'I LOVE TEACHING BUT I HATE BEING A TEACHER': HOW CAN EFFECTIVE TEACHERS FLOURISH?

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DECLARATION OF WORD COUNT

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DECLARATION

I, John Peter Holmes confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT

Much has recently been written about the challenging working conditions facing teachers, with many authors taking the view that such challenging working conditions are inevitable or, at the very least, beyond teachers' control. This study questions that assumption, asking whether it is possible for teachers to improve their working conditions without performing their roles any less effectively. It is a case study of a secondary school where teacher welfare has been a leadership focus, and aims to draw on the experience of teachers who are flourishing: teaching effectively and experiencing positive working conditions. The literature on teachers' working conditions, school effectiveness and flourishing teachers is reviewed and it is noted that judgements about the effectiveness of teaching are only possible when it is clear what aims are sought through schooling. This study makes use of Q-methodology to investigate the aims that teachers seek through teaching and how they think they can best pursue them; a questionnaire to investigate how well teachers' actual working patterns align with their ideals; and interviews to explore those areas that do not align. The findings show that, as predicted by the literature, teachers see the ends of education as those most closely related to the idea of helping children develop or learn. Teachers generally spend time on the tasks they consider most valuable for pursuing these identified ends, but they feel they spend too much time on some activities such as marking and data entry and not enough time planning or building relationships. The Academy's use of restrictive policies is identified as a cause for this suboptimal allocation of time and ways of reforming these policies are considered. Surprisingly, teachers accepted the necessity of restrictive policies and were unable to articulate other ways of working. It is argued that this acceptance is the result of a bounded imagination, prompted by the neoliberal, performative context in which teachers operate. This bounded imagination goes some way to explaining the perception that poor working conditions are inevitable, and ways of explicating and responding to it are priorities for further study.

IMPACT STATEMENT

The most obvious benefits from this research will accrue to the staff and students of the institution in which the research has been conducted. The Academy leadership has implemented, or is in the process of implementing, the recommendations made in this thesis. These recommendations are derived from research in that institution and make highly specific recommendations which aim to both improve the working conditions of teachers and school leaders, and help those teachers work more effectively. Whilst the Academy has been committed to improving the working conditions of its teachers, this research identified barriers that may cause these efforts to have limited efficacy. This is an important first step to removing those barriers and generating more significant improvements.

The Academy is part of a multi-academy trust and has strong links with other schools in its region. These links have provided opportunities to disseminate research and, as a result of this dissemination, these institutions are starting to make changes and reforms to their ways of working. This has the potential to yield significant benefit to both staff and students at those schools.

I understand the need to disseminate the findings of this research more widely. I have recently completed an application on behalf of my Trust to form a Research School. This status would provide an opportunity to expand a network of partner schools with the explicit intention of sharing evidence with those schools, including the insight generated by this thesis. Regardless of whether this application is successful, I am committed to using the time I have been dedicating to writing the thesis to disseminating its findings, and I will seek to make do so using social media, and contributing to outlets such as the TES, and school-led conferences.

Finally, I must emphasise the benefits to my own professional knowledge. Completing the thesis has made me a better teacher and school leader. The research has given me a better understanding of how to help children and how to support my colleagues. Whilst the subsequent changes to my practice and leadership style may directly impact only a relatively small audience, I will do my utmost to ensure the impact will be significant.

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Completing this thesis has been exceptionally rewarding, though commensurately challenging. This challenge, like most, has been overcome thanks to a team-effort. Without the support and guidance of a large number of people, this work would have proved simply impossible.

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Thank you to my colleagues and friends in education from whom I have learned so much. I could not have embarked on this project without the support of Claire Maclean and Peter Rock, nor continued it without the support of Sam Roach and Keith Slater. I struggle to think of four people who have added more to their local communities, and they remain my best source of expertise about school leadership.

I would like to thank Professor Peter Earley for sharing his advice and expertise so generously. My research and the subsequent write-up were greatly enriched by his inestimable contribution.

Peter is the latest in a long line of amazing teachers who have enriched my entire life. They are too numerous to name but all of them have my appreciation. Of course, the first and greatest of my teachers were my parents and older brother, to whom I am inexpressibly grateful.

Finally, I thank the participants in this, and my previous, research, especially those who were kind enough to make multiple contributions. I could not have completed research without your time and any benefits that accrue to you and your colleagues stem from your generosity and insight.

REFLECTIVE STATEMENT

My work throughout the EdD has been linked to the working conditions of teachers. My interest in this topic is at least partly autobiographical. I embarked upon a doctoral degree within a month of starting a new senior leadership role in a secondary academy and, more importantly, the arrival of my second child. This influx of responsibility unsurprisingly sharpened my focus on work-life balance and the manner in which I worked.

Fortunately for me, the doctoral programme began with the Foundations of Professionalism module: a unit that was entirely apposite to these changes in my circumstances. This module highlighted questions that, for the duration of my relatively short teaching career, had gone unasked, and therefore unanswered. I had come to accept, albeit grudgingly, that systems of high stakes accountability were an inevitable part of the profession. For the first time, I felt able to critically analyse their impact and consider alternative models. I also felt able to consider different approaches to developing my practice both inside and outside of the classroom: I had not previously observed the disconnect between my superficial understanding of teaching as an academic profession, and my experience of it as type of apprenticeship, where methods of teaching were learned by imitating more experienced colleagues.

These insights changed the way I worked both as a manager and teacher. I engaged more readily and more critically with the research literature within the areas where I worked. Conversations with, and advice from, colleagues came to supplement this research where before they had provided the bulk of the information upon which I based decisions. I became more reflective. I felt that I was able to perform my role as well as I had before, even though the doctorate provided additional workload and my family life meant I committed less time to work. What did this suggest about the way in which I had been working before?

My enjoyment of the material on professionalism led to me reading very widely and struggling to settle on a final topic for the essay. In the event, I wrote about the ethical dilemmas facing educational professionals as they attempt to balance the

demands of performative systems and their own moral principles. In the meantime, my interest in what I was reading led me to change my intended research focus from my initial plan of student-centred research on non-cognitive skills, as described in my application, to teacher-centred research on the impact of accountability measures, with a particular focus on overwork. This was precipitated by a realisation, based on my research into performativity, that non-cognitive skills would continue to be overlooked in secondary schools as long as they were not included within national school assessment measures. It was also based on research that suggested to me that alternative ways of running schools could exist, and could be successful: even within the current accountability system.

Thus I started Methods of Enquiry One with a sense of optimism and purpose. Its focus on methodology helped me to refine my chosen research topic. I had thought I would immediately begin to tackle the problem of workload but as I read more I came to see that this plan was based on realist assumptions about the nature of overwork. On reflection, I didn't accept these assumptions, and I was drawn to the claim of situated epistemology that it is only possible to give an objective view of the world as it appears to a particular person at a different time. I realised that different people will have different understandings of what kind of workload constitutes overwork, of the causes of overwork, and even of which activities count as 'work'. This being the case, no single, context-independent solution for overwork would exist.

These insights led me to modify my research so that I began by exploring teachers' perceptions of overwork within the specific context of my school. My MoE1 essay was a proposal for this research and my Methods of Enquiry Two (MoE2) essay was a report of this research, which consisted of a single group interview. These two modules were useful for me as a professional and as a researcher. My insights about the different ways people see the world from the former made me, I feel, a better manager and teacher. Where I might have previously approached a dispute with the intention of discovering who is right, I've come to see that two people at odds may often both be right, based on where they are standing. This has made attempts to resolve disputes more successful. The understanding of research methods from MoE2 was particularly useful to me since my undergraduate

background, in philosophy, had not required any primary research. Indeed, my last attempt at primary research was a GCSE coursework project for business studies. I was initially overwhelmed by both the sheer volume of research methods and the number of decisions that had to be taken with respect to each one. It had not occurred to me, in my naiveté, that there would be such rich debates about whether to transcribe naturally or non-naturalistically, or which method of coding to choose. Challenging though I found it to engage with these debates, the module amply served its purpose of preparing me for my Institution Focussed Study (IFS).

My findings from the first year's research suggested that overwork, thought of as a function of hours worked, was not appropriate for me to explore as an end in itself. The teachers I interviewed, when reflecting on overwork, equated it less with the number of hours worked, and more with stress, anxiety and the extent to which work impinged on leisure time by, say, preying on a teacher's mind. I also became worried that research into overwork may well yield insight into the problem, but was less likely to offer insight into solutions. Worse yet, asking people to spend time thinking and talking about an issue may even alter their perceptions after the interview, worsening any problems they are experiencing.

I therefore chose to research motivation for my IFS: a concept that recognises that certain patterns of work are neither intrinsically good nor bad. I largely made use of interviews to conduct this research, with a single questionnaire survey to offer some triangulation. I soon came to see motivation must be supplemented with a consideration of job satisfaction, since highly motivated, hardworking teachers with terrible pay and conditions would be far from desirable. The interview schedule emphasised asking teachers when things had been at their best, so that successes and solutions could be drawn out and I interviewed only long-serving teachers since, *prima facie*, they must have had generally positive experiences of teaching if they have remained in the profession for such a long time.

My IFS allowed me to make several practical recommendations and deepened my understanding of teacher satisfaction and motivation. As ever, though, the more one finds about a topic, the more one realised how much more there is to learn. I was left perplexed by my interviewees' insistence that there were some challenging aspects of teaching that were unavoidable and inevitable. Their advice for less

experienced teachers was to steel themselves against such experiences and find ways of coping. I saw this attitude mirrored in much contemporary writing on the supposed crisis in teacher morale, which seemed to assume that in the current climate, all teachers must face challenging working conditions. For these teachers, the solutions were external. If more teachers were hired, or student numbers decreased, their workloads might improve. In the meantime, there was nothing that could be done.

I felt this claim did not withstand scrutiny. Surely some teachers would be able to work more efficiently than others, and so teachers could improve their lot by becoming more efficient? After all, my experience upon starting the doctorate was that I had to find ways of working more efficiently to manage the increased load. I was interested as to the causes and effects of this assumption. Why did it seem so pervasive? Would a belief that poor working conditions were inevitable in some way cause poor working conditions? I resolved to investigate this area for my thesis.

The process of completing the thesis saw my research change in ways I had not anticipated. Efficiency, or effectiveness, can only be judged relative to a particular end. I therefore found myself using Q-methodology to assess the aims of education judged to be most important by my colleagues: my first encounter with this fascinating research tool. I am deeply indebted to my pre-thesis review for suggesting its use. I believe I found, in some form, an explanation for the pervasiveness of the assumption of challenging working conditions and confirmed my fear that this belief is likely to cause challenging working conditions. My hope was that this diagnosis is the first step towards a cure.

I embarked upon the EdD with very little idea of what to expect. I thought that it was important for teachers to use research, I found it difficult to find the time to engage with research, and I thought the EdD would be a good way of forcing me to find that time, and it did do just that. What I had not anticipated was just how significant this would be.

My experience on the EdD has made me a better teacher, a better manager and a better school leader. My classroom practice became more evidence-informed and, thanks to the skills I developed through doctoral study, I was able to engage with this evidence in a more critical way. I learned more about effective school management

and leadership, redoubling my methods to communicate my values explicitly, communicate more effectively, and make decisions more collaboratively.

The most rewarding part of completing the EdD is the thought that it has enabled me to help people. The fact that I was able to perform my roles better as a result of my studies meant I could help my own students, and the colleagues with whom I worked most closely, more effectively. I was also able to use my findings from the doctorate to make wide scale changes to the Academy in which I work. I was fortunate to work with a Principal and Senior Leadership Team who supported the aim of improving working conditions for staff within the Academy. Together we made this an explicit goal, implementing welfare weeks, regular after-school activities for staff, more social events, new ways of communicating gratitude and recognition and found opportunities for children to express their gratitude to their teachers. We worked consultatively with teachers to make policies more flexible, reduce the number of significant assessment and marking points, eliminate some requirements for data entry, automate data analysis, and move to a more collaborative and developmental system of lesson observations and staff development. Staff workforce surveys have shown that the Academy was a happy place to work when I began my doctorate; the same survey, repeated, has shown that it is even happier now. I certainly cannot take all of the credit for these changes, but I feel that my work has contributed to this in some way.

My thesis has pointed to areas to make further improvements, and as I complete the doctorate I look forward to working hard to implement these, and to share the research findings with other schools with the hope that teachers and children at those schools can share in the benefits of this work.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Full name
CPDL	Continuing professional development and learning
DfE	Department for Education
DIRT	Directed improvement and reflection time
EEF	Education Endowment Fund
IFS	Institution Focussed Study
KGC	Kaiser-Guttman criterion
MMR	Mixed methods research
Ofsted	The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
QA	Quality assurance
RCT	Randomised controlled trials
SDT	Self-determination theory
TWS	Total weighted score

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 RATIONALE

The view that there is a crisis within the UK teaching profession has become increasingly commonplace in the media in recent years. This crisis centres on issues of teacher working conditions and morale and, consequently, on teacher recruitment and retention. We are told in one article, for example, that 82% of teachers feel they have unmanageable workloads, 75% say that their work has a serious impact on their mental health, and 43% are planning to leave the profession within five years (Lightfoot, 2016). Another article reports 'staggeringly high' numbers of teachers planning to leave the profession, with almost half of teachers stating that mental health concerns could lead them to resign (Pells, 2017). These numbers, which are drawn from self-report surveys may not be entirely accurate and must be balanced against Department for Education (DfE) statistics showing that 5.7% of teachers leave the profession prematurely each year (DfE, 2010). Nevertheless, they point to difficulties experienced by a significant proportion of teachers and, notably, both the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and the Government have accepted the existence of these difficulties (DfE, 2014; 2018a; Ofsted, 2014; Morgan, 2014). The TES feels that workload, in particular, is such a critical issue within the profession that it published more than three workload-related articles per week to its website throughout 2018.

For many of the authors of these articles it is clear that the Government and Ofsted are the principal architects of this alleged crisis, largely through their use of performative or high stakes accountability systems (Bousted, 2017; Carty, 2017; Kibul, 2017). School leaders, too, bear responsibility for their implementation of school policies that mimic these systems (Anonymous, 2016; George, 2017; Tidd, 2017) although other authors present them as coerced by national policies and suffering at least as much harm as the teachers in their schools (Busby, 2016; Collingwood, 2016). In this narrative, teachers are largely passive with very little autonomy regarding their working conditions or the other ways in which they respond to national and school policies. Thus Mroz (2017) calls for a 'concerted effort by everyone on teacher well-being' but neglects to include teachers in her list of people who must make this effort. Instead, they must rely upon 'government, unions,

schools and governing bodies'. One teacher, writing anonymously, details several ways they fabricate internal data to create an illusion of learning by, for example, requiring students to copy out another student's work. They then go on to deny any responsibility for their actions, which they see as inevitable given the system in which they work: 'do you see what we are driven to in order to protect our reputations?' (Anonymous, 2017a). Another anonymous author (2017b) explains that her teaching workload 'caused her to have a breakdown' and that she was driven out of the profession. Again, the locus of control is entirely external.

