of individual and school objectives etc.

However the normative nature of this process is intended to impact on those indicators of improving or learning organisations. For example, an Uplands classroom teacher described the lesson observation which form part of the departmental self-review process and which encouraged a risk taking approach to teaching and learning.

There would be a focus on those things that needed doing or I would be told it was just a general observation lesson. I got some very constructive criticism after that....things that I was told I was doing well and some suggestions about things I might want to change ....you might like to try doing this...give this a go....see if that helps.... try it...find out. I've acted on that. Some of the things I've taken on. Some have not worked for me so I've let them go.

At Downlands, a normative alignment of teacher and school objectives is also apparent. For the Downlands headteacher 'people who don't fit with us tend to go very quickly'. She described how the school has attempted 'to create a climate amongst people where they realise it's better for them, if they want to forge ahead and to have a career, to actually move on - without that sounding as though we want to get rid of them'. What does this mean for the management of teachers? For the headteacher, the answer is simple: 'You have to harness them'. This view is widely transmitted around the school. One middle manager valued by the leadership team explained

I really do feel I'm not out there on my own doing my own thing, especially in terms of professional development and in leadership and management.

Another Downlands middle manager explained, 'I've been given a lot of flexibility. I've been trusted very much by senior management but I'm the sort of person who - it's such an on-going subject - there is so much that I am learning'.

However those 'out in the cold' told a different story. For one Downlands middle manager, there is a new culture of being watched:

I don't remember this more than ten years ago... I don't remember anyone coming in through my class. Now you have students watching you. Somebody's watching this. Somebody's watching that.

This was having a major impact on her department - one of her team was leaving because of 'all this watching'.

Coupled with this withdrawal of trust from marginalised teachers has been the development of the large SCITT programme. The Downlands headteacher emphasised the impact of having a large cohort of trainee teachers on the staff. Staff not prepared to participate in the programme were made deliberately to feel uncomfortable and, in one instance, left the school. Participation of all staff in this is now expected - the headteacher explained:

We now say - the ITT bunch are starting on such and such a date - please remember we have a recruitment crisis. And at interview I think we make it quite clear what kind of school they are coming into. We explain about our involvement with teacher education. We explain now about being on show in terms of any visitors to the school. So we don't encourage people to

say my classroom is my own space and I don't want anybody inside my door. And that's one of the casualties this year - who adopted that particular approach and it has been a very poor fit with the school because our values and our way of doing things is so alien to that particular teacher that she doesn't wish to continue and we don't wish her to continue either.

The senior manager responsible for administering the performance management scheme also saw ITT in the context of 'they (teachers already on staff) have to reflect on their own practice when they are working with beginning teachers'. She added:

We've always given the time to mentors and given them release time to make sure it works properly for the trainee as well. We've always involved our staff in a whole series of seminars which has provided wonderful professional development opportunities for them and there is a kind of cross-fertilisation with the universities and some of our staff do go to the universities to lead sessions.

The impact of ITT was apparent in other levels of the school hierarchy. For example, being responsible for two ITT students has made one teacher more reflective. 'It has made me focus on what I wanted to do'.

At Fairlands, a hard HR approach is apparent in all levels of the school hierarchy. For the Fairlands headteacher, 'we are never going to attract people into the teaching profession unless we make teachers properly accountable' - and when they arrive at Fairlands - 'we've got to reward teachers and we've also got to make them accountable'. In this context, one middle manager at Fairlands was clear about the universal application of whole school objectives: 'we definitely have a focus. We know what we're aiming at'.

These objectives are embedded in the performance management process and linked to professional developmental opportunities. As one classroom teacher explained: 'Certainly we are encouraged to look at the school and what we can offer'.

Fairlands has a culture of training staff, as exemplified by the preparation process for the introduction of performance management in 2000. For this 'top-down' process, one middle manager explained:

There have been so many sessions with team leaders to go through what we are expecting, what the government is expecting and what the school is expecting as well. Yes, I feel it's pretty consistent.

This approach was recognised by one head of department:

(At Fairlands) I think we are all much more aware of what the school development plan is - what our departmental development plan is. And so when we are looking at targets we are setting ourselves we tend to go more for targets that fall within the scope of the development plan. Not necessarily consciously.

For another middle manager, this normative approach was comforting: 'it is nice to know that everyone else is doing the same thing'. However, this was not a universal view, as another middle manager, second in a larger department, explained:

In many instances you are told what to do. You do this as a something or other exercise and you're not supposed to change the way you do something. So, if it (the teaching scheme) says, lesson to start with brain storming session, then you are expected to do it.

A Fairlands senior manager, explaining the similarities between the performance appraisal and performance management also described a 'top-down' approach to HRM:

There's a very clear strategy whereby we identify what the school's priorities are in terms of staff development. We then take that down and we say to the departments, these are the school's priorities, what would you like to do in your department? What are your departmental training priorities? Then we take it down to the next level and we go right down to teachers and we say, OK, individually, over the next 12 months what are your training needs.

Further evidence of a 'harder' managerialist HR approach comes from lower levels of the Fairlands school hierarchy. For example, a classroom teacher interested in developing timetabling skills had found the process of normative 'hard' performance management demotivating - organisational objectives being in conflict with her own.

For her:

One tends to get rather jaded about it (performance management). This will be the third year that I've put down I want to do a course on timetabling and I know jolly well it won't happen.

However, in this context, flexible career development opportunities at Fairlands were available. As one middle manager explained: 'People have moved from pastoral to head of a subject - within the school - so, yes, I think that flexibility is there'.

However for those not changing role, the prescriptive nature of teaching schemes function is a powerful normative driver, though not without opportunities for subversion. One head of department explained:

One of the things I've been unhappy about for many years is our reliance on rigid schemes of work. I mean, I don't adhere to my own schemes of work and, but I get the work done in a period of time. There is no flexibility at all for anybody. I mean it is the same with KS3 across the sciences. You cannot step out of line of the schemes of work and do something new. It's heads down along that straight path and there is no room for flexibility at all.



Most tellingly, few teachers felt there was a Fairlands way of doing things. Indeed one middle manager felt that ‘There is the national way of doing things which I suppose we do anyway’ – an assessment of the widespread impact of managerialism on state schools.

Given these views, the key normative HR drivers at Fairlands are:

- A CPD programme, based on internally delivered training and;
- A system of annual departmental auditing.

Both provide further opportunities for sharing and developing good practice. As one senior manager explained:

We have this system of departmental audits where we have a week where a team is put together and they go in and they do a lot of observations and report on how a department is doing. We have an on-going programme of that. So there’s quite a sense through that, as well as performance management, of people reviewing what they do and sharing good practice.

In this context, a Fairlands senior manager prioritised the development of high-level inter-personal skills of middle managers as an important cultural change agent.

I think the role of middle managers is developing very quickly. They may be very good in their subject area or very good as co-ordinators in their pastoral role, and haven’t really had the chance to have much training in people management and developing staff, and to some extent that’s good, because if that’s what comes out of it (in terms of developing the culture of the staff) that’s good.

Fairlands has also appointed a cohort of specialist teachers (including an AST) to assist individual faculties with teaching and learning. A senior manager described this training cohort as containing:

(Teachers who) the whole school knows - are superb teachers and Ofsted has recognised them as good teachers as well. And we feel they particularly have got things to share and it will be developmental for them too and come from different angles, as their styles are very different.

She felt that these teachers are viewed as 'consultants who would share good practice and to help people where, primarily, where they are asked' i.e. as part of a professional learning community.

In this context, the opportunities for professional development are many. The main provision for INSET is by means of internally provided training by teachers - who receive a small financial reward for providing a course. As one senior manager explained: 'Last year we did about 20 courses and about 3 of them were done by outside providers'.

A log is kept not only of those who provided courses but also those who attended. A booklet is produced at the end of the year which will contain information of courses held the previous year. Teachers are able to access the database that records their, or anyone else's, attendance at any training event. The senior manager was clear about the normative function of this procedure:

We're trying to take it down to the practical level and everybody being able to see what the school's training priorities are and where their department is trying to go.

### **Problems of teacher recruitment**

In contrast to the normative effect of performance management and the departmental self-review process, the problems of teacher recruitment at each of the case study schools has worked counter to a 'hard' HR approach to people management.

At Uplands this has become a major HR issue. As a senior manager explained:

We certainly have a recruitment problem. Without being patronising, if we have a problem here, then there are going to be a lot of places with a problem. Our last two Maths adverts got precisely nothing - drew a complete blank. In modern languages, we have had three appointments in the last six years, and the reason for that it's a self-fulfilling thing, because on each occasion we have had to appoint a French female national, because they have been the only people who have applied. We have had no British national, male or female, apply for the jobs in the past three years. So there is a crisis.

In this context, this has led to punches being pulled as part of performance management. As one Uplands head of department explained,

The last thing I would want to do with (a recently recruited teacher in a shortage subject), who we are very grateful to have, is to go in and say - well you could have done this better - you could have done that better. What purpose would it serve apart from undermining her confidence?

In addition, the retention of teachers has also become problematic. As the Uplands headteacher explained:

(A teacher in a shortage subject) sniffed around another school where a job wasn't even advertised and the head interviewed her and she came back and said 'I'll stay if you give me a recruitment retention point'. I've had bargaining in a way I've never had it before. And when you are trying to run a collegiate school which is based on professional practice, commitment to improvement, mutual support.... there are tensions.

At Fairlands, the introduction of additional payments to individual teachers as a recruitment and retention tool has had a divisive impact on the collegiality of the teaching staff. As the headteacher explained:

I find myself thinking, for the good of this school, I've also got to think subjectively rather than objectively. For example, if I know that teacher A who is in a scarce subject is going to be miffed, and leave, if she or he doesn't get a discretionary award, but teacher B who might equally be miffed is much more easily replaceable because the subject isn't a scarcity subject, it's really difficult not to let that influence me because I have to think of my students and say, if I lose Teacher A and I have my GCSE and my As and my A level students, hugely dependent on Teacher A's expertise and I know I cannot replace that in a month of Sundays, for the sake of the students I am going to be very tempted to give that teacher a discretionary award or recommend to the governors that they should. And if I know I can replace Teacher B because there is a teacher at the next door school who has been saying to me, I'd love to come and work for you, you know, I am just in the point of my life where I'm in my career where I'd like to do that, then Teacher B becomes expendable for pragmatic reasons rather than for principled reasons and, you know, I know in teaching - some of my governors say to me when I talk through these things with them they say, oh you know, get real it's been like this in business for ever. And I suppose it has but in schools we do depend on team effort. Teachers do go the extra mile for youngsters.

She continued to describe how this has impacted on the staff culture of the Fairlands.

People (teachers at the school) are finding that replacement teachers are coming in with added (financial incentive) opportunities given them to attract them in the first place. Somebody, who has been thinking, well I'll stay here, and not leave because there might be some internal opportunities, finds there aren't any because I have given them all away. So they are resentful. Or somebody comes to me and says, I am leaving, and I say don't go and they say well what can you offer me and I say well teacher x is leaving and there is this whole school responsibility point. And they say if you give it to me I will stay - so I give it to them. Because for them to leave I know that in the climate and in the time I have available, I can't replace them. (As a

consequence) the trust goes and people feel, well ok, everything now has a harder edge. Where before we knew it was fair that she would tell us openly if there were opportunities, that we'd all have the chance to compete if we were interested, the best person would get the job, all above board. Now they think, what's going on? There is all this underhand dealing.

The successful introduction of performance management and performance-related pay at Fairlands was critically dependent on high levels of trust and openness on the part of the headteacher. However these values have been adversely affected by the problems associated with recruiting and retaining teachers. She explained that:

Because at the very time when we are trying to introduce something controversial and highly sensitive, where you (teachers) needed to trust me (the headteacher) absolutely, I have given you cause to doubt (because of the nature of the recruitment process) whether I am trustworthy and I acknowledge that.

The headteacher's efforts to be open were echoed by a senior manager:

At the moment we have a rather open discussion going on about the recruitment crisis and again (the headteacher) has been very open about how she has actually had to pay a few people over the odds to attract them or to retain. She hasn't been specific. We (the senior managers) felt it was important that (the headteacher) should be open about things like that because we can cause more unrest by people thinking we are being secretive about things.

For her the only way to deal with these difficulties is to be frank with the teachers: 'I've been totally open about it...the difficult things I have had to do to recruit people or to retain people'.

Similarly at Downlands, the shortage of teachers in some subjects has resulted in (for the headteacher) inappropriate rewards for some teachers. 'We've got people who we

think are not best models of professionalism perhaps, demanding more pay, and you've got the tension of then having to give more money to keep them'. For her 'there is an element of resentment. We sit down and look at the points because you know you end up giving a point for retention to somebody who is mediocre and you've got a super person who has done everything right and you may not be able to reward them'.

### Summary

Teachers and leaders in each case study state school are comfortable with the discourse of managerialism. There is a general acceptance at all levels of the formal school hierarchy that the processes and practices of an improving and learning teacher culture (such as inter and intra-departmental collaboration; engagement with other schools and organisations; an encouragement to take risks; a striving for continuous teacher improvement and teacher learning by means of professional development etc.) will improve performance of both the school and individual teachers.

Each school also fits comfortably with Hargreaves (1995) *hothouse* model of teacher culture. Like the independent case study schools, a high degree of central control (exerted by powerful headteachers) is apparent. However, unlike the independent case study schools, this is accompanied with a relatively high degree of cohesion within and across cultural sub-units such as academic departments - a consequence of a lack of 'fogginess' in middle management. Though there is a degree of balkanisation - inevitable in any large organisation - the 'fogginess' (where teachers take on a wide range of job tasks with multiple line managers) of independent schools' teacher culture is almost completely absent. The lack of 'fogginess' and the clarity of lines of

management make it easier to implement a 'hard' managerialist normative HR approach to people management. The differences in socio-economic status of the pupils between schools did not seem to have an effect on the form of teacher culture, demonstrating a considerable degree of uniformity.

The next chapter will discuss the impact of the introduction of a 'hard' managerialist model of performance management in the state case study schools (each school had pre-existing and fully functioning performance appraisal schemes which were replaced by performance management in 2000). The chapter will explain how this aspect of normative HRM has helped make widespread the managerialist values and practices of New Public Management in the context of an improving and learning teacher culture.

## **Chapter 10**

### ***Performance review in state schools***

#### **Introduction**

In each case study school, a form of performance review had been functioning well before the introduction of performance management in 2000. This chapter examines how performance review in the state case study schools changed from a 'softer' non-normative and less managerialist model of performance appraisal to a 'harder' more explicitly managerialist normative model of performance management and how this change (and the associated introduction of performance-related pay) impacted on the teacher culture of each school.

#### **Performance review at Fairlands**

A performance review process had been well established at Fairlands for several years and was initially developed from the 1991 model (DES, 1991) of performance appraisal. In the view of the headteacher, this system had been functioning perfectly satisfactorily and the 'imposed' model of performance management 'is not as good' as Fairlands self-developed model. For her, 'I think that says a lot and I am quite sure there are lots of schools that were doing their own thing and didn't really want this'. By introducing performance management in 2000, she felt that the government had used 'a sledgehammer to crack a nut' and the change was 'a bit irritating because we had to go back and redo something that was working well anyway'.



In summary, the key changes from performance appraisal to performance management (from pre-PM to PM) at Fairlands involved:

- A rigorous and universal implementation of individual teacher performance review by performance management;
- A less holistic and ‘harder’ overview of teacher performance;
- A move from ‘softer’ qualitative to ‘harder’ quantitative performance indicators and targets;
- A move from ‘summative reassurance’ to ‘formative norming’.

#### *Universal implementation of performance management*

Despite being universally applied in its early years, the Fairlands the pre-PM performance appraisal process evolved partially, though not entirely, into a mechanism to monitor poor performers. As one senior manager explained:

Well, interestingly, until performance management came along it was bizarre. I hadn’t been appraised for 6 years. And although I was helping to appraise other people it seemed there were quite a few senior staff within the school that weren’t appraised very regularly. But I think to a certain extent there was a certain amount of people who they perceived as not performing particularly well were appraised regularly, and those that were doing quite happily thank you were left alone.

Others made similar observations. For example, a Fairlands middle manager associated performance management with being more ‘professional’. For her ‘it is now much more rigorous’.

#### *‘Harder’ overview of teacher performance*

The pre-PM performance appraisal process involved a broad range of performance indicators, which were nevertheless normative in intent – indicating a consistent (in

intent, if haphazardly implemented) HR approach to people management which had been developed and contextualised 'in-house'. The Fairlands headteacher explained:

We had developed an appraisal system that went way beyond the normal appraisal system. So we had a line management appraisal system and we had clear criteria about what was expected of every classroom teacher, every middle manager, every senior manager and those had been agreed in common.

In this context, performance management has impacted on the nature of relationships within the staff. A high performing classroom teacher (again noting the 'softer' yet haphazard implementation of the performance appraisal scheme) explained:

The appraisal system (pre-PM).....I should have been appraised more than I was. I somehow always escaped. I was appraised once which was not ideal. But I think the crucial differences as perceived by staff is that (pre-PM) appraisal was seen as an enabling process and a process whereby people were able to trust their appraisers and open up any areas of difficulty or insecurity. Performance management, for some people, has an element of anxiety and a judgmental quality whether that's designed or not. I think there is increased anxiety related to target setting.

This change was also foregrounded by a classroom teacher:

Oh, that (pre-PM) was completely different! I went on Inset courses outside the school, whole days with teachers from other schools discussing appraisal, and when we did appraisal we actually took teachers off timetabled lessons if that was what they wanted to do. And we interviewed them. We had a lesson with them before I observed a lesson, and then I observed a lesson and then I spent as much time as they wanted discussing the results of that appraisal. So effectively you spent a good three lessons with that member of staff. And the targets and the focus of the lesson were agreed before you went in and it was agreed with the member of staff chose which lesson you observed.

In this context, the senior manager responsible for administering staff development activities and INSET noted a qualitative difference in the nature of the discussions between the performance reviewer and the reviewed. For him, the most significant change has been a reduction in openness between individuals.

The stumbling block has been (that) all of personal priorities (of teachers) have always been treated (pre-PM) as, if you like, in the public domain. Teachers have been quite happy to discuss them with their heads of department. I've been able to go back to people and say, well you've all said you wanted IT in the classroom. But of course performance management treats the training targets in a completely different way. They are kept as confidential between the team leader, the individual, the reviewee and of course the head teacher - and the staff training person - this is where the sticking point is. We're basically saying to people, you know what your staff development targets from performance management are. If you are happy to put them on this list (which forms an openly accessible database) then put them on. If you want them to remain confidential then leave them off.

*Change in the nature of performance indicators and targets*

When asked about differences between the performance appraisal and performance management schemes, one Fairlands classroom teacher foregrounded the reduction in importance of softer qualitative and less normative performance indicators in performance management.

You used to accept (pre-PM) that you were a teacher and would do everything you possibly could for the school, in return that they would help you if you needed them to help you. And I don't know if it (performance management) is quite working like that. The caring bit seems to be going.

Similarly a recently appointed Fairlands classroom teacher was disappointed with the quantitative nature of performance management target setting. As she explained (describing performance management as an 'event', a process that is 'done'):

When you are doing performance management the targets you set are very often achievement based. Rather than 'I would like this set to enjoy their lessons more'. I've never heard anyone saying that. Maybe they should.

Associated with this, the level of the school hierarchy which determined the targets to be set had changed, from being determined by the appraisee (pre-PM), to being determined by an appraiser directed by normative organisational objectives (in performance management). As one middle manager explained:

Originally (pre-PM) the target setting was supposed to be done primarily with the appraisee setting the targets. That's what you did first off. They suddenly changed it so the person doing the appraising now sets the targets. I think this will be your target. 'Do you agree?' And if you don't agree, well, it's tough isn't it.

One middle manager who was appraised under the pre-PM scheme (and who did not feel as a result she had been identified as a poor performer) also categorised the pre-PM process as being more teacher driven.

If I just take a target I had from an early (pre-PM) appraisal, it was to set up a year 7 book lovers club, which I did, and still do, but I set that target because it was something I personally wanted to do. It wasn't meshed into the school development plan or whatever.

*A change from softer 'summative reassurance' to harder 'formative norming'.*

A Fairlands middle manager foregrounded the more qualitative nature of the pre-PM process which ended up having the key outcome of a form of summative reassurance – making teachers feel good about themselves and without necessarily projecting themselves forward in a formative manner:

It (pre-PM) was a very positive system in many ways, because it was quite reassuring for staff to say we're doing the right thing. That was good and I liked that.

However another middle manager was keen to stress the developmental aspects of performance management. For her 'it is a supportive process not a threatening process - it is a developmental thing rather than a summative assessment'.

A Fairlands classroom teacher had detected a greater 'harder' normative focus on the nature of INSET that has stemmed from the performance management process.

I think the changes (from performance appraisal to performance management) have helped focus on the purposes of INSET and the focus of training - whether it is just a nice course that happens to come up or whether it is really going to lead to something that is needed.

Assisting the norming effect of performance management is an accompanying additional process of internal developmental departmental auditing which provided further opportunities for sharing and developing good practice. Departmental auditing has been running parallel with both the pre and post-PM performance review processes.

For one classroom teacher, the encouraged cultural value of 'openness' has had a significant impact on how teachers judge each other and the impact of their actions and own development on each other. He explained:

When we have our peers in (to observe lessons) it is very much forward looking because we decide the area we're going to look at and sometimes it's for us to get feedback because we're trying something new maybe and we want feedback, but it is also maybe we are helping someone because we're doing something that they are interested in.

In this context, a middle manager matched performance management at Fairlands with the form of teacher culture. She viewed performance management as a culturally embedded process linked to a developmental approach to people management - and involving intra-departmental learning. For her:

I think performance management is almost a natural follow on to the type of thing we've been trying to do. For instance, what we do in the department anyway, or try to do in the department when time allows, is peer observations. So we aim for one a term and not necessarily within the department. It could be, say, I wanted to see how they manage group work in history.

One senior manager also embedded performance management in the teacher culture of the school in terms of a regular normative performance audit – a 'check-up'. She used the following medical terms.

Performance management isn't something that just happens in isolation. We're doing the equivalent of it, really, all the time. And (PM) is almost like a check up. It's a bit like someone keeping fit, going to the gym and eating a healthy diet all the time. Then once a year you go to the doctor and have your blood pressure taken. It's that sort of analogy really.

In conclusion, a rigorous system of annual departmental auditing by Fairlands school leaders is combined with a performance management scheme for individual teachers. The departmental audit is intended to align departmental objectives with those of the school (a similar audit takes place in the independent case study schools), whereas performance management foregrounds the matching of individual teacher's performance with school objectives. These two normative systems combine to form a thorough 'hard' normative HR approach to people management. The implementation of those two new systems increased the level of managerial control.

Performance management is 'harder' than the pre-PM scheme, largely because of the emphasis on quantitative targets focused on academic performance. The performance management process is narrower (because it focuses on a small number of performance indicators), more formative (because its intent is developmental in the achievement of those targets relating to the relevant performance indicators) and more managerialist (because this is an imposed process which has not been deeply contextualised for Fairlands and which is intended to improve teacher performance in all state schools). The pre-PM process used line managers as appraisers though with a broader and more qualitative range of key performance indicators. Teachers were able to set their own targets. However, the pre-PM performance review process was haphazardly implemented – functioning in part as a means for monitoring poor performers and encouraging them to improve or reassuring satisfactory or good performers that they were doing a good job.

In summary, performance review at Fairlands has moved from being a process of 'summative reassurance' (as performance appraisal) to one of 'formative norming' (as performance management).

### **Performance review at Uplands**

At Uplands, a performance review system of teachers has been functioning since the early nineties, though in 1999, the year prior to the introduction of performance management, a system of annual departmental self-review had been instituted. Both departmental self-review and teacher performance management involve lesson observation but with different purposes. A senior manager explained:

We have particular forms that we use for the observation side of things (in performance management) which

aren't quite the same as the departmental review ones. Our self-review observation forms are basically a blank sheet with a box for putting the focus of the observation in and then for some text. That's all there is there with boxes for good, satisfactory, poor underneath. Whereas with the (performance management) side of things, one is looking at particular focuses and there is an area for feedback and saying what's good in the lesson and - as we are supposed to call it now - areas for improvement or whatever.

Before the introduction of performance management in 2000, Uplands had a well-established performance appraisal scheme which ran on a two year cycle. Apart from the reduction in length of the cycle, the major changes from the pre-PM performance appraisal model were in the nature of target setting and the required use of line managers or team leaders as performance reviewers. An Uplands head of department described the more focused nature of performance management:

It's all much more tightly defined with three targets and two of those have to do with pupil progress. I could say, 'well ok, I want the whole department to achieve this', rather than the pupils who are actually right in front of me. But there is obviously still much more focus on exactly what exam grades they have achieved.

As a consequence, the Uplands performance management scheme is not only perceived as being developmental in nature, but also to be a normative process focused on a narrow range of performance indicators. This is in contrast to the pre-PM scheme which was perceived to take a more holistic and qualitative view of teacher performance. The pre-PM was less normative and softer in intent – appraisees not necessarily being appraised by their line managers with no requirement to limit the range of available targets.

An Uplands head of department outlined the pre-PM performance appraisal scheme and its impact:



HoD When I came here they had obviously been carrying on with it (the pre-PM process) through thick and thin. It was based on a two year cycle where you got your lessons looked at and you had an interview with somebody else - one of the staff who might or might not have been your line manager. He would sort of talk to you about what you were hoping to do and make general comments about what your teaching seemed to be like and you went away and worked on it a bit and then another two years later you know you got out the details and had another look at it again.

Interviewer Did that (the pre-PM scheme) make any difference to the way you worked?

HoD No. I mean I think it did give you an opportunity to say what you wanted to do; to say the sort of directions you wanted to go; what sort of INSET would have been useful and occasionally make people pick up things and say 'well maybe you need to go on this course or maybe you there's one you would like'. I mean I don't think in my case it made very much difference what I was doing because, largely, people would say, 'well you know it was very good what you were doing'.

Though appraisees were normally appraised by their line managers as part of the pre-PM process, this could be changed if the appraisee felt uncomfortable with their line manager. Lesson observation was included with targets being set by the appraisee and could be as broad ranging as the appraisee required and not restricted to particular areas. The headteacher described a more reflective and subjective appraisee driven less managerialist pre-PM process.

There wasn't the information freely flowing around which would enable it (the pre-PM process) to be informed and objective. Because it (the pre-PM process) was done by the line manager, it was conversations which butted on to the normal management arrangements. So it was management plus really. It was very much coming from the point of view of asking people how do you feel about your job... there were questions about strengths and weaknesses.....but it was reflective between line manager and subordinate.

As a result, Uplands teachers judged performance appraisal (i.e. pre-performance management) to have a muddle of purposes and outcomes. One Uplands classroom

teacher judged the pre-PM process to be straightforward and a mixture of formal and informal judgments and review. For him, performance appraisal assessed ‘how I was doing, as it were, and give me some pointers as to where to go so next time, or whenever. It can look back and say is everything still OK or are we going backwards’.

Another classroom teacher felt that the key benefit of the pre-PM scheme was as a mechanism for valuing staff and providing a voice for teachers at a higher level of the school hierarchy. For him, ‘to be appraised by a member of the senior management team means that somebody is closely involved in the work you are doing, represents your needs’.

A head of department awarded the pre-PM process with a third intent. Its greatest value for him seems to have been smoothing the introduction of the performance management. For him, ‘I think we’re in a strong position here because we kept the old appraisal going’. A senior manager agreed: ‘The fact that we kept it (the pre-PM scheme) going was a big plus... the fact that we kept it going right up to ... almost to the end was a big plus’. Similarly the headteacher felt that the pre-PM system at Uplands was ‘was extremely refined and working well. The transition to performance management was aided in some ways by the fact that we were running the (pre-PM) appraisals’. This transition was also helped by attempting to contextualise the performance management policy which, the headteacher explained ‘is written in Uplands language so it says “appraisal” all the way through rather than ‘performance management’ or anything jargonny’.