I do not wish to question the very real personal and professional difficulties of the authors of these articles. Indeed, I am a school leader and a one-time classroom teacher whose entire professional career has taken place under the same high stakes accountability, or performative, systems they criticise. I have seen teachers, many of whom were immensely passionate, dedicated and talented, leave the profession because of what they experienced as the demanding and draining nature of teaching and the associated accountability pressures. At times, I have found my own work difficult to manage, and my personal concerns have led me to conduct my own research into working conditions and motivation. It is this research that has led me to take issue with an underlying premise that these authors share: that teachers and school leaders within the 21st century English education system have little or no control over, or responsibility for, their working conditions.

This premise was held by some of the participants in my Institution Focussed Study (Holmes, 2017). This study asked how secondary schools could promote teacher motivation, drawing particularly on the insight of teachers who had remained in the profession for longer than ten years. I found that the teachers I interviewed expressed a belief that teaching was immensely worthwhile and so reported that they were highly motivated to do things that would help them teach effectively. I also found, though, a tension between this claim and the fact that, in the interviews, no teacher expressed any preference for tasks that would allow them to have a greater impact on children for the same amount of effort. For these teachers, long hours seemed to be a given. I also found it telling that when asked what advice they might have for younger teachers who were finding the job challenging, not one teacher suggested seeking out ways of reducing the level of challenge. They suggested,

instead, that teachers had to develop coping strategies and accept the inevitability of, and thrive within, difficult working conditions.

There are many reasons that the participants in my study might not have mentioned teachers' ability to work efficiently and create manageable working conditions. Nor is it the case that absence of evidence for a concern with such practices is evidence of absence of such a concern. Nevertheless, one plausible explanation for their silence in this area is that they, like the authors of the aforementioned articles, think that teachers are unable to exert meaningful control over their working conditions. Their efforts should instead be directed at steeling themselves to cope with the inevitably high level of challenge and workload.

Such an attitude may not be causally inert. Rather, a belief that challenging working conditions such as long hours are inevitable may plausibly be a cause, as well as an effect, of those conditions. One causal mechanism is readily apparent: why would anybody seek ways to improve working conditions if such improvements are impossible? Subtler and, perhaps, more sinister is another implication of the claim that challenging working conditions are an inevitable part of teaching. For if this is true, then a teacher who does not endure challenging working conditions must have neglected some part of their job. Equally, a teacher whose working conditions are particularly challenging must have fully embraced all aspects of teaching: they are dedicated, enthusiastic and committed. Challenging working conditions, therefore, become part of the professional culture of teaching.

My Institution Focussed Study led me to imagine a factory where workers take great pride in their work, which they consider to be enjoyable and worthwhile. The downside of working in this factory is that sometimes the workers get burned. These burns hurt, and they cause blisters and accompanying scars. Unsurprisingly, as rewarding as the job is, some workers leave because they become fed up with the burns. The ones that stay accept the burns. They say that this is an inevitable part of this immensely rewarding job, and that the best workers are not only able to cope well with the repetitive burns, but actively seek to work in places where burns are more likely to happen. Burn scars, they think, are an indication of enthusiasm and effectiveness; and many-scarred arms are an unwritten prerequisite for managerial posts. In fact, when managers make safety gloves freely available, and even

encourage the workers to wear them, the workers choose not to do so. By now, their belief that burns are an inevitable part of doing a good job are so endemic that they simply assume, without any evidence, that the gloves will impede their ability to work well. More perniciously, nobody wants to be the first person to wear the gloves, or even to try them out, lest their commitment to this important work be doubted.

Imagine the thoughts of a new worker as they learn the culture of the factory. Their inclination is, unsurprisingly, to wear safety gloves but they quickly notice that no one else does. They hear their fellow workers complain about the burns, whilst maintaining that their job is too important to wear safety gloves, and they note that the managers and most respected members of staff seem to have more burn scars than anyone else. Perhaps they read articles where authors say they have no choice but to forego the gloves. Perhaps they notice that when the most experienced workers are asked for advice about how to stay motivated and enjoy the job in the long term they suggest that young workers get used to the burns. In this scenario, it seems likely the new worker will eschew the safety gloves and may feel they have no choice in the matter. Whether or not their career in the factory is as long or as enjoyable as it might otherwise have been remains to be seen.

The workers in this factory have created a culture that will perpetuate itself, founded on a set of beliefs that may simply be wrong. I hope the analogy is clear: the beliefs about burns are equivalent to the widely, though not universally, held beliefs about the inevitably of challenging working conditions. This study began with the thought that it is necessary to critique this assumption, just as it would be right to investigate whether safety gloves really did impede the quality of work within the factory. It took as its starting point the claim that it may be possible for teachers to improve their working conditions including, though not limited to, their workload. It also took, as axiomatic, the principle that any such improvement should not undermine the effectiveness of teachers' work in securing positive outcomes for their children. Whilst a positive outcome for children is not the only thing of value in education systems (it would be wrong to ask teachers to undergo great hardship and pain for tiny gains in children's outcomes) it is certainly of central value.

These considerations led to the following research question:

> *To what extent can teachers and school leaders improve their working conditions whilst performing their roles as effectively, or even more effectively?*

This particular question appears to give priority to working conditions rather than effectiveness. Why not ask about the extent to which teachers can be more effective without worsening their working conditions? This latter question gives priority to effectiveness and, therefore, outcomes for children, and so may strike many as being of greater import.

The two different questions can be distinguished by the relative priority they give to classroom practice. Suppose a teacher dramatically improved their pedagogy so that children learned more inside their lessons without the teacher having to work longer hours. This would point to a way to improve effectiveness without worsening working conditions, but not necessarily to a way of improving working conditions without limiting effectiveness. On the other hand, suppose a teacher found a way to eliminate a meaningless data entry task outside of the classroom, saving wasted time and energy without adversely affecting outcomes for children. This would indicate ways that teachers might improve working conditions without being less effective, but would not suggest ways to improve effectiveness without worsening working conditions.

I am interested in investigating solutions of the latter type. Not because I consider improving practice inside the classroom unimportant, but because I believe its importance is widely recognised, and rightly so. Solutions of the second type, which imply teachers and leaders have control over their working patterns, and may be able to make better choices, are those that I consider to be neglected and, therefore, more in need of further research.

1.2 Context

This research was conducted within, and so shaped by, the English education system. It is therefore necessary to consider the salient features of that system, particularly the significant reforms that is has undergone since the 1980s. These reforms can be characterised as neoliberal (DfE, 1992; Gordon and Whitty, 1997;

Keep, 2006; Lorenz, 2012), where neoliberalism is understood as the doctrine that economic markets, and the logic of competition, should be the guiding principle by which society is organised (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Within education, parents are placed in the role of consumer, choosing the school in which they wish to enrol their children. Schools, which are funded based on the number of children on roll, compete with each other to attract these parental customers. Successful schools grow and expand; unsuccessful schools must improve or face a falling roll and, eventually, closure. The intended result, and the rationale of these reforms, is that more children will attend successful schools and, whilst all children will benefit, the greatest gains will be for those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Broadfoot, 1999; Gove, 2013).

Ball (2005) has argued that there are two key mechanisms by which these reforms have been achieved. Firstly, performativity, which 'is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of control, attrition and change' (p.6). Secondly, mangerialism, which is an approach to management that seeks to 'instil performativity in the worker's soul' (p.6). Consider the introduction of Ofsted inspections in 1992. Their publicly published inspection judgements were intended to facilitate parental choice (Elliott, 2012). Negative judgements can have serious consequences for a school, generating further inspections, negative media attention and parents withdrawing their children. This, in turn, can make further negative judgements more likely and a downward spiral can ensue (Rosenthal, 2004). Inspections can also have serious consequences for individual leaders, with some headteachers reporting that they were dismissed from their post following disappointing Ofsted reports (Barton, 2018; Tickle, 2017). Given the high stakes nature of these inspections, they serve as performative mechanisms for control and change, as schools will adapt their practice in ways that will secure positive Ofsted outcomes. Here, performativity runs in tandem with mangerialism, as change within schools requires managers to coach, persuade or coerce teachers into adapting their practice, often by replicating the system of lesson observations and analysis used by Ofsted.

These mechanisms have not, however, been successful in improving educational achievement in the UK (Broadfoot, 2002; Wiliam, 2010). GCSE results did improve every year for the first 23 years following their introduction (Vasagar, 2010).

However, throughout this period the performance of British students in international surveys, such as PISA, PIRLS and TIMSS, remained static (Coe, 2013). This ostensible contradiction may be explained by Hursh (2005) who, drawing his evidence from New York and Texas, suggests that the State Education Department sets grading boundaries for each standardised test and so will be able to manipulate these based on whether it wants to appear tough, or to appear as though the quality of education in the state is improving. Alternatively, teachers may simply have become better at teaching to the test or the requirements of GCSEs. Lipman (2004) reports that teachers in Chicago spent significant periods of time preparing their students for standardised tests, neglecting more complex knowledge, even when they felt that to do so was to the detriment of their students. Hutchings (2015) describes the same phenomenon in English schools. She argues that some schools have become little more than exam factories, resorting to measures such as narrowing their curriculum offer and entering pupils for unsuitable qualifications in order to meet the demands of accountability measures.

Even if standards in school have not improved, it seems clear that neoliberal reforms have changed cultures within schools and, with them, the experiences of teachers in the English educational system. One casualty has been the quality of teachers' relationships with pupils and with each other. The former have suffered as teachers have transferred the pressure they feel to achieve performative standards onto children, focussing more on results-orientated goals rather than their individual needs (Jeffrey, 2002; Mausethagen, 2013a). The latter have suffered as teachers have increasingly felt that they are in competition with one another, and as centrally imposed policy has crowded out opportunities for collegiate policy development (Jeffrey, 2002).

Neoliberal reforms have also had a pernicious influence on teachers' feelings of control and competence. Teachers increasingly deliver content that, thanks to the national curriculum, is centrally prescribed. The performative system of inspection has also led to the manner in which teachers deliver that content being centrally prescribed as school leaders try to ensure that teachers use particular pedagogical practices in the hope of securing a positive inspection result (Day and Smethen, 2009; Osgood, 2006; Perryman et al, 2011). Worse, the curriculum and favoured ways of teaching regularly change, preventing teachers from developing expertise in

any one system. Instead, they regularly find themselves in the role of a novice and must invest time in mastering a new system rather than focussing, as they ideally would, on their pedagogical development (Day and Sachs, 2004; Wiliam, 2010).

Ball (2003, p.221) sums up the costs of neoliberal reforms as leading to a 'values schizophrenia' where teachers' judgements about good practice and students' needs are split from the rigorous demands of performativity. This sets up uncomfortable personal and moral dilemmas about what to do when these two sets of values compete. All too often, teachers are coerced into favouring the demands of performativity, thereby acting against their better judgement, causing feelings of alienation, inauthenticity, and great distress.

Whilst performativity and managerialism have unarguably changed school cultures, not every school has been affected in precisely the same way, as local contexts have responded and adapted to reforms in a variety of ways. The local context of this research is therefore as significant to its outcomes as the national context. This study took place within a secondary academy in the West Midlands. The leadership of the Academy are explicitly committed to supporting staff well-being, which is a key performance indicator for reporting to governors. As a result of this focus, the Academy has recently reformed performance management procedures with the intention that the system is less time-consuming, and has a greater focus on improvement as opposed to judgement. It has also reformed its approach toward lesson observations, once again seeking to switch the focus from judgement to school improvement and staff development. As policies are introduced, or reviewed, the implication for workload is a key consideration. It has also sought to address staff well-being directly through 'welfare weeks', free refreshments and reduced teacher allocations.

The context of this study, then, is a secondary academy where senior leaders have attempted to mitigate the negative effects of neoliberal reforms to the English education system.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of the literature begins with the aim of refining and clarifying the terms used in the research question, beginning with improved working conditions before moving onto effective teaching. I subsequently review the literature on teachers who are teaching effectively and have positive working conditions, and previous research into what determines whether or not teachers flourish in this manner. Finally, the themes that have emerged from the literature review are summarised in a conceptual framework.

The literature in this review was found primarily through the use of Google Scholar and an electronic search of the Institute of Education, University College London library. The first search strategy involved searching using a combination of key words around the central concepts, including effective teaching; school effectiveness research; teacher working conditions; flourishing teachers and teacher well-being. As further terms and key authors became clear, they were included in the search terms. The second search strategy was to screen the bibliography of relevant articles for useful studies. Finally, the Google Scholar 'cited by' function was used, to search studies that had cited articles already referenced in the literature review. In each case, only English language articles were considered.

2.1 WORKING CONDITIONS: MOTIVATION AND SATISFACTION

This research began with the thought that it may be possible for teachers to improve their working conditions without adversely affecting the children with whom they work (§1.1). Yet the majority of the commentators cited who discussed challenging working conditions were focussed solely on workload, and workload has been the target of the government's plan to address teacher morale (DfE, 2014) and, more recently, features heavily in its strategy for recruitment and retention (DfE, 2019). It is therefore necessary to justify the decision to address the broader notion of 'difficult working conditions' rather than workload and working hours. There is certainly compelling evidence that excessive workload, sometimes referred to as 'overwork', is a serious problem for teachers, affecting their mental and physical health, their well-being, and even the well-being of their friends and families (Burchielli et al., 2006; Greenhaus et al., 2003). Given the breadth of the problems caused by

overwork, it is unsurprising that it has repeatedly been found to be a significant reason, if not the most significant one, for teachers to leave the profession (Barmby, 2006; Smithers and Robinson, 2003; Tye and O'Brien, 2002).

However, overwork has been found not to be the only reason teachers leave the profession. Ingersoll (2002), in his analysis of a national survey of teachers in the USA who have changed jobs, found that over a quarter gave job dissatisfaction as their reason, most often citing factors such as low salary. Struyven and Vanthournout (2014) found a lack of future prospects was the most significant reason for the attrition of young Finnish teachers, followed by workload, with job satisfaction and relationships with students also significant. Focussing solely on overwork ignores these important aspects of teachers' experiences. Moreover, overwork is not intrinsically problematic: if I love every aspect of my job, finding every moment I spend at work fulfilling, enjoyable and yet not particularly taxing, then I am unlikely to be made unhappy by working long hours. The existence of overwork, therefore, is neither necessary nor sufficient to establish the existence of challenging working conditions.

A central issue with a focus on overwork, with or without other aspects of challenging working conditions, such as salary, is that removing such challenging working conditions is not sufficient to create a fulfilling job. Here, following Herzberg's two-factor theory, a distinction can be made between 'hygiene factors' and 'motivators' (Herzberg et al.,1959; Herzberg, 1968). The former are those things, such as a good salary, whose absence causes dissatisfaction but whose presence does not motivate people. The latter are those things, such as achievement and advancement, which can motivate people but whose absence is not demotivating. These motivators are similar to Maslow's (1943) earlier notion of self-actualisation, which he placed at the top of a hierarchy of human needs, the pursuit of which motivate human behaviour.

I must acknowledge that two-factor theory has received sustained criticism (House and Wigdor, 1967, Stello, 2011; Vroom, 1964). I do not intend to propose it in this research as an account of motivation that holds water in all contexts, but rather as providing a vocabulary for describing the experiences of teachers and describing different aspects of working conditions that hold different significance and

implications. Thus, when teachers talk about wanting to enjoy their job, but finding it difficult or of loving teaching whilst hating being a teacher (Burns, 2014; Fatkin, 2017), we can characterise them as teachers who are motivated but dissatisfied or, as a shorthand, toiling teachers.

It is doubtless true that toiling teachers would benefit from an improvement in their job satisfaction. However, addressing only hygiene factors could result in a teaching profession with many well-paid, well-rested teachers with little inclination to work hard to help children: coasting teachers. In this case, it would be possible to improve working conditions without adversely affecting outcomes by, say, providing all teachers with delicious lunches: an expensive policy, the cost of which could surely have more effectively helped children. A focus on hygiene factors would also ignore the fact that at least some teachers prioritise motivators over hygiene factors. In previous research I have conducted into overwork, some teachers actively resisted the idea of reducing the hours worked because of their positive feelings about work (Holmes, 2015). They were far less concerned about the negatives of long hours as they were by the negatives of poor communication, lack of praise and recognition, and perceived unfairness. They would rather see an improvement in their motivation than their satisfaction, rather toil than coast. These considerations, together, suggest that 'improved working conditions' should include both motivators and hygiene factors.

Conceptions of motivation vary significantly. They broadly fall into two camps (Deci and Ryan, 2000). Content theories of motivation address the content of motives: the beliefs and, more usually, needs that motivate behaviour. Process theories do not address the content of a person's thoughts, preferring to focus on features of the external world that motivate people. As such, they are consistent with a functionalist view of human psychology.

In the latter school of thought, goal theory has been influential, and is well-supported by evidence (Locke et al., 1981). Goal theory states that specific, challenging goals increase motivation: that such goals are motivators. However, goal theory appears to conflict with evidence that motivation increases when somebody believes there is a greater chance of achieving a goal (Fudge and Schlacter, 1999): something that would plausibly be the case when goals are less challenging. Locke et al. (1986)

resolve this apparent contradiction by invoking Bandura's (1977) concept of self-efficacy: a person's belief's about their own ability. They argue that somebody set challenging goals is more likely to achieve them, as predicted by goal theory. Having achieved their goals, their feelings of self-efficacy will increase. This, in turn, will lead them to believe they can achieve future goals, which will further increase motivation. Locke et al. thus render goal theory consistent with the two bodies of evidence regarding the impact of goals and of belief in self-efficacy. However, in so doing they refer to the content of somebody's beliefs and therefore abandon the central claim of process theories: that motivation can be accounted for solely by reference to external factors, without recourse to the content of beliefs.

The appeal to the content of beliefs is unsurprising. Any account of motivation that does not make such an appeal fundamentally misunderstands the concept of motivation (Herzberg, 1968). If I induce a teacher to run an after-school class through an external process, such as a promise of a successful performance management review, then although the teacher acts I am the agent who is motivated. Only when that teacher chooses, of their own accord, to run an after-school class would it be accurate to talk of them being motivated to do so. Ryan and Deci (2000a) would not go so far as Herzberg in denying that the teacher who is moved by external factors is motivated. Rather, they would say that the teacher is extrinsically motivated when they are moved to do something because of an outcome that is separable from the action. The teacher who freely chooses to run an after-school class is intrinsically motivated, since it is something intrinsic to the act they are performing, such as the interest or enjoyment that it provides, which prompts action. Motivators, then, are to be understood as those things that lead to intrinsic motivation.

Ryan and Deci's (2000b) self-determination theory of motivation (SDT) claims that intrinsic motivation is related to three innate psychological needs: competence, relatedness and autonomy. This suggests that meeting teachers' needs for competence, relatedness and autonomy will increase intrinsic motivation. In Holmes (2017) I found that teachers were motivated by a sense of relatedness at work and by the thought that they performed their jobs, which they considered to be important, competently. Autonomy was discussed in the interviews, though not as frequently or in as much depth. However, SDT predicts that feelings of competence only motivate

to the extent that people feel autonomous since otherwise it is somebody else's competence on display (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). I therefore concluded that it is likely the participants are autonomous and are motivated by autonomy, but that either the participants are not conscious of the role of autonomy, which they may take for granted, or the interview schedule failed to provide opportunities to discuss autonomy.

There is in general, though, a relative paucity of work that applies SDT to teachers, although SDT has frequently been applied to students by researchers. However, when discussing teachers with positive working conditions later, it will be clear that such teachers experience feelings of relatedness, autonomy and competence (§2.3). That is not to say that researchers have not asked what motivates teachers. Kyriacou and Coulthard (2000), for example, found three types of reason that people choose a teaching career. Altruistic reasons are those that are linked to the ways in which teaching can help children. Intrinsic reasons are those that are linked to the nature of the job, such as spending time with children. Extrinsic reasons are those that are not intrinsically tied to the work of teaching, such as salary. Several studies have shown that the first two types of reason play the most significant role in teachers' decisions to join the profession (Manuel and Hughes, 2006; Roness, 2011; Spear et al., 2000; Watt et al., 2012). Although, as noted above, extrinsic reasons seem to play the largest part in teachers' decisions to leave the profession.

Thus the concept of improved working conditions for teachers must encapsulate both motivation and satisfaction if it is to avoid being drawn too narrowly. Teachers who have the former but not the latter are toiling: they work very hard and they enjoy this work, which they are likely to consider valuable and worthwhile, but their manner of working is inimical to a good life. Teachers who have the latter but not the former are coasting: they find their pay and conditions to their liking but they do not work hard to help children. Only when teachers are motivated and satisfied will they be able to flourish, working hard to help children in a way that is sustainable and consistent with their personal well-being.

2.2 School effectiveness research

As noted previously (§1.1), seeking greater motivation and satisfaction on the part of teachers should not lead to teachers performing their roles less effectively. It is important, therefore, to review the literature concerning the ways in which teachers can effectively perform their roles, and how schools and school leaders can facilitate effective practice. That is, the practice that will have the greatest positive impact on their students. A related concept is efficient practice. That is, the practices that have the greatest positive impact on children for a given unit of input, sometimes referred to as an input-output ratio (Ostroff and Schmitt, 1993). In the case of teaching, the relevant input will be a particular span of a teacher's time; in the case of schools we may consider the ways in which money is spent.

Insight into effective and efficient practices will point to ways to improve teachers' working conditions. *Prima facie*, if teachers abandon inefficient practices in favour of efficient practices then they will find they can have the same – or greater - impact in less time, potentially improving their working hours and therefore their satisfaction. Moreover, given that teachers are motivated by helping children (§2.1), they are likely to find such a shift increases motivation.

There is certainly a great deal of contemporary interest in school effectiveness research (Brown, 2015). Stephen Fraser (2017), the Director of International Partnerships at the Educational Endowment Foundation (EEF), claims that over half of school leaders make use of the EEF's Teaching and Learning Toolkit, or similar resources, to inform their spending decisions. This toolkit purports to be a summary of international evidence on effective teaching practices and school management decisions, ranking each by impact, which is measured in additional months of additional progress students would make in a year. Cost is also rated, allowing judgements about efficiency to be made. Hattie (2009), too, seeks to provide clear guidance regarding effective practice, summarising over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement. The appeal of his book is suggested by the more than 12,000 citations its editions have garnered, according to Google Scholar.

This interest reflects a concerted effort by Government to encourage schools and teachers to make greater use of evidence (DfE, 2016b). Goldacre (2013), writing on behalf of the DfE, draws an analogy between medicine and teaching. The rigorous

use of evidence in medicine, Goldacre claims, is a relatively recent ‘revolution’ that was initially opposed by established doctors who felt that research through the form of randomised controlled trials (RCTs) was both unethical and, given the availability of apparently successful treatments, unnecessary. In fact, diligent doctors doggedly pursuing RCTs, were able to show the substantial benefits available to patients through evidence-based medicine and, in time, led to a cultural shift within medicine. A similar culture shift within teaching would, Goldacre argues, lead to substantial benefits for children. Supporting this argument are several studies that show the use of research in school systems, including initial teacher training, is correlated with improvements in performance (Brown et al., 2017; Mincu, 2015; Stoll et al., 2015).

Despite this evidence, it is important to approach the claims of school effectiveness researchers and ‘evidence-informed practice’ with caution. If a school were to implement all the interventions recommended by the EEF’s teaching and learning toolkit then, according to the extra months’ progress metric used by the toolkit, the children in that school would make an extra eight years’ progress, so that five-year-olds would soon be working at the level of 13-year-olds (Seith, 2017). Such progress seems implausible, to say the least. Moreover, some have argued it would be impossible to implement all the recommendations generated by school effectiveness research. Hamilton (2003) claims that the recommendations within a single report on effective schools can be contradictory. Thus, one report recommends both firm and purposeful leaders who are willing to replace staff on the one hand, and a collegiate atmosphere amongst staff, with a culture of support and respect, and a sense of ownership and strong input from staff on the other (Sammons et al. 1995).

Implausible conclusions on the part of some school effectiveness researchers seem to be the result of seeing inputs and outputs within education as working analogously to inputs and outputs within the worlds of engineering, mechanics or, as we have seen, medicine (Godfrey, 2017). There are three problems with this analogy. The first is that in the realm of medicine it is clear, even where research is correlational, which factors are inputs and which are outputs. For example, if we see that smoking correlates with lung cancer, we can be confident that cancer is the output. The same is not always true in school effectiveness research. Hoy et al. (2006) found that optimism and trust are two of the correlates of high performing schools and therefore

urge school leaders to foster feelings of optimism and trust to improve performance. They note that, according to research on optimism, 'optimism is thwarted by stress; thus, decreasing stress should support optimism. Teachers can lower their stress by increasing agency through appropriate participation in decisions that affect their school lives' (p.442). So school leaders are encouraged to make use of democratic leadership so that teachers are less stressed. This in turn will make them more optimistic and that will improve performance. It seems plausible, though, that both optimism and trust are the effects of strong performance rather than the causes of it, or that they are caused by something which also causes strong performance. If that is the case then seeking optimism as an end in itself is unlikely to have much of an effect on a school that is not performing well other than encouraging complacency. It is as though, to return to the medical analogy, a doctor had found that healthy hair correlated with long life expectancy and other indicators of good health and encouraged their patients to spend time and effort finding expensive shampoos. It is possible to imagine such a doctor compiling a list of things that correlate with good health and adding the likely increase in life expectancy to each one, so that the sum of those gains in life expectancy are implausibly high.

In addition to mislabelling factors as causes and effects, the second fault in the analogy between medicine and school effectiveness research is the assumption that it is possible to delineate one factor from another at all. Nuthall (2007) accepts that talk of teaching methods is a useful shorthand for talking about the different practices of teaching but warns that 'it is dangerously misleading when people begin to think of teaching methods as the equivalent of medical treatments' (p.32) or believe that we can compare, and test the efficacy of, teaching methods in much the same way we can with medical treatments of drugs. For Nuthall, there is no such thing as a teaching method, since any so-called method is adapted by teachers depending on their context so that teachers using the same method may be doing very different things. Consider feedback, which, according to the EEF Teaching and Learning Toolkit, has the biggest impact of all of their suggested interventions. The authors of the Toolkit acknowledge that some studies show that feedback can have negative effects. In fact, Kluger and DeNisi's (1996) meta-analysis showed that 38% of studies concluded feedback had a negative effect. In light of this, would it be right to conclude that instructing teachers to use more feedback would make them more

effective or efficient? Or that teachers spending more time on feedback than other, less effective, practices would improve their working conditions? As Wrigley (2018) argues, the different understandings of feedback across studies, along with the variety in curriculum areas, ages and attainment level of students and many other variables, makes the whole notion of aggregating studies and generating a single effect size meaningless.

The same is true at the level of the school. Riddell et al. (1998), for example, note that school effectiveness research often ignores the complexities of different classrooms and contexts. They note that a factor often suggested as key to school effectiveness is parental engagement and positive climate (Chapman and Harris, 2004; Mortimore, 1988; Sammons, 1999) but their study of Scottish schools concludes that the implications of this are different for different schools. Schools with parents from low socio-economic backgrounds must work to encourage parents to accept the school's value system; schools with parents from high socio-economic backgrounds must place boundaries and limits on the extent of parental involvement to prevent decisions being challenged and to prevent those parents making unreasonable requests for disproportionate shares of school resources for their children. Thus recommending that any and all schools foster parental engagement, as though it were a single, identifiable, behaviour is not useful. It is as though a doctor advised all their patients to take the right dose of vitamins, without specifying that some patients, such as newly pregnant women, would need different vitamins to others. The question that needs to be asked, as Wiliam (2015) notes, is not "what works?" rather, we must ask 'under what circumstances does this work?' (p.28).

Biesta (2007) identifies a third problem with the analogy between inputs and outputs within education and those within medicine. He points out that such an analogy makes an unwarranted demarcation between means and ends, thereby overlooking that the way something is taught may be in itself educationally significant. For example, forcibly removing very young children from their families and installing them in boarding schools for months in order to teach them maths may be effective at teaching maths, but the intervention is nevertheless educationally undesirable. That is because it teaches children particular things about the value of family life and the legitimacy of coercion that we would rather they did not learn. The key issue is that, whereas in healthcare the ends of professional action can broadly be taken as

given, this is not the case in teaching. Biesta argues, 'it is meaningless to talk about effective teaching, or effective schooling; the question that always needs to be asked is, effective for what?' (p.8). More recently, similar questions have been asked about effective school leadership. Bush and Glover (2014, p.559) remark, when discussing models of school leadership, 'we can all think of charismatic or transformational leaders whose purposes were inappropriate or immoral (e.g. Hitler)'. Discussions of effective leadership must begin with the questions, leadership of what, and leadership for what? (Earley, 2017).

Such questions have no easy answers. The philosophical debate concerning the aims of education has a history stretching back thousands of years and is still ongoing today (Biesta, 2017; Reiss and White, 2013; Standish, 2003; White, 2010). Nor is it straightforward to simply ask teachers and school leaders about what they aim for because values and beliefs are adaptive: shaped by the culture in which they live (Nietzsche, 1966; Nussbaum, 2001) as well as by the options that they consider to be achievable (Chambers, 2007). The neoliberal culture in which contemporary teachers live and work will inevitably have shaped their preferences (Carr, 2015; Smith, 2014). This is the process that Ball (2003) is referring to when he talks of a struggle over teachers' souls. There is empirical evidence that teachers' preferences have begun to adapt to neoliberal norms: younger teachers have been found to be at relative ease with performative systems, viewing them as necessary, if not favourably (Wilkins, 2011; Mausthagen, 2013b). Since values and beliefs are shaped by cultural norms, consulting professionals as to the proper aims of education will merely lead researchers back to cultural norms. Such an approach to research becomes little more than an exercise in working out innovative ways to convince people to conform to those norms (Carr, 2015).