Despite this, the muddle of purpose and lack of impact was apparent to other teachers. A head of department described the pre-PM process as ‘something that we were told we had to go through without necessarily seeing any purpose to it’ and for several, the pre-PM scheme was not, as one explained, ‘a corner stone of career development’. Another head of department developed this theme. For him, ‘at no time really during my role as an appraiser have I ever felt that professional development was a serious issue’

In this context, most Uplands teachers picked the nature of target setting as being the key difference between performance appraisal and performance management. One classroom teacher foregrounded the change from teachers setting their own targets to a focus on imposed pupil performance targets:

It (performance management) seemed to focus entirely on your teaching of your subject and the targets you were setting. And the target seemed to be how to improve your classes’ performance. You were setting targets - I want them to all reach a certain level or attain a certain grade or, you know, something like that. And it seemed a little too focused. I felt in the (pre-PM) appraisal, you were appraised and you could set targets that were personal to you. You could set targets such as I hope to achieve the following with a particular class, or whatever, but also as a teacher, what I would hope to achieve for me. So there were two things (pupil and teacher) developing alongside as opposed to just necessarily one thing. It seems that it (performance management) is very target orientated to the pupils and that’s not necessarily going to mean that you (the teacher) are going to achieve any benefit.

He developed this theme of a changing, more focused, managerialist and quantitative nature of target setting:

At first I thought it (performance management) was going to be much better, and I don’t think it’s bad now, but we had some discussion about it and it just cuts out

everything except the teaching. I know we are obviously employed to teach, but it just seemed to cut out the other things we do. So you were only looking at the children as a bunch of results at the end of the day as opposed to all the other things you could be doing with them. So it just seems to cut out all the other responsibilities you have as a teacher.

In conclusion, a system of annual departmental self-review at Uplands runs in tandem with individual teacher performance management. The departmental self-review foregrounds normative school objectives at a departmental level, whereas PM foregrounds the matching of individual teacher's performance with school objectives. By running two normative systems in parallel, an effective (in terms of performance outcomes) 'hard' HR strategy has been implemented. Like Fairlands, the implementation of those two new systems increased the level of managerial control.

Performance management is 'harder' in nature than pre-PM performance appraisal, largely because of the introduction of quantitative targets focused on academic performance indicators and the insistence in using line managers as appraisers. Like Fairlands, has moved from being a process of 'summative reassurance' to one of 'formative norming'.

#### **Performance review at Downlands**

Downlands School replaced a pre-PM 'Policy for Professional Development' (the scheme was not described as a performance appraisal scheme) with a performance management policy in autumn 2000. Like Fairlands, both pre-PM and performance management schemes ran in tandem with a system of summative annual departmental audits by senior managers.

The performance management policy, a much expanded (again an attempt by the headteacher to contextualise the process) version of the DfEE model policy (2000c), has seven classroom focused aims - the first of which relates to raising achievement of pupils 'through understanding and promoting effective teaching and sharing good practice'. Another aim is to ensure that 'training and development activities contribute to the achievement of the School Development Plan'. However other aims relate to staff, in that performance management should 'enable staff to retain responsibility for their own performance and development whilst building on a collegiate tradition of working together in teams'. The policy also intends to 'enable staff to be well informed of changes in education so they can make informed decisions about their own practice and career and to provide opportunities for all staff to help them achieve their own career aims'.

The implementation of the performance management policy is conceptualised by school leaders in terms of 'professional development'. For example, the school has a 'professional development team' (led by the headteacher) which is responsible for implementing performance management and ensuring that performance reviews take place. The normative intent of the policy is not just restricted to organisational objectives, the performance management policy 'should reflect priorities of (the LEA's) Educational Development Plan, and national and local initiatives designed to improve education'.

The existence of a functioning pre-PM scheme (which ran on a two-year cycle) smoothed the introduction of performance management in 2000. For the headteacher, little needed to be changed apart from the targets that were required to be set as part of the process:

We were already geared up. We were virtually there. For example, most of the staff development interviews were done last year and were done very well. When it comes to targets, it's really only the pupil performance target we felt needed to be looked at. Because people were setting themselves targets to do with their classroom performance and perhaps their management role, so in a sense we felt we were geared up.

She continued, illustrating the role played by the summative annual departmental reviews, which run parallel with the pre-PM and performance management processes:

I really do think the pupil progress part has sharpened people's thinking. I think it has brought a greater degree of accountability, because - it has always been there to a certain extent - we have always had our annual review meetings about our examination results with the head of department and so on, but I think it has shifted that responsibility down to the classroom teachers.

In this context, a senior manager foregrounded the 'harder' utilitarian use performance management of a narrow range of exam-orientated performance indicators to compare teacher performance between and within departments.

There has been a sort of creeping sharper focus in terms of how we review things like examination results. We used to review the exam results raw data. We now look at it compared to other departments, looking at individuals, asking teachers to highlight the people they have taught, to look at their performance. Have children been under-performing or over-performing?

As part of the less overtly managerialist and normative pre-PM process, there was no requirement for a pupil progress target to imposed top-down' 'because we asked (as part of the old scheme) people to identify targets that meant a lot to them. People who were Heads of Year would have focused on that and the pupil progress (target) would have got lost'.

This small, but significant, change in the nature of the system of performance review, which moved the location of target formulation away from the teacher, was reflected in the perceptions of individuals in other levels of the school hierarchy. However the supportive nature of the organisational culture has had an impact of ameliorating and contextualising the potentially threatening nature of such a change.

For example, one classroom teacher did not feel (during the performance management process):

as if I was under a microscope. I felt it was a joint process where me and my Head of Department were looking at what I had done, what had gone well and what my next steps were going to be. It was very much a joint thing.

However this was not a universal view. For another classroom teacher, the pre-PM scheme purpose, as presented by managers, was very much to support staff. However the change to performance management stemmed from a perceived increase in the general need for greater teacher accountability. She had become more defensive about having to justify herself and her results. This in turn has led to apprehension about the purpose of the performance management with its close linkage with performance-related pay. She explained:

But I think the performance-related thing about judgements being made on results which might come about not because you haven't done your job, but because of other external factors. And it's the loss of balance - that everything is going to be on your shoulders - whether they do well or not despite the fact there might have been a crisis at home or all sorts of things.

The increased perceived pressure of accountability was apparent elsewhere. Probably one of the people least satisfied with the impact of managerialist and imposed performance management on her own performance was the headteacher.

I used to go to the governing body, and I used to literally type up a review of the school and what I had achieved and what the deputies had achieved, and it was quite a satisfying sort of exercise. And it meant that I was presenting what we had done, and what we needed to do and what our focus should be for the next year. Under the new (performance management) system now when you have an external adviser meeting with the governing body separately from the head teacher, I have found that performance management is being done to me, and I don't like that.

For her, performance management was still in a state of confusion - even at the second attempt:

On the first occasion, the person who was the external adviser went away after the meeting and wrote up the targets and sent them to me and the governors. Apparently it has changed this year and the governors are supposed to write up the targets with me. What happened at my meeting was that she (the external adviser) took some notes. The governors didn't take any notes. I was waiting for the targets and the governors hadn't taken any notes to do my targets. I then had to go back to her and write my own targets from what notes she had. There was a kind of self-review part to it, but it was not satisfying because I was just sending loads of documentation. I would prefer to do a simple self-review and a kind of portfolio of the school as I used to do. I prefer the old system.

The importance of accountability had foregrounded the managerialist similarity between performance management and inspection. For one classroom teacher 'I think it (performance management) fits in with the inspection. It seems to be like its baby really. The issues raised at inspection are going to be annually raised, I assume, in performance management'.



Similarly a Downlands middle manager found the monitoring aspect of the performance management was very similar to inspection. For her, 'The scary bit is - produce that - prove you have done it. Where is the evidence? It almost comes into the same bracket as Ofsted'. Performance management for her was more 'real because it is ongoing', Ofsted being more of a snapshot, though she felt that the objectives of performance management and inspection were the same.

In conclusion, a system of summative annual departmental audits at Downlands runs in tandem with individual teacher performance review (both as pre-PM and performance management). As with Fairlands and Uplands, by running two normative systems in parallel an effective (in terms of performance outcomes) 'hard' HR strategy has been implemented. Again like Fairlands and Uplands, the implementation of those two new systems increased the level of managerial control.

The model of performance management is 'harder', narrower and less holistic in nature than the pre-PM model. This is largely because of the managerialist introduction of governmentally imposed quantitative targets focused on centrally determined academic performance indicators and which are used to compare the performance of departments and individual teachers. However unlike Fairlands and Uplands pre-PM schemes, the intent of the Downlands pre-PM was much more formative and developmental rather than summative in its nature and purpose. In this way the transition from pre-PM to performance management was probably the most straightforward (of the state schools examined) to accomplish. In this case the transition to performance management has been more one from 'formative

reassurance' (in contrast to summative reassurance at Fairlands and Uplands) to harder 'formative norming'.

## **Impact of performance review**

### **Impact of performance review at Fairlands**

The Fairlands headteacher was in no doubt that the existence of a pre-PM scheme had assisted the introduction of the performance management: 'It gave us a platform, I think, from which it was perhaps easier than most schools. We didn't have quite such a hurdle to leap'.

For a senior manager, the value of the performance management was in giving a formal opportunity to recognise staff and to provide cues for their future development – but normatively and to the advantage of the school.

They know there is a piece of paper going to the head saying, well done, you have done this and where it can be used as a lever for training which somebody might otherwise have found it difficult or might not have thought about.

This view was widely shared. One middle manager felt that the performance management had made teachers much more focused on teaching and learning and had succeeded in making teachers think not just about their own performance but also their future careers. For her:

I think it (performance management) has focused everybody even more sharply on what they are trying to do and what they are trying to achieve both on a professional level and from a personal point of view.

What they are trying to achieve. What they are also trying to get the students to achieve. But also there is another personal dimension to it of where they are hoping to go for themselves.

To support this view, a classroom teacher judged that the performance management had developed her in unanticipated directions, though with the intent of fulfilling organisational rather than individual objectives:

If anything it (performance management) has made me do things which perhaps I would not have done. It made me do a PowerPoint presentation which I wouldn't have done. But I am not sure if I would do it again either. I am not sure whether it was a sort of experience I'd say, 'Oh yes, I'll definitely do that again'. I did it because that was part of one of my targets to do that. So I did it.

The more quantitative and normative nature of targets and key performance indicators has also had an impact. A middle manager explained how the performance of departments was now being compared:

I performance managed the head of (a department in her faculty) and one of the things we decided would be a good target would be for him to focus on the A\*s at GCSE and, you know, we looked at various reasons why they weren't matching (another department's) ones. And it very definitely did have an impact on what he did.

Despite this another middle manager, expressing an anti-managerialist view felt that, when inappropriately framed, the quantitative nature of targets rendered them meaningless. For her:

I won't feel that having been set a target for certain children to get level 7 rather than level 6/7. I mean I'll have the satisfaction of seeing them do well, but it hasn't really been much of a motivating force.

A colleague agreed with these anti-managerialist sentiments. She had the confidence to disregard key performance indicators of the performance management scheme: 'The pupil progress targets are nearly always ineffective - we teach the students as well as we can in any case!'

In this context, there were still middle managers attempting to opt out of the Fairlands process. One, expressing a subversive anti-managerialist view, disparaged the impact of the performance management:

As far as I am concerned people only pay lip service to it (performance management) to be honest. It is something that, well, certainly in our department we don't do it. I mean I don't think anybody in our department has done their performance management for this year and it has got to be done by the end of term. So it will be a frantic mad rush at the end because you just don't get time to do it.

Though Fairlands senior managers have attempted to contextualise performance management in terms of the culture of the school, one head of year felt that the nature of the process worked against the widely articulated objective of enabling pupils not to think narrowly in terms of exam results, but in terms of providing wider learning opportunities. He explained:

The headteacher will say these things (about pupils not focusing too narrowly) and I'll say these things when we have our parents in, but sometimes it's difficult getting over to some of the teachers the idea that we are trying to get the girls to relax a bit more and to get involved with other extra curricular things...that sometimes goes against performance management which requires exam results.

The view that the implementation of managerialist governmentally framed performance management runs counter to the achievement of whole school objectives

determined by school leaders concerned others. For one middle manager, individual teachers sensitised to the notion of 'performativity', conceptualise school objectives in narrow managerialist terms and differently from school leaders. For him:

It's very difficult. I don't really have a simple answer just now. It's a major conflict. People want to do well with their classes but if they see people coming out of lessons (ie not contributing to academic performance indicators) to do music or missing afternoons to play tennis, then.....

Despite the danger of performativity inherent in performance management, one head of year was in no doubt about its impact on his own professional development - he was clear in separating it from day-to-day management. He explained:

We first wrote some targets at the beginning of the year and I realise how effective it (performance management) was because one of my targets was to look at getting into senior management, and I went on a course and I was speaking to somebody on the same course who was actually preparing for deputy headship. They were amazed that I'd actually heard about the course through me writing down a target with my team leader for performance management. From these targets my team leader had obviously given them to the INSET coordinator and he has given me any leaflets he felt were relevant. So I felt, from then on, it's not just completing the paperwork.

This comment was regularly echoed elsewhere - particularly those who had been promoted internally. One senior manager explained:

I had an appraisal at quite a key moment when I was head of (department). I came back from maternity leave and the following term I was appraised by the then deputy head. As part of that appraisal she was very encouraging in terms of saying, you know, 'I think you ought to take on additional responsibility and become a senior teacher'. And I think that was probably quite important, particularly at that stage, having resumed my responsibilities as head of (a large department) but with a small child. I think that was instrumental in making me apply for the other things I did.

However for another middle manager, the targets resulting from performance management failed to identify underlying performance barriers in a long hours culture - the normal response of school leaders being to use INSET as the mechanism for performance improvement. For him:

That's the medicine and I'm sure if I went back for my next review and said I still think my time management is dodgy, they'd probably send me on to another very similar course, if not the same course. So I think there's a tendency to send you on courses rather than attend the problem of my time management which is I've probably got too high contact time on my timetable. And of course the school shrugs its shoulders.. one of the best ways would be to knock off four periods off my timetable. But that is never ever going to be a sensible solution. The next best thing is to send you off on a course.

Another middle manager also judged the target setting process to have little impact:

My own view towards the whole (performance management) system is that it's fairly meaningless and with hindsight some of the targets that I identified when I was being appraised, and some of the people I appraised have identified are not particularly relevant ones.

He judged day-to-day contact much more effective, and a process he separated from performance management. For him:

There is obviously a need to talk through with individuals what they have done and I've done that as an entirely separate process to the performance management appraisal....just talking through with individuals...which I've done anyway...and I've done it on a one-to-one basis and a fairly informal basis as well. And now I'm going to have to do and end of year review and set targets for next year....and I do feel it's a bit contrived.

The filtering process through the school hierarchy, and any resulting lack of impact of senior leaders intentions on the development of teacher culture, has been interpreted by senior leaders as a failure of middle managers to interpret their wishes correctly - the solution for which is more training of middle managers. As one senior manager explained:

We think we have a big issue with training middle managers. We think that actually although we feel we communicate quite effectively with our heads of faculty, we know that communicating and receiving input into decisions, is not going through the structure and coming back through the structure in all departments as quickly and as effectively as we want. So in some areas people feel they are contributing, and know they are contributing reasonably quickly, and in other areas it is simply not happening - that people feel that they are telling somebody but nothing is happening because it is never getting any further. It isn't necessarily the middle manager's fault; it is they don't realise that this is what they should be doing. They don't realise the importance of the role of the middle manager.

Though for another teacher:

I just feel it (performance management) is turning us from being people who want to the best of a caring profession into a 'what can I get out of it'.

In conclusion, performance management at Fairlands has had an impact in helping some teachers reflect more on the nature of their own professional development. Others who disparage performance management are not significantly demotivated it – they just see it as a waste of time.

However the narrow range of performance management performance indicators has created a conflict between some teachers, who have used the opportunity of the introduction of a governmentally imposed technicist and managerialist process to

focus on this narrow range, and school leaders who want teachers (and pupils) to think more holistically about their performance in school. As a result, performance management can be seen as assisting the normative implementation of New Public Management at Fairlands though not without conflict with values-driven school leaders.

### **Impact of performance review at Uplands**

An Uplands senior manager recognised the impact of the harder nature of performance management targets and performance indicators with an associated devaluation of the influence of individual teachers on the performance review process.

For him:

(Performance management) had improved teacher performance because) of the focus on compulsory targets. One of the things I have always fought against with some appraisers under the old (pre-PM) system was the fuzziness of targets, particularly where colleagues have got a little bit comfortable with each other over the years. And it needed a bit of a good grenade tossed in and I think that (performance management) has helped.

In this context an Uplands head of department, striking at the heart of normative managerialism and New Public Management in schools, had more profound managerial objections to the whole notion of performance management. He was not happy:

with the idea of people telling others how they should teach their lessons. I think the profession is a very personal one dependant upon much more than what's written in a teacher's training handbook. It's based upon the individual relationship between the teacher and 32 pupils and I think you've got to be very wary about starting to impose teaching techniques on individuals because they just don't work - they are so dependant on personality and all sorts of different factors. You can't



tell someone you must teach in this way because the techniques may not be suited to their personality.

Despite such rarely expressed misgivings, the Uplands senior manager responsible for administering the scheme also recognised a critical difference between performance appraisal (less managerialist with the choice of appraiser left up to the appraisee) and performance management (more managerialist and normative with no choice of appraiser). For him:

The whole thrust of and implication of the government's arrangements (performance management) was that in a secondary school the team leader should appraise, i.e. the head of department should appraise the people in his or her department, whereas previously (performance appraisal) that thrust was not necessarily there.

He continued:

The implication (for performance management) is that you either do the appraisal sequence of events very early in the year or at the very end of the year looking forward to the next year. Whereas in the previous dispensation (i.e. pre-PM) it didn't matter much where you were in the year and we were able to as sensitively and as delicately as possible allow people to spread what they were doing over the year.

The Uplands headteacher was singularly unimpressed by his performance management performance review. When asked to describe it, his response was that the process was 'hopeless'. He explained:

The first year on the new (performance management) system CEA came up with somebody who was a recently retired head of another grammar school. The governors were very keen to have this man and I wasn't quite so keen. I became less keen during the process because he spent a lot of time talking about himself and his old school. You know it was all cuddly and speaking to lots of people and I said 'look this is a hard nosed system. You ought to be coming in and agreeing targets with me'. He didn't write the draft of the appraisal

statement afterwards. He just made me do it. He had a bloody nice time and a good lunch. The governors thought he was lovely. He wandered around with them and he told them how good his school was. His school! So I, said I don't want him again because he didn't do anything for me whatsoever and I ended up writing the statement!

The following year, the headteacher demanded a change. He explained:

So this year we've had somebody who is just retired from a headship of large school and he did it in a very business like way. The governors didn't like it because he...well he followed the regulations correctly. He saw the governors and then he saw me and the governors and we agreed the objectives. He read all the documentation through in advance and he wrote the draft statement. He was here for two and a half hours and he set the targets. He did it correctly and they (the governors) thought he was horrible, hardnosed, awful. There wasn't any kind of 'speak to staff, wander around the common room or ask other people how I was doing or meet the students or spend a day doing it'. And we didn't hear anything about his school and the fact that he was recently retired or anything else.

Despite this contrast, 'the process (referring to his performance management performance review) hasn't had any influence on the school whatsoever. My appraisal has become an entirely administrative procedure as far as I can see'.

For him the pre-PM performance appraisal system was much more preferable – largely because it was equitable. He explained:

One of the main things about appraisal from the hewers of stone and drawers of waters point of view is that they should realise that whatever is done to them, is done to everybody in the organisation, including the head. The principle of equity was clearly demonstrable in the old system when I was first a head. The head who appraised me wandered around the school and she had structured interviews with a range of staff and asked their opinions about, you know, how far was I engaging them in school development planning, whatever the questions were.

And it was clear that I was 'being done' and she observed me teaching and all the rest of it in the same way that they (other teachers) were 'done'. This has a lot to do with having credibility with people.

Despite this poor assessment of his own appraisal, he feels that the Uplands performance review process, both pre-PM and as performance management, has in part made teachers more reflective and more inclined to take risks. He explained:

I think it (a more risk taking, reflective approach to teaching and learning) did come about because of the appraisal system to some extent. But also we made a collective decision when I came that we needed to do something about the pastoral system, the pupil monitoring system and linking it to the quality of teaching judgements and classroom observation. All these things were signalled as being important when we started at the beginning.

In this context an Uplands head of department, as with most others, attributed a sinister, controlling, managerialist and normative impact on performance management. For him:

I think there has been a definite change (with performance management) in the way we present information and the way we think about what the students are doing because we're constantly thinking about how that's going to reflect in their exam grades. We are much more aware of the fact that, if our students do not get quite such good grades, you know, someone is going to say to us, why?

An Uplands classroom teacher viewed the process more positively. For her, performance management looks:

Forwards. Definitely. It is very much there as far as I can see. It is a way of moving forward, from where we are, to hopefully a very positive step - focusing on specific things that need changing.

In addition, Uplands has used the implementation of the performance management to introduce career development portfolios. As one head of department explained:

We've taken the NQTs career profile, looked at it and seen what we think is valuable and extend that. And I think that's good. It's a really positive thing I think. And I think that people who are between NQT and threshold, I think they are all keen to give it a go because they can see that when they get to the threshold, it's useful to have a portfolio of what they have done and their achievements.

A classroom teacher outlined how this had helped her in terms of his own career development - 'you can see where you are going and where you have been'.

Despite these benefits, there is recognition that performance management misses key performance indicators (by focusing on teaching and learning in the classroom) – and teachers have difficulty judging the relative importance of the performance indicators that are assessed. The Uplands headteacher described the problem:

The PM documentation is contradictory because it is almost a pure judgement on classroom practice, though the criteria clearly require you to make a judgment about (the teacher's) effectiveness in the school community. I mean the two activities specifically mentioned are a commitment to school policies and engagement in overall activities in the management of the school. Now those two things don't wholly revolve around observation of classroom practice and so on and they are the things that (a particular teacher at Uplands) who was a young head of department has done bugger all. So that's an interesting situation...I mean, contractually, there is no obligation to do these things. That was his objection to (the Uplands scheme).....and also being compared to other heads of departments, many who are more experienced. They are doing an enormous in those categories. I mean his thesis was in another school he would get through because the Uplands standards are very high. But I feel the head has got to judge the appropriateness of the criteria in (the Uplands) context.

The normative impact of performance management was also judged as potentially detrimental by other teachers in terms of the learning experience for pupils – limiting the opportunities for teacher ‘fogginess’. As one classroom teacher explained:

Unless a (performance review) scheme was devised which took extracurricular activities into account, schools would be forced even more into the mould of ‘exam factories’.

Not assessing key performance indicators also concerned others - another classroom teacher explained:

I appreciate the (performance management) scheme is aimed at the teaching aspect of my job but I feel that wider professional development outside of the classroom is overlooked while remaining a vital part of school expectation. Developing a teacher’s wider role in the school, and not just their teaching role, and recognising it as important to their development should be given a higher priority.

Other difficulties with the performance management included time pressures for completion and the inappropriateness of an annual cycle for all teachers. One head of department did not see the value of having his performance reviewed formally every year. For him, the longer a teacher has been teaching, the fewer opportunities for formal assessment are required:

I felt, for me in my 50s, every other year the appraisal was not particularly useful. Maybe once every five years and maybe somebody in their 40s should be once every four years...and so on. It’s much more useful the younger you are.

The senior manager in part agreed, though for different reasons. For him,

My major worry is the annual cycle, because it is very easy to slip on an annual cycle. With a bi-annual cycle, there was room for a little bit of slippage. You’ve only got to have a bit of long term illness to name one

scenario or an Ofsted, to send things off the rails. It is very difficult in 12 months to claw back that. That's my big worry.

In conclusion, the main impact of the established 'softer' pre-PM performance appraisal scheme at Uplands has been to smooth the introduction of the performance management by sensitising teachers to classroom observation and target setting.

There is evidence that the performance management has assisted teachers in taking a longer view of their careers and becoming more reflective about the nature of their own practice – reinforcing the values of a learning and improving school.

There is also evidence that teachers are taking a narrower less holistic view of their performance as teachers as a result of a recognition of the requirements of the performance management. They are less likely to take part in activities which are not recognised by performance management.

The person most dissatisfied with the process of his own performance review is the headteacher.

#### **Impact of performance review at Downlands**

Like her Uplands equivalent, the Downlands headteacher expressed dissatisfaction with the performance management in terms of her performance review. For the headteacher - who described herself as a driven person – performance management has not made much of a difference personally though she did admit that PM has made

her more reflective, particularly 'about whether the things I want to achieve have been achieved'.

Others also concurred with this view. A middle manager felt that she would have done whatever was needed 'whether there was performance management there or not'. Another middle manager warmly commended Downlands as a supportive school felt that she hadn't gained anything from performance management. For her 'motivation to work comes from within me'. She resented the managerialist emphasis on lesson observation and narrow academic outcomes as key performance indicators.

I know what people are like in my Department. I feel I'm a hypocrite doing performance management - threshold payments depend on it. One of my team's lessons was observed. The lesson didn't go well. The process caused very bad feeling because the teacher didn't want the lesson to go on her record. She can't use that observation for threshold. Everything depends on that one lesson.

In contrast, others found that the process provided a range of benefits. For one classroom teacher at an early stage of his career, performance management 'focused me more on what I want to do and what I want to get out of teaching'. The impact of SCITT and links with outside organisations on the culture of the school was again apparent: 'I eventually want to be a lecturer - training teachers - but that is a long way off so for example I have started mentoring student teachers here. I'm involved in doing some work with some of the universities who we are part of a consortium with'.

In contrast, a Downlands middle manager (who had not participated in the pre-PM process) coming to the end of her teaching career found the main impact of

performance management had been as an instrument for recognition and as a validation procedure. For her:

It is the first time I have had a voice to express my feelings. It is the first time these last two years - I've always felt valued by senior management - but it is the first time I've actually sat down with somebody and had to take stock, had to review everything I've done. My whole position. Where am I now? What am I hoping to achieve? How am I moving the children forward? How do I see the subject and myself developing?

However this depended critically on her relationship with her appraiser - the key which turned performance management into a meaningful process.

I think it (performance management) depends on the commitment of people like (her appraiser). I think it could die a death and if it's not for people like (her appraiser) making it happen and making it work, then it would just be another title of another initiative and I would set myself personal targets and things like that. But I think it's people like (her appraiser) that keep my momentum and give it value.

How had the impact of performance review changed with the introduction of performance management in 2000? For one middle manager, the process had changed from being a summative, reassuring process pre-PM to a more forward looking developmental process as a result of the changed nature of target setting.

(Pre-PM) we would have a kind of formal review meeting with the head of department at the end of the year and she would come and see you teach and then talk about strengths and weaknesses and things that had gone well and she would then write that up.

In contrast, with performance management 'you're looking to achieve objectives, whereas before it was more of a review'. In addition, reflecting a 'hard' normative HR



approach to management 'the scheme is more tied into school and departmental development plans'.

This view was also supported by a Downlands classroom teacher (in a department identified as poorly performing by senior managers - though not by inspection).

Describing the pre-PM process, there was:

a lot of observation going on but no formal appraisal in the sense that you're getting everything written down.. You know... you've got a chance to speak. A lot of observation about your work - ways in which you can improve, but there's no sense of, you know, real appraisal where you can spend some quality time discussing what you want to do, what should to be done and what's been done.

In this sense, for him the pre-PM process had been an 'event' and not an embedded managerial process.

The headteacher recognised the impact of cultural change in a context of increasingly important, though often confusing, performance indicators. Though she felt that the pre-PM scheme always enabled people to identify their training needs – with performance management the increase in the amount of quantitative pupil performance data had become problematic:

because you've got your benchmarking data in relation to free school meals which gives you a certain grade, you've then got your benchmarking data in terms of progress (and) in terms of the graphs the authorities are now churning out in relation to prior attainment but, of course, they don't have all of the data anyway and you are having to decide, how valid is this particular judgement? And so actually there is this wealth of information. Managing that is another task as well.