In spite of these difficulties, the failure of some school effectiveness researchers to even attempt to consider questions of value is a philosophical problem that undermines the usefulness of that research at least as much as the practical misconception of inputs and outputs. As McNess et al. (2003) note, teaching has several, sometimes contradictory, facets including knowledge and pedagogic skill as well as an affective and moral dimension. Some of these facets yield outcomes that are not straightforwardly measurable. The risk is that in the attempts of school effectiveness researchers to find measurable outputs concerning what we value, and

absent an explicit account of values, 'we are just measuring what we can easily measure and thus end up valuing what we (can) measure' (Biesta, 2009, p.2). Thus Slee and Weiner (1998) complain that school effectiveness research reduces 'school learning to discrete, assessable and comparable fragments of academic knowledge' (p.7); Lauder at al. (1998) describe the 'mainstream tradition of school effectiveness research' as one in which schools 'have an effect on student outcomes in terms of exam success' (p.52); whilst Wrigley (2013) argues that lack of critical debate about the aims of education has led to literature on school improvement and effectiveness being inadequate, especially from the point of view of social justice. Hamilton (2003) sees school effectiveness research as an attempt to impose neoliberal ideology by encouraging schools to devote their energies to improving their standing on performative measures such as league tables at the expense of other schools and, sometimes, the welfare of their own pupils. Sarason (1990), in a similar vein, argues that school effectiveness research supports the alleged ideological aim of neoliberal governments to reduce social mobility by imposing responsibility for social problems on schools, thereby removing that responsibility from Government. Slee and Weiner (1998) agree that school effectiveness research accepts the discourse of performativity, favours the advantaged and punishes the disadvantaged.

Unsurprisingly, school effectiveness researchers do not see themselves as a Fourth Estate acting on behalf of neoliberal governments. Sammons et al. (1996), writing in response to an earlier version of Hamilton's critique of school effectiveness research argue that their work, particularly on the progress students make within schools (a value-added measure) rather than students' absolute results, served as a powerful critique of performative measures such as league tables that, at that time, used only absolute results. They also argue that school effectiveness researchers take pains to control for the impact of student background factors such as social class, gender and race. This has the result of identifying the significant impact that children's background has on their achievement, thereby framing the terms for a debate on, for instance, social mobility. Such disaggregation of background factors also shows that even once prior background is accounted for, the difference between a good and a bad school can amount to the difference between six Grade Bs and six Grade Ds at GCSE. The authors note that such a difference in grades can have a significant impact on a child's future, particularly a child from a disadvantaged background.

They ask how somebody campaigning for social justice could justify ignoring the significance of these results?

Yet this reply is inadequate. In the first instance, value-added measures are not a sound basis for critiquing measures of performativity based on absolute results. Using one measure of a child's exam grades to criticise another measure of a child's exam grades implicitly accepts the premise that a child's exam grades are the only, or at least the most, valuable outcome of education. Indeed, the recently introduced Progress 8 measure used by Government is a value-added measure and is not obviously less problematic than the absolute measures it replaced (Sherrington, 2017). Sammons et al.'s assumption that exam grades are the most significant output is reflected in their appeal to the difference between school's results. We do not know what the cost was for this difference in results or what other desirable aims of education, if any, were sacrificed to achieve them. Perhaps children were entered for qualifications that would be of no use to them in the future simply because they would be included in the calculations for league tables; perhaps the social and moral aspect of schooling was neglected. Whilst Sammons et al. appeal to the difference these grades could have on a child from a disadvantaged background we have no way of knowing whether children from disadvantaged backgrounds benefited at all within those schools. Perhaps advantaged children benefited to the tune of four grades and disadvantaged children did not benefit at all. If there are benefits for disadvantaged children we would not know how to secure these benefits: Sammons et al. have controlled for social background but, as Riddell et al. (1998) note, different strategies will work differently depending on the social background of a school's children. Hiding the social background of students diminishes the utility of the research.

The three criticisms of the analogy between engineering or medicinal inputs and outputs, and those of education stand unanswered, more than 20 years after they were levelled. Researchers continue to mistakenly claim that that causes can be easily distinguished from effects; that such alleged causes are easily demarcated and will work the same in all classrooms and in all schools; and that the ends of education are given, and the means by which these ends are achieved can be ignored. The net result of this is that in school effectiveness research 'the individual person or event is shut out, complexity is lost and values are erased' (Wrigley, 2018,

p.360). Together, these mistakes continue to undermine contemporary work on school effectiveness. Muijs and Reynolds (2017), for example, recommend a school wide approach to homework since 'homework can fulfil a number of different goals, such as increasing pupil achievement … [and] developing independent study skills' (p.150). They note there is some variation in studies as to the positive effects of homework, and suggest that this is because some research has 'measured *amount* rather than *quality* of homework' (p.142). When quality is considered, and Muijs and Reynolds go on to explain the features of high quality homework, homework is effective.

These recommendations imply that the input of homework clearly leads to the output of strong outcomes, be they grades, self-efficacy or independent learning skills. This, in spite of the fact that the studies cited in support of the relationship provide data that are all, or mostly, correlational and the authors of the original studies are at pains to stress that general causal relationships cannot be inferred (Cooper et al., 2006; Ramdass and Zimmerman, 2011; Zimmerman and Kitsantas, 2005). Thus Zimmerman and Kitsantas (2005) write that 'causality cannot be inferred definitively from correlational data' (p.405) and that, since their study was of a selective girls' school whose teachers set over three hours of homework each night 'readers should be cautious about generalising these findings' (p.411): this is lost in Muijs and Reynolds' reporting of this study, where they flatly state, 'the authors found that successful completion of homework led to higher ratings of self-efficacy…among secondary school pupils, which in turn led to higher grades' (p.142). Muijs and Reynolds overlook the evidence that the efficacy of homework differs considerably depending on context, and that homework widens the gaps caused by socio-economic inequalities between students (Canadian Council on Learning, 2008; Cooper et al., 2006). They acknowledge only that some schools may have parents who are unable or unwilling to support with homework, and suggest homework clubs as a solution. They provide no evidence regarding the uptake of homework clubs by children from those families which, plausibly, would be low. Finally, Muijs and Reynolds accept that homework can have undesirable effects such as a lack of time for out of school activities or tensions at home (p. 41)[1]. However, they do not

[1] See also Blazer (2009) and Cooper et al. (2006).

mention these again in their discussion and this absence seems to imply that these costs do not figure in their accounting of the utility of homework.

In this single chapter Muijs and Reynolds fall foul of all three of the criticisms with the analogy between cause and effect in education and cause and effect in medicine or engineering. Yet the authors are aware of these criticisms, at least judging by their acknowledgement, later in their book, that there has been insufficient consideration of the unintended consequences of recommended policies, and their suggestion that there is a need 'to explore the extent to which effective teaching is a set of 'generic' behaviours and attributes that 'work' across all kinds of educational contexts' (2017, p.313). The authors seem desirous to simplify complex issues so that they can be presented as advice that will be relevant to any reader. Unfortunately, this desire has defeated the objective of providing any useful advice at all (Hamilton, 2003).

It may be, though, that there are no better options available for school effectiveness researchers. Thorngate (1976) argues that a theory that is general, accurate and simple is unachievable. An accurate, general theory will take account of different, complex, contexts and so will consist of a series of hypothetical statements: 'if the context is thus then…'. However, given the sheer number of available contexts this string will soon become unmanageably long, and so not useful. Focussing on a single context allows for accuracy and simplicity, but at the cost of generality. The final option is that of a simple, general theory of the type offered by Muijs and Reynolds, which ignores the differences between individual contexts. The theory is manageable but, risks the charge of over-simplification. The important point to note is that the only ways to avoid this charge create different problems, either of unwieldy complexity, or of unhelpful specificity. Over-simplification may simply have struck Muijs and Reynolds as the least of three evils.

The best approach for research into school effectiveness, then, is to make its inherent limitations explicit. Ko et al. (2014), for example, continue to make use of exams-based value added measures but accept that 'these can provide only a partial source of evidence' (p.14) since other educational aims are not captured by these measures. They also recognise that what is effective in some contexts is not in others, and call for research to be evaluated on its 'applicability in different classes and school contexts' (p.52). Interestingly, there have been calls for similar caveats

in evidence-based medicine (Greenhalgh at al., 2014) suggesting perhaps that it is not the education-medicine analogy that is at fault, so much as a naïve optimism about evidence-based medicine being able to provide straightforward answers.

There are no straightforward answers about what works when teaching. There are, instead, answers that depend on context and depend on values and it behoves those who seek to make use of the research to apply due diligence when assessing its conclusions (Eacott, 2017). Brown and Rogers (2015, p.82) describe expert evidence users as practitioners who are able to amalgamate evidence with 'an understanding of the specific case they are dealing with and their understanding of the other environmental factors', and contrast such experts with novices who slavishly follow 'what works' recommendations. Collins and Coleman (2017, p.23), writing from within the school-effectiveness research tradition, agree that schools, and school leaders, 'must play [an active role] in implementing and monitoring any innovation'. Indeed, they state that attacking the analogy between medicine and education, and the suggestion that the advice of research can be uncritically followed, is attacking a straw man.

It seems clear, though, that at least some school effectiveness research proponents make use of this analogy (Goldacre, 2013), and that some research does not provide the information needed for an expert response, or relegates the information to a few words in the discussion. A different manner of presentation, one that acknowledges the context-specificity of results and provides detail, rather than obscuring it by aggregating studies with a large degree of difference, would greatly enhance the utility of school effectiveness research.

2.3 Flourishing teachers

Thus far, this chapter has reviewed literature on working conditions and school effectiveness. In this section I shall report on the literature concerning teachers who have good working conditions and are effective, including the personal and institutional factors that correlate with such teachers.

There is, perhaps unsurprisingly, no research that I could find that focuses explicitly on the combination of satisfaction, motivation and effectiveness. More common is research on teacher well-being, which is related to these three concepts (Day and

Gu, 2013; Owen, 2016), although even research on well-being is relatively sparse compared with the amount of research concerning concepts such as stress and burnout, as noted by Aelterman et al., (2007) and Day and Gu (2014).

To be sure, satisfaction, motivation and effectiveness cannot be taken as synonymous with well-being. In fact, there is no agreed definition of well-being, let alone any standard method of measuring it (Acton and Glasgow, 2015). Instead, what emerges from the literature on well-being is a cluster of concepts, all of which correlate with one another. This cluster includes self-efficacy (Malinowski and Lim, 2015; Ross et al., 2012), commitment (Meyer and Maltin, 2010; Zee and Koomen, 2016), resilience (Day and Gu, 2013; Pretsch et al., 2012), and positive affect (Aelterman et al., 2007; Fredrickson and Joiner, 2002). Satisfaction (Van Horn et al., 2004), motivation (Ryan and Deci, 2000b) and effectiveness (Roffey, 2012) also feature separately as well as together. The inter-relatedness of the concepts in this cluster is strengthened through research drawing links between different constituent concepts without reference to well-being. Thus efficacy is shown in separate studies to correlate with satisfaction (Caprara et al., 2006), motivation (Bandura, 2012) and effectiveness (Tschannen-Moran and Barr, 2004).

This cluster is well summarised by the Aristotelian notion of *eudaimonia*, often translated as 'flourishing'. This is brought about when people are able to use their capacities to their fullest potential in the pursuit of moral excellence and, through their actions, instantiate their ideals in the world (Younkins, 2003). Bullough and Pinnegar (2009) argue that *eudaimonia* is intrinsically related to teaching, both as cause and effect. Higgins (2011) summarises the significance of flourishing for teachers by asking how a teacher could show children how to flourish if they are not themselves flourishing? For Higgins, the thought that a teacher might sacrifice their flourishing in order to promote educational outcomes is as oxymoronic as the thought that a singer would sacrifice their voice in order to sing.

Important though the concept of well-being, or flourishing, may be, its nebulous nature means that different researchers who appear to be investigating it are, in fact, investigating different things. Often, researchers do not define well-being, leaving the reader to infer their understanding from the methods used. Ross et al, (2012), for example, draw conclusions regarding levels of well-being based entirely on self-

report survey data regarding burnout and self-efficacy. Zee and Koomen (2016), on the other hand, measure well-being through assessing levels of job satisfaction and commitment along with lower levels of stress and burnout (p.982). Thus the same participants would generate different levels of well-being in each study. It must be said that neither set of authors appear to draw unwarranted conclusions about well-being: improvements on any of the scales they use would support the claim that well-being has improved. Nevertheless, the use of such a contested term as shorthand for other concepts risks misunderstandings, particularly if one attempts to draw direct comparisons between studies.

Further complications arise when considering the relationship of different concepts with well-being. For Zee and Koomen (2016) self-efficacy is a cause of well-being, Ross et al. (2012) conceptualise it as a constituent part, and Achor (2011) considers it an effect of well-being. Similar questions could be asked for any of the concepts in the cluster. Do resilient teachers go on to experience well-being, do reserves of well-being enable teachers to be resilient, or is being resilient simply part of well-being? Does a teacher's job satisfaction prompt a feeling of well-being, does a prior level of well-being enable teachers to be satisfied with their job, or is satisfaction a part of well-being? Perhaps the only safe conclusion is to say that the relationships between the concepts within the cluster are complex.

This complexity can be thought of as an asset. If something can be shown to have a relationship with some of the concepts that are related to flourishing then, given the links between them, it is plausible to suppose it has a similar relationship with the other concepts. For example, if something improves teacher efficacy or resilience, it may well also improve motivation, satisfaction and effectiveness. Of course, such links are not to be assumed without further investigation. Rather, they point to possible areas of investigation.

What, then, correlates with flourishing teachers? One set of themes that run through the literature revolves around school leaders and the cultures they create. Coates (2017, p.90) defines a culture as 'the behaviours, attitudes, values and procedures that serve to delineate a particular group', adding that these are multi-layered, amorphous, and both implicit and explicit. For Coates, developing the culture of the school is a vital and important task for school leaders: he cites Drucker, in

conversation, as saying that ‘culture eats strategy for breakfast’ (p.90). Earley (2017, p.101) agrees with the centrality of culture in the role of a school leader suggesting that ‘a simple definition of a leader is someone who creates an environment in which everyone can flourish’.

One element of such an environment is positive, supportive relationships amongst professionals (Baars et al., 2018; Bingham and Bubb, 2017; Holmes et al., 2013; Robinson 2007). High quality relationships are cast as prerequisites for individual aspects of teacher flourishing such as resilience (Day and Gu, 2013), self-efficacy beliefs (Aelterman et al., 2007; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2007), and for the ability to implement successfully any further cultural changes since, as Mohrmman et al. (2003) note, all change is mediated by social relationships and, without positive relationships, all attempts at organisational change will be resisted. Also significant is the quality of the relationships between professionals and other stakeholders, particularly students (Baars et al., 2018; Robinson, 2011; Stanford 2001). Spilt et al., (2011) suggest that good relationships with students meets teachers’ psychological needs for relatedness (§2.1). Equally, poor relationships frustrate this need and erode well-being.

A necessary, if not sufficient, characteristic of these relationships is trust (Brown et al., 2017; Day and Gu, 2013). Tschannen-Moran and Hoy’s (2000) review of the literature on trust found no single, agreed definition of trust but did identify several themes. Putting these together, they say that to trust somebody is to be prepared to rely on them because you have a belief in their benevolence, reliability, competence, honesty and openness. Such trust is necessary for effective cooperation and communication, acting as a lubricant and reducing the complexity in all social exchanges. Distrust leads to longer, less effective communication and prompts anxiety and insecurity. Worse, it can be self-reinforcing since when in a context of distrust even ostensibly benign actions can be interpreted as stemming from sinister motives. Such distrust is characteristic of toxic leadership, which Craig (2017, p.184) likens to ‘a poison which works slowly to destroy the organization, by damaging relationships, process and ethos over time’.