In this context, a Downlands classroom teacher foregrounded the problems of providing evidence and the inappropriate nature of the indicators used to provide accountability. Given the importance of relationships as a motivator for teachers, she felt that her efforts outside classroom teaching, for example with her tutor group, go unrecognised.

It's not acknowledged - not at all - and it really does bother me that because I really do spend an enormous amount of time with my tutor group. Not just with them, but with other students and I am building these kinds of relationships and working on that side of things which doesn't get recognised.

In conclusion, since the implementation of performance management in 2000, Downlands teachers have become more aware of the need to perform normatively and focus on a small number of quantitative academic performance indicators – a managerialist outcome of New Public Management. Again the movement from a softer, less normative, less managerialist pre-PM process to harder, narrower, formative, norming and more managerialist performance management has made Downlands prevailing controlling teacher culture more apparent. Like Fairlands, the headteacher was very dissatisfied with her own performance management performance review and the main impact of a pre-existing Downlands performance review process has been to smooth the introduction of its successor.

## **Teachers' reward preferences and the impact of performance-related pay**

### **Fairlands**

When examining the sort of rewards that made a difference to the performance of teachers at Fairlands, most teachers foregrounded the quality of relationships. For one classroom teacher:

when you get cards and presents and little notes saying you've inspired me or, I'd never have imagined doing A-level, things like that. To be honest it makes it all worth it. Parents Evenings - when the parents thank you.. saying something like - she's never really enjoyed languages until this year. Then to me it makes it all worthwhile. And obviously, ultimately, when you get some of those girls leaving the school and going on to do a language degree, or another degree but hoping for a year abroad....

The quality of relationships with pupils was also a key reward for one middle manager, even though the school facilities were not ideal. 'Our physical conditions are modest, but that doesn't matter if the students are good to be with one can cope with that'. Similarly a classroom teacher felt that her main reward is 'the response from the girls, who are universally charming, even the naughty ones'.

Another middle manager also eulogised the pupils at Fairlands. When asked what were the rewards of teaching in Fairlands, she felt that:

In this school it would be criminal not to say the absolutely fabulous classroom experience. What follows on from that, I think, a lot of our students achieve nearer their potential than perhaps they do in other schools because they are given the climate and everything they need to help them to achieve that.

She continued, praising the development of collegial, learning and improving teacher culture in the school:

(a reward) is building up teams within the department. Because when I joined the school we didn't have nearly so much of a team work force and I think that has developed a lot in the last few years.

However the abilities of the students brought problems for some. As one middle manager explained:

It isn't easy to teach here simply because they (the pupils) are all clever. It's a very demanding, extremely demanding job.

A minority of other teachers felt rewarded by other things. For example, a senior manager felt well rewarded financially and also enjoyed the diversity of his work and the opportunity for extra-curricular activities which tallied with his own interests. He explained:

As a student I was tremendously involved in mountaineering and so on and that was because I went to a school that did lots of outdoor education. And I've always seen that as being very important so I run all the outdoor education in the school and I take weeks off here there and everywhere to go on trips. And I get a lot of fulfilment in working in this environment and there are lots of interesting projects going on within the school at the moment which I'm very heavily involved in.

For another middle manager, the key reward was praise. 'Praise from the people who aren't afraid to actually say 'well done' for doing things'.

In this context, linking individual teacher performance to pay has the potential to reduce the amount of trust and cohesion in the school's teacher culture. As one classroom teacher explained 'The whole concept of any link to pay is one that breeds deep distrust'. She described the process of applying for the threshold.

Oh, it was dreadful. It was just another bit of paper to fill in. But we all had to do it and for many of us it took time out of a period of the year when we could have done without it.

Similarly a middle manager felt that the application procedure for a threshold pay increase was similarly demotivating. For her:

It was a totally insulting process to force very experienced teachers through the process of that form. An average time to complete it was about 12-15 hours of the summer half term and it was to give us a £2000 rise which I felt would have been better simply granted without strings attached.

One Fairlands senior manager felt that the introduction of PRP by means of the threshold has had an effect on the perceptions of performance management by middle managers - particularly in terms of their openness as team leaders. For her: 'What my team leaders are worried about is that what they write in the review is going to have an effect on somebody's salary'.

Given this, several teachers felt that both the threshold and performance management missed key performance indicators. For example, one classroom teacher felt that both processes were similar in that each involved a 'horrible form' and a failure to review important job tasks. She explained:

You said how marvellous you were and tried desperately to the best of your ability, thinking, well, yes but there are tons of other things that don't fit in here. And you spent hours and hours and hours filling in this form.

She gave two examples:

When you talk to a student who is distressed or something like that, you do so much more as a teacher than I think anyone ever knows. Like when we are sorting out the people for their exams and there were three times I rang up students to say 'are you on the way to exam?' and things like that. It's not part of my job to do that necessarily. They are not in my form. It's just that I knew they weren't there and I just rang them up you know. There are tons of little things that everyone does like that every day that make the school work and all teachers do it.

A middle manager recognised the close match between performance management and the threshold in particular the role of the threshold in smoothing the introduction of performance management:

Having to go through the whole threshold application for those people who have done, possibly made performance management, not necessarily easier, but you know people had already focused on the sorts of things that you would focus on anyway.

This has encouraged a less 'risky' approach by some senior and middle managers. A senior manager matched the requirements of threshold performance indicators with a more uniform, blander performance management review statement. When one middle manager was asked if she encouraged her department to take risks, she explained:

I think if I'm being honest, I'd play it safe. Because I wasn't quite sure, really, how it was going to work. But if it (a particular target) then gets linked with threshold, it is quite a tricky area because, of course, if you don't meet any of your targets I guess you're deemed to be not meeting the (threshold) requirements.

In conclusion, the key reward for teachers is the quality of relationships with students. Performance-related pay in the form of the threshold at Fairlands has the potential to make teachers less open, less likely to take risks and is judged to be an unmotivating bureaucratic form filling exercise. However the association of performance-related pay and performance management has increased the profile of performance management as an important 'hard' normative people management process.

### **Uplands**

When teachers at Uplands were asked what motivated them, nearly all mentioned the quality of relationships as being important. For one classroom teacher: 'The fact that the boys are willing to work hard. The fact that the boys enjoy coming to school.'

They are eager to learn and, yes, I would say it really hinges on the boys' response'. For a head of department 'I think it is really pushing the kids and the challenge .....we push them way beyond I think probably what most other schools are doing'.

Another classroom teacher mentioned the other opportunities that teaching at Uplands can bring. 'I enjoy the things outside the classroom as well. I get the chance to go away to Madagascar this summer'.

Though some accepted a link between performance and pay (for example for one classroom teacher, 'I can see at the end of the day they should be linked - otherwise there's no point'), many were not in favour. For example, for the headteacher, the introduction of performance-related pay has been 'a terrible distraction'. He explained:

I deeply resent the threshold. I think it is awful. The worst training I've ever been to. It was monumentally awful. The person doing it had only been told it the day before. They were like parrots. I asked a question and he said I was being awkward. One of the trainers left because the audience was awful and then we got really grouched. It was dire. And I actually came back to school in a state of shock after that. And they said to us, 'bung them through'. I remember I wrote it down 'bung them through, it's the first year'. Which bearing in mind I came from a school where it was taken seriously and we trying to grapple with it and it was a difficult issue and I thought it was a pretty patronising thing to say. I came to (the deputy headteacher) and said this is a real problem but if we are going to do our job properly it is my duty to try to make most people feel they want to do it

Though performance management at Uplands is intended to help teachers be more open, reflective and risk taking, there was a general view that performance-related pay would in fact make teachers less open. For one middle manager, 'people may not be

so willing to come forward and say this is something I'm not so very good at'. The headteacher, who had experience of performance-related pay in a previous post, concurred:

If I was presented, as I was, with a weakish line manager, and he then starts asking you to identify your weaknesses and you know there is a pay element what flashed through my mind was, if you don't know what they are because you are not a good supervisor, why should I tell you?

He continued:

I've got a kind of Arnold Bennett view about money. It's a polluting factor really. Most arguments emanate from money and revolve around money. Most acrimonious exchanges in this school revolve around money.

However, by linking performance-related pay with performance management, the importance of performance management had been increased. Expressing a view held by others, a senior manager explained:

It (performance management) is more judgmental in the sense that whether you like it or not, in certain circumstances, it would impinge on your pay... and it certainly would impinge on how you were viewed in the school to a greater extent than perhaps was the case before and to whether your career went forward or shuddered to a halt or not.

In conclusion, only one teacher mentioned financial rewards as being important - PRP at Uplands has the potential to make teachers less open and less likely to take risks reducing teacher cohesion and hindering the development of a learning or improving organisation. Again, the linkage of performance-related pay with performance management has raised the profile of performance management in the school culture.



## Downlands

When asked about the rewards of teaching, only the headteacher alluded to financial remuneration as a motivator. The use of financial rewards has had a problematic history in the school. The headteacher described how an earlier budget deficit ‘meant we weren’t able to reward teachers for what they were doing. And that was very difficult keeping people motivated but unrewarded’.

All other interviewees foregrounded intrinsic reasons as rewards for doing their job, the quality of relationships with pupils being a recurring theme. For one classroom teacher ‘It’s the “hi Miss, how are you” when you’re in the High Street. I don’t know, I suppose it comes down to the relationship thing again’.

Similarly, for another classroom teacher, the pupils are the priority:

When they come to you at the end of the day and say “thank you very much, Miss. I learned something from your lesson” - I think the pupil reward is greater than any (other) reward.

However she added the rider that ‘obviously you know, climbing the ladder is an incentive to keep going’.

For a middle manager, ‘I really like young people and I love the job. It can be really horrendously difficult to do, but I get a real one-to-one experience from individual kids. I really feel I’m making a difference and I really enjoy it’.

Making a difference was also important for a senior manager who foregrounded the impact that teacher culture can have on pupil culture. 'If you develop people, children will benefit which I know is the ideal thing we are all aiming towards'.

In this context, one of the key indicators of the supportive nature of the Downlands organisational (and teacher) culture has been the management of the introduction of performance-related pay in the form of the threshold. Senior managers used its introduction - which has many potentially divisive impacts on the development of a learning or improving school (as apparent in Fairlands and Uplands) - as an opportunity. As the headteacher reported:

We set up surgeries system (for completion of the threshold application forms) with two members of staff. And lots of staff went to them and had a lot of advice about how to put them (the threshold application forms) together. Interestingly my assessor said they were the best set of forms he had seen.

She continued:

One of the lovely things was to see people coming in with their threshold applications and saying "Here you are, use mine, get some ideas from that". It was fantastic to see that.

The senior manager associated this approach with a particular view of how teachers learn by recognising that:

if you did the threshold in a non-threatening way, what you are doing is building up the skills in people to review their own practice in a non-threatening way and they are much more likely to learn that way.

For a Downlands middle manager, this view of threshold application as an entitlement, which the school wanted to help the teacher achieve, was of benefit:

I get the impression in this school they're trying to see it as your right than 'prove to us you're a good teacher'. And that kind of made me feel better about even applying for it.

Despite this one classroom teacher refused to put in an application.

I haven't because, I don't know, I'm being a bit stroppy here but I don't know why I should do all this. I feel I do so much work as it is and to now provide this evidence I think the evidence is there. No, I don't think £2000 is worth it for the amount of work I have to do for the moment'.

In conclusion, only one teacher mentioned financial rewards as being important; performance-related pay at Downlands had the potential to adversely impact on teacher performance by being divisive. However, the strongly normative 'supportive' nature of the teacher culture limited the divisive effects of the implementation of PRP - an indication of an effective normative HR approach to people management – as well as an opportunity to reify the values of a learning and improving school.

## **Summary**

An analysis of the purpose and nature of the state case study school performance management schemes demonstrates a close match with the prevailing managerialist improving and learning teacher cultures of the schools – both purpose and nature being formative, norming and developmental. However, in contrast to the independent case study schools, the 'harder' focus of performance management on a small range of quantitative performance indicators - an aspect of New Public Management - has impacted on the diversity of job tasks that teachers are prepared or expected to undertake. This has reduced the impact of 'fogginess' (the taking on of multiple job tasks with different line managers) apparent in the independent case schools. The

consequent clarity of lines of management in the state case study schools increases the organisations' capacity for learning. It is easier and clearer to define what teachers need to 'learn to improve' – the focus being on teaching and learning.

In this sense, performance management in the state case study schools can be judged to have 'worked' in managerialist terms, though its failure to involve a broader and contextualised (for each school) range of performance indicators may limit longer term effectiveness by not rewarding high levels of performance in job tasks which are not assessed as part of performance management and which teachers enjoy doing – whether the intention of school leaders or not. Associated with this, performance-related pay in the form of the *threshold* has tended to reduce the openness and cohesiveness of the prevailing teacher culture in each of the case study schools. At Fairlands, and to a certain extent at Uplands, school leaders are concerned that teachers are becoming too narrowly focused on a narrow definition of their jobs and neglect broader and unmeasured performance indicators. To this extent the teacher culture of these two schools is not as closely matched to the government's intentions for performance management as school leaders would like, though Downlands school leaders have embraced the normative objectives of performance management and the threshold and are using them effectively to reify the 'supportive' values of the school culture.

The success of each school can also be in part attributed to the combination of a developmental and formative model of performance management for individual teachers (a nationally imposed managerialist procedure) running with tandem with a system of controlling and summative departmental performance reviews (a procedure

which has been school-contextualised having been developed ‘in-house’). In Uplands and Downlands, the departmental performance review process ran in conjunction with a ‘softer’ pre-PM teacher performance review process. In this way by attempting in part to contextualise performance review to suit the school’s situation and running both processes in tandem an effective normative HR approach with the objective of developing an improving, learning organisation (or professional learning community) has become embedded in the cultural values and assumptions of each school’s teacher culture.

The implementation of performance management in each state case study schools has also been made easier by the existence of a pre-PM scheme. Relatively minor (in organisational terms) but highly significant changes from pre-PM to performance management have increased the already strong normative and managerialist nature of the people management processes in the schools. These changes were most apparent in Fairlands though they are to a large extent present in the other schools. They were:

- A rigorous and universal implementation of individual teacher performance review by performance management (the pre-PM process was variably implemented and not used for all teachers);
- A less holistic and ‘harder’ overview of teacher performance;
- A move from ‘softer’ qualitative to ‘harder’ quantitative’ performance indicators and targets;
- A move from ‘summative reassurance’ of teaching staff to ‘formative norming’.

As ever, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. The ultimate test of success of performance management is one of convincing colleagues – a hearts and minds campaign which aims to embed performance management, despite its managerialist origins, deep in the teacher culture of the school. For the senior manager responsible for administering the Uplands scheme:

Essentially what I am saying is, you know, will I on whenever we finish school at the end of the summer term, have copies, or will the Headmaster have copies, of 50 odd appraisals that have taken place? Will I, as the manager of the set up, have succeeded in convincing my colleagues that legally, and for their own good, they need to do this?

Given this, for a Fairlands senior manager 'PM has been a powerful enabling tool at Fairlands'. In this context, the implementation of performance management at in each school can be judged as success. Most of those interviewed found some at least some value in the process, not only for their own benefit but also the schools.

At Downlands, the introduction of performance management has been assisted by the highly 'supportive' (for those prepared to buy into the vision articulated by school leaders) nature of the teacher culture. The foregrounding of this long existing cultural value has provided the mechanism to match individual and school objectives. In addition, Downlands school leaders and others consistently emphasise the role of values as underpinning the culture of the school - a form of 'principled leadership' (Gold et al, 2003). However this is bounded by an expectation of particular behaviours by staff - failure to perform within these boundaries has lead to the marginalisation of teachers and their departure from the organisation. The headteacher has no doubt about the impact of teacher culture on the form of performance

management in the school. For her ‘the (teacher) culture will drive performance management in terms of development’ – the ‘principled managerialists’ mantra’.

## Chapter 11

### *The national picture: evidence from the surveys*

In addition to the case study schools' reports, information to assist the sense-making process has also been available from longitudinal national surveys of headteachers in independent and state sectors. These were:

- Independent Survey 1 (Graham, 1989) which was undertaken in 1988;
- Independent Survey 2 (Carslaw, 1998), which was undertaken in 1997;
- Independent Survey 3, which was undertaken in 2001;
- State Survey 1, which was undertaken in 2000 and covered the period immediately before the introduction of statutory performance management in state schools;
- State Survey 2, which was undertaken in 2002 following the introduction of statutory performance management.

The surveys generated a large amount of data and effectively 'sandwiched' the period of the case study investigation. However as the data collection stage continued and a number of issues were inductively raised from analysis of the case study reports (in particular the importance of the prevailing teacher culture and its relationship with performance review) the utility of some of the survey data, as related to the thesis, became questionable. For example the survey data provided little evidence on the nature of the teacher culture in individual schools. As a consequence I have used the surveys selectively to provide further supporting (or otherwise) evidence for the 'fuzzy' generalisations made following the analysis of the case studies.



The survey data has been able to provide supporting evidence in state and independent sectors (both before and after the introduction of statutory performance management in the state sector in 2000) of:

- The occurrence of teacher performance review schemes;
- The purposes of performance review;
- Key performance indicators assessed by performance review;
- The expected and actual benefits of performance review;
- How performance review schemes have been modified;
- The nature of performance review schemes;
- The clarity of lines of management (an indication of organisational ‘fogginess’).

#### **Occurrence of performance review schemes**

Each case study school had a functioning performance review scheme — a characteristic true of nearly all independent schools and, following the introduction of performance management in 2000, all state schools. By 2001, functioning schemes were in operation in 90% of independent schools (compared with 81% in 1997 [Carslaw, 1998] and 52 % in 1988 [Graham, 1989]) though many respondents were reluctant to label their scheme as ‘performance management’ schemes (14%), nearly all the remainder preferring to use the label of ‘appraisal’.

In comparison, 50% of state school respondents reported having functioning schemes in the period immediately before the introduction of statutory performance management in 2000 — a surprising degree of resilience and an indicator of the ability of a large number of state schools to contextualise their pre-PM schemes enabling

their survival. All respondent state schools had performance management schemes in 2002 though a very small minority were not fully functioning.

### **Purposes of performance review**

There was little change of *purpose* for performance review schemes in independent schools between 1997 and 2001 (see Table 11.1). The highest levels of importance in both surveys were attached to the purposes of ‘assistance with professional development’ and ‘the provision of appropriate INSET’. Very few schools attributed high levels of importance to using their performance review schemes to identify teachers for promotion, or a pay increase, or identifying inadequate performance. A similar view of the purpose of performance review was also apparent in the independent case study schools – though in practice the case schools schemes’ main function was to reassure teachers that they are doing a satisfactory or good job – not to assist them with their professional development.

The state case study schools schemes were also developmental in intent – and following the introduction of performance management (and unlike the independent case study schools), this intention was actualised in the schools’ schemes. However state school headteachers were less likely to give the purposes of assisting teachers with their professional development and career planning high levels of importance as independent school headteachers. Nevertheless monitoring staff effectiveness was given a high priority by almost a quarter of state schools’ performance management schemes (up from 14% pre-PM). More state school respondents gave a high priority to using their performance management schemes to reward staff financially (17% up from 3% pre-PM).

**Table 11.1:** Purposes of performance review schemes given a high level of importance by state and independent respondents.

<b>Possible purpose of performance review</b>	<b>Percentage state school respondents indicating a high level of importance in 2002 (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage independent school respondents indicating a high level of importance in 2001 (1997 in brackets)</b>
Assistance with professional development and career planning	51 (77)	86 (87)
Monitoring the progress of new entrants to teaching and to aid their induction.	20 (53)	56 (55)
Identification of professional needs of staff with a view to providing appropriate INSET	59 (87)	81 (80)
Assisting the Head and Governors in monitoring staff effectiveness.	24 (14)	30 (32)
Identification of possible candidates for promotion.	7 (6)	10 (6)
Identification of possible candidates for a pay increase.	17 (3)	7 (1)
Assessing staff competence	14 (17)	38 (31)
Identification of inadequate performance as a prelude to possible disciplinary action	4 (1)	5 (4)
Providing a source of information for job reference purposes.	3 (10)	1 (3)

In conclusion, the survey evidence suggests that both independent and state headteachers attach high importance to using performance review to inform the professional development of teachers – however evidence from the case study schools demonstrate that only state schools, largely as a result of the introduction of performance management, have been able to match this intention with the nature and effect of their schools' schemes.

### **Key performance indicators assessed by performance review**

Given range of purposes for a performance review scheme, the general categories of the *performance indicators* assessed by performance review schemes are illustrated on Table 11.2.

Respondents were asked to attach high, medium or low levels of importance to a range of performance indicators. Independent school respondents again reported little change between 1997 and 2001. Following the introduction of performance management, the only performance indicator that was being given a higher priority by state school respondents (compared with independent school respondents) was 'learning outcomes'. This was also the only performance indicator given a high priority for performance management schemes when compared with their pre-PM predecessors – an observation also apparent in the state case study schools.

Independent school respondents were more likely than state school respondents to give a high priority to a teacher's contribution to the wider aspects of school life and to particular departments or teams. These generalisations were also apparent in the case study schools.

**Table 11.2:** Performance indicators given a high importance by state and independent respondents.

<b>Performance indicator</b>	<b>Percentage state school respondents who indicated a high level of importance in 2002 (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage independent school respondents who indicated a high level of importance (1997 in brackets)</b>
General classroom practice	80 (80)	86 (76)
Learning outcomes	77 (69)	71 (65)
Teaching techniques and discipline	64 (73)	76 (70)
Regular marking and administrative efficiency	39 (49)	63 (63)
Contribution to particular departments or teams	44 (53)	64 (63)
Contribution to wider aspects of school life	31 (39)	66 (66)

#### **Expected and actual benefits of performance review**

Respondents identified areas in which they expected performance review to benefit their schools - as well as indicating whether the benefit had actually materialised. In both sectors, expectations were matched in several areas - in particular giving staff appropriate INSET. State school respondents were more likely to use performance management to make staff aware of school strategy - a normative intent - than their independent school equivalents. However they were largely disappointed in detecting any improvement in the quality of their schools' education and the effectiveness of departments and subject areas (see Table 11.3).

**Table 11.3:** Expected benefits of performance review as reported by independent school respondents in 2001 and state school respondents in 2002 (actual benefits in brackets).

	<b>Expected benefit of performance review (percentage of state school respondents in 2002 - actual benefits in brackets)</b>	<b>Expected benefit of performance review (percentage of independent school respondents in 2001 - actual benefits in brackets)</b>
Staff would be given appropriate INSET	79 (77)	94 (84)
Staff would be identified for promotion	19 (16)	46 (21)
Staff given more appropriate work	14 (16)	43 (43)
Staff would be aided in career development	70 (60)	94 (82)
Quality of education offered by the school would be improved	74 (40)	88 (67)
School league table position would be improved	11 (9)	9 (12)
Staff would become more aware of school strategy	60 (69)	46 (51)
Curriculum would be delivered more effectively	50 (41)	67 (61)
Majority of departments and subject areas would become more effective	77 (44)	84 (66)
Staff would be rewarded more appropriately	43 (16)	34 (17)
Other benefits	14 (0)	15 (6)

Independent school respondents had higher expectations of the benefits of performance review in nearly all areas than their state schools equivalents for performance management. However this effect was not noticeable in the sub-set of state schools which had performance review systems in the period immediately before the introduction of performance management in 2000. These had just as high expectations of performance management in many areas and most expectations were

fulfilled in the judgement of respondents (Table 11.4) – a generalization also found in the state study case schools, all of whom had performance review schemes functioning before the introduction of statutory performance management in 2000.

**Table 11.4:** Expected benefits of performance review as reported by state school respondents in 2000 before the introduction of statutory performance management and independent school respondents in 2001 (actual benefits in brackets).

	<b>Expected benefit of pre-PM performance review (percentage of state school respondents in 2000 - actual benefits in brackets)</b>	<b>Expected benefit of performance review (percentage of independent school respondents in 2001 - actual benefits in brackets)</b>
Staff would be given appropriate INSET	90 (93)	94 (84)
Staff would be identified for promotion	26 (29)	46 (21)
Staff given more appropriate work	23 (23)	43 (43)
Staff would be aided in career planning	87 (87)	94 (82)
Quality of education offered by the school would be improved	93 (77)	88 (67)
School league table position would be improved	11 (24)	9 (12)
Staff would become more aware of school strategy	60 (64)	46 (51)
Curriculum would be delivered more effectively	74 (73)	67 (61)
Majority of departments and subject areas would become more effective	89 (67)	84 (66)
Staff would be rewarded more appropriately	- (-)	34 (17)
Other benefits	17 (13)	15 (6)

### **How have performance review schemes been modified?**

Though the purposes of performance review and the range of performance indicators have remained broadly consistent over time in both sectors, 60% of independent school respondents have significantly *modified* their schemes (45% in 2000 and 2001 alone). This indicates a significant level of dissatisfaction with the *nature* of performance review as implemented in a large proportion of respondents' school. For example, and exemplifying in one statement a number of common themes, an independent school headteacher indicated that:

It (the performance review scheme) didn't tie in efficiently with departmental or whole school planning, so it didn't appear to staff to lead anywhere. Being biennial, it seemed so long between appraisals that there was no sense of progression.

A minority of independent school respondents have taken the introduction of performance management in state schools as an opportunity to review their own schools' schemes. However most schools used 'in-house' (88%) guidance to contextualise and develop their new scheme - only 12% used DfEE/DfES advice or 13% an external advisory source. Each independent case study school had also significantly modified their schemes (though before the period of investigation) and had again primarily relied on 'in-house' expertise to determine the form of their schools' schemes.

In contrast, when state school respondents modified their scheme in preparation for the introduction of performance management, 67% used DfES guidance, 21% used LEA guidance and 47% used guidance from within the school or guidance from an



external educational advisory source (40%), typically from NAS/UWT or SHA. In contrast the sources of guidance for developing state schools' pre-PM schemes were very different; only 9% used DfEE/DES guidance, 41% used LEA guidance and 61% guidance from within the school – only 6% using an external advisory source.

### **The nature of performance review schemes**

What can the surveys reveal about the modifications that have been put in place in both sectors? When comparing sectors (see Table 11.5), state schools respondents reported that their performance management schemes have an initial review discussion (91% - up from 81% pre-PM), though fewer include any preparatory self-appraisal (70% - down from 84%). Few schools are using 360-degree appraisal (14%) or pupil review of teacher performance (9%). More schools are evaluating performance against specified competencies (46% up from 19%) and most (66%) are comparing performance to job descriptions. Almost three-quarters (80%) are considering staff performance within their teams and a majority (66%) are considering performance related to total contribution to the teacher makes to the school. Also a smaller proportion (54%) is considering teacher performance as related to the aims and objectives of the school. Nearly all schemes report lesson observation and target setting, leaving a small number of schools that are failing to implement statutory performance management completely.

Independent schools respondents answered in a very similar manner. However there are a markedly higher percentage of schemes which consider teacher performance related to total contribution to the school (89% as opposed to 66% in state schools) – a feature noticeable in the case study schools.

**Table 11.5:** The nature of state schools' performance management schemes (pre-PM in brackets) and independent schools' performance review schemes in 2001 (1997 in brackets).

<b>Component of the performance review process</b>	<b>Percentage state school respondents who indicated the component as being in their school's scheme (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage independent school respondents who indicated the component as being in their school's scheme (1997 in brackets)</b>
Preparatory self-appraisal	70 (84)	93 (92)
Initial review discussion	94 (81)	72 (67)
360 degree appraisal	14 (9)	30 (23)
Consideration of performance against specified competencies	46 (19)	27 (20)
Consideration of performance related to job specification	66 (71)	68 (69)
Consideration of performance within a particular department or team	80 (79)	78 (82)
Consideration of performance related to total contribution to the school	66 (61)	89 (83)
Consideration of performance related to aims and objectives of the school	54 (-)	60 (-)
Classroom observation	97 (91)	93 (86)
Target setting	89 (76)	85 (78)
Formal interview (record confidential to appraiser)	29 (39)	25 (23)
Formal interview (jointly agreed record)	84 (76)	90 (92)
Copy of record to appraisee	93 (87)	87 (94)
Appeals procedure	64 (34)	38 (41)

Though independent schools generally have a longer cycle length for performance review, the underlying similarity of the nature of schemes over time in both sectors suggests that the stages involved are broadly unchanged. However the *detail* in state school schemes - in particular the changing nature of the targets, how these targets are determined, and the use of line managers to conduct performance reviews - are the key and consistently identifiable changes introduced with performance management.