Crucial to building a culture of positive, trusting relationships between senior leaders and other members of staff is effective communication and, in particular, the

communication of values and the ways in which they underpin decisions (Eisenberger et al., 2016; Houghton, 2016; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). Cable and Edwards (2004) found that employees have a psychological need for their values to align with those of their employer. These values must be shown in the actions of leaders as well as through their words: staff, students and parents will make judgements about what leaders really care about based on the things they spend time and attention on, either formally or informally (Schein, 2010). If the actions of leaders do not align with their words, then their integrity will be in doubt, and this will undermine trust (Robinson, 2007). Consistency between word and deed with respect to values must be mirrored with consistency in treatment of teachers if trust is to be built (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). Perceived unfairness will lead to teachers feeling that they are not supported by the leaders in an organisation (Eisenberger et al., 2016). In addition, leaders who seek to build trust should show concern and personal regard for their colleagues (Robinson, 2007; Tomsett, 2015; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). Peters and Pearce (2012), for example, stress the importance of a principal taking a personal interest in early career teachers' welfare and development in building resilience and retaining newly qualified teachers in the profession. Leaders can facilitate the development of relationships across school through organising and promoting social gatherings (Baars et al., 2018; Eisenberger et al., 2016), through creating structures where people depend on and collaborate with one another in order to complete their work (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000) and, perhaps, through finding opportunities for staff to eat together. Whilst this has not, to my knowledge, been investigated in schools, Kniffin et al.'s (2005) study of American fire stations found commensality played an important role in forging a shared, positive culture.

A further key feature of a culture that correlates with flourishing teachers is a focus on continuing professional development and learning (CPDL) of teachers (Aelterman et al., 2007; Bingham and Bubb, 2017; Craig, 2017). Such a focus will meet teachers' needs for feelings of competence (§2.1). School leadership that is highly concerned with improving the quality of teaching and learning is known as instructional leadership, learning-centred leadership, or leadership for learning. Such leaders will keep a focus on learning by talking about it with colleagues, by observing lessons, investing in CPDL, monitoring student learning through data and

setting and reviewing targets, and ensuring learning is a central topic in staff and performance management meetings (Earley, 2017).

Leadership for learning requires difficult balancing acts. On the one hand it benefits from a shared and coherent organisational view about what constitutes effective teaching (Matthews and Lewis, 2009; Tomsett, 2015). Kelchermans et al. (2009) note that this consensus implies that not all work must be created from scratch, thereby saving effort and allowing teachers to develop expertise. It also provides a shared language to facilitate collaboration. On the other hand, a central organisational view of effective teaching risks eroding autonomy, creativity and professional expertise, creating teachers who do no more than deliver classroom policies devised by somebody else (Hall and McGinity, 2015). Such a view of pedagogy fully embraces the neoliberal managerialist approach (§1.2) and neglects teachers' needs for autonomy (§2.1). Leaders must also balance competing demands on lessons observations: the desire for them to be part of a formative, developmental process, and the need for them to provide honest and sometimes challenging feedback on what has been observed (Coe et al., 2014; Tomsett, 2015).

In order to effectively balance these competing demands leaders should seek to involve teaching staff robustly at all stages of the instructional leadership process so that leadership of learning is present at all levels (Earley, 2017; Holmes et al., 2013). With respect to a shared language of learning, Seashore Louis (2015) found that principals with the strongest instructional leadership involved staff in critical decisions and devolved power to teachers; Tomsett (2015) reports successfully working with a team of 125 teachers and teaching assistants to design and, every two years, review a shared understanding of great teaching. A similar collaborative approach to lesson observations, making use of peer observations, also yields benefits (Coe et al., 2014; Seashore Louis, 2015; Tomsett, 2015). Happily, such sharing of control is also positively associated with relationships (Harris, 2002), trust (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000) and well-being (Bingham and Bubb, 2017; Bubb and Earley, 2004).

Craig (2017, p.189) notes that efforts to build a positive culture 'should be prefaced with "in the long-term", as other methods are often seen to have more attractive observable outcomes in the shorter term and are often more attractive to headteachers under pressure'. Hargreaves and Shirley (2009) refer to this attraction

as adaptive presentism, where a performative school system heavily incentivises and rewards short term gains, even at the expense of greater, long term benefits. They found that even when headteachers participated in a programme to encourage long term planning they resorted to short-term quick fixes, concluding that these headteachers were addicted to short term thinking even though such short-termism can harm the headteacher's own school in the long term. Yet presentism in schools is not only a result of performative systems. Teachers are pulled towards short-term thinking because the extent to which they have succeeded or failed is not readily apparent and often does not admit of an objective judgement. This leads them to privilege personal, psychological rewards such as a grateful or attentive student: rewards which exist only in the short term (Hargreaves, 2010).

School leaders seeking to avoid presentism should begin by acknowledging the tendency towards presentism and set out a long term vision (Albright et al., 2012). Coates (2017) agrees that a long term vision can be a powerful tool for building a positive culture, but notes that considerable work is required to ensure it is reflected in the behaviour of the staff in a school, including communication, empowerment and, perhaps ironically, building short term wins so that staff do not have to delay gratification. Hargreaves and Fink (2004) emphasise the need for leaders to be guided by their values, to focus on the long term development of their staff by protecting them from short term, performative assessments, and to plan for succession. Albright et al. (2012) note that this process will be more successful when there is a culture of trust and support, and the focus of the school's development is teaching and learning.

What emerges from the literature, then, is a set of mutually supportive aspects of positive school culture, including trust, support, autonomy, a focus on learning, and long-term thinking. Such a culture provides ample opportunities to meet teachers' needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence, as described by self-determination theory (§2.1). The literature on flourishing school cultures mirrors the literature on flourishing teachers: there is a web of mutually supportive aspects of positive school cultures, meaning that there is no single, obvious way to demarcate the different aspects, let alone unpick causal relationships between them. The research on school cultures also has similar limitations to the literature on effective teaching (§2.2). Firstly, studies investigating school culture have taken place in a

variety of contexts. Whilst attempts to aggregate these diverse findings are necessary, the conclusions must be treated with a critical eye when applied to a particular context. Secondly, just as there is no single teaching technique used in the same fashion by every teacher, there is no single leadership strategy used in the same fashion by all leaders. Grissom et al. (2013), for example, found that some approaches principals adopted towards the way they used instructional time were negatively associated with student progress. The finding that leadership for learning is generally positive does not mean that it always is, and care must be taken to select the best approaches for the context. A further point to consider regarding the impact of leaders is that everything leaders do is mediated by the other staff members with whom they work (Seashore Louis, 2015). Certainly, different teachers in the same school culture will have different levels of well-being. What personal factors correlate with flourishing teachers?

In a sense, this is a different question to answer. As noted above, there is no agreement about whether characteristics such as self-efficacy or resilience are best understood as causes, parts, or effects of well-being. What is clear is that to the extent that researchers conceptualise characteristics as separate from, and leading to, flourishing, their research finds that school leadership and culture is the key element of promoting those characteristics. Sammons et al., (2007, p.687) found that teachers' professional identity is a key feature in accounting for 'motivation, job fulfilment, commitment and self-efficacy.' They note that this identity is affected by ethos, culture, morale, leadership and opportunities for CPDL. Hong (2012) finds that commitment to teaching, along with levels of self-efficacy and resilience predict whether or not beginning teachers stay in the profession. These, too, are best nurtured by a supportive school environment. Bullough and Hall-Kenyon (2011) offer the same advice about developing hopefulness, which they find leads to teacher well-being. It seems that however one describes the different characteristics that cause or constitute teacher flourishing, to the extent that they are malleable, it is the leadership of a school and its culture that influences them. The only addition that research focussing on personal characteristics makes is that CPDL should directly address the notion of flourishing, and how to flourish (Duckworth et al., 2009; Hong, 2012; Howard and Johnson, 2004).

There is some debate as to the extent to which personal characteristics are malleable. Pinker (2002, p.47) reports that identical twins, separated at birth are 'eerily alike…in just about any trait one can measure'. His list includes personality traits, moral and philosophical views, careers, idiosyncrasies and brain scans. The conclusion he draws is that these traits, which would include the traits that relate to flourishing, are largely genetically determined and so are not particularly alterable by the environment. This scepticism about the extent to which well-being and its associated traits can be developed, even through dedicated intervention, is shown when Howard and Johnson (2004) and Duckworth et al., (2009), in spite of recommending those interventions, also advise school leaders to hire more resilient, or more gritty, staff.

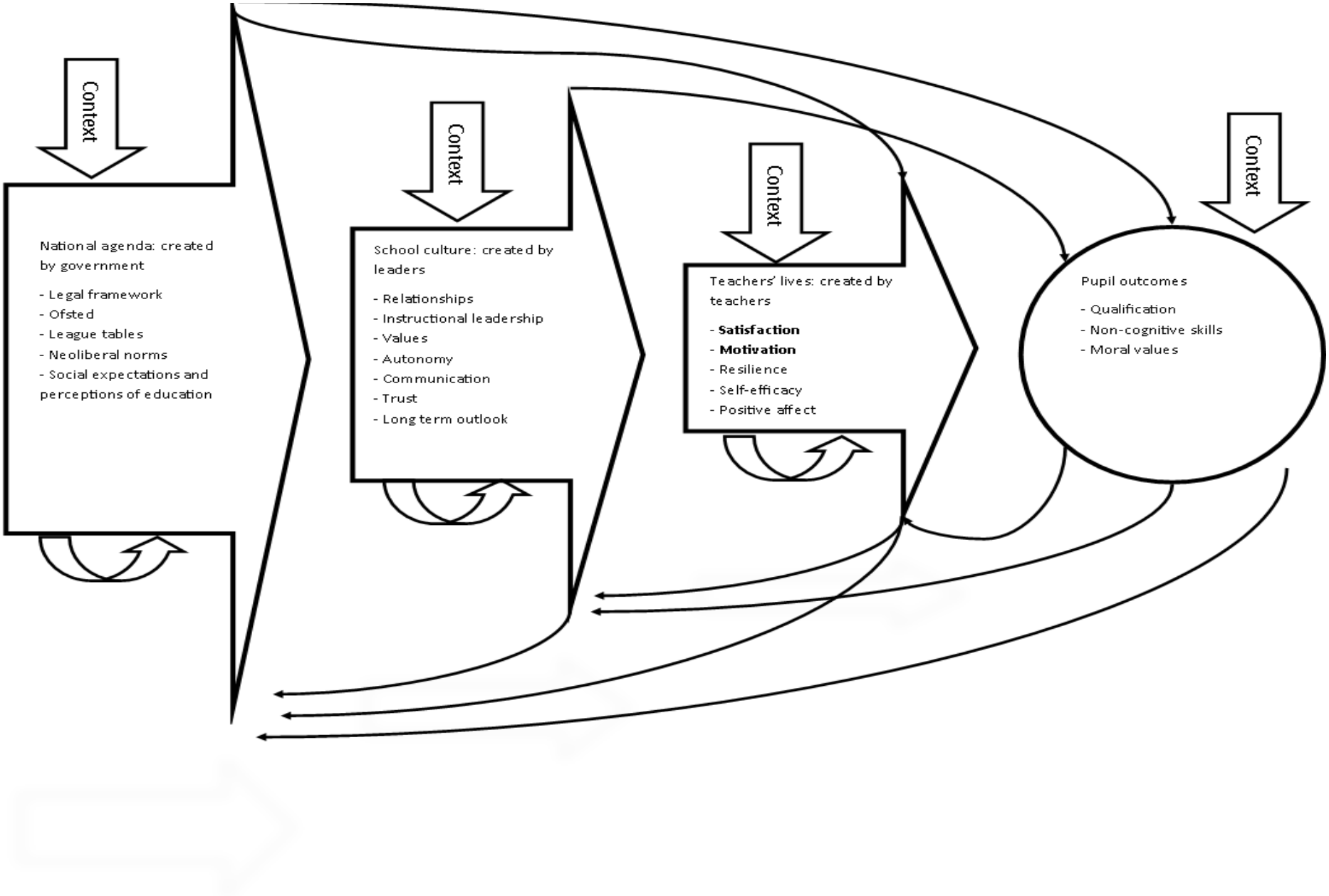
Nevertheless, the fact that something is genetically determined does not imply it cannot be altered. As Plomin et al., (2001, p.227) point out, 'even a highly heritable trait like height can be affected by environmental intervention, such as improving children's diet or preventing illness.' Understanding well-being as analogous to height in this sense would make sense of the findings that culture does influence well-being and yet people in the same culture can have different levels of well-being. Such an understanding also justifies research into the factors that can increase well-being.

2.4 Conceptual framework

This study began with the thought that teachers and school leaders can have influence over their working conditions, and that they can do so without adversely affecting the children with whom they work. The literature reviewed has clarified the concepts under investigation and the links between them, as well as the opportunities and limitations of further research in this area. These findings are summarised in *Figure 2.1* and discussed below.

One key finding is that teachers do have an effect on pupil outcomes. There are several factors that determine the ways in which teachers effect pupil outcomes and, as noted above they are not straightforwardly delineable. The conceptual framework

Figure 2.1: conceptual framework



captures them under the heading, ‘teachers’ lives’. One omission from this heading is ‘effectiveness’, in spite of the fact that effectiveness is part of the web of concepts surrounding flourishing teachers. I have omitted it because effectiveness seems to better capture the relationship between teachers’ lives and pupil outcomes: it would be contradictory to say a teacher was highly effective but did not positively influence pupil outcomes, in a way that it would not be contradictory to talk of a highly motivated teacher who did not positively influence student outcomes. Effectiveness, then, is understood as the extent to which a teacher successfully achieves the pupil outcomes for which they aim. The relationship between effectiveness and teachers’ lives is captured by the arrow returning from student outcomes to teachers’ lives.

I chose to focus on two factors within teachers’ working lives – job satisfaction and motivation – rather than examine teachers’ working lives as a whole. In this sense, I follow in the tradition of research that purports to examine the holistic quality of teachers’ working lives - the extent to which they flourish - but in fact measures a relatively small number of indicators of flourishing. Indeed, given the amorphous nature of the concept of *eudaimonia,* it is far from obvious that there could be any other approach to such research. Being explicit about the centrality of satisfaction and motivation adds clarity to the findings, and does not prevent the inference that improvements to satisfaction and motivation will plausibly yield, or are, improvements to well-being.

Job satisfaction can be defined in relation to hygiene factors, so that a teacher is satisfied if they are content with the conditions of their work (§2.1). That is, if they believe their pay, hours, and policies to which they have to adhere are reasonable, if they believe they have good job security, and if they believe they are treated in a fair and reasonable way by their colleagues and managers. Job motivation can be defined in relation to motivators, which are well described by SDT (§2.1). Thus, a motivated teacher is one whose work meets their needs to experience competence, relatedness and autonomy. Aspect of teachers’ work that dissatisfy, and aspects that motivate, will reveal themselves in different ways. The former are likely to be those areas of work that elicit complaints, or on which teachers want to spend less time; the latter are likely to be those areas of work that teachers reflect upon positively, or on which they wish to spend more time.