This change was particularly apparent in state school respondents' comments when asked to describe the modifications of their schools' schemes.

In independent schools the *detail* of the modifications across the sample have a more scattergun quality moving in a range of different directions - either by being more or less appraiser driven; by linking or not linking performance to pay; by being more or less normative in intent etc. – and again indicating a general anti-managerialist dissatisfaction with the process.

Even in this context, the staff support for performance review (Table 11.6), as judged by respondents) has remained relatively stable in both sectors over time.

**Table 11.6:** Level of support for the performance review process by teaching staff.

<b>Level of support by staff</b>	<b>Percentage approval in state schools (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage approval in independent schools (1997 figures in brackets)</b>
Unanimous	24 (30)	33 (40)
Mixed	69 (66)	63 (57)
Little	7 (3)	1 (1)

### **Clarity of line management structure in state and independent schools**

The surveys also gave an opportunity to support the contention – though imperfectly – that the management structure of independent schools is predominantly ‘foggy’ – a diagnostic feature of the independent case study schools.

The opportunity to do this was given when headteachers in both sectors were asked who appraised subject teachers as part of the performance review process. A response that the head of department (or similar) *only* appraises the performance of a subject teacher can be taken to indicate a straightforward and clear line management structure moving upwards along hierarchical lines.

In contrast, other responses are an indication of a different set of relationships within the hierarchy. Those responses which indicate other teachers being involved in the process could be taken to indicate either a more diffuse higher trust culture (for example by involving peer appraisal) or a more controlling lower trust culture (for example appraisal of subject teachers by senior managers by-passing heads of department) depending on the status of the other individuals involved.

The responses (shown in Table 11.7) show a clear distinction between state and independent schools. In state schools following the introduction of performance management, almost three-quarters (72%) of respondents indicated that their head of department or team leader (i.e. following a clear line management structure) appraised the performance of subject teachers. Heads of department and another teacher together appraised 25% of subject teachers, though 3% of respondents by-passed middle managers completely - classroom teachers performance being reviewed only

by members of the leadership team. Before the introduction of performance management, there was a slightly greater diversity in the number of individuals involved.

However, in independent schools the clarity of line management is not so uniformly obvious. Though in 2001, the number of schools where subject teachers were appraised by one teacher had increased from 42% in 1997 to 50%, in almost a quarter, subject teachers were appraised by two teachers; 12% were appraised by three teachers and 1% was appraised by four teachers. Middle managers are also more likely to be by-passed in independent schools - 10% of subject teachers were appraised by a member of the school leadership team and not their head of department and 6% of schools used a team of appraisers to review the performance of subject teachers.

**Table 11.7:** Who reviews the performance of subject teachers in state and independent schools?

	<b>Percentage state schools 2002 (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage independent schools 2001 (1997 in brackets)</b>
Head of Department or team leader	72(65 )	50 (42)
Two teachers (including HoD or team leader)	25(19)	21 (21)
Three teachers (including HoD)	0 (2)	12 (3)
Four teachers (including HoD or team leader)	0 (3)	1(3)
School leadership team or equivalent ( <b>not</b> including HoD or team leader)	3 (2)	10 (13)
Peers or a team of appraisers drawn from all levels of the school hierarchy	0(3)	6 (14)
No-one	0 (2)	0(0)

### Summary

The surveys of headteachers generated a large amount of quantitative data as well as qualitative responses to open questions. The challenge has been to use the data to support (or for that matter contradict) the ‘fuzzy’ generalisations developed from the case study reports.

The surveys show that both independent and state sectors have consistently given the highest importance to professional development of teachers as a *purpose* of performance review (a formative feature) with monitoring teacher effectiveness (a summative feature) the next most important. However in practice, the case study schools indicate that independent school headteachers in particular have not been

successful in achieving this purpose – schemes being more summatively reassuring (i.e. they function as a means for teachers to demonstrate that they are doing a good job) rather than developmental in nature. State school headteachers have been more successful in implementing developmental schemes – particularly following the introduction of performance management.

The key *performance indicators* for headteachers in both sectors are general classroom practice and learning outcomes. However independent schools are more likely to appraise the contribution of teachers to wider aspects of school life as well as their contribution to departments or teams. This finding gives some support for the view that independent schools judge it to be important for teachers to take on multiple job tasks - contributing to the *fogginess* of the organisational hierarchy. Similarly independent schools are more likely to appraise teachers using more than one line manager – another indicator of *fogginess*.

Pre-PM teacher performance review schemes were functioning in 50% of state schools up until the introduction of statutory performance management in 2000 – indicating a high degree of resilience with the pre-PM process and a measure of the capacity of schools to contextualise their schemes so that they can ‘work’ in individual schools – an observation apparent in the case study schools. The independent surveys also demonstrate a widespread implementation of performance review schemes in the independent sector though the considerable degree of ‘churning’ (with schemes being significantly modified) demonstrates a greater difficulty for schools in contextualising their schemes - the modifications being

diverse in nature (an observation also apparent in the form of the independent school case study schemes).

Given that a large proportion (almost two-thirds) of independent school respondents modified their schemes significantly in the period between 1997 and 2001, a considerable degree of dissatisfaction with the *implementation* of performance review schemes (if not their *purposes* and *performance indicators*) is apparent in the independent sector.



## Chapter 12

### *Conclusions: teacher culture and performance review*

This is a unique study. As far as I am aware no one else has investigated associations between teacher culture and teacher performance review in both independent and state schools during the same time period. The study takes place in a highly contested area – contested between:

- Managerialists who believe that certain universally applicable practices and processes which, if implemented and ideally embedded in the teacher culture of individual schools – in the form of, for example, an improving school, a learning organisation or a professional learning community - will inevitably result in performance improvement and;
- Anti-managerialists who believe that managerialists ignore the social context of schools and the impact that pupil culture has on teacher culture – thereby making more or less negligible the relevance and adequacy of models of what managerialists refer to as organisational culture. As a result anti-managerialists believe that imposed managerialist practices and processes, such as normative HRM and performance review in the form of ‘hard’ performance management, have minimal impact in genuinely improving schools and have been introduced as mechanisms by which the values and controlling objectives of central government can be imposed on schools.

Anti-managerialists could therefore argue that my study is flawed. I am looking for evidence for the existence of thin and theoretically inadequate models of culture and

matching them with similarly theoretically unsound and technicist imposed management practices - both being largely irrelevant to achieving genuine school improvement. I am using the remnants of two 'straw men' to make a third.

I recognise the limitations of the concept of organisational culture and accept that many managerialists, when applying the concept to schools, in fact mean teacher culture. (I have therefore chosen to use the term 'teacher culture' throughout – though some may be more comfortable with the use of the terms organisational culture or school culture).

In contrast, managerialists would argue that there is value in matching the 'fit' of people management processes with teacher culture. What empirical evidence is there for a particular model of performance review fitting well and becoming embedded in the values and assumptions of improving and learning teacher cultures? How does the form of teacher culture predispose schools to HR processes such as performance review whether imposed nationally or not?

I am siding with the managerialists – I believe that teacher culture does make a difference to school performance and can result in performance improvement, largely independently of social context. However I recognise that the anti-managerialist critique of organisational (and teacher) culture and normative people management processes (such as HRM) provides a useful reminder of managerialist limitations – in particular the importance of how teachers and leaders contextualise their school's culture and aspects of people management.

Given this, the study has attempted to answer two key research questions, namely:

- How do managerialist models of teacher culture and people management in state and independent schools relate to models of performance review? Has one had an impact on the other?
- What has been the impact of managerialism on teacher culture and performance review in state and independent schools?

### **Fuzzy generalisations**

Answers to these questions have emerged as ‘fuzzy generalisations’ (Bassey, 1999) – refer to Table 12.1 for an overall summary. These generalisations fall into three categories. Two categories are at the level of the *generic* culture (Prosser, 1999) of independent and state schools. The first of these categories are observations for which there is strong supporting evidence in the national surveys of independent and state and which are likely to apply generically more widely than the case study sample. A second category contains generic generalisations which flow from the case studies but for which there is no or little supporting evidence from the national surveys - for reasons explained in Chapter 5 - and which would require further research to determine their broader applicability. The third category is at the level of the individual case study schools’ *unique* teacher culture (Prosser, 1999).

**Table 12. 1:** A summary table of the key defining characters of state and independent case study schools

State Schools	Independent Schools
Teachers are expected to undertake a small range of job tasks focused on teaching and learning.	Teachers are expected to undertake a wide range of job tasks – not just in the classroom but also pastorally and co-curricularly (running sports teams, drama clubs etc.).
A clear line management structure is combined with a ‘harder’, managerialist approach to people management.	A ‘foggy’ anti-managerialist approach to people management.
Performance review schemes fit well with the prevailing teacher culture and help reify the values of a learning organisation or professional learning community.	Performance review schemes fit well with the prevailing teacher culture but have little impact on performance.
Performance review schemes have changed from being largely <i>summatively reassuring</i> in nature (as performance appraisal) to <i>formatively norming</i> (as performance management).	Performance review schemes vary from school to school and have been contextualised by each school in different ways. Schemes are <i>summatively reassuring</i> in nature.

### State schools

Given these three categories, which generalisations are generically applicable to the state maintained sector? The most apparent is the positioning of the state sector in the discourse of managerialism. Teachers of all levels of the formal school hierarchy in the state school case studies made regular reference to and were comfortable with the vocabulary of school and departmental development plans, targets, performance indicators, threshold etc, - comments that also frequently appeared in the open responses of respondents to the national surveys. This was in contrast to an almost complete absence in the independent school case reports and a relative rarity in the

open responses of independent school headteachers in the national surveys – the sector largely fitting more comfortably into an anti-managerialist or, to a certain extent, a managerialist discourse. Possible reasons for the emptiness of the managerialist discourse in independent schools are discussed later in this chapter.

A second generalisation that can be generically applied to the state sector is a clarity of lines of management and a lack of ‘fogginess’ (teachers having several nominal line managers depending on task) in the formal state school hierarchy. This is associated with a focus of teachers’ job role on teaching and learning and a narrow range of performance indicators. This generalisation was very apparent in the case study schools and supporting evidence was provided by the surveys. In contrast (and again supported by survey evidence) independent schools are more likely to have a ‘foggy’ organisational structure associated with confused lines of management and an expectation that teachers take on multiple job tasks with attention being paid to a broader range of performance indicators, not just those relating to teaching and learning in the classroom.

Generic generalisations that apply to the state case study schools, though without supporting evidence in the national surveys, are that the teacher cultures in state schools are *learning* (Senge et al, 2000), *improving* (Stoll and Fink, 1996) and *hothouse* (Hargreaves, 1995).

The homogeneity of approach to people management and the nature of the teacher culture in the state sector case study schools showed little apparent association with the social context of the schools. In addition, Downlands’ previous history as a

secondary modern school and Fairlands and Uplands current status as grammar schools had seemingly an insignificant influence on the uniform nature of the teacher culture of the schools. It is interesting to speculate on reasons for this, grammar schools and secondary modern schools having very different teacher cultures in the past. State school headteachers in the 1940s and 1950s had considerable cultural and pedagogic autonomy which, by the 1960s and 1970s, manifested itself as a range of models of culture. For Grace (1995:17):

The social democratic settlement in English state schooling thus facilitated significant institutional pluralism with the result that a variety of academic and pedagogic cultures developed in state schooling in the 1960s and 1970s.

In this study, this variety of models of teacher culture in the state case study schools now appears to be limited to one – that of an improving and learning organisation – largely as a result of managerialist central government intervention for the last twenty five years.

Associated with the changing nature of the teacher culture, approaches to people management in the state case study schools are generically normative, managerialist and ‘harder’. The state case study schools’ performance management schemes fit well with the prevailing teacher culture (though not as closely as in the independent case study schools for reasons given later). The ‘harder’ utilitarian and managerialist focus of performance management and the *threshold* on a small range of centrally framed quantitative performance indicators related to teaching and learning, limits the range of job tasks that teachers are prepared or expected to undertake. Performance review schemes (though not the *threshold* process) – whether performance management or pre-PM performance appraisal - have been effective in reifying the improving and

learning character of the schools' teacher culture. The familiarity with the discourse of managerialism in case study schools has smoothed the introduction of performance management. Survey evidence also showed a continuing developmental intent in the purpose of performance review both before and after the introduction of statutory performance management.

How has the form of performance review changed in the state sector? State schools are required by law to have a Performance Management scheme (DfES, 2000). In the past, they have also been required to have an appraisal scheme (DES, 1991). Though appraisal was widely perceived to have died out in most state schools prior to the introduction of performance management, State Survey 1 demonstrated that 50% of responding schools claimed to have retained a functioning teacher performance review process – a surprising degree of resilience. Further information provided by schools showed that schemes were largely 'soft' and less managerialist in nature and based on the 'summatively reassuring' 1991 model (DES, 1991) and not indicative of a managerialist, utilitarian and instrumentalist, 'hard', normative HR approach to people management. By the 2002 survey, state schools reported a near total implementation of a fully functioning 'harder' performance management scheme – a major transformation taking place at the same time as a period of significant modification of performance review systems in independent schools as demonstrated by Independent Survey 3. However, though independent schools were struggling to find the right kind of scheme for their context, state schools were under a managerialist instruction to implement a centrally framed 'hard', normative model of performance review - an opportunity for 'bastard leadership' (Wright, 2001).

Despite this, the state school case studies support Gold et al's (2003) conclusion that values-driven leadership can overcome this danger. In independent schools, the key values of the school were largely masked by the organisational objective of 'keeping the teaching staff (and pupils) busy providing an all-round education but prioritising academic success'. In contrast, the key values of the state schools were much more apparent and widely articulated by nearly all teaching staff ('support' at Downlands; 'academic excellence for all' at Uplands; 'academic excellence for all in an open and transparent context' at Fairlands). Each state school, to a large extent, practised what it preached assisted by a high degree of central control and, unlike the independent case study schools, a high degree of cohesion within and across cultural sub-units - a *hot-house* organisational culture (Hargreaves, 1995). The state case study schools can also be described as learning and improving organisations where inter- and intra-departmental and inter-school collaboration is encouraged, though there was evidence of balkanisation (Hargreaves, 1994) at a departmental level, perhaps inevitable in any large organisation.

These characteristics were also apparent before the introduction of performance management. However the introduction of overtly managerialist performance management, and its close connection with performance-related pay in the form of the threshold, has enabled individual teachers at all levels of the school hierarchy to be made aware of what is expected of them in normative terms. Both performance management and the threshold have introduced a harder top-down approach to target setting involving a small number of centrally framed, comparable and often quantitative performance indicators or objectives. This has in turn enabled a closer monitoring of individual teacher performance in a limited area - that of teaching and



learning. The state case study school leaders have taken the opportunity of the introduction of performance management in 2000 to harden the organisational approach to the people management of individual teachers and bring into clearer focus the lines of management.

In this way the impact, on what were already improving and learning schools, has primarily been cultural. Teachers going through performance management and subsequently not 'buying into' the normative 'vision' articulated by school leaders are now more easily marginalised and opportunities for non-normative development limited. In contrast, the pre-PM performance review process in each of the state case study schools had a more bottom up, softer characteristic - more reassuring than anything else and with little cultural impact.

In this context state school performance review schemes have changed in character following the introduction of statutory performance management in 2000 and have moved from being broadly 'summatively reassuring' (as performance appraisal) to 'formatively norming' (as performance management), largely because of a change in the nature of target setting which now focuses mainly on a small range of top-down, quantitative performance indicators relating to teaching practice – a finding also supported by survey evidence.

The state case study school headteachers can be described as values-driven and each has used a variety of organisational and cultural mechanisms to contextualise performance management as much as possible to limit the impact of 'bastard leadership' (Wright, 2001). Each has used the performance management as a

formative developmental process for individual teachers - moving away from the pre-PM summatively reassuring review of performance. Each headteacher, though without total success, has used performance management to attempt to reify the key values of the schools. The headteachers at Uplands and, in particular, Fairlands, have imaginatively restructured their organisational hierarchies to provide a range of professional development opportunities for teachers who 'buy into' their vision.

Each case study school (and the survey evidence) has shown minimal positive impact from performance-related pay on the motivation of teachers – a managerialist failure. Nearly all individuals going through the threshold described the process in terms of an Herzbergian 'dissatisfier' - at best wasting time and at worst being disruptive and divisive. This was most clearly apparent at Uplands where little attempt was made to contextualise the process. However the headteachers at Downlands and Fairlands used the procedure of guiding teachers through the threshold application as an opportunity to contextualise the process locally and reify the key values of 'support' and 'openness' respectively.

The 'harder' focus of performance management and the threshold on a small range of quantitative performance indicators has impacted on the diversity of job tasks that teachers are prepared or expected to undertake. This has reduced the impact of 'fogginess' (the taking on of multiple job tasks with different line managers) apparent in the independent case study schools and which is the main barrier to implementing an effective performance review scheme. However, this lack of fogginess can be judged to have assisted the development of an improving school (Stoll and Fink, 1996) and a learning culture (Pedlar et al, 1997; Senge et al, 2000; McMahon, 2001).

Such teacher cultures can, to a certain extent, ‘initiative proof’ the school organisation from the deleterious effects of centrally generated policies (‘bastard leadership’) as predicted by Gold et al (2003). Each case study school also has combined a formative, normative and developmental performance management process for individual teachers (nationally initiated and developed) running in conjunction with a form of summative departmental performance review (school initiated and developed). This can also be judged to be an anti-managerial contextual protective mechanism against ‘bastard leadership’.

Despite this, the impact of performance management has been to direct the assessment of performance of a learning and improving culture on a small number of key performance indicators – whether the intention of school leaders or not. There is evidence from the case study schools that teachers have ‘learnt’ what the key performance indicators are - and have used their knowledge to subvert, in an amanagerial manner, school leaders’ anti-managerialist (and for that matter managerialist) intentions. This is most apparent in the recruitment and retention of teachers in shortage subjects - a trend which works against the development of a normative HR approach to people management as well as a learning, improving organisation.

### **Independent schools**

In contrast to the state case study schools, the independent case study schools showed few indicators of organisational learning or improving teacher cultures. The prevailing teacher culture in each school shows a closer match with Hargreaves’ (1995) model of a *formal* (high control of teachers coupled with low cohesion among

teachers) teacher culture – and a retention to a significant extent (particularly in Westlands and Eastlands) of a controlling ‘headmaster tradition’ (Grace, 1995) which inhibits the introduction of a managerialist discourse in those schools.

This is not to say that the independent case study schools are not places of learning – each school has been recognised by external inspectors as being either good, very good or excellent staffed by committed and effective teachers – only that the teacher culture shows few indicators of being improving in nature or of organisational learning. Headteachers are reluctant to impose practices and processes on teachers. For example they would not use a particular model of teacher effectiveness or expect high levels of intra- and inter-departmental collaboration as managerialists would expect to find in a learning or improving school. In this way each of the independent schools demonstrate a limited capacity to learn from current teacher practice within their schools and elsewhere, and therefore improve – largely because of the complex ‘foggy’ teacher hierarchy and the busyness of teachers in their day-to-day duties.

Associated with this, approaches to people management are non-normative, anti-managerialist (or to a certain extent a managerialist) and ‘softer’ in nature. As a consequence, the lack of line management clarity and a confused organisational structure makes it more difficult to implement a normative ‘harder’ HR approach to people management – particularly in the absence of a discourse of managerialism. Nevertheless, performance review schemes fit well with the prevailing teacher culture in each of the independent case study schools. However, because these cultures show little evidence of organisational learning, the schemes have little impact on performance and organisational improvement, and reward the retention of a ‘foggy’

teacher culture – their main function being to summatively reassure teachers that the headteacher judges them to be doing a satisfactory or good job. The independent case study school schemes changed little change over the two years of investigation (2000-2002) though each scheme was different in form and had been developed (and contextualised) by each school in different ways. This is despite the developmental intentions of the headteachers (an intent also supported by national survey evidence, evidence which also demonstrated high levels of dissatisfaction with the *nature* of performance review by respondent headteachers – almost half of all independent school schemes being significantly modified in the space of two years).

The reasons for the difference of discourse, when comparing independent and state schools, stem from differences in statutory compulsion and government intervention. Independent schools have no obligation to adopt any particular organisational (or teacher) culture model, or indeed any particular approach to people management – whereas in state schools the reverse is true. They are also not under any statutory obligation to have a performance review process, though Carslaw (1998) demonstrated a close association between the imminence of a school inspection (an unusual governmental managerialist intervention in independent schools) - which makes a judgment on the effectiveness and existence of any performance review scheme functioning in individual schools - and the initial introduction of a performance review scheme. In this context, performance review has remained extremely resilient with 90% of independent schools in 2001 retaining some form of performance review scheme. This however disguises major misgivings with the process - more than two-thirds of schemes were significantly modified between 1997 and 2001, and independent schools consistently use their performance review

schemes to monitor performance of a wide range of teacher activities - something which Dean (2002: 35) regards as a 'non-starter' for state schools. Despite this, academic performance in externally assessed exams (e.g. GCSE, GCE) is a key teacher performance indicator.

Widespread implementation does not mean that teacher performance review schemes of independent schools are by any means successful, as the 'churning' and redevelopment of schemes indicates. Evidence of an increasingly similar sector-wide managerialist induced approach to performance review (as predicted by Tapper, 1997) is not apparent. Headteachers in independent schools feel they had to have some form of performance review process in place because of the requirements of inspection (the wishes of a managerialist 'head') – but they were not sure what was the best way to go about it (the doubt of an anti-managerialist 'heart'). Headteachers of the independent schools surveyed in Independent Survey 3 (2001) described a diverse range of modified schemes – some becoming 'harder' in nature, others becoming 'softer', a few linking performance to pay – suggesting that many headteachers are attempting to contextualise their schemes to suit individual circumstances. This range of modifications was also to a large extent evident in 1997 and associated with negligible interest in adopting a form of performance-related pay (Carslaw, 1998) – another managerialist imposition in the state sector. It would be interesting to study further how the introduction of 'harder' schemes has impacted on the prevailing teacher culture of those schools (and vice versa) and how much the introduction of managerialist procedures and practices are a response to the market in which the schools are operating or because of other pressures.

In this context, two organisational and cultural blocks limited the capacity of the independent case study schools to adopt managerialist practices and processes and to be transformed into improving, learning organisations:

- A complex organisational hierarchy;
- The attempt to contextualise performance review to the school's situation and social context by assessing a wide range of qualitative performance indicators as part of the teacher performance review process.

Firstly, the 'foggy' hierarchy of teaching staff is complicated by the presence in many independent schools of two parallel middle management groups of unequal status; the heads of the academic departments (lower status) and the housemasters/housemistresses (higher status) who are the heads of each school's major pastoral units - the house. Members of both groups will be line managed by a member of the other depending on the particular job task - for example a housemaster/housemistress (with a higher status) will be nominally line managed by a head of department (lower status) in his/her role as a teacher. Similarly a head of department may also have a pastoral role attached to a house where he/she will be nominally line managed by a housemaster/housemistress. Several heads of department in each of the case study schools described how this misalignment of status confused the micro-politics of the organisational culture in the school. This was most noticeable in Southlands - a school characterised by a low trust, error-intolerant, *formal* (Hargreaves, 1995) teacher culture.

Secondly, each case study school was attempting locally to contextualise the monitoring of the performance of teachers using a broad, holistic and qualitative

range of performance measures. This was a highly complex task in a 'foggy' organisation and which each of the case study schools illustrated three consequences, no doubt replicated elsewhere in the independent sector. These were:

- A fragmented and only partially functioning scheme at Westlands (which showed no evidence of improving teacher performance);
- A paper heavy, low trust, highly bureaucratic scheme at Southlands (which showed little evidence of improving teacher performance);
- A less complex scheme which placed a huge administrative burden on a small number of senior managers at Eastlands (which show some evidence of improving teacher performance).

Comparing the survey evidence with evidence from the case studies, it is reasonable to speculate that, given the anti-managerialist form of the prevailing independent school teacher culture, performance review schemes will consistently and predictably have marginal value to teachers (and to school leaders). School leaders feel obliged (because of the demands of inspection) to implement an imposed managerialist process but, because they are anti-managerialists (or amanagerialists), feel that performance review has little value. However because *having* a functioning scheme is nevertheless judged to be important, the anti-managerialists natural response is to attempt locally to contextualise the scheme by modifying and relaunching it in a cycle of perpetual reinvention (one independent school has gone through this cycle five times). In addition, the difficulty of devising a *sustainable* scheme in what were, in many cases, low trust, paper heavy organisations which were attempting to review the performance of teachers (who are performing multiple job tasks and who each had several line managers) can prove insurmountable. Despite this, the attempts of the



case study schools to contextualise their schemes have given them elements of sustainability.

The Southlands scheme was sustainable because the scheme matched the bureaucratic, paper heavy, low trust, low cohesion, non-learning nature of the school with a very 'foggy' teacher hierarchy. In addition the scheme had been developed and contextualised in-house with a prolonged period of consultation with teaching staff and was, as a consequence, a scheme driven by teachers as compensation for the prevailing low trust, error intolerant nature of the prevailing teacher culture. The Eastlands scheme also reflected the 'foggy' teacher hierarchy and the impact of a headteacher who was keen to monitor the performance of teachers. This scheme in particular was in nature more judgmental even though the intent, as articulated by the headteacher, was developmental. This scheme, unlike the Southlands scheme, was making a difference to the way teachers perform. In contrast, the Westlands teacher performance review scheme had been contextualised by fragmenting and developing into a range of department-based schemes or, in several departments, not happening at all, thereby reflecting the low cohesion of the teacher culture when combined with a 'foggy' hierarchy. The headteacher was nevertheless using a parallel system of summative judgmental middle tier (academic department) reviews for accountability purposes. He left any developmental performance review opportunities up to individual teachers and heads of department – some of who had developed 'in-house' developmental schemes; others who had developed 'in-house' judgmental schemes; and several who had dropped any pretence of running a teacher performance review scheme at all.

## **Implications for the future**

What are the implications of the main research findings for the independent and state school sectors? Independent schools are in many cases in an intractable situation. Headteachers see value in operating an individual teacher performance review process (because of the pressures of inspection) – but (because of an anti-managerialist nature) many are having considerable difficulty in sustaining their schemes. The large-scale ‘churning’ of teacher performance review schemes revealed by Independent Survey 3 in 2001 can be judged as a measure of how headteachers have persisted in attempting to contextualise performance review for individual schools - a process hindered by a failure of independent schools to adopt the practices and processes of improving and learning organisations led by values-driven and essentially managerialist headteachers. That is not to say the headteachers of independent schools are not values-driven. However, the values of the school leadership are masked by an overarching objective of ‘keeping everyone (teachers and pupils) busy’ without imposing too many managerialist practices on schools. School leaders are sitting on top of a ‘foggy’ management hierarchy populated by teachers, who Keep and Rainbird (2000) would describe as being too busy to have time to learn. This will invariably hobble any performance review scheme which is intended to improve the performance of individuals. Teachers (and their leaders), because they are essentially anti-managerialist or amanagerialist, are not motivated enough to retain the scheme because of the lack of any significant impact on performance (from the headteachers’ point of view) or the giving of any meaningful rewards (from the teachers’ point of view). The purpose of many independent school schemes would seem to be merely to satisfy the requirements of inspectors.

The implication of this is that operating an effective (i.e. teacher and school performance improving) performance review scheme is going to be difficult, if not impossible because independent schools are essentially anti-managerialist in nature and are therefore reluctant (and under little pressure) to adopt the managerialist practices and processes of, for example, a learning organisation – a process also hindered by the long hours culture of many schools.

Given this, what type of performance review scheme could function effectively in an anti-managerialist, non-learning organisation which is nevertheless subject to regular inspection? It is reasonable to speculate that such an organisation would more effectively operate a 'light touch' accountability model of performance review - the purpose of the scheme (an intent which may or may not be widely disseminated around the teacher hierarchy) being to satisfy the requirements of inspection or any other form of external audit. The scheme would need to be very simple and straightforward to operate given the lack of time available for teachers. It would also need to incorporate enough auditable indicators to satisfy key organisational stakeholders - particularly in low trust schools. (At Southlands, for example, the performance review scheme had become very time consuming and paper heavy, largely in order to create audit trails to reassure the teachers being appraised.) As in any scheme, rewards could be effective if linked to the intrinsic motivation of the teachers concerned (teachers are not generally motivated by performance-related pay) - taking the form of sabbaticals, career breaks or similar - or even getting someone in to do the ironing on a Sunday evening (Stewart, 2003)!

Alternatively if an independent school moved from an anti-managerialist non-learning to a more managerialist learning culture, there would be significant implications for the organisational structure. Firstly, a learning organisation requires time (a scarce commodity) for individuals to collaborate and learn from others in their own and different organisational sub-units as well as from other schools. Given the broad range of job tasks - teaching and learning, pastoral, co-curricular activities etc. - and the range of organisational sub-units to which an individual belongs (each with different nominal line managers) opportunities for collaboration are limited. However, such opportunities for collaboration could arise if a significant number of teachers predominantly undertook just one of the job-tasks - and this then becomes the focus for their own professional development using a developmental model of performance review. This would also clarify the line management structure (though with significant cost implications because more specialist staff would need to be employed) and in turn enable the development of a more normative, developmental model of people management which could take on hard or soft aspects dependent on the values articulated by the school leadership. The school would then move from being objectives-driven (i.e. keeping everybody busy) to being values-driven (Gold et al, 2003). By becoming values-driven, the diversity of independent schools would remain, but now not because of the anti-managerial or amanagerial fogginess of the management structure but for overarching strategic organisational objectives which are achieved by the implementation of managerialist procedures and practices.

Similarly, what are the implications for state schools? The state case study schools can be described as managerialist learning, improving, and hothouse organisations. The lines of management are much clearer than in the case study independent schools

and teachers are expected to concentrate on the processes and outputs of teaching and learning. There is not the same expectation in state schools that teachers should undertake a wide range of unrelated tasks. This is not to say they do not undertake other job tasks - only that teacher performance is being formally monitored in a more restricted area. Associated with this, the 'fogginess' apparent in independent schools is almost entirely absent and the organisational structure lends itself to the top-down transmission of values from the headteacher, particularly when coupled with a normative, 'hard' and managerialist teacher performance review process such as performance management. Each of the state case study schools also provided more opportunities for reflection and collaboration than in independent schools - either by means of imaginative organisational restructuring and/or by providing a wide range of development opportunities for teaching staff. In addition, people management processes have become 'harder'. Following the introduction of performance management and performance-related pay in the form of the threshold, key performance indicators used to assess the performance of teachers are quantitative. Also the performance of teachers in a restricted area can be easily compared (and teachers rewarded) using similarly restricted dimensions - a 'performative' culture. This organisational (and nationally prescribed) focus on teaching and learning could be expected further to reduce the value teachers place on pastoral issues and co-curricular activities - whether the intention of school leaders or not - a governmental objective, mediated by managerialism and an opportunity to perpetuate 'bastard leadership' (Wright, 2001).

In this context, there is potential for state schools to be populated by teachers who recognise the narrowness of the performance indicators (indicators which have not

been appropriately contextualised for their school and its social context) and who 'learn' to tailor their performance to match these indicators. This provides a powerful, centrally controlled mechanism to align the work practices of staff nationally - though possibly in conflict with the normative aspirations and values of schools leaders who may prefer to use different measures or indicators not linked to performance management and performance-related pay processes.

Despite this concern, Gold et al (2003) suggest that high performing schools led by principled and value-driven leaders will be able to overcome these difficulties. Indeed Coleman (2004) suggests that the ability of leaders, managers and teachers to work around and through managerialist policies to maintain their own values and professionalism should not be underestimated.

The case study evidence supports this view - a values-driven learning culture can 'protect' schools from the deleterious effects of government initiatives - though the irony of a predominance of a discourse of managerialism in state schools (with a focus on outputs and the processes required to deliver those outputs) and the predominance of a form of anti-managerialism in the independent sector (which focuses almost completely on outputs, not the processes that achieves those outputs) is not lost on the author.

An intriguing implication of such 'similar - but different' between sector comparisons is in the development of 'city academies' - state funded schools which can manage their resources, both human and material, in ways similar to independent schools.

Indeed, the independent sector is being actively encouraged to become involved in the management of this form of school (Hackett, 2004).

This heralds an interesting clash of approaches to school leadership. State school leaders are being encouraged by the NCSL to develop a learning, high cohesion, normative, values-driven organisational culture in their schools. In state schools, this is currently coupled with statutorily implemented people management processes such as performance management and performance-related pay which require the close scrutiny of a small number of quantitative performance indicators or output measures. However the independent sector (few of whose essentially anti-managerialist leaders have anything to do with the NCSL) would introduce, as potential leadership exemplars, an anti-managerialist or a managerialist, non-learning, formal, 'foggy' cultural model which uses a broader range of non-quantitative – or at least difficult to quantify - performance indicators for individual teacher performance review. It may be that the diversity of independent schools (and potentially the diversity of city academies) stems not from any strategic intent but the 'foggy' nature of the teacher culture - particularly when the teacher culture is a low cohesion, non-improving, non-learning one. As a consequence, city academies could adapt the people management processes outlined earlier in this chapter i.e. a 'light touch' accountability model of performance review. The purpose of the scheme would be to satisfy the requirements of inspection/self-evaluation and with enough auditable indicators also to satisfy key organisational stakeholders - an interesting future thesis for someone? Will Keep and Rainbird (2000) be proved correct? Will values-driven leadership (Gold et al, 2003) be sufficient to keep 'bastard leadership' at bay? Or will the 'bastards' win the day?

## **Some final thoughts and reflections**

This has been an exhausting and, at the same time, an exhilarating experience. The course of my journey has not been straightforward and I shall be eternally grateful for the assistance of the Institute of Education, the case state and independent schools, their headteachers and teachers, as well as those headteachers who responded to the national surveys – all have been helpful in enabling me to pursue my research interests and gain a level of expertise in my chosen field. These headteachers and teachers are all practitioners in a range of different locations and contexts. They have participated with me (along with other interested individuals) in a dialogic and reflexive process which resulted in a change in direction from a proposed thesis investigating performance review as a discrete process relying primarily on survey evidence, to a more complex investigation of the relationship between managerialism, teacher culture and performance review relying primarily on case study evidence.

My intention, as a managerialist, is to contextualise my findings and put the understanding I have achieved into effect as a deputy head in my current place of work. This has been achieved in a number of ways. Firstly by disbanding the previous performance review process which was largely an ineffective, bureaucratic, paper heavy and summatively reassuring process – typical of many independent schools. Secondly by encouraging organisational learning within the school with an emphasis on providing a range of professional development opportunities for teaching staff that relate to normative organisational strategic objectives. This has included setting up regular weekly CPD slots where teachers in the school can deliver training as part of their own professional development and in a manner similar to the Fairlands' model. This is taking place in the context of attempting to change the prevailing teacher



culture to a more managerialist (and values-led) learning organisation. Once this has happened my intention is to reintroduce a performance review scheme which rewards and motivates those who are prepared to participate in the normative objectives of a learning organisation – i.e. who are prepared to share good practice, learn from other departments and pastoral units as well as other schools and organisations.

As a contribution to the ongoing debate, I also intend to disseminate more widely my findings, in particular those concerning the impact of managerialism on state schools and its failure in independent schools, using performance review as an example of a managerialist process. This will be done by means of publications in refereed journals, as well as at appropriate conferences and meetings.

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## Appendix A

### Summary of the surveys of headteachers

Three surveys were undertaken as part of the data collection stage of this thesis. These were State Survey 1 (in 2000); State Survey 2 (in 2002); Independent Survey 3 (in 2001). Independent Survey 2 completed as part of my MBA dissertation (Carslaw, 1998) and was based on Independent Survey 1 (Graham, 1989). This appendix gives a summary of the results of State Surveys 1 and 2, and Independent Surveys 2 and 3. These summaries were originally presented as papers at the Doctoral School Summer Conferences of 2000, 2001 and 2002. Independent Survey 1 is referred to occasionally in the body of the thesis.

**Table A.1** Summary of numbers of respondents to State Surveys 1 and 2 and Independents Surveys 2 and 3.

	State Survey 1 (2000)	State Survey 2 (2002)	Independent Survey 2 (1997) (Carslaw, 1998)	Independent Survey 3 (2001)
Sample frame	Headteachers of a stratified randomised sample of secondary schools in England	Respondents to State Survey 1	Headteachers of all HMC and SHMIS schools in the UK	Respondents to Independent Survey 2
Number of questionnaires distributed	277	140	298	183
Response to first mailing (% in brackets)	96 (35%)	52 (37%)	183 (61%)	125 (68%)
Response to second mailing (% in brackets)	42 (15%)	18 (13%)	-	27 (15%)
Response to third mailing (% in brackets)	2 (1%)	-	-	2 (1%)
Total response (% in brackets)	140 (51%)	70 (50%)	183 (61%)	154 (84%)

## Summary Findings of Independent Surveys 2 (1997) and 3 (2001)

### 1. Main findings

- In 2001, 90% of schools responding have functioning performance review schemes.
- In 2001, 78% labelled their schemes as 'free-standing appraisal', 14% described them as 'performance management', with two schools (1.4%) running both free-standing appraisal and performance management depending on the position of the individual in the school hierarchy.
- 60% of schemes have been modified since 1997. Reasons for modification given were varied and tended to reflect the diversity of schools.
- Schemes can be characterised as being developmental in intent.
- In 2001, schemes rated by respondents as being highly effective were more likely to use competencies and 360 degree appraisal.
- Such schemes were also more likely to appraise staff on their performance related to the aims and objectives of the school and were less likely to have an appeals procedure.

### 2. Methodology

In late 1997, all 298 HMC and SHMIS Heads in the UK were asked to complete a questionnaire on the nature and purpose of their schools' performance review schemes. This survey received 183 responses (61% of the sample). Respondent schools were further surveyed in October 2001 with a similar questionnaire. This repeat survey received 155 useable returns (85% of the sample). Where appropriate comparison has been made with results from the 1997 survey

74 % of the respondents were Headteachers, 14% Deputy Headteachers and 10% holding other positions in the school hierarchy.

18% of schools completely follow the National Curriculum, 64% partially and 11% not at all. 7% of schools were in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Where indicated, 68% of schools had been inspected once, 27% twice and 4% three or more times.

Number of full-time teachers in staff	% Schools
<30	2
31-40	14
41-50	16
51-60	17
61-70	19
71-80	9

81-90	7
91-100	4
>100	8

Table 1: Number of full-time teaching staff

### 3 Results: Schools with Appraisal Schemes functioning in 2001

90% of respondents indicated that their schools had functioning performance review schemes.

78% labelled their schemes as being free-standing appraisal, 14% described them as 'performance management', with two schools (1.4%) running both free-standing appraisal and performance management depending on the position of the individual in the school hierarchy.

#### 3.1 Year of introduction

Year of introduction	Percentage
Pre-1985	1
1985-1990	9
1991-1995	32
1996-2000	47
2001	9

Table 2: Year of introduction of staff appraisal scheme

72% of respondents were in post when their schemes were introduced.

#### 3.2 Guidance given in devising modified schemes

Source of guidance	Percentage respondents indicating affirmatively
Using DfEE/DES guidance	12
Using HMC/SHMIS guidance	13
Within the school	88
Using an external educational source	13
Using an external industrial or commercial source	7

Table 3: Source of guidance in devising schemes

#### 3.3 Modification of schemes

Year of Modification	% of schools modifying their schemes in year
1998	7

1999	13
2000	29
2001	46

Table 4: Year of modification of scheme

### 3.4 Effectiveness of schemes as judged by respondents

Level of effectiveness of the scheme	Percentage (1997 figures in brackets)
High	21 (24)
Medium	62 (68)
Low	3 (1)
Too early/difficult to say	10 (6)

Table 5: Level of effectiveness of schemes

### 3.5 Level of staff support

Level of support by staff	Percentage (1997 figures in brackets)
Unanimous	33 (40)
Mixed	63 (57)
Little	1 (1)

Table 6: Level of support in staff

### 3.6 Length of appraisal cycle

Cycle Length	Percentage (1997 results in brackets)
Annual	25 (14)
1-2 years	53 (51)
3-5 years	20 (30)
Other	1(3)
Flexibly, appraiser initiated	1 (2)

Table 7: Length of cycle

### 3.7 Expected and actual benefits from appraisal

	Expected benefit of appraisal (Percentage of respondents)	Actual benefit from appraisal (Percentage of respondents)
Staff would be given appropriate INSET	94	84
Staff would be identified for promotion	46	21
Staff given more appropriate work	43	43
Staff would be aided in	94	82

career benefit		
Quality of education offered by the school would be improved	88	67
School league table position would be improved	9	12
Staff would become more aware of school strategy	46	51
Curriculum would be delivered more effectively	67	61
Majority of departments and subject areas would become more effective	84	66
Staff would be rewarded more appropriately	34	17
Other benefits	15	6

Table 8: Percentage respondents indicating expected and actual benefits of their school's appraisal scheme.

### 3.8 Purposes of appraisal

	Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (1997 in brackets)
Assistance with professional development and career planning	86 (87)
Monitoring the progress of new entrants to teaching and to aid their induction.	56 (55)
Identification of professional needs of staff with a view to providing appropriate INSET	81 (80)
Assisting the Head and Governors in monitoring staff effectiveness.	30 (32)
Identification of possible candidates for promotion.	10 (6)
Identification of possible candidates for a pay increase.	7 (1)
Assessing staff competence	38 (31)
Identification of inadequate performance as a prelude to possible disciplinary action	5 (4)
Providing a source of information for job reference purposes.	1 (3)
Helping align teacher's objectives with those of the school	45 (-)

Table 9: Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance of particular aspects of appraisal.

	Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance (highly effective schemes only)	Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance (schemes of medium effectiveness only)
Assistance with professional development and career planning	97	86
Monitoring the progress of new entrants to teaching and to aid their induction.	62	57
Identification of professional needs of staff with a view to providing appropriate INSET	82	79
Assisting the Head and Governors in monitoring staff effectiveness.	31	28
Identification of possible candidates for promotion.	7	11
Identification of possible candidates for a pay increase.	3	6
Assessing staff competence	45	35
Identification of inadequate performance as a prelude to possible disciplinary action	7	2
Providing a source of information for job reference purposes.	0	1
Helping align teacher's objectives with those of the school	41	45

Table 10: Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance of particular aspects of appraisal comparing schemes rated as being of high effectiveness and those rated as being of medium effectiveness.

### 3.9 Structure of appraisal

Element of the appraisal process	Percentage respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (1997 in brackets).
Preparatory self-appraisal	93 (92)
Initial review discussion	72 (67)
360 degree appraisal	30 (23)

Consideration of performance against specified competencies	27 (20)
Consideration of performance related to job specification	68 (69)
Consideration of performance within a particular department or team	78 (82)
Consideration of performance related to total contribution to the school	89 (83)
Consideration of performance related to aims and objectives of the school	60 (-)
Classroom observation	93 (86)
Target setting	85 (78)
Formal interview (record confidential to appraiser)	25 (23)
Formal interview (jointly agreed record)	90 (92)
Copy of record to appraisee	87 (94)
Appeals procedure	38 (41)

Table 11: Elements of the appraisal process

Element of the appraisal process	Percentage respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (Highly effective schemes only)	Percentage respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (Schemes of medium effectiveness)
Preparatory self-appraisal	100	95
Initial review discussion	72	74
360 degree appraisal	41	28
Consideration of performance against specified competencies	35	22
Consideration of performance related to job specification	69	70
Consideration of performance within a particular department or team	86	80
Consideration of performance related to total contribution to the school	97	90
Consideration of performance related to aims and objectives of the school	69	57
Classroom observation	93	95
Target setting	86	90
Formal interview (record confidential to appraiser)	31	26
Formal interview (jointly	93	88



agreed record)		
Copy of record to appraisee	86	91
Appeals procedure	28	42

Table 12: Elements of the appraisal process comparing schemes rated as being of high effectiveness and those rated as being of medium effectiveness.

<b>Feature of appraisal</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (1997 in brackets)</b>
General classroom practice	86 (76)
Learning outcomes	71 (65)
Teaching techniques and discipline	76 (70)
Regular marking and administrative efficiency	63 (63)
Contribution to particular departments or teams	64 (63)
Contribution to wider aspects of school life	66 (66)

<b>Feature of appraisal</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (highly effective schemes only) (1997 in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (schemes of medium effectiveness only) (1997 in brackets)</b>
General classroom practice	93 (65)	86 (79)
Learning outcomes	79 (65)	67 (65)
Teaching techniques and discipline	83 (69)	77 (71)
Regular marking and administrative efficiency	69 (54)	64 (65)
Contribution to particular departments or teams	72 (73)	62 (59)
Contribution to wider aspects of school life	76 (81)	64 (61)

Table 13: Importance of particular features of appraisal comparing schemes rated as being of high effectiveness and those rated as being of medium effectiveness.

### 3.10 Disadvantages of the appraisal process

67% of respondents reported disadvantages in operating their school schemes, with little difference between highly effective and schemes of medium effectiveness. Of these respondents, 71% indicated that the main disadvantage as being the time involved in the process.

### 3.11 Training for appraisers and appraisees

	Training for appraisers (1997 in brackets)	Training for appraisees (1997 in brackets)
	61 (66)	25(26)

Table 14: Percentage of schools offering training for appraisers and appraisees.

### 3.12 Who appraises the head?

	Who appraises Heads (1997)	Who appraises Heads (2001)
governors	63	68
another head	10	30
deputy head	4	9
heads of department	1	5
housemasters/housemistresses	1	3
another	8	14

no-one	13	3
no response	1	6

Table 15: Who appraises Heads?

### 3.13 Who appraises non-teaching staff

	Who appraises non-teaching staff (1997)	Who appraises non-teaching staff (2001)
Head	7	7
Head of Department	6	10
Bursar/Bursarial staff	48	48
another	6	3
no-one	29	36
no response	5	4

Table 16: Who appraises non-teaching staff?

### 3.14 Who appraises subject teachers?

	Who appraises subject teachers (1997)	Who appraises subject teachers (2001)
Head of Department or team leader	42	42
Two teachers (including HoD or team leader)	21	21
Three teachers (including HoD)	12	3
Four teachers (including HoD or team leader)	1	3
School leadership team or equivalent ( <b>not</b> including HoD or team leader)	10	13
Peers or a team of appraisers drawn from all levels of the school hierarchy	6	14
No-one	0 (2)	0(0)

Table 17: Who appraises subject teachers in state and independent schools?

## Summary Findings of State Surveys 1 (2000: pre-PM) and 2 (2002: post-PM)

### Main findings

- This paper describes the results of a survey distributed to a sample of 140 secondary school headteachers in England. The survey was distributed in May 2002. The sample frame consisted of headteachers who had completed an earlier questionnaire, which examined the nature and purpose of performance review schemes before the introduction of statutory performance management systems (pre-statutory PM), in late 2000.
- 70 respondents returned completed questionnaires giving a response rate of 50%.
- Performance review schemes have changed in nature and purpose since May 2000 following the statutory introduction of performance management (PM).
- Performance management schemes can be characterised as being developmental in intent, classroom focused, though fewer schools are giving the developmental aspects of performance management a high priority compared with pre-PM schemes
- The nature and purpose of performance management schemes in schools which had a performance review system functioning in May 2000 differs from schools which did not have a performance review system functioning in May 2000. Schools with schemes functioning pre-PM are more likely to give a high priority to using PM to identify professional needs of staff, and have schemes which consider performance related to total contribution to the school and to the aims and objectives of the school. They are less likely to give a high priority to using performance management to assist the headteacher and governors in monitoring staff effectiveness.
- Fewer schemes post-PM are rated by respondents as being highly effective. The nature and purpose of such schemes is similar to those rated as being of medium effectiveness. However highly effective schemes are more likely to include preparatory self-appraisal as part of the process and more likely to give a high priority to teacher contribution to particular departments or teams

## **Methodology**

A questionnaire (State Survey 2) was distributed in May 2000 to a sample of 140 state maintained secondary headteachers in England. These headteachers had responded to an earlier questionnaire (State Survey 1) completed in 2000. State Survey 1 had been distributed to a sample of 277 state maintained secondary school headteachers in England. Schools in State Survey 1 were randomly selected in each LEA and the sample stratified according to the size of the LEA. Both questionnaires had similar formats and questions, enabling a longitudinal comparison to be made of headteachers' views of performance review schemes before (pre-PM) and after (post-PM) the introduction of statutory performance management systems in late 2000.

70 responses were received (50% of the sample). In the following analysis, comparison is made with State Survey 1 where appropriate.

## **Results**

Of the returned samples, all respondents indicated that their schools had functioning performance management schemes (50% of respondents to State Survey 1 had functioning schemes pre-PM). 50% of the respondents to State Survey 2 had a performance review scheme functioning pre-PM.

### Guidance given in devising schemes

Though most pre-PM schemes were devised using advice from within the school (61%), by 2002 this had fallen to just under half. LEA input into the design of schemes declined from 41% to 21%, and most schemes functioning in 2002 had used DfES guidance (67% compared with 19% in 2000). Schools which did not have a pre-PM scheme were more likely to have used an external educational advisory source (40% compared with 29%), typically NAS/UWT or SHA guidance. Such a source was rarely used pre-PM (Table 1).

Source of guidance	Percentage respondents indicating affirmatively (pre-PM in brackets)	Percentage respondents (scheme functioning pre-PM) indicating affirmatively	Percentage respondents (no scheme functioning pre-PM) indicating affirmatively
Using DfES guidance	67 (19)	71	63
Using LEA guidance	21 (41)	20	23
Within the school	47 (61)	49	46
Using an external educational source	34 (6)	29	40
Using an external industrial or commercial source	4 (13)	3	6

Table 1: Source of guidance in devising schemes

### Effectiveness of schemes as judged by respondents

Fewer respondents judge their schemes to be highly effective (from 34% pre-PM to 20% post-PM). There has also been an increase in the proportion of schools with schemes of low effectiveness (from 3% to 9%). Most schools falling into this category did not have schemes functioning pre-PM (Table 2).

<b>Level of effectiveness of the scheme</b>	<b>Percentage (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage (functioning pre-PM scheme)</b>	<b>Percentage (no functioning pre-PM scheme)</b>
High	20 (34)	23	17
Medium	70 (56)	74	66
Low	9 (3)	3	14
No response	1 (7)	0	3

Table 2: Level of effectiveness of schemes

### **Level of staff support**

Nearly all respondents (93%) felt that their scheme had at least a mixed level of support among teaching staff (Table 3), though there has been a decline in respondents reporting unanimous support from 30% to 24%. 6% of respondents in schools reported opposition to their school's appraisal schemes from teacher associations (down from 13% pre-PM).

<b>Level of support by staff</b>	<b>Percentage (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage (functioning pre-PM scheme)</b>	<b>Percentage (no functioning pre-PM scheme)</b>
Unanimous	24 (30)	26	23
Mixed	69 (66)	69	69
Little	7 (3)	6	9
No response	0 (1)	0	0

Table 3: Level of support in staff

### **Length of performance management cycle**

Nearly all respondents had schemes with either annual cycles (40%) or cycles between one and two years (51%) pre-PM.

Post-PM, 83% of respondents' schools were operating (as intended) one year cycles, though a small percentage (16%) were still on longer cycles - mainly due to what might be termed 'teething problems'. When asked what their preferred length of cycle would be if given a choice, most (61%) opted for an annual cycle, though a significant minority (27%) preferred a longer cycle length with a small number (6%) preferring a half-yearly cycle.

### **Expected and actual benefits from performance management**

Respondents were asked to suggest benefits they would expect to gain from performance management as well as the beneficial outcomes from the process (Table 4). The expected benefits were broadly developmental in nature, for example giving staff appropriate INSET (79%) and helping staff in career planning (70%) though benefits such as these were not as overwhelmingly sited post-PM as pre-PM (90% and 87% respectively) - indeed a small number of headteachers reported no expected or actual benefits from the process. A majority of schemes use performance management as a vehicle for informing staff of school strategy (60%). Promotion of staff (19%), giving staff more appropriate work (14%) and improving the school league table position (11%) were not seen as expected benefits in many schemes.

A close match between actual and expected benefits was apparent in most areas though respondents reported disappointment in the use of performance management in improving the quality of education offered by their schools (74% expected this to be a benefit; 40% found it to be an actual benefit). Similarly fewer (44%) found that departments and subject areas had been enabled to become more effective (despite 77% expecting this to be a benefit) and only 16% judged that PM would help rewarding staff more appropriately (compared with 43% expecting this to be a benefit).

	<b>Expected benefit of appraisal (Percentage of respondents: pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Actual benefit from appraisal (Percentage of respondents: pre-PM in brackets)</b>
Staff would be given appropriate INSET	79 (90)	77 (93)
Staff would be identified for promotion	19 (26)	16 (29)
Staff given more appropriate work	14 (23)	16 (23)
Staff would be aided in career planning	70 (87)	60 (87)
Quality of education offered by the school would be improved	74 (93)	40 (77)
School league table position would be improved	11 (11)	9 (24)
Staff would become more aware of school strategy	60 (60)	69 (64)
Curriculum would be delivered more effectively	50 (74)	41 (73)
Majority of departments and subject areas would become more effective	77 (89)	44 (67)
Staff would be rewarded more appropriately	43 (-)	16 (-)
Other benefits	14 (17)	0 (13)



Table 4: Percentage respondents indicating expected and actual benefits of performance management

### **Purposes of performance management**

The purposes of performance management were further investigated by a series of questions that again revealed a developmental intent for most schemes though not as emphatically as reported by respondents pre-PM (Table 5). For example post-PM only 51% of respondents gave assistance with professional development and career planning as a purpose (compared with 77% pre-PM). Similarly post-PM, 59% of respondents were giving a high priority to identifying professional needs of staff with a view to providing appropriate INSET (compared with 87% pre-PM)

In contrast monitoring staff effectiveness is being given a high priority in more schools (24% in contrast to 14% pre-PM) particularly in those schools which did not have a scheme functioning pre-PM (37% as opposed to 11% in schools with schemes).

As expected, more schools are giving a high priority to using their schemes to reward staff financially (17% up from 3% pre-PM).

<b>Purpose of appraisal</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (all respondents pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (scheme functioning pre-PM)</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (no scheme functioning pre-PM)</b>
Assistance with professional development and career planning	51 (77)	54	49
Monitoring the progress of new entrants to teaching and to aid their induction.	20 (53)	23	17
Identification of professional needs of staff with a view to providing appropriate INSET	59 (87)	66	51
Assisting the Head and Governors in monitoring staff effectiveness.	24 (14)	11	37
Identification of possible candidates for promotion.	7 (6)	6	9
Identification of possible candidates for a pay increase.	17 (3)	14	20
Assessing staff competence	14 (17)	14	14
Identification of inadequate performance as a prelude to possible disciplinary action	4 (1)	3	6
Providing a source of information for a job reference.	3 (10)	3	3

Table 5: Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance of particular aspects of performance management.