Motivation, satisfaction and the factors included within teachers' lives are further influenced by each other, as represented by the arrow leaving and re-entering the box, by the context of their schools, and by the national agenda (although this is largely mediated by their school culture). The most significant influence is the culture of the schools in which they work. Similarly, school cultures are significantly determined by the national agenda, along with the influences of context, teachers, pupil outcomes, and the culture itself. School culture also directly influences pupil outcomes, although much of this influence is mediated through teachers. These complex networks of influence should not lead one to disregard the role of teachers, and leaders, in exerting autonomy in authoring, respectively, their cultures and their working lives. Leaders and teachers make choices: hence the significant variety between the lives of teachers and cultures of schools in relatively similar contexts.

The efficacy of different choices could not be investigated without first considering the proper aims of education. As previously noted any mention of effectiveness of either teaching or leadership must consider effective for what, and for whom. Unfortunately, it is problematic to stipulate these aims *a priori*, since these are so heavily contested. Defining the proper aims of education by making reference to teachers' preferences is no less problematic since, as previously noted, these are adapted to the culture in which teachers live and work (§2.2).

In this study I tackled the second horn of this dilemma, consulting teachers and school leaders as to the proper aims of education. This had the immediate advantage of utility: more attention would likely be paid to recommendations regarding ways of effectively achieving aims that have been explicitly endorsed by teachers. The challenge was to seek a way of critically scrutinising the preferences of professionals to assess whether they were no more than a repetition of the neoliberal norms with which those teachers work, so that the study could yield more than recommendations on how to best achieve neoliberal aims.

On what basis could I disregard the preferences of teachers? How would I be able to identify which preferences to disregard and those to consider seriously? My preferences are also adaptive in nature, and there seems no warrant to the claim that mine are somehow better than those of my colleagues or peers. In the absence of such warrant it was tempting to follow many political philosophers in adopting a

pluralistic approach to values, accepting that there are rival, equally justified conceptions of the good life (Kymlicka, 1992; Rawls, 1987). Such pluralism vindicates the laissez faire, live-and-let-live approach to political thought that is best summed up by Mill's harm principle: the only reason to interfere with individual liberty is to prevent harm to others (Mill, 1859). Nobody freely forms their preferences, but it seems plausible that satisfying preferences will bring them more happiness than frustrating them.

However, straightforward use of the harm principle perpetuates inequality and social constraint, particularly for woman and minority groups (Chambers, 2007; Christman, 1991). Consider women raised in a fiercely patriarchal culture: a culture that said that women should submit to controlling relationships and perform self-flagellation. As an adult is seems likely that at least some women would, thanks to their upbringing, accept the norms of this culture, and voluntarily pursue those norms, seeking out unfair relationships and harming themselves. Pluralists might well defend, in the name of freedom and tolerance, the rights of these women to voluntarily conform to these harmful and inequitable practices. Yet such a line of reasoning appears inimical to any worthwhile conception of a good life. In order to make better sense of these cases, the harm principle must be supplemented with consideration of disadvantage and influence (Chambers, 2007). If somebody's choices cause themselves disadvantage, particularly (though not only) if the disadvantage is severe and enduring, and if there are identifiable pressures on somebody to make those disadvantageous choices, then the liberal state should intervene. Chambers is clear that the level of intervention should be proportionate to the level of harm.

Using these criteria on teachers' preferences offered a way forward for this study. I resolved to use teachers' preferences to guide my understanding of the aims of education and the roles of the teachers. However, if teachers were to express preferences that disadvantaged themselves and that were the result of identifiable pressures, I would disregard that preference. An example of such a preference might be a desire on the part of teachers to sacrifice their health in order to improve a school's ranking on a league table. Preventing a teacher from sacrificing their health in this way, provided the measures taken are proportionate to the harm prevented, would be a legitimate infringement on teachers' autonomy.

Once the question, ‘effective for what?’ has been answered, the study could move on to seek ways of improving teachers’ job satisfaction and motivation without rendering teachers less effective. Key to this investigation, though, is the significance of context on what constitutes effective teaching or leadership. I have argued that, given this significance, attempts to provide general answers run a serious risk of oversimplification.

Serious risk is not, however, inevitability. Suppose some schools had instructed their teachers to vary the colour of the pen they used so that vowels were written in red and consonants in green, and that this technique had become fashionable, so that the majority of schools were requiring teachers to behave thus. In this case, a study may be able to confirm that teachers had followed this instruction, that doing so had no benefit for children, and that it made marking take significantly longer. Were this study to make a *general* recommendation to remove the requirement to vary pen colour when marking, and were such a recommendation followed then it could lead to improved working conditions for those teachers in a way that did not cause them to perform their roles less effectively. Whilst the scenario here is extremely unrealistic, it serves to show that it is not inconceivable that general, unequivocal conclusions can be drawn.

The challenges facing research on effective teaching are best understood as highlighting possible faults and limitations of particular ways of conducting research and therefore point to ways to mitigate these limitations. They remind us not to conflate cause and correlation, nor to assume that individual teaching methods can be isolated and analysed independently of the web of methods with which they are inevitably combined. Another important lesson is to be explicit about the context in which research takes place. It is true that different behaviours will have different effects in different schools, in different classrooms and, perhaps, on different days. It is also true, though, that not all behaviours are strongly affected by context. For example, teachers using spaced study or interleaving will find that their students remember more material in the long term, and this finding will be applicable in nearly every context since it is based on the physiology of human brains (Bjork and Bjork, 2011). It therefore behoves readers to approach any research with a critical eye, to determine if the context of the research is important and, if so, if it is relevant to the

context in which they are interested. My role, as researcher, is to ensure that all of the information required for such criticality is present.

2.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The literature review and resultant conceptual framework described above make it possible to analyse the research question into a series of subsidiary questions.

To what extent can teachers improve their working conditions whilst performing their roles as effectively, or even more effectively?

1. *What do teachers and school leaders consider to be the aims of education?*
2. *To what extent do teachers and school leaders consider themselves to be effectively pursuing the aims of education?*
3. *To what extent can teachers and school leaders be more satisfied, and more motivated, without adversely affecting their ability to effectively pursue the aims of education?*
4. *Do teachers and school leaders endorse any aims as the result of identifiable pressures, and would the pursuit of those aims cause harm to teachers?*

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I report on both the research process and the decisions that shaped this process, beginning with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study. I go onto consider the scope and location of my research, arguing that an insider case-study is the form of research that will yield the most useful conclusions, and which best conforms with my ethical commitments. I then explain the reasoning behind the research tools I have used, and my approach to them. Since I use a variety of tools I have also considered whether this mixing of methods has wider implications for my approach to research. Finally, I have detailed my approach to transcription and analysis.

3.1 METHODOLOGY

The ways in which any research sets about answering research questions are shaped, and limited, by the researcher's perspectives regarding methodology (the right way to discover knowledge). This, in turn, is dependent upon a researcher's beliefs about epistemology (the ways in which knowledge is related to the knower) which themselves depend upon beliefs about ontology (the nature of reality). Guba and Lincoln (1994, p.107) refer to a researcher's beliefs in these areas as a 'paradigm', noting that these beliefs cannot be definitely proven or disproven. Still, given the significance of these paradigmatic views in determining the design of this research, it is important to make them, and the reasons for adopting them, explicit.

Ontology addresses the nature of reality, or of what is observed by a researcher. One might claim that what is observed is a neutral, objective reality that exists independently of the observer, or one might claim that reality is in some sense constructed by the observer(s). In broad, simplified, terms, the former position is known as realism and the latter as constructivism (Robson, 2011). It strikes me, though, that both claims can be true in different circumstances.

On the one hand, consider a question such as 'how many hours were you on the school site last week?' This seems like something that can be given a straightforward, objectively true answer, even if that answer is not perfectly discoverable. Certainly, denying that such an answer is available runs the risk of

undermining any subsequent claims a researcher might make: if nothing can be true then the outcomes of any research are no more justified than any other opinion. As Haraway (1988, p.577) puts it, 'so much for those of us who would still like to talk about *reality* with more confidence than we allow to the Christian Right when they discuss the Second Coming' (emphasis in original).

Consider, on the other hand, a question that is ostensibly as simple such as 'how many hours did you work last week?' Although this is similarly structured to the previous question, it does not allow for a similarly straightforward answer. Some teachers might understand work to include the break time they spent talking to colleagues about a challenging group of students, the time spent at the weekend reading a newspaper article that they will subsequently use in a lesson, and the time spent writing a thesis. Others may see these activities as, respectively, socialising, relaxing with a newspaper, and pursuing a personal project. Different teachers could therefore engage in identical behaviours across the course of a week and yet describe totally different realities, neither one of which is more or less 'true' than the other. Indeed, it seems likely that the same behaviour could be described differently by the same teacher at different times, depending on their mood. The reality of how many hours somebody works is thus affected by different ways in which people construct concepts (Anderson, 2003).

Reality, therefore, is both objective and subjective. Nietzsche (1967; 1968) acknowledges this apparent paradox in his perspectivism. He argues that people see the world through lenses shaped by their unique histories: their race, gender, sexuality and class are part of these lenses, as are the ways in which they understand and construct concepts such as work. People look through these lenses at an objective world, but these subjective lenses are also part of the world: hence the simultaneously objective and subjective nature of reality.

Perspectivism has implications for epistemology because researchers, too, have lenses and their own perspective inevitably influences their research. My research into teachers' motivation, satisfaction and effectiveness was inevitably shaped by my own understanding of these concepts, as well as by my personal characteristics. The contrasting realist epistemological claim that a researcher can stand separate to, and objectively report upon, reality is dismissed by Haraway (1988, p.582) as the

‘god-trick’ of ‘seeing everything from nowhere’. Nevertheless, the fact that it is impossible to generate a perfectly objective view of the world does not mean it is impossible to make interesting, useful, or even true, claims. It simply means that these claims must be acknowledged as objective accounts of how the world appears to a particular person at a particular time. In the words of Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002, p.66) ‘knowledge is partial both in the sense of being “not-total” and in the sense of being “not-impartial”’.

This approach is closely related to the participatory inquiry paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 2011). Heron and Reason (1997), who articulate this approach, agree that ontology needs to describe a reality that is both objective and subjective. Their attempt to do so is reminiscent of perspectivism when they claim, ‘what is known about the given cosmos is that it is always known as a subjectively articulated world, whose objectivity is relative to how it is shaped by the knower’ (p.5). They also agree about the importance of researchers acknowledging and making explicit their own perspectives.

These ontological and epistemological claims have two further implications. Firstly, the methodological claim that, since the researcher’s perspective is unique and in no way privileged, research is enriched by bringing in multiple perspectives to allow for ‘critical intersubjectivity’ (Heron and Reason, 1997, p.8). Such collaboration enhances the researcher’s claim to describe reality accurately, since it will ensure they are describing a reality that can be seen from multiple perspectives, rather than just their own.

The second implication is axiological: concerning the type of knowledge that is valuable. For Heron and Reason, intellectual knowledge is not an end itself. How could it be, given that objective knowledge claims, independent of perspective, are impossible? Instead, intellectual knowledge is a means to the end of human flourishing, and researchers must seek the knowledge that best achieves that end: practical knowledge concerning how to act. Given that this study sought to provide guidance as to how teachers will flourish, this axiological commitment was entirely appropriate.

These methodological and axiological implications have guided my decisions when designing this research, as detailed in subsequent sections.

3.2 CASE STUDY

Perspectivism implies that it is likely that the answer to research questions will vary between institutions or schools, since the local context will shape perspectives in different ways. Whatever conclusions research yields about the ways in which teachers work in a single school, or in a subset of schools, will not be generalisable, and may not even be widely applicable. This mirrors the conclusion in the literature review that, given the significance of context, it is impossible to provide a simple, general, accurate account of school effectiveness: researchers must settle for two out of three of these desiderata (§2.2). Given the subject matter, an accurate, simple theory struck me as the best choice for this study. It may only have had the possibility of helping a small number of people to flourish, but the other two options, an inaccurate theory or a theory too complex to make use of, did not seem likely to help any teachers flourish.

The attempt to generate such a simple, accurate theory is well-served by a case-study approach. I therefore adopted an intrinsic case study approach, where I aimed for an understanding of the particular details of a specific case (Stake, 2000). Bassey (2012) would describe this case study as a 'picture drawing' case study. Such case studies, which lack testable hypothesis, are better understood as addressing research issues rather than research questions. They ask what is happening, how is it happening, and why is it happening? In so doing, they aim to narrow the focus of future research, generating a testable hypothesis to serve as the basis for a future research question.

Yet such case studies still require a clear aim and focus: Thomas (2013) notes that there is a significant difference in the utility of a case study on World War Two and a case study on World War Two as a just war. This study is a case study of a secondary academy that is trying to look after the well-being of its staff (§1.2). It aims to identify teachers in that context who are flourishing, and ask how and why this is happening. The intention is that this will generate testable hypotheses that can be examined in other contexts.

3.3 INSIDER RESEARCH AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A further significant decision concerned whether or not to conduct the case study in the institution in which I am employed as a senior leader. On the one hand,

conducting insider-research raises particular ethical and practical concerns (Rossman, 1984). Ethically, my position as a senior leader renders attempts to gain consent from participants problematic. Whilst I can be sure there would be no ill effects of any type from a colleague declining to participate in research, my colleagues may not feel so confident. No matter how sincerely I assure them of the fact, they may feel pressured into participating lest I think ill of them. On a more pragmatic note, my position as a senior leader may colour the contributions my colleagues make to research. For example, they may not feel able to tell me candidly that initiatives from senior leaders have led to their feeling demotivated.

On the other hand, outsider research may suffer from the exact same problems. Research conducted in another school would require me to contact and gain permission from that school's headteacher. This permission could be seen as a tacit endorsement of my research, which would mean potential participants would be subjected to a similar coercive pressure to provide consent (Malone, 2003). Participants may also assume, wrongly, that I would report my findings directly to the headteacher and so, as with insider research, feel unable to report their experiences accurately. Carter (2004) experienced these precise issues when interviewing African-Caribbean nurses in an NHS Trust. He found that the approval senior managers had given to his interviews was an 'obstacle to free-flowing discussion' as he was perceived as a 'management spy' (p.348).

The symmetry between the pitfalls of both insider and outsider research suggests that the dichotomy is false. Rather, as Mercer (2007) points out, for any context, a researcher is in some respects an outsider and in some respects an insider. For example, were I to interview a senior leader in another academy I would, to a large extent, be an insider by virtue of our shared role. If that leader were the same gender, age and ethnicity as me then my status as an insider would be enhanced. In this interview, which would nominally be outsider-research, I might be more of an insider than if I conducted research in my own school on a cleaner whose gender, age and ethnicity are different to my own. The characteristics that identify me as an outsider or insider are complex and varied. Rice (2009), for example, found in a study that involved interviewing female participants on their weight she became increasingly distant from her participants as she lost weight. It is reasonable to suppose that, along with my appearance, my accent, attire, my length of employment

or even the people with whom I am perceived to be on friendly terms may be the basis for insider-outsider judgements. Indeed, the extent to which I am an insider may vary as research progresses, and even within a single interview as the conversation alights on, or leaves, realms of shared experience. Even in ostensibly insider-research, my status *qua* researcher may lead to me being perceived as an outsider, as Kusow (2003) found in his interviews with fellow Somali immigrants in Canada.