### **Structure of performance management**

Post-PM, nearly all respondents reported that their schemes have an initial review discussion (91% - up from 81% pre-PM), though fewer are including any preparatory self-appraisal (70% - down from 84%). Few schools are using 360-degree appraisal (14%) or pupil review of teacher performance (9%). More schools are evaluating performance against specified competencies (46% up from 19%) and most (66%) are comparing performance to job descriptions. Almost three-quarters (80%) are considering staff performance within their teams and a majority (66%) are considering performance related to total contribution to the teacher makes to the

school. Also a smaller proportion (54%) are considering teacher performance as related to the aims and objectives of the school. Nearly all schemes report lesson observation and target setting, though interestingly a significant minority make a record of the formal performance review interview which is confidential to the appraiser (29%) - down from 39% pre-PM (Table 6).

Element of the performance management process	Percentage respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (pre-PM in brackets)
Preparatory self-appraisal	70 (84)
Initial review discussion	94 (81)
360 degree appraisal	14 (9)
Pupil review of teacher performance	9 (-)
Consideration of performance against specified competencies	46 (19)
Consideration of performance related to job specification	66 (71)
Consideration of performance within a particular department or team	80 (79)
Consideration of performance related to total contribution to the school	66 (61)
Consideration of performance as related to the aims and objectives of the school	54 (-)
Classroom observation	97 (91)
Target setting	89 (76)
Formal interview (record confidential to appraiser)	29 (39)
Formal interview (jointly agreed record)	84 (76)
Copy of record to appraisee	93 (87)
Appeals procedure	64 (34)

Table 6: Structure of performance management

### **Training**

Schools are giving teaching staff more training on performance management. Post-PM 81% (73% pre-PM) of respondents give training to appraisers, 66% (47% pre-PM) to appraisees.

### **Disadvantages of the performance management process**

80% (73% pre-PM) of respondents reported disadvantages in operating their school schemes, with little difference between highly effective and schemes of medium effectiveness. Of these respondents, 79% (76% pre-PM) indicated that the main disadvantage as being the time involved in the process with little difference between those schools that were operating schemes pre-PM and those not.

**Does having a scheme in place before the introduction of statutory PM make a difference to the expected and actual benefits of post-PM schemes?**

There are few differences in the expected and actual benefits of performance management when schools that had schemes pre-PM are compared with schools that did not (Table 7). Both sub-sets of schools have a developmental intent in the kinds of benefits they hope to achieve. In general schools with schemes functioning pre-PM showed less divergence when comparing expected and actual outcomes - possibly because of a more realistic view of what performance management can deliver. For example, schools which did not have a scheme pre-PM were less likely to report aiding staff in career planning as an expected benefit (54% in contrast to 66%), though a higher percentage of such schools were expecting this to be a benefit (77% in contrast to 63%).

	Expected benefit of appraisal (Percentage of respondents) - scheme functioning pre-PM	Expected benefit of appraisal (Percentage of respondents) - no scheme functioning pre-PM	Actual benefit of appraisal (Percentage of respondents) - scheme functioning pre-PM	Actual benefit of appraisal (Percentage of respondents) - no scheme functioning pre-PM
Staff would be given appropriate INSET	69	89	77	77
Staff would be identified for promotion	23	14	14	17
Staff given more appropriate work	17	11	17	14
Staff would be aided in career planning	63	77	66	54
Quality of education offered by the school would be improved	77	71	37	43
School league table position would be improved	11	11	6	11
Staff would become more aware of school strategy	51	69	71	66
Curriculum would be delivered more effectively	43	57	37	46
Majority of departments and subject areas would become more effective	71	83	43	46
Staff would be rewarded more appropriately	37	49	11	20
Other benefits	14	14	0	0

Table 7: Percentage respondents (categorised according to whether a functioning scheme was present pre-PM or not) indicating expected and actual benefits of performance management

**Does having a scheme in place before the introduction of statutory PM make a difference to the nature of post-PM schemes?**

Schools, which had an appraisal scheme functioning pre-PM, were much more likely to have preparatory self-appraisal than those who did not (80% as opposed to 60%) (Table 8). Schools which had scheme functioning before the introduction of statutory PM are more likely to consider staff performance as related to total contribution to the school (71% as opposed to 60%) and related to the aims and objectives of the school (63% in contrast to 46%).

Element of the	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
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<b>appraisal process</b>	<b>respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (pre-PM in brackets).</b>	<b>respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (scheme functioning pre-PM)</b>	<b>respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (no scheme functioning pre-PM)</b>
Preparatory self-appraisal	70 (84)	80	60
Initial review discussion	94 (81)	91	97
360 degree appraisal	14 (9)	9	20
Pupil review of teacher performance	9 (-)	9	9
Consideration of performance against specified competencies	46 (19)	46	46
Consideration of performance related to job specification	66 (71)	60	71
Consideration of performance within a particular department or team	80 (79)	80	80
Consideration of performance related to total contribution to the school	66 (61)	71	60
Consideration of performance as related to the aims and objectives of the school	54 (-)	63	46
Classroom observation	97 (91)	97	97
Target setting	89 (76)	89	89
Formal interview (record confidential to appraiser)	29 (39)	31	26
Copy of record to appraisee	93 (87)	86	100
Appeals procedure	64 (34)	71	57

Table 8: Structure of performance management (schools categorised according to whether a functioning scheme was present pre-PM or not)

There is a difference when comparing the importance of particular aspects of performance management (table 9). For example, schools which had schemes functioning pre-PM are more likely to give a high priority to the contribution of teachers to particular departments or teams (54%) compared to schools which did not (34%). Importance to the wider aspects of school life was indicated as the least likely to be given high levels importance though again there is a marked difference

comparing those schools that had schemes pre-PM (43% giving it a high priority) compared to those which did not (20%).

Schools which had schemes pre-PM were also more likely to prioritise the monitoring of regular marking and administrative efficiency (46% giving this a high priority) as opposed to 31% of schools with no scheme functioning pre-PM.

Feature of appraisal	Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (pre-PM in brackets)	Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (scheme functioning pre-PM)	Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (no scheme functioning pre-PM)
General classroom practice	80 (80)	83	77
Learning outcomes	77 (69)	77	77
Teaching techniques and discipline	64 (73)	69	60
Regular marking and administrative efficiency	39 (49)	46	31
Contribution to particular departments or teams	44 (53)	54	34
Contribution to wider aspects of school life	31 (39)	43	20

Table 9: Prioritisation of particular features of appraisal (schools categorised according to whether a functioning scheme was present pre-PM or not)

**Do schemes judged by respondents as being highly effective have a different character from those respondents assess as being of medium effectiveness?**

Some comment can be also made when comparing the purposes of those schemes rated by respondents as being highly effective and those rated as being of medium effectiveness (Table 10). Most purposes were closely matched when comparing highly effective schemes and those of medium effectiveness. However schemes rated a highly effective were more likely to give identifying assisting staff with professional development and career planning as a high priority (64% as opposed to 53% in schools judging their schemes to be of medium effectiveness. However fewer

schemes, whether highly effective or not, are giving a high priority to those purposes of appraisal linked to staff development

<b>Purpose of appraisal/performance management</b>	<b>Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance (highly effective schemes only; pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance (schemes of medium effectiveness only; pre-PM in brackets)</b>
Assistance with professional development and career planning	64 (79)	53 (77)
Monitoring the progress of new entrants to teaching and to aid their induction.	21 (58)	22 (51)
Identification of professional needs of staff with a view to providing appropriate INSET	71 (83)	63 (90)
Assisting the Head and Governors in monitoring staff effectiveness.	29 (29)	22 (5)
Identification of possible candidates for promotion.	7 (8)	8 (3)
Identification of possible candidates for a pay increase.	14 (4)	18 (3)
Assessing staff competence	7(21)	18 (18)
Identification of inadequate performance as a prelude to possible disciplinary action	0 (4)	6 (0)
Providing a source of information for job reference purposes.	7 (8)	2 (8)

Table 10: Percentage respondents indicating a high level of importance of particular aspects of performance management comparing schemes rated as being of high effectiveness and those rated as being of medium effectiveness.

There are few variations when comparing the structure of schemes rated as highly effective by respondents with those rated as of medium effectiveness (Table 11). Schemes which respondents rate as being highly effective are more likely to have a formal interview with a record confidential to appraiser (43% as opposed to 22%) - almost the exact reverse situation as reported pre-PM.

<b>Element of the appraisal process</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (Highly effective)</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated the element as a feature of their school's scheme (Schemes of</b>
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	<b>schemes only; pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>medium effectiveness; pre-PM in brackets)</b>
Preparatory self-appraisal	93 (88)	69 (85)
Initial review discussion	86 (83)	96 (80)
360 degree appraisal	14 (4)	16 (8)
Pupil review of teacher performance	0 (-)	8 (-)
Consideration of performance against specified competencies	43 (25)	47 (18)
Consideration of performance related to job specification	57 (67)	69 (74)
Consideration of performance within a particular department or team	79 (83)	84 (82)
Consideration of performance related to total contribution to the school	64 (75)	67 (56)
Consideration of performance as related to the aims and objectives of the school	57 (-)	59 (-)
Classroom observation	100 (96)	98 (90)
Target setting	93 (79)	88 (72)
Formal interview (record confidential to appraiser)	43 (29)	22 (44)
Formal interview (jointly agreed record)	79 (88)	88 (72)
Copy of record to appraisee	93 (88)	92 (92)
Appeals procedure	57 (45)	69 (31)

Table 11: Elements of performance management comparing schemes rated as being of high effectiveness and those rated as being of medium effectiveness.

In contrast, when respondents were asked to indicate the level of importance of particular features involved in monitoring staff performance (Table 12), little difference was apparent between pre-PM and post-PM. Nearly all respondents continued to indicate high levels of importance given to general classroom practice, learning outcomes, teaching techniques and discipline. Fewer respondents gave high levels of importance to regular marking and administrative efficiency, though highly effective schemes were much more likely to give a high priority to performance in departments and teams (71% as opposed to 39%).

<b>Feature of performance management</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (highly effective schemes only: pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage respondents who indicated a high level of importance (schemes of medium effectiveness only: pre-PM)</b>

		<b>in brackets)</b>
General classroom practice	86 (83)	80 (82)
Learning outcomes	86 (75)	78 (69)
Teaching techniques and discipline	79 (75)	65 (74)
Regular marking and administrative efficiency	43 (54)	41 (44)
Contribution to particular departments or teams	71 (63)	39 (51)
Contribution to wider aspects of school life	36 (42)	33 (41)

Table 12: Importance of particular features of performance management comparing schemes rated as being of high effectiveness and those rated as being of medium effectiveness.

	<b>Percentage state schools 2002 (pre-PM in brackets)</b>	<b>Percentage state schools in 2002 (post-PM)</b>
Head of Department or team leader	65	72
Two teachers (including HoD or team leader)	19	25
Three teachers (including HoD)	2	0
Four teachers (including HoD or team leader)	3	0
School leadership team or equivalent ( <b>not</b> including HoD or team leader)	2	3
Peers or a team of appraisers drawn from all levels of the school hierarchy	3	0
No-one	2	0

Table 13: Who appraises subject teachers?

## **Appendix B**

This appendix contains case reports of two case study schools – Fairlands (state) and Westlands (independent).

### **Fairlands Case Study Report**

#### **Key findings**

- Fairlands School can be characterised by having many of the features of a learning organisation (Pedlar et al, 1997; McMahon, 2001 etc.) and an improving school (Stoll and Fink, 1996). It can also be judged to have a hothouse teacher culture (Hargreaves, 1995)
- Performance management has had a major impact on the professional development of teaching staff, largely because of the foregrounding of CPD by a powerful and charismatic leader.
- The normative HRM approach is characterised by the alignment of teacher professional development with whole school objectives. Teachers who can align their own professional development with the development of the school in a normative process are rewarded. Those who cannot are marginalised.
- Performance management at Fairlands has become 'harder' in nature since 2000, largely because of the introduction of quantitative targets focused on academic performance indicators. With this exception, the pre-PM scheme shared many of the characteristics of the post-PM scheme. However the pre-PM scheme was haphazardly implemented.
- Recruitment difficulties have led to a reduction in trust between senior managers and other levels of the school hierarchy.
- PRP is perceived as a bureaucratic form filling exercise which does not motivate teachers. The nature of the performance management process and the introduction of PRP has impacted adversely on this wish for teachers to take risks.

#### **Background**

Fairlands School was identified as a suitable candidate school for further qualitative investigation after completion of State Survey 1 in May 2000.

16 interviews were completed with teaching staff over a period of two years (between 2000 and 2002). These interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed. Nvivo was used to assist the analytical process. The headteacher was interviewed twice with a year gap between interviews. The senior manager responsible for administering the scheme arranged the interview schedules. Interviewees were identified by the following selection criteria, namely:

- a willingness to be interviewed;
- availability for interview.

This second criterion provided an element of randomisation in the sample of interviewees selected.

Each interview lasted approximately between 30 and 45 minutes. Information was also taken from documentary sources supplied by the school and the most recent Ofsted inspection (in 2002).

The coding process of the interviews and other documentary evidence involved the formulation, in part inductively, in part with reference to the research questions, of five categories:

- teacher culture;
- evidence of an HR approach to people management;
- the purpose and nature of the performance review schemes;
- the impact of performance review;
- teachers' reward preferences.

Interviewees were also asked to complete a questionnaire. 14 questionnaires were completed (out of 15 people interviewed - 93% of the sample).

### **Description of the school**

Fairlands is a selective grammar school for girls in a small town in the south-east of England. The school has just over 1000 pupils and 70 teachers. The most recent Ofsted report describes the school as 'an excellent school, which refuses to be complacent and continually strives to become even better'. Pupils are drawn from a wide area including neighbouring counties. Socio-economic indicators are high - very few pupils have free school meals and almost all the girls are white. The school is a Beacon School. The inspectors lionised the headteacher, describing her leadership as 'excellent'. This has resulted in 'a strong and distinctive ethos in the school, which encourages everyone to excel'. The headteacher 'is very well supported by other senior staff and the school is succeeding particularly well as a result. Her determined and highly successful leadership lie behind all of the improvements that have been made and have resulted in the excellent standards the school now achieves'.

### **Culture**

The school values academic excellence. As a senior manager explained:

This is a selective school where academic achievement and excellence in all fields is very highly prized. And there's a culture of improvement. Pretty competitive. And people (teachers) have very, very high expectations of the standard of teaching and learning and of their own achievement. Quite a supportive school. But the main thrust is towards achieving in the academic arena.

This culture of normative improvement and learning is not restricted to the pupils. Another senior manager judged that:

There is quite a strong culture in the school of feeling that we want to invest in helping individuals develop because it is important for the school to have a culture where everybody is learning and moving on in the way that, you know, the girls are encouraged to feel they've got to do as well as they can with the ability they've got. I think that's true of the staff. There is that sense of, almost pressure, to get on.

For the headteacher this convergence between pupil and teacher values has other consequences:

In some ways our staff are as high achieving and competitive as the girls and in the same way that I have to save the girls from themselves sometimes and say, stop working so hard, you also have to do the same for the staff. You have to save them from themselves otherwise they'd work themselves into the ground.

A newly qualified teacher agreed. For her Fairlands is:

Very high achieving. I don't think we are an academic hot house though. I don't think this school is just about results. I think there is a friendly atmosphere. I certainly found it to be very friendly and supportive both to girls and to me.

However one middle manager explained:

We're trying to get away from the reputation where it's very much all about exams and it's all about getting results, but certainly as far as performance the pupils are concerned - we try to make them realise it is a whole life we're trying to educate them in.

Again many teachers at different levels of the school hierarchy felt that an important value of the school culture was 'support'. However this was conditional on the impact of any support given on the key normative objective of academic excellence. In this context, one classroom teacher described the school as being 'supportive for both staff and pupils. Friendly atmosphere. People have time for each other'; a middle manager felt that 'Team work is very much part of the culture'. Though for another head of department 'I find everything is compounded by too much administration'.

Foregrounding support in part enabled a rapid review and correction of poor performance. One middle manager explained that '(Fairlands) does have everything you need and you're encouraged, and if you're not doing things right, then you are told but in a very supportive way'. However, if staff behaviour is not viewed by senior managers as appropriately normative, then support will not be apparent and the

response from teachers counter to such normative objectives. A middle manager explained;

Because the management here has not always been quite so charitable, or they haven't perhaps seen where they have rubbed somebody up the wrong way, people are increasingly not inclined to do anything for nothing anymore. You know, they are not prepared to spend their own time doing things because the management have maybe done something against them some while ago and they are just not going to do that.

The formal line management routes of contact could be easily by-passed - as one classroom teacher explained 'Most recently I had a one-to-one with the headteacher. She invited me in. I was left feeling very positive about things'.

One teacher felt that the school culture had become more 'open' both within and between departments - an approach encouraged by senior managers. For him:

We expect, and we receive, people coming into our lessons. We are much more open door now. Much more encouragement (from senior staff) for us to arrange it between ourselves not just to have a team leader or senior member coming in but, you know, if for example I know I'm doing something with the computer and projector, someone else will come in who wants to learn about that. And we keep a record of peer observations for people to see and also we're encouraged to do it outside our departments as well.

School leaders also encouraged a formal audit of their own performance by other teachers. This is viewed positively by leaders though the intention of the process has been misinterpreted by others. As a senior manager explained:

It was lovely to get feedback from staff where they felt we needed to go. And one comment which I really took on board, from a very junior member of staff, she said that in staff meetings she felt that because this was such a highly successful school that really she couldn't possibly criticise anything because everything must be wonderful! And I just thought 'oh dear, that isn't what we want' And that is something we have to act on. We want to make it a take-a-risk-culture, we do, we very much want to make it that sort of culture but we know that not all teachers feel comfortable with that.

One teacher explained this nature of this dilemma.

The culture of the school still remains the same. If you can try something and it works the school will support you.

However this approach has been limited by the prescriptive nature of subject specifications. She continued:

Obviously we are very much restricted by the drive for examinations. We were much more innovative I think in the days when we could do more course work and there was an opportunity to stretch the girls by their interests rather than by the prescriptive nature of some of the courses.

Despite this, the development of staff departmental areas had encouraged the sharing of good practice. A classroom teacher explained:

One of the things which I think makes an informal relationship more possible recently is the setting up of department staff areas. So we have a staff work room for (my) department and so therefore some of that exchange of 'I've just done a good lesson', or 'that was awful' tends to be far more interactive now.

In this context, another teacher described his job description as having 'that clause at the bottom that says 'and anything else!'. Another recently appointed classroom teacher also felt that the values of the school were matched with her perception of her own performance and her relationships with her pupils. For her:

I hope the lessons I'm trying to get across to the girls are that it is about hard work, but it is also about doing your best. And it doesn't matter if your best is not the same as someone else's. So long as you can say, I've put everything into that lesson. I tried as hard as I could. I've put everything into that piece of homework. That's all I ask of them. But I do try also to make it clear that school isn't just about slogging it out it should be enjoyable as well.

In this context, staff development opportunities are varied. Many teachers described additional roles that they undertook in the school. The school also has an unusual separation of strategic and organisational management tasks with two groups taking the place of a school leadership team made up solely of senior managers. The two groups are:

- a Strategic Management Group - made up of senior managers and governors with a long term strategic remit and;
- a School Management Team (SMT) - made up of middle and senior managers which deals primarily with school organisation and day-to-day administration.



In this way middle managers can be brought into roles which would otherwise be viewed as only acceptable for senior managers. By distributing leadership in this highly visible way - the opportunities for normative alignment of staff are many and varied.

### **HRM indicators**

For the headteacher 'we are never going to attract people into the teaching profession unless we make teachers properly accountable' For her 'we've got to reward teachers and we've also got to make them accountable'. In this context, one middle manager at Fairlands was clear about the universal application of whole school objectives 'We definitely have a focus. We know what we're aiming at'.

These objectives are foregrounded as part of the PM process and linked to professional developmental opportunities. As one classroom teacher explained: 'Certainly we are encouraged to look at the school and what we can offer'.

The school has a culture of training staff, as exemplified by the preparation process for the introduction of PM. This is a 'top-down' process. One middle manager explained:

There have been so many sessions with team leaders to go through what we are expecting, what the government is expecting and what the school is expecting as well. Yes, I feel it's pretty consistent.

This approach was recognised by one head of department:

(At Fairlands) I think we are all much more aware of what the school development plan is - what our departmental development plan is. And so when we are looking at targets we are setting ourselves we tend to go more for targets that fall within the scope of the development plan. Not necessarily consciously.

For one middle manager, this normative approach was comforting: 'it is nice to know that everyone else is doing the same thing'. However, this was not a universal view, as another middle manager, second in a larger department, explained:

In many instances you are told what to do. You do this as a something or other exercise and you're not supposed to change the way you do something. So, if it (the teaching scheme) says, lesson to start with brain storming session, then you are expected to do it.

A senior manager, explaining the similarities between the pre-PM and post-PM performance review process also described a 'top-down' approach to HRM:

There's a very clear strategy whereby we identify what the school's priorities are in terms of staff development.

We then take that down and we say to the departments, these are the school's priorities, what would you like to do in your department? What are your departmental training priorities? Then we take it down to the next level and we go right down to teachers and we say, OK, individually, over the next 12 months what are your training needs, and we've been doing this, even in the quiet patch if you like between appraisal and performance management...but of course performance management now is pushing that along as well...it has sort of caught up with us a little bit.

However this top-down approach did create difficulties at lower levels of the school hierarchy where organisational objectives conflicted with those of the individual. For example, one classroom teacher interested in developing timetabling skills had found the process of normative PM demotivating. For her:

One tends to get rather jaded about it (PM). This will be the third year that I've put down I want to do a course on timetabling and I know jolly well it won't happen.

The normative nature of performance management was clear to one senior manager. She recognised the importance of aligning teacher and school objectives

I think it (PM) is a tool for achieving where the whole school wants to go and improving standards and sort of making a better match between what the school wants the school to be and where we are. But also it is for the individual but the two things aren't actually separate are they because if individuals feel a sense of satisfaction and they feel they are a part of achieving something and they feel they are making progress individually they are more likely to perform better in their job. So I don't think actually there's a conflict between the individual's progress and the school's progress.

A flexible approach to working was also apparent - as one middle manager explained: 'People have moved from pastoral to head of a subject - within the school - so, yes, I think that flexibility is there'.

However for those not changing role, the prescriptive nature of teaching schemes function as a powerful normative driver, though not without opportunities for subversion. One head of department explained:

One of the things I've been unhappy about for many years is our reliance on rigid schemes of work. I mean, I don't adhere to my own schemes of work and, but I get the work done in a period of time. There is no flexibility at all for anybody. I mean it is the same with KS3 across the sciences. You cannot step out of line of the

schemes of work and do something new. It's heads down along that straight path and there is no room for flexibility at all.

Few teachers felt there was a Fairlands way of doing things. Indeed one middle manager felt that 'There is the national way of doing things which I suppose we do anyway'.

### **Cultural change agents at Fairlands**

Two key drivers for teacher culture development at Fairlands have been:

- the problems of teacher recruitment- which at Fairlands has tended to work counter to an HR approach to people management;
- the INSET delivery programme, which relies significantly on teachers on staff giving INSET to their colleagues for a financial reward and which promotes an HR approach to people management.

#### **a) Teacher recruitment difficulties:**

The headteacher is keen on developing staff in terms of their own career and for the school to be seen as one where teachers can 'get on'. As one classroom teacher (in a shortage subject) explained 'I feel they appointed me to make a difference not just to fill a gap'.

The introduction of additional payments to individual teachers as a recruitment and retention tool has had a potentially divisive impact on the collegiality of the teaching staff. As the headteacher explained:

I find myself thinking, for the good of this school, I've also got to think subjectively rather than objectively. For example, if I know that teacher A who is in a scarce subject is going to be miffed, and leave, if she or he doesn't get a discretionary award, but teacher B who might equally be miffed is much more easily replaceable because the subject isn't a scarcity subject, it's really difficult not to let than influence me because I have to think of my students and say, if I lose Teacher A and I have my GCSE and my As and my A level students, hugely dependent on Teacher A's expertise and I know I cannot replace that in a month of Sundays, for the sake of the students I am going to be very tempted to give that teacher a discretionary award or recommend to the governors that they should. And if I know I can replace Teacher B because there is a teacher at the next door school who has been saying to me, I'd love to come and work for you, you know, I am just in the point of my life where I'm in my career where I'd like to do that, then Teacher B becomes expendable for pragmatic reasons rather than for principled reasons and, you know, I know in teaching - some of my governors say to me when I talk through these things with them they say, oh

you know, get real it's been like this in business for ever. And I suppose it has but in schools we do depend on team effort. Teachers do go the extra mile for youngsters.

She continued to describe how this has impacted on the teacher culture of the Fairlands.

People (teachers at the school) are finding that replacement teachers are coming in with added (financial incentive) opportunities given them to attract them in the first place. Somebody, who has been thinking, well I'll stay here, and not leave because there might be some internal opportunities, finds there aren't any because I have given them all away. So they are resentful. Or somebody comes to me and says, I am leaving, and I say don't go and they say well what can you offer me and I say well teacher x is leaving and there is this whole school responsibility point. And they say if you give it to me I will stay - so I give it to them. Because for them to leave I know that in the climate and in the time I have available, I can't replace them. (As a consequence) the trust goes and people feel, well ok, everything now has a harder edge. Where before we knew it was fair that she would tell us openly if there were opportunities, that we'd all have the chance to compete if we were interested, the best person would get the job, all above board. Now they think, what's going on? There is all this underhand dealing.

For the headteacher, this has impacted on the development of the PM process in the school, which for her depends on high levels of trust and openness on her part. She explained that:

because at the very time when we are trying to introduce something controversial and highly sensitive, where you (teachers) needed to trust me (the headteacher) absolutely, I have given you cause to doubt (because of the nature of the recruitment process) whether I am trustworthy and I acknowledge that.

The headteacher's efforts to be open were echoed by a senior manager:

At the moment we have a rather open discussion going on about the recruitment crisis and again (the headteacher) has been very open about how she has actually had to pay a few people over the odds to attract them or to retain. She hasn't been specific. We (the senior managers) felt it was important that (the headteacher) should be open about things like that

because we can cause more unrest by people thinking we are being secretive about things.

For her the only way to deal with these difficulties is to be frank with the teachers: 'I've been totally open about it the difficult things I have had to do to recruit people or to retain people'.

#### **b) Impact of internally delivered INSET on developing culture**

The process of implementation of PM had foregrounded a normative need for training middle managers in people management skills. As a senior manager explained:

I think the role of middle managers is developing very quickly. They may be very good in their subject area or very good as co-ordinators in their pastoral role, and haven't really had the chance to have much training in people management. and developing staff and to some extent that's good, because if that's what comes out of it (in terms of developing the culture of the staff) that's good.

The school has also appointed a cohort of specialist teachers (including an AST) to assist other faculties with aspects of teaching and learning. The cohort contains teachers, who, a senior manager explained:

who - the whole school knows - are superb teachers and Ofsted has recognised them as good teachers as well. And we feel they particularly have got things to share and it will be developmental for them too and come from different angles as their styles are very different.

She felt that these teachers will be viewed as 'consultants who would share good practice and to help people where, primarily, where they are asked' i.e. as part of a learning culture.

In this context, the opportunities for professional development are many and various. The main provision for INSET is by means of internally provided training by teachers - who receive a small financial reward for providing a course. As one senior manager explained: 'Last year we did about 20 courses and about 3 of them were done by outside providers'.

A log is kept not only of those who provided courses but also those who attended. A booklet is produced at the end of the year which will contain information of courses held the previous year. Teachers are able to access the database that records their, or anyone else's, attendance at any training event. The senior manager was clear about the normative function of this procedure:

We're trying to take it down to the practical level and everybody being able to see what the school's training priorities are and where their department is trying to go.

## **Nature of performance management**

One middle manager closely linked the school value of 'doing things properly' with the nature of Fairlands PM process.

I think the school ethos and environment is what's crucial here and I guess the way the scheme has been implemented is a reflection of how the school will not go half-heartedly into any measure. I think if something is required to be done then it will be done.

Another middle manager made a connection, though in less complimentary terms. When asked if he thought there was a link between the school and the nature of the PM process, he agreed 'because it's rigid and structured and it's paper heavy'. Another classroom teacher perceived PM to be an additional burden that most teachers put up with..