Mercer (2007) argues that it is more accurate to see the distinction between insider and outsider research as falling on a spectrum. Each point of the spectrum has distinct advantages and disadvantages. To the extent that a researcher is an outsider they may lack rapport and trust, they may be unsure which lines of enquiry are likely to be fruitful, or they may miss subtleties and implications that a shared meaning would allow them to understand. On the other hand, they are less likely to make assumptions, and their distance from the participants may allow for more candour, and make it easier to raise sensitive issues.

Since neither insider nor outsider research was privileged with respect to ethics or efficacy, I sought alternative criteria to justify the location of the case study. One consideration was pragmatic: it would be easier to gain access to the context in which I worked. A more important consideration was the axiological claim of participatory inquiry: that research should aim to help people flourish (§3.1). As a senior leader I am well-placed to act on the findings of research in my own Trust, with the aim of improving teachers' working conditions. This consideration was sufficient to justify the choice of insider-research.

It remained necessary to consider ways to offset the ethical and pragmatic concerns of insider research. To this end I was influenced by the model of an appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider et al., 2008). Such inquiries have an unerringly positive slant, seeking to highlight strengths, be they past, present or future, within an organisation. In this case, I would seek to investigate those times when teachers have flourished, are flourishing, or see opportunities to flourish. It is hard to see why teachers would be reluctant to be candid about sharing positive experiences, or how they would worry that such discussions could lead to negative repercussions for them.

Such an approach has further benefits. Firstly, it draws the attention of participants to positive facets of their job. This, on its own, is likely to enhance their experience at work, given the significance of people's perspectives in determining their experiences (Cooperrider et al., 2008). Secondly, working with teachers in the Academy to identify solutions means those solutions, if and when they are acted upon, are more likely to be accepted since they are less likely to be perceived as imposed by managers without considering the needs of teachers (Kushner and Norris, 1980; Lather 1986).

Whilst adopting an approach influenced by appreciative inquiry mitigated many of the ethical concerns of insider-research, further issues remained concerning the trustworthiness of the data collected. Some of these arose due to the previously existing social relationships I had with my colleagues. In the course of these relationships, I had previously expressed views concerning the topics under research. Some of these colleagues participated in the research, and it is possible that knowledge of my views, coupled with a desire to please me, led them to alter their responses, perhaps even doing so unconsciously (Taylor, 2011). Other participants may have altered their views due to my status as a senior leader within the Academy. My involvement with certain areas of work was well known and, whilst the positive slant of the research made it hard to directly criticise decisions I had made, somebody may have been reluctant to suggest an improvement to one of my areas of responsibility. They might have felt such a suggestion was, or would be seen to be, a criticism of my work.

These threats to trustworthiness are not inevitable, and must be balanced with opportunities for increased candour. Perryman (2011) describes how her interview participants talked about personal relationships and experiences with her in detail because her previously existing social relationships with them had built up an exceptionally high level of trust. She also details how participants reported grievances to her precisely because of her role as a senior manager, since they had previously lacked an opportunity to voice their concerns.

The extent to which my participants would feel able to be candid, and therefore the extent to which my data were trustworthy, would depend not on my status as an insider, but on the type of insider they perceived me to be. If they saw me as a

senior manager seeking affirmation of his decisions, and unwilling to brook disagreement, then my data would be seriously flawed. If they trusted me to treat their contributions sensitively, and believed I was motivated to help teachers then my decision to conduct insider-research would be rewarded with trustworthy and richer data.

To a large extent, the degree to which participants trusted me would be determined by my conduct during my time at the Academy. If I had not demonstrated tact, sensitivity and trustworthiness as a senior leader, then efforts to build trust in a short space of time as a researcher would fail. Nevertheless, I took pains to try to ensure that what trust I had built would be enhanced. When recruiting for the research, I took pains to ensure that consent was genuine, and nobody would feel under pressure to participate. Thus I only extended invitations to participate in whole staff contexts, never approaching people directly (§3.5 - 3.7). When interviewing I thought carefully about power relationships, using body language and non-vocal communication to reassure interviewees where possible (Perryman, 2011). I emphasised my status as a colleague, rather than casting myself as a detached researcher, and expressed empathy and sympathy with my interviewees. I resolved to react with gratitude, reassurance and humour when direct or indirect criticisms were levelled at senior managers, as they sometimes were. Finally, I emphasised at every stage of the process my goal of improving the working conditions of teachers (Subedi, 2006). As I argue when reflecting upon the research process, I believe these measures were successful (§6.3).

3.4 MIXED METHODS RESEARCH?

As this chapter progresses it will be clear that I make use of three separate research tools or methods: Q-methodology, questionnaire surveys and interviews. It is therefore necessary for me to say something at the outset about mixed-methods research (MMR). As Guest (2013) notes, MMR lacks a widely agreed definition, but is typically taken to be research that draws on multiple paradigms or tools to answer research questions (Johnson et al., 2007; Sandelowski, 2014). For some researchers, methods are intrinsically related to paradigms, so that adoption of a particular method implies adoption of a related paradigm (Johnson et al., 2007; Sale et al., 2002). According to this view, interviews are intrinsically related to

constructivist paradigms, often referred to as qualitative approaches in the MMR literature, of which perspectivism is an example. Interviews are only legitimate tools for those who believe meaning is in some sense constructed. Questionnaires, on the other hand, are intrinsically related to realist or positivist paradigms, often referred to as quantitative approaches, and their use is only justified if one assumes there is an objective reality that can be straightforwardly measured.

For these researchers, my use of questionnaires and interviews in the same study is sufficient to establish this study as MMR. This is problematic, since my methodology is avowedly qualitative. The implication is that I must either refrain from using such an intrinsically quantitative research tool, or modify my methodology, and these charges are severe enough to merit a response. For adherents of MMR, the latter strategy is typically preferred, with the adoption of a pragmatic epistemology, according to which the truth is whatever works or, in other words, whatever approach yields a useful answer (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2005). Thus Bryman (2007) found that all but one of the MMR authors he interviewed did not mention epistemological and ontological issues. Most 'depicted themselves as pragmatists who felt it necessary to put aside such issues' (p.17). This has led some to describe MMR as working under a third paradigm (Johnson et al., 2007).

However, my fear is that a pragmatist approach conflates answers that appear useful with answers that are useful. To return to an earlier example, suppose I administered a questionnaire to 100 teachers asking how many hours they worked in a typical week (§3.1). Those teachers would be able to give me an answer, and I could proceed to analyse, discuss and make use of that answer. I could issue the same question to different groups of teachers and use their answers to justify claims about which group worked more hours. If I were a pragmatist I would say that was the end of the matter. However, whatever I say about the results of the questionnaire, and whatever use I make of the results of the questionnaire, it remains the case that teachers conceptualise 'work' in different ways and some teachers may appear to be working fewer hours whilst performing the same tasks. Ignoring, or overlooking, ontology and epistemology in order to justify an inaccurate claim is, to my mind, the very opposite of pragmatic. Rather, as I have previously argued, philosophical decisions must shape the way in which research is conducted even if it means the research is less straightforward (§3.1).

A better approach is to revisit the assumption that certain research tools are intrinsically linked to methodologies. The claim that quantitative techniques cannot be applied to so-called qualitative methods, and vice versa, does not stand up to scrutiny (Symonds and Gorard, 2010). The most ardent quantitative researcher must make qualitative judgements when selecting questionnaire items, and qualitative researchers typically 'quantify' their data in the process of coding and analysis (Robson, 2011; Walsh, 2012). Acknowledging this makes it easier to see that 'data may be conceived the same way no matter how they were generated' (Sandelowski, 2014, p.4). Thus the transcripts of an interview could be viewed as accurate, factual representations of a participant's thoughts and feelings, or questionnaire results could be thought of as cultural performances. Romm (2013) agrees that questionnaires are consistent with a constructivist epistemology, noting that questionnaires are not neutral devices but, rather, are part of an interaction between researcher and participants. Questionnaires 'can be a tool for *forming* people's ways of envisaging/framing "problematic" issues' (p.664) and researchers ought to acknowledge this in their reporting.

I therefore reject the claim that I must either abandon the use of a qualitative methodology in favour of MMR or give up the use of tools such as questionnaires. My approach has been to adopt a perspectivist approach to all of the research tools of which I have made use, as will be seen throughout the subsequent sections of this chapter.

3.5 Q-METHODOLOGY

I have previously defined effectiveness in education as the extent to which a teacher successfully achieves the pupil outcomes for which they aim (§2.4). My first task in research collection, therefore, was to identify my colleagues' views on the ultimate aims of education, in order to answer the first research question (§2.5). For this, I made use of Q-methodology, which aims 'to reveal a series of shared viewpoints or perspectives pertaining to [a] topic of interest' (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p.53).

Q-methodology originated in the 1930s through the work of Stephenson (1935). It takes as its basis factor analysis: the process by which correlations across a series of tests are identified and reduced to a single factor. For example, if several dozen people took tests in weight, height, waist measurement, vocabulary, general

knowledge, and mathematical ability it would be possible to identify two sets of correlations: those within the first three tests and those within the latter three. These might be reduced to factors labelled, respectively, size and intelligence. Stephenson sought to flip the methodological process so that instead of looking for correlations between test results, statistical analysis could be used to identify correlations between people. The word 'flip' is deliberate because, whereas traditional factor analysis identifies a sample of people and defines variables as the results those people achieve on test, Q-methodology takes a sample of tests and treats the participants as the variables (Stephenson, 1936).

There is some debate over whether such transposition is possible for any matrix of test results (Burt and Stephenson, 1939). Stephenson himself, and the majority of the Q-methodology community, argue that transposition is only possible when the tests are measured using the exact same unit: known as psychological significance (Burt and Stephenson, 1939; Brown, 1980; Watts and Stenner, 2012). Essentially, each individual will rank a population of tests (or other items) on a *face* valid scale. For example, participants might be asked to sort statements from 'disagree most' to 'agree most', or sort smells from 'dislike most' to 'like most'. The result of this process ensures that the scores of each variable are standardised relative to a population. In factor analysis, this might have meant that scores on an intelligence test were standardised across a population of people; in Q-methodology, the scores on a ranking of psychological significance of a single person are standardised across a population of tests (Watts and Stenner, 2012).

This mathematical rigour means that Q-methodology is a robust technique for exploring subjective opinions, with advantages over other options (Brown, 1995; Prasad, 2001). It is preferable to self-report surveys because in Q-methodology the factors arise unpredictably from the factor extraction process rather than being pre-determined by the investigator (Peritore, 1989). It has advantages over interviews because participants do not talk directly to an interviewer and so the risk that responses will be coloured by social desirability or researcher positionality is reduced (Cross, 2004).

Q-methodology has been criticised because if the same study is repeated on the same person it may produce different results. However, this is consistent with the

thought that people do change their views, and is in line with the assumptions of perspectivist methodology (§3.1). This is also consistent with Q-methodology's aim, which is not to justify a judgement about what proportion of a people hold a certain opinion. It can no more do this than the identification of a factor for 'intelligence' can provide a judgement about what proportion of people are intelligent. Q-methodology simply identifies the factors, or views, that exist within a group.

The success of Q-methodology depends to a large extent on the items that are sorted by participants: the Q-set. The population from which these items are sampled is known as a concourse and the sample of items in the Q-sort should be representative of the concourse, just as one would wish a sample of participants in an intelligence test to be representative of the wider population (Coogan and Herrington, 2011). Broad representation is particularly important so that factors arise naturally and are not pre-determined. To this end, I made use of previously cited literature (§2.2), conversations with colleagues and my own experiences to draw up an initial set of items (Brown, 1993). I asked a group of colleagues in a different school to review my initial Q-set, leading to two changes.

The resulting Q-set contained three separate types of statements. Some concerned the aims of education generally; others concerned the ways in which teachers should spend their time; some concerned the way leaders should spend their time. Reducing one type to the other seemed impossible: how could beliefs about whether education should aim at social justice be translated into a statement about teachers' use of time? How could a statement about whether teachers ought to work closely with parents be translated into a statement about the behaviour of leaders?

Retaining statements of different kinds in a single Q-sort posed risks. Firstly, participants find it difficult to sort statements of different kinds (Stainton Rogers, 1995). Secondly, there would be a chance, though it would not inevitable, that teachers rank all statements about the use of teachers' time higher than statements about the uses of leaders' time, and leaders will show similar preference to their own role. This might reveal two factors: some people are linked by prioritising teachers, and some by prioritising leaders. However, I was more interested in the relationships between beliefs about the right use of teachers' time, the right use of leaders' time, and the aims of schools. Whether, for example, people who believe

schools should seek good qualifications think this is better achieved by teachers planning or marking. The factors identified above would be of little use to this end.

My strategy to remove this risk was to treat the three categories of statements as representing three separate concourses and to design a Q-study including these different concourses (Curt, 1994, cited in Watts and Stenner, 2012). Participants completed three similarly structured Q-sorts, with an equal number of statements in each, which I subsequently combined before extracting factors. In effect, I made an *a priori* stipulation that the three categories are equally important, and allowed participants to rank statements freely within the realms of that stipulation. In this decision I have been guided by the principle that a study must be 'tailored to the requirements of the research question it is seeking to answer' (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p.57). This approach meant it will be impossible to answer whether or not there is a shared view that the use of teachers' time is a more important question than the use of school leaders' time, but it was much more likely to be of use in addressing the needs of this study. Whether or not this was the right decision would only be clear when the results were collected and analysed. As Stephenson (1952, p.224) notes, 'the proof of the postulatory pudding will be in its eating, that is, in what experimental facts of interest the sample can help us to bring to light'. The combined Q-set contained 36 items: 12 from each concourse. This was slightly below the 'house standard of 40 to 80 items' (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p.61). However, useful factor extractions have been performed with Q-sets containing 25 or fewer items (Rimm-Kaufman et al., 2005; Watts and Stenner, 2005). Full copies of the Q-set and the information used in administering the Q-sort are included in Appendix A.

The Q-sort was completed by 24 members of teaching staff, all of whom volunteered. This is a form of convenience sampling, where participants are selected based on practical criteria (Etikan et al., 2016): in this case, the criterion was willingness to participate. Convenience sampling is often criticised for leading to results that are not generalisable because the practical criteria that characterise participants mean they may not be representative of the wider population (Leiner, 2017). Thus Hultsch et al. (2002) and Pruchno et al. (2008) both found that when studies were repeated with convenience and randomised samples the results obtained differed significantly. In the case of this study, it is reasonable to suppose that those who volunteer may have different attitudes or beliefs to those who would

not volunteer: perhaps they are more motivated, more positive about the Academy, or more willing to work long hours.