I think everyone regards it as a bit of a chore that has to be done and because it doesn't rank very highly. But I don't think anyone has particular misgivings about performance management.

This middle manager felt that the school was:

Matriarchal. Results driven. Extremely successful. And I think they are very close to getting the balance right. I think the balance is too heavily in favour of academic. They are talking about doing non-academic type activities....enrichment activities I think they call it. And I think that would be a very good thing.

In this context, he felt that the performance management scheme did not reflect this: 'I think all the targets I've been set are to do with the curriculum'.

Another middle manager disparaged the impact of PM.

As far as I am concerned people only pay lip service to it (PM) to be honest. It is something that, well, certainly in our department we don't do it I mean I don't think anybody in our department has done their performance management for this year and it has got to be done by the end of term. So it will be a frantic mad rush at the end because you just don't get time to do it.

Despite this, another middle manager was keen to stress the developmental aspects of PM. For her 'it is a supportive process not a threatening process - it is a developmental thing rather than a summative assessment'.

PM is overlaid with a further process of internal departmental auditing which provides further opportunities for sharing and developing good practice. As one senior manager explained:

We have this system of departmental audits where we have a week where a team is put together and they go in and they do a lot of observations and report on how a department is doing. We have an on-going programme of that. So there's quite a sense through that, as well as performance management, of people reviewing what they do and sharing good practice .

For one classroom teacher, the culture of 'openness' has had a significant impact on how teachers judge each other and the impact of their actions and own development on each other. He explained:

When we have our peers in (to observe lessons) it (performance review) is very much forward looking because we decide the area we're going to look at and sometimes it's for us to get feedback because we're trying something new maybe and we want feedback, but it is also maybe we are helping someone because we're doing something that they are interested in.

One middle manager placed PM as a culturally embedded process linked to a developmental people management approach - and involving intra-departmental learning. For her:

I think performance management is almost a natural follow on to the type of thing we've been trying to do. For instance, what we do in the department anyway, or try to do in the department when time allows, is peer observations. So we aim for one a term and not necessarily within the department. It could be, say, I wanted to see how they manage group work in history.

One senior manager embedded PM as a monitoring process within the context of day-to-day management. She used the following medical terms.

Performance Management isn't something that just happens in isolation. We're doing the equivalent of it, really, all the time. And (PM) is almost like a check up. It's a bit like someone keeping fit, going to the gym and eating a healthy diet all the time. Then once a year you go to the doctor and have your blood pressure taken. It's that sort of analogy really.

### **Impact of performance management**

For one middle manager, the reason for introducing PM was simple:

It (PM) is just something that's been, you know, the government has said, you've got to do it so the school has put together a method of doing it.

In this context, a senior manager placed the impact of PM 'nothing like the impact that Ofsted had! Ofsted made a big difference to our school'. Though for her the value of PM was in giving a formal opportunity to recognise staff and to provide a peg for future development.

They know there is a piece of paper going to the head saying, well done, you have done this and where it can be used as a lever for training which somebody might otherwise have found it difficult or might not have thought about.

One middle manager felt that PM had made teachers much more focused and had succeeded in making teachers think not just about their own performance but also their future careers. For her:

I think it (PM) has focused everybody even more sharply on what they are trying to do and what they are trying to achieve both on a professional level and from a personal point of view. What they are trying to achieve. What they are also trying to get the students to achieve. But also there is another personal dimension to it of where they are hoping to go for themselves.

To support this view, a classroom teacher judged that PM had developed her in unanticipated directions, though with the intent of fulfilling organisational rather than individual objectives:

If anything it (PM) has made me do things which perhaps I would not have done. It made me do a power point presentation which I wouldn't have done. But I am not sure if I would do it again either. I am not sure whether it was a sort of experience I'd say, 'Oh yes, I'll definitely do that again'. I did it because that was part of my one of my targets to do that. So I did it.

Another middle manager felt that the more quantitative nature of PM targets had had an impact on the performance of individuals by comparing departments:

I performance managed the head of (a department in her faculty) and one of the things we decided would be a good target would be for him to focus on the A\*s at GCSE and, you know, we looked at various reasons why they weren't matching (another departments) ones. And it very definitely did have an impact on what he did.



Though senior managers have attempted to adapt the PM process to the culture of the school, one head of year felt that the nature of the process worked against the widely articulated objective of enabling pupils not to think narrowly in terms of exam results but in terms of providing wider learning opportunities. He explained:

The headteacher will say these things and I'll say these things when we have our parents in, but sometimes it's difficult getting over to some of the teachers the idea that we are trying to get the girls to relax a bit more and to get involved with other extra curricular things....that sometimes goes against performance management which requires exam results.

This, to one middle manager, presented a cultural dichotomy, where individual teachers sensitised to the notion of 'performativity', have different perceptions of school objectives from those that school leaders are attempting to articulate. For him:

It's very difficult I don't really have a simple answer just now. It's a major conflict. People want to do well with their classes but if they see people coming out of lessons to do music or missing afternoons to play tennis, then.....

One year head was in no doubt about the impact of the PM process on his own professional development - he was clear in separating it from the day-to-day management process. He explained:

We first wrote some targets at the beginning of the year and I realise how effective it (performance management) was because one of my targets was to look at getting into senior management, and I went on a course and I was speaking to somebody on the same course who was actually preparing for deputy headship. They were amazed that I'd actually heard about the course through me writing down a target with my team leader for performance management. From these targets my team leader had obviously given them to the INSET coordinator and he has given me any leaflets he felt were relevant. So I felt, from then on, it's not just completing the paperwork.

This comment was regularly echoed elsewhere - particularly those who had been promoted internally. One senior manager explained:

I had an appraisal at quite a key moment when I was head of (department). I came back from maternity leave and the following term I was appraised by the then deputy head. As part of that appraisal she was very encouraging in terms of saying, you know, 'I think you ought to take on additional responsibility and become a

senior teacher'. And I think that was probably quite important, particularly at that stage, having resumed my responsibilities as head of English but with a small child. I think that was instrumental in making me apply for the other things I did.

However for another middle manager, the targets resulting from the PM process failed to identify underlying performance barriers - normal response being to use INSET as the mechanism for performance improvement. For him:

That's the medicine and I'm sure if I went back for my next review and said I still think my time management is dodgy, they'd probably send me on to another very similar course, if not the same course. So I think there's a tendency to send you on courses rather than attend the problem of my time management which is I've probably got too high contact time on my timetable. And of course the school shrugs its shoulders.. one of the best ways would be to knock off four periods off my timetable. But that is never ever going to be a sensible solution. The next best thing is to send you off on a course.

Another middle manager also judged the target setting process to have little impact:

My own view towards the whole appraisal system is that it's fairly meaningless and with hindsight some of the targets that I identified when I was being appraised, and some of the people I appraised have identified are not particularly relevant ones.

He judged day-to-day contact much more effective, and a process he separated from PM. For him:

There is obviously a need to talk through with individuals what they have done and I've done that as an entirely separate process to the performance management appraisal....just talking through with individuals...which I've done anyway...and I've done it on a one-to-one basis and a fairly informal basis as well. And now I'm going to have to do an end of year review and set targets for next year...and I do feel it's a bit contrived.

This filtering process through the school hierarchy, and resulting misinterpretations of senior leaders wishes about how staff culture should develop, has been interpreted as a failure of middle managers to interpret senior managers wishes correctly - the solution for which is more training of middle managers. As one senior manager explained:

We think we have a big issue with training middle managers. We think that actually although we feel we communicate quite effectively with our heads of faculty, we know that communicating and receiving input into decisions, is not going through the structure and coming back through the structure in all departments as quickly and as effectively as we want. So in some areas people feel they are contributing and know they are contributing reasonably quickly and in other areas it is simply not happening - that people feel that they are telling somebody but nothing is happening because it is never getting any further it isn't necessarily the middle manager's fault it is they don't realise that this is what they should be doing they don't realise the importance of the role of the middle manager.

Though for another teacher:

I just feel it (PM) is turning us from being people who want to the best of a caring profession into a 'what can I get out of it'.

#### **How has performance review changed?**

For the headteacher, the government had used 'a sledgehammer to crack a nut' and that the 'imposed (post-PM) model (of performance review) is not as good as (Fairland's) self-developed model. I think that says a lot and I am quite sure there are lots of schools that were doing their own thing and didn't really want this'.

The headteacher described the imposed change of model as 'a bit irritating because we had to go back and redo something that was working well anyway'. Though at its core, one classroom teacher was in no doubt that:

You used to (pre-PM) sort of accept that you were a teacher and would do everything you possibly could for the school, in return that they would help you if you needed them to help you. And I don't know if it's quite working like that. The caring bit (post-PM). seems to be going

However the headteacher was in no doubt that the existence of a pre-PM scheme had assisted the introduction of the post-PM scheme.

We had developed an appraisal system (pre-PM) that went way beyond the normal appraisal system. So we had a line management appraisal system and we had clear criteria about what was expected of every classroom teacher, every middle manager, every senior manager and those had been agreed in common So it gave us a platform I think from which it was perhaps

easier than most schools. We didn't have quite such a hurdle to leap.

However the evolution of the process was perceived differently by one middle manager.

The school set up a system for appraisal and that sort of worked for about two years and then it suddenly wasn't there. It suddenly disappeared and then everything went quiet for a while. And then performance management came in.

Despite this disappearance, the pre-PM process shared many features of the post-PM process, though its implementation was more haphazard and focused on poorer performers. As one senior manager explained:

Well, interestingly, until performance management came along it was bizarre. I hadn't been appraised for 6 years. And although I was helping to appraise other people it seemed there were quite a few senior staff within the school that weren't appraised very regularly. But I think to a certain extent there was a certain amount of people who they perceived as not performing particularly well were appraised regularly, and those that were doing quite happily thank you were left alone.

A middle manager made similar observations and associated the post-PM process with being more 'professional'. For her 'it is now much more rigorous'.

The post-PM performance review process has enabled one middle manager to consider her own personal development more clearly.

The thing I am most pleased about is that one of my personal targets was to make a link with a higher education institution in order to promote refreshment really, at this stage of my career. And I've been very fortunate and I've got a school teacher fellowship at a Cambridge college.

Another teacher had noticed a greater normative focus on the nature of INSET that has stemmed from the PM process.

I think the changes (from pre to post-PM) have helped focus on the purposes of inset and the focus of training - whether it is just a nice course that happens to come up or whether it is really going to lead to something that is needed.

Similarly a classroom teacher has noted a reduction in importance of softer qualitative and less normative performance indicators.

You used to accept that you were a teacher and would do everything you possibly could for the school, in return that they would help you if you needed them to help you. And I don't know if it's quite working like that. The caring bit seems to be going.

In this context, the post-PM process has impacted on the nature of relationships within the staff. A classroom teacher recognised the more haphazard nature of the earlier process.

The appraisal system.. I should have been appraised more than I was I somehow always escaped. I was appraised once which was not ideal. But I think the crucial differences as perceived by staff is that (pre-PM) appraisal was seen as an enabling process and a process whereby people were able to trust their appraisers and open up any areas of difficulty or insecurity. Performance management, for some people, has an element of anxiety and a judgmental quality whether that's designed or not. I think there is increased anxiety related to target setting.

For one middle manager, pre-PM and post-PM processes shared good qualities. For her:

The best aspects (of PM) are those which mimic the best aspects of appraisal (pre-PM) - taking a serious interest in someone's teaching/aspirations.

She had the confidence to disregard a key performance indicators of the post-PM scheme: 'The pupil progress targets are nearly always ineffective - we teach the students as well as we can in any case!' Another middle manager described the introduction of a quantitative pupil performance targets as not having a motivating effect. For her:

I won't feel that having been set a target for certain children to get level 7 rather than level 6/7. I mean I'll have the satisfaction of seeing them do well, but it hasn't really been much of a motivating force.

She felt the pre-PM process was more teacher driven.

If I just take a target I had from an early (pre-PM) appraisal, it was to set up a year 7 book lovers club, which I did, and still do, but I set that target because it was something I personally wanted to do. It wasn't meshed into the school development plan or whatever.

This change was also foregrounded by a classroom teacher:

Oh, that (the pre-PM process) was completely different! I went on Inset courses outside the school, whole days with teachers from other schools discussing appraisal, and when we did appraisal we actually took teachers off timetabled lessons if that was what they wanted to do. And we interviewed them. We had a lesson with them before I observed a lesson, and then I observed a lesson and then I spent as much time as they wanted discussing the results of that appraisal. So effectively you spent a good three lessons with that member of staff. And the targets and the focus of the lesson were agreed before you went in and it was agreed the member of staff chose which lesson you observed.

In this context, one senior manager felt that the critical difference was the move from qualitative to quantitative performance indicators. In this context, one middle manager judged the 'theory' of the pre- and post-PM schemes to be similar, though again 'the reality of performance management is much different from the reality of (pre-PM) appraisal'.

Similarly a classroom teacher foregrounded the more qualitative nature of the pre-PM process:

It (pre-PM) was a very positive system in many ways, because it was quite reassuring for staff to say we're doing the right thing. That was good and I liked that. And also you talked about their future career and where they wanted to go to and it felt sort of better.

One recently appointed classroom teacher was disappointed with the quantitative nature of post-PM target setting. As she explained (describing PM as an 'event', a process that is 'done'):

When you are doing performance management the targets you set are very often achievement based. Rather than 'I would like this set to enjoy their lessons more'. I've never heard anyone saying that. Maybe they should.

Another senior manager responsible for administering staff development activities and INSET also foregrounded another qualitative difference in the nature of the discussions between the performance reviewer and the reviewed. For him, the most significant change has been a reduction in openness between individuals.

The stumbling block has been all of personal priorities (of teachers) have always been treated (pre-PM) as, if you like, in the public domain. Teachers have been quite happy to discuss them with their heads of department. I've been able to go back to people and say, well you've all said you wanted IT in the classroom. But

of course performance management treats the training targets in a completely different way. They are kept as confidential between the team leader, the individual, the reviewee and of course the head teacher - and the staff training person - this is where the sticking point is. We're basically saying to people, you know what your staff development targets from performance management are. If you are happy to put them on this list (which forms an openly accessible database) then put them on. If you want them to remain confidential then leave them off.

Associated with this, the level of the school hierarchy which determined the targets to be set had changed, from being determined by the appraisee (pre-PM), to being determined by an appraiser directed by normative organisational objectives (post-PM). As one middle manager explained:

Originally (pre-PM) the target setting was supposed to be done primarily with the appraisee setting the targets. That's what you did first off. They suddenly changed it so the person doing the appraising now sets the targets. I think this will be your target. 'Do you agree?' And if you don't agree, well, it's tough isn't it.

### **Performance related pay**

Financial rewards do have an impact as a Herzbergian dissatisfier. As one middle manager explained:

In order to maintain the sort of points I was on I had to have an administrative aspect to my job, which I could do without to be quite honest. But you know one has to maintain a standard of living I suppose.

However for one classroom teacher, linking performance to pay has the potential for significant cultural impact. 'The whole concept of any link to pay is one that breeds deep distrust'. She described the process of applying for the threshold.

Oh, it was dreadful. It was just another bit of paper to fill in. But we all had to do it and for many of us it took time out of a period of the year when we could have done without it.

Similarly a middle manager felt that the application procedure for a threshold pay increase was un motivating. For her:

It was a totally insulting process to force very experienced teachers through the process of that form. An average time to complete it was about 12-15 hours of the summer half term and it was to give us a £2000 rise

which I felt would have been better simply granted without strings attached.

One senior manager felt that the introduction of PRP has had an effect on the nature of the performance review process as perceived by middle managers. For her: 'What my team leaders are worried about is that what they write in the review is going to have an effect on somebody's salary'.

Given this the threshold (and the PM process) did miss key performance indicators as perceived by some teachers. She felt that PM and the threshold process were similar in that both involved a 'horrible form' and missed key performance indicators. She explained:

You said how marvellous you were and tried desperately to the best of your ability, thinking, well, yes but there are tons of other things that don't fit in here. And you spent hours and hours and hours filling in this form.

She gave two qualitative examples which were non-normative in nature:

When you talk to a student who is distressed or something like that, you do so much more as a teacher than I think anyone ever knows. Like when we are sorting out the people for their exams and there were three times I rang up students to say 'are you on the way to exam?' and things like that. It's not part of my job to do that necessarily. They are not in my form. It's just that I knew they weren't there and I just rang them up you know. There are tons of little things that everyone does like that every day that make the school work and all teachers do it.

#### **Impact of threshold on the development of teacher culture.**

One middle manager felt that PM and the threshold processes involved similar performance indicators. For her:

having to go through the whole threshold application for those people who have done, possibly made performance management, not necessarily easier, but you know people had already focused on the sorts of things that you would focus on anyway.

This has encouraged a less 'risky' approach by some middle managers. When asked if she encouraged her department to take risks, one explained:

I think, if I'm being honest, I'd play it safe. Because I wasn't quite sure, really, how it was going to work. But if it (a particular target) then gets linked with post-threshold, it is quite a tricky area because, of course, if you don't meet any of your targets I guess you're



deemed to be not meeting the (post-threshold) requirements.

A senior manager also linked the requirements of PRP performance indicators to lead to a more uniform PM review statement - something she was reluctant to do..

### **Rewards of working at Fairlands**

Most teachers again foregrounded the quality of relationships as a key reward. For one classroom teacher:

when you get cards and presents and little notes saying you've inspired me or, I'd never have imagined doing A-level, things like that. To be honest it makes it all worth it. Parents Evenings - when the parents thank you.. saying something like - she's never really enjoyed languages until this year. Then to me it makes it all worthwhile. And obviously, ultimately, when you get some of those girls leaving the school and going on to do a language degree, or another degree but hoping for a year abroad....

The pupils were also a key reward for one middle manager, even though the school facilities were not ideal. 'Our physical conditions are modest, but that doesn't matter if the students are good to be with one can cope with that'. Similarly a classroom teacher felt that her main reward is 'the response from the girls, who are universally charming, even the naughty ones'.

For another middle manager, the key reward was praise. 'Praise from the people who aren't afraid to actually say 'well done' for doing things'.

Another middle manager eulogised the pupils at Fairlands. When asked what were the rewards for her teaching in Fairlands, she felt that:

In this school it would be criminal not to say the absolutely fabulous classroom experience. What follows on from that, I think, a lot of our students achieve nearer their potential than perhaps they do in other schools because they are given the climate and everything they need to help them to achieve that.

She continued:

(a reward) is building up teams within the department. Because when I joined the school we didn't have nearly so much of a team work force and I think that has developed a lot in the last few years.

However such praise of the pupils was not universal. As one middle manager explained;

It isn't easy to teach here simply because they (the pupils) are all clever. It's a very demanding, extremely demanding job.

A minority of other teachers felt rewarded by other things. For example, a senior manager felt well rewarded financially but also enjoyed the diversity of his work and the opportunity for extra-curricular activities which tallied with his own interests. He explained:

As a student I was tremendously involved in mountaineering and so on and that was because I went to a school that did lots of outdoor education. And I've always seen that as being very important so I run all the outdoor education in the school and I take weeks off here there and everywhere to go on trips. And I get a lot of fulfilment in working in this environment and there are lots of interesting projects going on within the school at the moment which I'm very heavily involved in.

### **Conclusions**

Though the time required and ineffectiveness were the main complaints, this was by no means a common view. At one extreme, a classroom teacher explained: '(PM) wastes time. It is a scheme to be done because you are told to do with little relevance, achieving very little'. Though for a senior manager 'PM has been a powerful enabling tool at Fairlands'.

In this context, the implementation of PM at Fairlands can be judged as success. Nearly all those interviewed found some value in the process, not only for their own benefit but also the schools. Questionnaires to teachers gave an effectiveness rating of 2.3 (on a scale of 1 to 5) in their own assessment of how the PM scheme helped the school achieve its objectives with a lower value for the effectiveness in terms of achieving teachers own objectives of 2.9.

The teacher culture of the school is improving, learning, and a 'hothouse' high cohesion-high control model. It is normative and is matched a hard HR approach to people management. However an innovative management structure provides a large number of opportunities for teacher development and distributed leadership. In this respect, both the internally evolved pre-PM scheme and the imposed quantitative target oriented post-PM scheme fits well with the culture. However the nature of post-threshold rewards in particular, is threatening this balance by reducing the amount of trust in the organisation. To counter this, the headteacher has adopted a strategy of openness with teachers to ensure staff support for her, though not necessarily the government's, objectives.

## **WESTLANDS CASE REPORT**

### **Key findings**

- Westlands School's teacher culture can be characterised as being closest to Hargreaves (1995) control-cohesion model - with high control of teaching staff and low cohesion within the teaching staff. The level of cohesion however varies from group (which may be an academic department) to group. The high central control has the normative objective of high academic performance outcomes at GCSE and A level. The low cohesion stems from the perceived freedom given to middle managers and teachers in the achievement of this objective. This is not a learning or improving organisation, though it is effective in terms of pupil recruitment and achievement.
- The management hierarchy is very flat. The headteacher is very approachable and classroom teachers are able to by-pass their nominal line managers and discuss issues of concern with him. This can have the effect of limiting the 'hardness' or 'softness' of middle managers people management strategies resulting in a consequent similarity of middle management approach.
- The essential conservatism of middle managers has led to what may be termed a 'softer' approach to people management within departments. However this approach has no centrally framed long term objectives in making staff work more flexibly, developing appropriate career paths and foregrounding professional development. Whether this happens or not is largely initiated 'bottom upwards' by individual teachers rather than 'top downwards' as a result of a centrally derived policy initiative relating to teaching and learning.
- Performance review, in a formal sense, of individual teachers has become haphazard at Westlands. Formal performance review of individual teachers has not been prioritised by the headteacher and, though a performance review policy exists and a senior manager administers its organisation, the nature and purpose of formal performance review is left to individual middle managers. This is not to say that there is no formal performance review process. The key formal monitoring process is a thorough annual performance audit of academic departments (in terms of academic performance outcomes of departments and teachers within those departments).
- There is a form of performance related pay which is decided by senior managers and which is informed not just by academic performance but also performance in other areas, such as extra-curricular and pastoral. The indicators for achievement of a performance-related reward are not formally widely known and can change.

### **Background**

Westlands School was identified as a suitable candidate school for further qualitative investigation after completion of Independent Survey 2 in 1997.

15 interviews were completed with teaching staff over a period of two years (between 2000 and 2002). These interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed. Nvivo was used to assist the analytical process. Three interviewees (the senior manager responsible for administering the scheme; a middle manager; a classroom teacher) were repeat interviewed with an interval of one year in between. The senior manager responsible for administering the scheme arranged the interview schedules. Interviewees were identified by the following selection criteria, namely:

- a willingness to be interviewed;
- availability for interview.

This second criterion provided an element of randomisation in the sample of interviewees selected.

Each interview lasted approximately between 30 and 45 minutes.

Information was also taken from documentary sources supplied by the school and the most recent ISI (Independent Schools Inspectorate) inspection (in 2003).

The coding process of the interviews and other documentary evidence involved the formulation, in part inductively, in part with reference to the research questions, of five categories:

- teacher culture;
- evidence of an HR approach to people management;
- the purpose and nature of the performance review schemes;
- the impact of performance review;
- teachers' reward preferences.

Interviewees were asked to complete a questionnaire. 6 questionnaires were completed (out of 12 people interviewed - 50% of the sample). This provided an additional triangulation device.

### **Description of the school**

Westlands School is a selective (from the top 15-20% of the ability range) independent school for pupils aged from 11 to 19. The school is sited in a London dormitory town. The school has over 700 pupils and more than 60 full-time equivalent teachers. Most of the pupils come from middle-class homes within a 15-mile radius.

The most recent inspection by ISI in 2003 described Westlands as 'a good school' in which a variety of factors 'enable the pupils to achieve and to develop'.

The inspectors also found that teachers are hard working, that the standards of attainment are 'good at all stages' and that the management of the school is good with the headteacher giving 'a strong lead'. However they did find that the review and development scheme is inadequate in providing opportunities for career development and that the system of staff review and training is 'uneven' and does not allow 'sufficient opportunities for staff to progress and develop their careers.

## Teacher culture

One middle manager defined Westlands with about as broad a brush as possible. For him, Westlands is a school 'which attempts to get the best out of everybody whatever that best is'. Although nearly all interviewees defined the school in terms of being academically successful, many descriptions of the school referred to historical traditions of high levels of academic achievement; one head of department felt that the school reflected its grammar school origins. Even though the school has been co-educational for a number of years, he said,

I'd say that we're fairly typical boys' day grammar school. It's really in the grammar school tradition. In many respects although it's academically selective, it is pretty undifferentiating within the school itself. We've got reasonably high expectations of our pupils and by and large they fulfil them but it is very much within that day school context.

This view was also supported in large part by a classroom teacher, who judged the school to be 'supportive, stretching, friendly, co-operative, male'.

Another head of department placed Westlands more firmly as an independent school. He did not feel that there was a Westlands way of doing things, more a generic independent school way, though he did foreground the active role in monitoring staff played by the headteacher. This monitoring, despite the freedom for teachers to work in a way that they judged themselves to be effective, ensured a normative focus on academic achievement. For him, the consequence of active monitoring and verbal communication by senior managers -the headteacher in particular - had the impact of reducing paperwork.

You do have here a head who is very much present around the school all the time, and does keep a very close eye on what is going on. And I think you do know - I mean everyone is aware that the senior management team as a whole does know what is happening and I don't think we really need to be constantly sending each other pieces of paper. I mean people do know where things are going wrong. I mean I think ... at the previous school I worked in.. there have been situations where things have been going on in various areas of the school and have gone out of control before people knew what was going on. But I don't think there's ever been a danger of anything like that happening here.

The headteacher, for whom Westlands is an 'academic day school with deep roots in the town community', emphasised the lack of hierarchy on the staff. For him, 'I don't think there is a strong, sense of hierarchy in the common room culture at all'. That view is supported by a classroom teacher 'It's friendly. Very professional I would say. Very strong academic ethos behind what goes on here'.

For one middle manager the high quality of relationships in the context of a purposeful culture was a defining feature. There are good people that work here. The school has a very close sense of purpose'. Describing a culture which gives the staff considerable autonomy, he continued:

I do think people tend to pull together. I think there is a very friendly atmosphere within the staff room. There's I think there's very little of the sort of demarcation disputes you get in a lot of schools - of people clinging to their little bit of authority - I mean everybody has got sensitivities but it is - there's nobody on the staff that I've ever felt I couldn't talk to about things.

For another classroom teacher (with three years experience in the school - his first teaching job), a key feature of the school is the 'mutual respect between staff and students' For him 'It certainly is on the way up. Over the last few years it has been improving significantly in terms of standards of behaviour and academic results and extra curricular activities - all those things are on the up'. He explicitly linked this improvement to the headteacher, 'I think that's largely due to the headmaster who has been here since the early nineties - so, again, it's a very exciting time to be here especially if you're a "smith-ite", if you're one of the new men who has been appointed'.

One middle manager, again judging Westlands to be typical of most independent schools, felt that there was not much communication between departments - 'I think you will find in most independent schools that departments don't communicate tremendously with each other'.

However for another, Westlands differed from other schools in that the 'school that is very supportive of its staff and which seems to achieve continuing improvement without needing to give the staff excessive pressure. On the whole it is supportive - and I think that is a remarkable thing - given my experience in other schools'.

A senior manager concurred:

(Westlands is) currently successful in that we have no trouble whatever in filling the places. We are able to be more selective than we've been in the past because there's more demand to get in to the school. Very hard working. I think Westlands gets its money out of its staff. I think the staff work very hard. Its what everybody says about their school... it's a caring school. But I think genuinely we are. I think the pastoral system here is excellent.

In conclusion, the school shows the closest match to Hargreaves (1995) control-cohesion model. A recurring theme is the notion of a closely monitoring headteacher who lets teachers get on with things in their own way with a high degree of autonomy. However cultural sub-units (typically, though not necessarily at a departmental level)

teachers show less cohesion but are nevertheless clear in the importance of the centrally defined normative objective of achieving academic success.

As a result the nature of the organisation of a department can be fragmented and not cohesive for a number of reasons.

Firstly, there may be individuals performing a wide range of roles in the department. For example one middle manager described his department as being made up of four teachers, though three of those only worked in his department part-time and were nominally line managed by others.

Secondly, a middle manager may have difficulties in adopting a preferred people management approach because of the flat nature of the school hierarchy and the ease of communication with the headteacher. A middle manager, the recently appointed head of a large department, foregrounded the difficulties of imposing any particular departmental HR model given the nature a flat school hierarchy with the potential of by-passing conventional line management structures and enabling communication directly to the headteacher. For him:

I don't think there is much of a line manager culture. Staff ultimately feel their validation, their rewards come from the centre - the Headmaster - and more or less directly and personally actually. So in the end you (as a middle manager) can only act as a facilitator for that.

As a consequence, another head of department similarly felt unable to challenge his departmental colleagues 'there's little one could do that that wouldn't seem impertinent'.

This perception of a Foucauldian panopticon with the headteacher occupying a central role was also apparent at the classroom teacher level of the school hierarchy. As one teacher explained:

I think the thing about this school (is) I would feel quite happy making an appointment to see the Head and say, look... and you could feel quite happy to chat to him about anything. In the back of your mind you wonder if he has a clear idea exactly what's going on. You think he has already worked it out actually and when you walk in you think he knows what I'm going to say.

Reflecting the culture of letting middle managers follow any particular people management strategy, one middle manager commented on the consequent gentle 'drift' of people management processes within his department.

I have never been told that I have to fill out certain forms in terms of the teachers who are with my department. It is part of the stated responsibilities as a head of department, as part of the job description, that you are responsible for the professional development of

people within your department. But in terms of my having to fill in forms to say, you know, I have told X to go on these courses, or I have sat down and discussed with him where he wants to be in 5 years' time.... It's nothing like that.

Consequently, the impact of such people management approaches on the lowest tiers of the school hierarchy and individuals views on their own professional development was typically illustrated (in complimentary terms) by a classroom teacher in a different department:

I've been free to do just about anything I want really. I mean.. I've been trusted to get involved with whatever activities - any new activities I wanted to.....The good thing about the school is they just leave you to get on and do it.

He continued:

We get on very well together and, again, in our department it's great because he (the head of department) is very, very supportive but he will never push you in any way. He just trusts you to get on with it and get on with the job in the way you see fit. He knows you can do it.

Another head of department felt that school culture was more inward than outward looking. His department

is a bit old fashioned at the moment in the way it tends to operate - but it somehow tends to fit the context of the school - which tends to show loyalty, quite traditional grammar school values rather than looking towards say complete fulfilment of the national curriculum as its main objective.

As a consequence, he felt his role to be a 'co-ordinating and managing job'. For him this involved target setting and, as head of department, the nature of this process had a key impact in his attempt at changing the culture of what he judged to have been a 'complacent' department. He judged the success of the department in terms of academic outcomes and target setting, which prior to his appointment, had not happened. He felt he was compared with other departments in those terms.

Within the department my main concern has been to try to bring it in to line with what happens in the rest of the school. I think you can say the department, as it operated before, with experienced teachers all appointed by the previous head, was a successful department but it was in a sense a rather complacent department and that tended to rely on what had worked for many years. And



so I wanted to focus much more on targets - particularly at GCSE, and I wanted the department to have a marking and grading culture that was more in line with the rest of the school - and I think that has been achieved.

In this way an HR approach can be judged to be in place with a normative intent of improved academic outcomes. As the headteacher explained:

My prediction would be that within three or four years the independent sector - the academic end of it anyway - will have looked at what the newspapers are doing with the results, what the DfEE are doing with the results, and trim their sails accordingly and make sure they are at the top of the heap again.

This normative objective is placed within a culture that allows teachers considerable independence in the processes they use to achieve that objective - and middle managers have a facilitating people management role in achieving this objective. As a middle manager explained: 'if there is a Westlands model then I suspect it is an organic one. But its virtue is that it is quite responsive to the needs of individuals. And that's why people feel happy with it I think'.

This has not always been the case. Again emphasising a normative HR approach to people management, the headteacher felt that when he arrived:

It was fairly clear what needed doing. There wasn't much sense of direction. There were conflicts of interest and competing claims within the organisation of the school that needed sorting out, and a common direction needed to be agreed on.

This was associated with 'a little more sense of hierarchy, a little more sense of formal organisation'.

In this hierarchy, the headteacher had no doubt about the place of middle managers - the heads of department. For him 'heads of department are accountable for how well their departments do in academic terms'. As a result 'the whole (school) culture has become more acutely attuned to performance'.

In this context, the job specification of teachers is subsumed in an overarching performance improvement set of undefined and modifiable competencies with the issue of job specifications only appearing as part of the selection procedure. As a senior manager explained:

I have never had a member of staff say to me, 'I'm not doing - that it isn't in my job description'. We would not want that sort of person to be teaching in this school. When we reappoint somebody, we look at what the

person they are replacing has been doing and write a sort of job description.

### **Performance review mechanisms**

Prior to the appointment of the current headteacher, a 'harder' appraisal scheme which left less discretion to heads of departments was in place. This nature of this scheme seems to have been in conflict with the vaguer strategic objectives of the school. This conflict between nature and purpose resulted in the failure of the scheme - a catalyst for which was some poorly delivered inset. As the senior manager responsible for administering the performance review scheme explained

Yes - it (the performance review scheme) was called appraisal in the first place. Since this is confidential I don't mind telling you that what actually drove a cart and horses through our appraisal scheme was a visit from the (inset provider) who came and did a day's inset on it and we were talked to by a guy who had done absolutely no background work at all. He had not appreciated that we already had a scheme up and running in the school, and really he was just so awful that, at the end of the day, everybody said we don't want to know anything about appraisal at all.

This inset was the 'tipping point' - the threat to teacher autonomy presented by the 'harder' nature of the earlier scheme was counter to the prevailing staff culture. School leaders were implementing a non-normative approach to people management and were attempting to impose a normative performance review process - with a resultant cultural dissonance. As a middle manager on the staff at the time explained 'we were divided into appraisers and appraisees and, of course, a lot of people were very upset by that and I think it took a long time to recover'.

This scheme was replaced by a review and development scheme - deliberately not called appraisal. In this scheme, a departmental review takes place every year half way through the first half term. As part of this review the head of department meets the headmaster to talk through the progress of the department over the year. As part of this review the head of department will comment on both pupil and staff performance and normatively foregrounds the primacy of academic achievement. As one head of department explained:

HoD I have to give an account of how the department as a whole is performing and how, you know, in relation to external examination results. I am not given a set of criteria - I mean I set targets for the department.

Interviewer That (account for the headteacher) is generated on a blank sheet of paper?

HoD Yes. Essentially although I think if there were perceived areas of great weakness or concern I suppose I would be instructed to attempt to do them. But, again, you know, that report on the work of the department

doesn't, I mean, I don't in that have any specific brief to comment on the work of individuals within the department. Although usually I do. I mean it is called a review and development session.

Another Head of Department foregrounded the normative objective of academic achievement.

'If you get good results - fine - that's what you should have got. But if you've got poor results then, what did you get wrong, what did you do wrong?'

The senior manager responsible for the review and development scheme described his role as an overseer making sure the process is happening. In this context and reflecting the range of choices available to middle managers, one head of department explained that:

The word appraisal isn't used here. Although I do know there have been appraisals, and I do know that my predecessor who was (a head of department) was appraised by (the head of faculty).

The headteacher felt that the act of setting up the most appropriate performance review scheme has more impact than its continuing implementation. For him:

My feeling is that the importance of an appraisal scheme is, largely, perhaps 75%, in the setting up of it in the first place, and the agreement of the processes that ought to take place. Once it has run for a couple of years. Once it has been through a cycle of maybe two years, paradoxically it becomes far less important to have it at all, formally, because people know what is expected of them. There are no surprises in the appraisal scheme and it does become part of the texture of life in the school. I think we have reached that stage. And I am not terribly exercised if heads of department are not appraising all of their staff every two years. Because I think they know now, everybody knows now, and I don't think there is any disagreement about it, what appraisal is designed to achieve, and therefore the achievement of those things can take place without going through the formalities of appraisal of every year or every two years.

Therefore beyond this annual departmental review, the headteacher leaves the form of performance review and development up to individual departments. Some do the process relatively formally and include target setting and classroom observation - most do not. The senior manager responsible for the scheme explained the 'softer' intent of senior managers:

I think our hope really is that we keep it as informal as possible because the heads of departments are talking to members in their department every day. I mean I appreciate that a formal meeting is very useful.. you sit

down and set targets and things like that - but we would like to think that the review process is going on all the time.

In this context, the senior manager outlined the upward flow of training requests from teachers - these requests are rarely refused.

We have a policy where I try and let people go on as much training as they want to. They (classroom teachers) agree with their head of department what is necessary for them and I try to ensure they go on it.

Classroom observation is rarely formal. One classroom teacher explained the monitoring strategies adopted by his head of department:

I haven't had someone sitting in my class since my first half term when the headmaster came and sat at the back of the lesson. Also at A Level we have two teachers teaching the same group it's quite easy for him (the head of department) to see what's going on in.. I mean he doesn't pry, but he is aware of what's happening. Whenever we have departmental meetings he wants to know what stage you've got to and how things are going. You're not spied on but you know he is there and is fully aware of what's happening.

The headteacher or a member of the senior management team complete the first formal monitoring of performance as part of the induction process - once this has been done and the teacher has satisfied the headteacher of his competency at this early stage he/she is left to get on with it .

By following a model of people management where the centre controls the 'what' by regular departmental auditing and review can be judged to be a 'harder' HR approach - there is an expectation of particular academic outcomes in terms of exam results. However once this task is completed, the middle manager can adopt either a 'harder' or 'softer' people management approach within their own departments as they see fits them to fulfil the 'how' of management. This approach has been commended by Handy (1984) and Torrington and Weightman (1989), though Reeves et al (2002) have warned that the low quality of training received by team leaders mean that they are poorly equipped to fulfil the complex human requirements needed if this approach is to be successful.

In this context, classroom teachers are only expected to adopt particular approaches to 'effective' as judged by themselves and the headteacher. Monitoring is minimal and the teacher will be left to continue with whatever practice they have adopted as long as academic outcomes in terms of exam results are satisfactory. As one highly regarded middle manager explained 'the Head did ask me once whether I was feeling I was coping with everything alright - but I suppose he assumes that if I wasn't I would tell him'.

Another head of department welcomed this approach. For him, 'you can tailor it (the review and development process) to the individual's needs'.

As a consequence, most middle managers have adopted a 'softer' approach - though this is not a straightforward decision as exemplified by the approach adopted by the head of one large department.

Essentially we don't use the word appraisal here at all from what I've picked up. It's a different culture to (his previous school) where appraisals were very much a part of what we did. But that was strong arm management tactics which I wouldn't want to replicate here. It's the difficulty of finding the right path between that and what I see as a rather successively haphazard and liberal approach at times which I think for all his many virtues my predecessor as head of department tended to have.

In contrast, another head of department had borrowed from developments in state schools.

He explained how that within the department, the form of review was 'heavily taken from colleagues in state schools and what they're doing. It's very much preliminary discussions of what we're going to base it on, then we have the discussions, and then people get a written feedback. It doesn't affect the curriculum as such. But what it does is keep everybody on the same course'.

Another middle manager has transduced the departmental audit process '(I) asked them(the teachers in her department) to produce a review of the year of things that have gone well and things that they wish had gone better and then we sit and discuss that'. Though backwards looking in nature, this process is teacher driven - a 'softer' approach. She explained 'that seems to have worked quite well because I think what has happened is that the members of my department think, that they get the feeling they are in control of the conversation, because they produce the document and it's not me saying, you haven't done this or what have you'.

Such a mixed approach can leave the middle managers as 'pigs in the middle' potentially beached by a shortage of cues on the normative processes required from school senior managers who nevertheless are functioning as 'Foucauldian' monitors expecting departments to 'perform' using particular performance indicators - namely GCSE and A level grades.

In this context, the school cannot be described as a learning culture, though it is effective as judged by school leaders.

Some heads of department welcome this situation, whereas others find it difficult to push through what they judge to be necessary reforms. In this context the nature and purpose of the school's performance review system is contingent on the pressures exerted on the head of department either from below or above him/her in the school hierarchy. However this also has to fit into a context of a constant drive to improve academic results - a recurring theme with the headteacher who places performance review as a tool which can be used as required by the head of department, the model

of which depends on the academic performance of that department at any particular time.

One head of department described - though not in complaining terms - the lack of guidance of the form of performance review that a department could adopt.

There isn't a clear framework for how you do (performance review). I think it's largely up to the department heads as to how we approach that.

Despite this, the freedom of middle managers is bounded by the perceptions of what they judge the school culture will 'allow'. To exemplify, one head of department felt that the school culture failed to support the longer term development of teachers. For him, 'I think it would be good if there was some kind of development plan for each individual teacher but it's difficult to do that unless you feel the whole culture of the school is going to support you. And I'm not convinced that it does'. Despite this, he was clear about his role. 'We work very strongly as a team and I've got to facilitate the smooth working of that team'.

An articulation of a desire for short-term academic success is the key normative outcome and a highly significant objective - it's difficult to call it a cultural value - of the school culture. In this respect, the school does have an HR approach to people management of classroom teachers (though not of middle managers) which is 'soft' in its implementation. However by expecting teaching staff to take on a wide range of other roles (give some examples) this is core objective is less foregrounded in documentation, such as the prospectus and other external and internal marketing tools, than might be otherwise expected.

The foregrounding of academic results is widely recognised at other levels of the school hierarchy. For example, for one classroom teacher 'At the end of the day I judge my own success by the results the students achieve. And it's not necessarily obviously that they all get A grades but I obviously want them to do as well as they can and that's the way I judge it'.

In this context the headteacher has chosen an HR strategy to drive up results. He places great importance in the recruitment and selection of the 'right' teachers and then lets them get on with it. He has not bought into the hard HRM performance management route. There is no linkage between the performance review process and the school development plan - there is no insistence on the setting of targets or the developing of particular competences by individual teachers unless the teacher or head of department requires there to be.

In this respect the nature of the review and development scheme fits well with the culture of the school. Foregrounding the monitoring role of the headteacher, one head of department explained:

(the review and development scheme) fits the atmosphere of the school and the personalities within the management team, and the fact that we are still in many respects quite a small school. We're constrained by the

size of the school because it stops it from becoming unwieldy. So everything does function on a very personal level. So, while I wouldn't think of it as precisely line management, I would say I've got very easy access to all members of the senior management team in their various different capacities. And I'm dealing with all of them all of the time over different things. And that the headmaster has an excellent overview of what we are all up to.

A senior manager concurred in this view of accountability when asked to describe the nature of management of the school. For him:

The word that immediately came to mind was that it is much more "intrusive" - that's not the right word - but it is much more .. hands on ... there's much more, I think, link between what's happening, and the idea of line managers is now much more accepted than it was before - its answerability isn't it - whatever I do I'm answerable to so and so.

This change can also be correlated with a change in the role of governors. As a senior manager explained, placing their position in the review and development scheme:

As far as review and development business goes - the head presents to them the outcome of the meeting that we have of reviewing staff development and says... I think these people ought to be given more money ... and the governors generally speaking say... well we agree with you because they don't know any better, so.. they are very supportive That's another thing that's changed When I started teaching - governors - you never saw the governors ... they were just a bloody nuisance. They didn't know anything about teaching, they were just meddling in it and I think now... I mean, I appreciate that governing in the state schools is going through a huge change. I mean I really admire their (the governors) expertise - the legal expertise, the financial expertise, employment law and all sorts of stuff and it's a.... I think we're very lucky with the governors we've got.

### **Impact of performance review**

The headteacher felt that the review and development scheme had served its purpose.

I think it (the review and development scheme) made its difference sometime ago so, yes, and it is probably enough now to keep things on track. I think its days of being revolutionary and making significant changes

were real - but are now done - it has had its effect. But it is not doing anything new now I think.

Reflecting a common theme, one classroom teacher described how the impact of the process had been limited by his workload. For him 'I've been so busy this term, I haven't really put into practice many of the things we discussed' though for a middle manager, the key impact on her has been on ensuring she leaves an appropriate audit trail providing evidence of accountability to senior manager - 'It has certainly made me better organised on paper. I think I always was well organised but I didn't have it all written down and I certainly do now'. However she also recognised that, identifying a normative approach to people management, as a result of the review and development process 'we certainly work better together as a unit. In the past I think we were nine individuals doing our own view of education but we certainly now have a united idea of how we are doing things'.

The teacher on whom performance review has had the least impact is the headteacher. He is not formally appraised. As he explained:

The governors pay lip service to the idea that they are reviewing me. I am responsible for ensuring that there is an on-going development plan and I'm accountable to the governors for the performance of the school as a whole. And so far they seem to have been fairly happy with it. While the curve is upwards I suppose they would be!

Given this, the key element of the performance review is the annual departmental audit. The cycle for performance review within each department is irregular and determined by the head of department. As one classroom teacher explained 'I expect there'll be one in another couple of years but it's on-going really - the process of review and development. If he (the head of department) feels that he has suggestions to make he'll come out and say them.. rather than necessarily doing it formally'.

For another, the process is equally haphazard 'I haven't had an official appraisal or review. I was looked at in my first term of teaching. The headmaster came in and watched me teaching - and the head of department - but that's about as official as it got.

In departments which did value performance review, the timetable for the process could be readily delayed. One classroom teacher explained that

Every couple of years it is supposed to go on as far as (my) department goes. But when things get a bit tight it is the first thing that gets pushed back. If we have other things on it can get delayed. This is my seventh year and I've been appraised once. Every two years doesn't quite work!

For others, the existence of the review scheme took on snark like qualities.



- Teacher** In terms of appraisal there's an appraisal system but I haven't been through it yet.
- Interviewer** Does it (appraisal) feature much in the department?
- Teacher** It doesn't seem to.
- Interviewer** Does it feature much anywhere?
- Teacher** Not sure really... I haven't heard too much about it.

These responses would not have been a surprise to the senior manager responsible for administering the scheme:

I am sure that the people you talk to will say... appraisal? What's that?...but they'll be aware there is a system and it is running. My role really is to oversee it and make sure it is happening.

In departments where a performance review scheme is being implemented a range of what might be termed a 'softer' approaches and reward strategies were evident - one middle manager explained 'I try to make it a positive experience and really congratulate things that have gone well to boost people's feelings or how they are getting on'.

### **Rewards of teaching at Westlands**

The quality of relationships between pupils and teachers and between teachers is a recurring reward. A classroom teacher explained. 'There are a lot of young members of staff which makes it fun because we spend a lot of time together - out of school too. We get on very well together and discuss everything that's happening. Good for acting as sort of recipients for the daily whinge! That's very supportive'.

For a middle manager, through foregrounding the normative function of academic performance as the key performance outcome, praise from pupils - not other teachers - was a key factor.

Sometimes I think you are castigated when you get things wrong and you are expected to get things right. And there isn't a great deal of - what's the word - congratulations, appreciation. For example, if you get good results fine - but that's what you should have got. But if you've got poor results then, what did you get wrong, what did you do wrong. I think the rewards are the pupils. They come back when they have left and occasionally they drop things in. I'll never forget one boy said, 'it's because of you that I could do it'... and you think, 'Oh... my life is worthwhile!' But it comes more from them. I don't mean that the Headmaster and Senior Management don't say 'well done', but it always seems to be that this is what we (the senior management) expected.

An additional reward for many was the range of activities that teachers can involve themselves in at Westlands. One teacher provided a typical response 'Here I've been very supported in the things I've been doing - extra-curricular wise - music, the choir, the jazz band... so that makes it fun. It's the variety is a really important aspect'. For another, 'I like to be able to get outside like two afternoons a week running around on the games field. I think I'd go absolutely mad stuck behind a desk'. This response was echoed by a senior manager - 'I enjoy the variety because I have a lot of contact with people and staff which I enjoy. I have to say I regard getting into the classroom as a form of escapism. I just enjoy my teaching a great deal - getting away from the phone and fax machine and the ruddy computer and things'. Similarly for a middle manager 'I sing with the choir. I have helped on the timetable committee. I've been involved with the PSE programme. I am a form tutor'.

### **Performance related pay**

The school operates a form of performance related pay which is tenuously linked to the performance review process. The headteacher explained how the opportunity arose following a review of the salary structure.

In reorganising our salary scales we really took up a position against the facile equation of performance (linked) with results, because we expect from our staff a much broader commitment to the performance of the school than that. And I think it would be most unhelpful to put in place the sorts of threshold structures that exist in... are now coming into being ... the maintained sector. So we haven't done that.

This approach has had an impact on the nature of how teaching staff are monitored, relying on highly qualitative performance indicators by an autocratic group.

(we) have a very amorphous set of tools for performance management which have an awful lot to do with discretion and intuition. But I think the salary spine we put in place gives us a great deal more flexibility (a) for rewarding people who deserve it even if this (the reason for deserving a reward) is unconventional and (b) for not rewarding people who may be able to tick all the right boxes but actually aren't pulling their weight.

At the same time, the senior manager responsible for administering the review and development scheme explained its purpose in normative terms clearly linking the scheme to school objectives, one of which is not to prioritise the development of staff in terms of their (the teachers) own objectives. Though this in fact happens is a consequence of the adoption of a 'softer' HR approach within the confines of an expectation of particular normative performance outcomes.

The senior manager explained:

We are trying to equip our staff as well as we can, and support them as well as we can, so they can teach as

well as they can. I'm not sure it would be fair to say we are doing this for staff reward..... not really. I always try to take a global picture and say now what benefit is the school going to get from it as a whole. I think it would be fairer to say that rather than (for) individuals (benefit).

He continued:

Because of the change to staff salaries since performance related pay (as introduced in the state sector), we have looked at the whole system as a school and we have basically our own pay structure now and so what we have done is we've simply put in, as it were, more steps in the ladders. What happens is that the (senior deputy) and I and the head meet every Easter term and we go through every member of staff, and we decide - it's done really on a balance of both performance in the classroom and also their contribution to the life of the school - extra curricular stuff and so on. So in a sense I know there is this kind of dichotomy between performance and exam results and responsibility for extra curricular things and they are supposed to be kept separately, but actually we look at them together so we try and decide what the total contribution to school life is of a particular member of staff and then they, you know, go up one or two or whatever points on our many-tiered level.

The headteacher concurred in broad terms with this analysis distancing the performance review scheme, though not completely disconnecting it from financial rewards:

There is not straightforward, quantifiable, financial link between appraisal and review and development and salary - no directly quantifiable one. But each year all staff salaries are reviewed by senior management, and that represents, (because it's quite a large body), I am confident that a very large body of awareness of experience of who is doing what in the school. And on the basis of that, that information has in some degree been generated by the appraisal process, recommendations from heads of departments to me about how individual staff might be assessed in salary terms. Recommendations are then put to the governors about who should get what, whether promotion should take place and so on.

One classroom teacher described the process from his perspective - which foregrounds an overarching role for the headteacher in monitoring a range of

perceived performance indicators (which don't include formal monitoring of classroom performance).

(the headteacher) discusses (the teacher's performance) with the head of department. He can see various aspects of your job. He can see how you are writing reports. He can see how the letters home are going. He can see the way in which you contribute to the Tutors' Meetings, or whatever and, obviously, dealing with parents. He knows what's happening. He is certainly not an aloof headmaster. And you know when you take on responsibilities - I took on the charities from the charity fund raising event that was an extra pay point - and then he gave me another pay point in recognition of the GCSE commitments I'd taken on - and all the extra curricular musical stuff I was doing.

Though responsibility for certain tasks could be financially rewarded, another head of department recognised that the headteacher 'has a certain discretion over the salary points he awards to heads of department for example. So I can see a potential to increase my salary through what I do'.

In this context, the annual departmental audit has a significant impact in determining financial rewards though the performance indicators which will result in a reward are varied in manner and some ill-defined.

Key performance indicators need not exclusively be academic and involved complex, though not particularly transparent, judgements which may result in a financial reward. The senior manager responsible for administering the scheme explained.

There are a huge numbers of things - as in many schools like ours - a huge number of things going on out of school which require huge staff presence. And we look at what people are doing, how much time they are putting into it, and how good a job we think they are doing - and how much responsibility they've got. I mean there's a big Duke of Edinburgh Scheme and you know some people are very committed because they are leading expeditions and things. So all that is looked at (as part of the departmental audit).

### **Impact of recruitment**

As one middle manager explained 'It's a phenomenally expensive part of the country. They'd never get anybody to come here if they didn't pay salaries above what state schools offer'.

The headteacher places great store on the linkage of an ability to perform additional extra-curricular or pastoral tasks in the selection procedure. This is linked to the key

normative performance indicator of being able to provide high level external exam outcomes by pupils. A senior manager listed the batting order

We are looking for somebody who is, first of all, strong academically; secondly, has a good contribution to make to the extra curricular life of the school; and then somebody who is going to fit in well and be pleasant to work with.

Typically, one teacher explained that on appointment seven years ago:

I felt I was a (subject) teacher first but also other things as well along with it. Whenever the appointments go up on the board and it's mentioned who's coming in and it also mentions what sort of sports they do and that sort of thing. So it is never just what they teach. Equally, when I first got here it was expected that you would actually do some sort of extra curricular

### **Conclusion**

Westlands School's teacher culture is easier to define by what it is not. Westlands is not a learning or improving school. The main form of discourse is not one of managerialism. It is almost impossible to find any examples of what may be termed the manager-speak of line managers, job specification and models of teacher effectiveness that is apparent in many state schools. Indeed the main metaphor that comes to mind is of a buoy (representing the teaching staff) floating in a relatively calm sea (the market for pupils in an affluent locality) and anchored by a headteacher firmly held in a bed of high levels of academic performance outcomes by pupils.

Westlands School's teacher culture can be characterised as being closest to Hargreaves (1995) formal control-cohesion model - with high control of teaching staff and low cohesion within the teaching staff. The level of cohesion however varies from group (which may be an academic department) to group. The high central control has the normative objective of high academic performance outcomes at GCSE and A level. The low cohesion stems from the perceived freedom given to middle managers and teachers in the achievement of this objective. As long as it is achieved, middle managers and classroom teachers are 'free' to adopt any teaching mechanism. However this leads to an essential conservatism in teacher and middle manager approaches, with a lack of distributed leadership. What may be termed a Foucauldian panopticon is apparent as a result of the close central monitoring by senior managers. This is not a learning or improving organisation, though it is effective in terms of pupil recruitment and achievement.

The management hierarchy is flat with essentially three layers (senior managers, middle managers (with few sub-divisions) and classroom teachers. The headteacher is very approachable and classroom teachers are able to by-pass their nominal line managers and discuss issues of concern with him. This can have the effect of limiting the 'hardness' or 'softness' of middle managers people management strategies resulting in a consequent similarity of middle management approach.

The essential conservatism of middle managers has led to what may be termed a 'softer' approach to people management within departments. However this approach has no centrally framed long term objectives in making staff work more flexibly, developing appropriate career paths and foregrounding professional development (though this is a nominal objective of the teacher 'review and development scheme'). Whether this happens or not is largely initiated 'bottom upwards' by individual teachers rather than 'top downwards' as a result of a centrally derived policy initiative relating to teaching and learning.

Performance review of individual teachers in a formal sense has become haphazard at Westlands. Formal performance review of individual teachers has not been prioritised by the headteacher and, though a performance review policy exists and a senior manager administers its organisation, the nature and purpose of formal performance review is left to individual middle managers. This is not to say that there is no formal performance review process. The key formal monitoring process is a thorough annual performance audit of academic departments (in terms of academic performance outcomes of departments and teachers within those departments). This process is completed by the headteacher interviewing heads of department. It is rigorously timetabled and is 'hard' and summative.

There is a form of performance related pay which is decided by senior managers and which is informed not just by academic performance but also performance in other areas, such as extra-curricular and pastoral. The indicators for achievement of a performance-related reward are not formally widely known and can change.