To ensure that my study covered as wide a set of views as possible I could have adopted a form of purposive sampling, perhaps using my knowledge of my colleagues to ensure that I included people with a range of views in my sample (Etikan et al. 2016). However, given my senior leadership role in the Academy, directly approaching individuals whom I had identified as potentially significant participants would be inimical to their freely giving consent. I therefore invited all 71 members of teaching staff to participate in a project aimed at improving their well-being, and informed them that I would also ask permission to use the resulting data as part of doctoral research (they would be free to participate and not allow me to use their data). Here, the need to maintain high ethical standards led to a risk that a particular point of view, one held by people who do not wish to volunteer to participate in research, would not be found by the Q-methodology. I have attempted to mitigate this risk through emphasising the positives of the research when asking for volunteers and through the choices I have made when analysing the Q-methodology results (§4.1).

Although the sampling strategy raised challenges for the research. the relatively small number of respondents in the sample did not raise problems. In Q-methodology the participants are the variables, and it is not necessary to have a large number of variables to identify factors. The factor, 'intelligence', might be identified by two or three variables measured from a large enough population. If anything, Q-methodologists will seek to limit the number of participants to half the number of items in the Q-set, although exceptions are common (Watts and Stenner, 2012).

The Q-sort was administered online using Qsortware (Pruneddu and Zentner, 2012) and participants performed all three Q-sorts consecutively, beginning with statements about the aims of school, then the uses of leaders' time, and finishing with the uses of teachers' time. Each Q-sort required an initial sorting exercise, whereby statements were sorted into one of five boxes labelled 'strongly disagree'; 'disagree'; 'neither agree nor disagree'; 'agree' and 'strongly agree', with no limits on the number of items that could be placed in each box. The aim of this initial sort is to

give the participant a chance to reflect on all statements before the final sort begins, and to facilitate that final sort (Van Exel and De Graaf, 2005). Participants then sorted the statements into one of six boxes on a scale from 'agree least' to 'agree most'. These boxes were arranged in a pseudo normal distribution, with room for 1, 2 or 3 statements. Brown (1980) has shown that the shape of the distribution, or the choice of whether to use a distribution at all, is largely irrelevant to the final result of the study. It does mean that participants do not need to make choices regarding the shape of their Q-sort and, since these choices are irrelevant, they are a waste of time and effort that it is right to avoid (Watts and Stenner, 2012).

I provided respondents with a comprehensive guide on how to complete the Q-sort, in addition to the instructions on the screen, a copy of which is included in Appendix A. In addition, I asked to be in the same room as the first ten respondents to complete the Q-sort to offer help if anything was not clear, either with the Q-set itself or the software used. I did not look at their screens as they completed the Q-sort. At this stage I was prepared to make changes to the Q-set or instructions if required, treating this first round of Q-sorts as a pilot. All of the first ten respondents were able to complete the Q-set without help or questions and so no changes were made. The remaining respondents completed the Q-sort on their own and none reported any problems.

3.6 QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Having used Q-methodology to investigate what teachers felt they ought to be doing, I turned to the next research question: are they pursuing the legitimate aims of education? This question is, at heart, descriptive: I sought to gain a broad view of the status quo for as many teachers in the Academy as possible.

Questionnaire surveys are very well-suited to this sort of descriptive work, particularly when aiming to retrieve information about a large set of people (Robson, 2011). The key advantage of questionnaires, though, and the central reason for my decision to use them, was the anonymity they allowed. Seeking to establish in, say, a face-to-face interview whether somebody believed they were able to pursue their job well would be difficult at the best at times. It would be naïve for me, as a senior leader in the Academy, to believe I would get candid responses concerning these

questions. An anonymous questionnaire would be significantly more likely to yield credible results.

As Lewin (2005) observes, questionnaires may not be truly anonymous depending on the strategies involved in their administration. I accordingly paid careful attention to guaranteeing anonymity. The questionnaires were provided, on paper, in a whole staff meeting. I explained the purpose of the questionnaire, and the aims of the research project, and I was clear that completing the questionnaires was optional, and that I would have no way of knowing who had completed which questionnaire or who had completed the questionnaires at all. No space was provided for names or identifying details, and completed questionnaires were placed in one of several boxes around the room. There were 71 eligible teachers in the Academy when the questionnaire was issued, and 45 completed a questionnaire: 63% of the population.

Thus I used the same convenience sampling approach to sampling I adopted for the Q-methodology (§3.5). Again, this was motivated primarily by ethical considerations: approaching people would undermine their ability to freely give consent and, assuming I then monitored whether or not they completed the questionnaire, I would necessarily remove their anonymity. As with the Q-methodology, the use of a convenience sample raised the possibility that those who completed the questionnaire were not representative of the wider staff population: it is plausible to suppose, for example, that those who already felt they spent too much time on administration were much less likely to volunteer for the additional administrative task of completing a questionnaire. I attempted to mitigate this risk by emphasising the positive focus of the research during recruitment and ensuring the questionnaire would not take long to complete.

The content of the questionnaire was based on a DfE staff workload survey (DfE, 2018b), which invited respondents to say whether they spent too little, too much, or the right amount of time on different tasks when considering the impact on pupil outcomes. This approach is particularly salient to the aims of this study, which include increasing both job satisfaction and motivation. The former would plausibly be achieved by addressing those things teachers feel they spend too much time on, the latter by addressing those things on which teachers feel they spend too little time (§2.4). Moreover, the workload survey's emphasis on the use of teachers' time

outside of the classroom was well-suited to the particular focus of this study (§1.1). I modified some of the tasks in this survey, removing some that were specific to leaders or not applicable to teachers in the Academy, and I also added a question asking teachers how long they estimate they spend on a task in a particular week. A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix A. Since I had based my questionnaire on a DfE-produced tool I chose not to conduct a pilot to test its efficacy.

I must be clear about the limits of this questionnaire and acknowledge that a self-report survey asking teachers to judge their own effectiveness is unlikely to yield reliable answers. However, there is value in seeing whether teachers believe they spend their time in effective ways. Suppose that teachers believe they ought to mark children's books, but spend little time marking compared to other tasks, and report that they would like to spend more time marking. At the same time, they report that they do not believe it is important to contact parents, but they spend a great deal of time contacting parents and believe that amount of time to be too much. In this case, it would be right to consider the possibility that time would be better spent on marking than parental communication, and that moving time in this way would allow teachers to work more effectively without harming, and perhaps whilst helping, their satisfaction and motivation.

As noted previously, I adopted a perspectivist approach to questionnaires (§3.4). When analysing questionnaire results I did not assume that every participant has understood the salient terms in the same way, nor that they have all been honest, nor that the items on the surveys are neutral. Nor, as noted, did I assume that the sample of people who completed the questionnaire was representative of the wider population. My main intention was to provide a starting point for interview research that reflected, to some extent, the views and experiences of teachers in the Academy. Their reporting that they would rather spend more time on some tasks, even with all caveats attached, is significant and worthy of further investigation.

3.7 Interviews

The Q-methodology established the views of teachers and school leaders as to the nature of effective education and the questionnaire provided some insight to the extent to which teachers believe they effectively pursued those aims. It remained

necessary to establish the extent to which those same teachers and leaders could improve their satisfaction and motivation without adversely affecting their ability to pursue these aims, thereby answering the third research question.

To this end I made use of interviews. Interviews are commonly seen as consistent with methodological approaches that deny the possibility of unproblematic epistemological access to an objective reality (Robson, 2011). The perspectivist paradigm I have defended suggests that the best researchers can hope for is an account of the world as it appears to a particular person at a particular time. Interviews provide an opportunity to gain an account not only of what somebody reports they see, but the perspective from which they are seeing it. We earlier saw that asking different people how many hours they worked last week is a flawed approach because people have different understandings of what constitutes 'work' (§3.1). Interviews can mitigate this by providing participants with an opportunity to explain their understanding of what constitutes 'work'. In particular, open interviews that provide opportunities for participants to steer the conversation, even if semi-structured with a short number of prompts, are often preferred (Burgess, 2002; Thomas, 2013). Such interviews allow opportunities to go in different directions depending on the responses of the participant, rather than relying on the interviewer to decide what is significant or important ahead of time.

It is important not to overstate what can be achieved through interviews. To be clear, interviews do not provide interviewers with an authentic, objective account of how the world appears to a participant at a particular time (Miller and Glassner, 1997). The things interview participants say are influenced both by the characteristics of the person conducting the interview, such as their gender, appearance or accent, and by contextual factors such as rapport and mood (Fontana and Frey, 2000). In turn, the way that interviewers interpret what is said is determined by their own perspectives, so that what participants believe they said is now what interviewers hear (Thomas, 2013). Indeed, misunderstandings are likely to occur since even ostensibly univocal language can be understood in different ways (Baker and Johnson, 1998).

These issues of interpretation are exacerbated by the multiple roles and vested interests of both interviewer/researcher and interviewee/participant (Potter and

Hepburn, 2005). Participants are often recruited to interviews in one role with their answers reported as indicative of that role. Yet people belong to so many categories that it seems arbitrary to say their answers represent any particular one. For example, the responses I elicit from one participant concerning work might be taken, by me, to typify the experiences of teachers. In reality, they might really reflect the participant's experience as a parent, a Millennial, or a member of an ethnic minority. Interviewers, too, have multiple roles. In my case, and depending on the interview, I may be a friend, colleague, representative of management, or a neutral conduit to a wider audience. Depending on the role adopted, different vested interests become significant. A participant who sees me as a member of management may be interested in wresting concessions from managers and exaggerating certain aspects of their experience. As an employee of the organisation I am studying, I too may be interested in wresting concessions from managers and may be seeking research conclusions to support my case, encouraging some responses and lines of enquiry, even unconsciously.

At the very least, these varying roles and interests complicate analysis. One interview conducted may be a conversation between two friends about work with a therapeutic aim, another may be a teacher seeking to persuade a manager to provide better working conditions, and a third may be a young teacher seeking to communicate the difficulties of being a young professional after ten years of austerity. Analysing all of these as though they were a homogenous set of interactions about teacher satisfaction and motivation will strike many as problematic.

There may be a yet more serious problem facing interviews and their subsequent analysis: namely, the tendency of interviewers to treat participants as having special, privileged access to their own mental lives. Whilst many interviewers acknowledge that there may be difficulties in interpretation and communication, the goal is nevertheless to surmount these difficulties and gain a picture of the participants' inner life (Byrne, 2004; McCracken, 1988, both cited in Silverman, 2017). The issue is that this commonsensical picture of human psychology, whereby coherent mental states transparently prompt action does not stand up to scrutiny and is certainly not consistent with a perspectivist methodology. As Nietzsche (1997, pp.179-80) put it,

> man [sic] is very well defended against himself, against being reconnoitred and besieged by himself, he is usually able to perceive of himself only his outer walls. The actual fortress is inaccessible, even invisible to him.

Indeed, for Nietzsche 'the space between knowledge and action has never yet been bridged even in one single instance […] all actions are essentially unknown' and the belief that we understand ourselves is a 'universal madness' (1997, p.72).

Therefore the interview is not a method of revealing selves, but for producing them (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997). These productions take advantage of the cultural surfeit of interview accounts, which ensure that participants know how to "play their parts" in interviews. Yanos and Hopper (2008) follow Bourdieu (1996) in calling such accounts false, collusive objectifications. False because they are untrue; collusive because the interviewer unwittingly contributes to the account; and objectifications because a readymade account replaces lived experience. At its worst, these narratives are led by the interviewer's subtle, or not so subtle, cues and questions, so that interview research risks 'chasing its own tail, offering up its own agendas and categories and getting the same agendas and categories back in a refined or filtered or inverted form' (Potter and Hepburn, 2005, p.293). This risk is especially high if interviewers ask abstract, conceptual questions, inviting their participants to answer as pseudo-social scientists, and generate their own theories to account for behaviour.

I accept the limitations of interviews identified by these critics. Nevertheless, I persisted in making use of interviews, and in doing so have followed the methodologists who raised these limitations in using the awareness of them to improve the ways in which interviews are administered, analysed and reported (Silverman, 2017). In particular, when interviewing I sought to avoid asking 'why' questions, which would encourage the creation of narratives, and focussed instead on 'how' and 'what' questions, to provide insight into past events and actions that would have been, in principle, empirically observable. Where participants did discuss psychological states, I resisted taking those statements at face value, and instead focussed on the account itself. For example, if a participant were to have reported that their manager hated them, I would have focussed my analysis on the

accusation rather than the manager's alleged disapprobation. Both are interesting points for analysis, but the accusation has the advantage of being verifiable. I have attended carefully to the interviews, looking for clichés, or times when I have unwittingly indicated to a participant what I would like them to say and I was prepared, if necessary, to remove entire interviews from the analysis if I felt participants had participated in false, collusive objectification. I have provided a full account of my approach to analysis later in this chapter (§3.9).

Given the significance of the different roles and vested interests of participants and interviewer, I have sought to consider these in analysis and make these as transparent as possible during reporting. To this end I followed Potter and Hepburn (2005) in my treatment of transcripts. I have included in my transcripts, and in my reporting, interviewer questions, line numbers, and non-verbal cues and encouragements. This enables the reader to see the extract's location in the interview as part of a conversation, and not as some sort of abstract pronouncement, *apropos* of nothing. A fuller description of my transcription strategy is available later in this chapter (§3.6). Additionally, as Silverman (2017) recommends I have refrained from identifying the participants in particular categories, allowing them to invoke their own identities if they choose. I have included, in Appendix A, the material used to inform participants, since this initiates and informs the interviews, along with the interview schedule. This schedule was altered once, following the first interview. Originally, I asked separate questions about teachers spending more time on extra-curricular clubs, catch-up sessions and being with children outside of lesson. These elicited very similar responses and lengthened the interview considerably. I therefore grouped them into questions about spending time with children. Although I was prepared to change my schedule further as the interviews progressed, I did not feel any such changes were necessary.

This transparency also requires me to discuss the way in which I recruited interview participants and conducted the interviews. As with Q-methodology (§3.5) my approach to recruitment was guided by ethics, with the risk of inadvertently creating coercive conditions that undermine consent paramount in my mind. To this end I invited all teachers to participate in an interview. I announced my intention to issue this invitation in the same whole-staff meeting in which I issued questionnaires to teachers (§3.6), and at the same time as explaining the aims of the research and of

the questionnaires. I subsequently sent two emails to all teachers: the first explaining once again the research and inviting teachers to participate in interviews; the second, one week later, was a reminder. Teachers were also invited to be interviewed for the benefit of the Academy, but not to be included in the formal research I was conducting. Copies of these emails are included in Appendix A.

Thirteen teachers replied to these emails comprising one senior leader, four middle leaders and eight teachers. I subsequently sent each a personal email thanking them and asking them to suggest some times that would be convenient to conduct the interview: my hope was that allowing them to choose the time of interviews would minimise the disruption the interviews would cause to their normal patterns of working. When I confirmed the time, via email, I sent an electronic copy the consent form so that, if they chose to, the interviewees could read it ahead of the interview. I held the interviews in a private meeting room, which I booked in advance. I initially asked all interviewees to sign a copy of the consent form that I provided, reminding them that if they would rather we conducted the interview without me using it in my research, or felt they could no longer spare the time for the interview, then that not be a problem. Then, when they had read and signed the consent form, I began the interviews with the introduction included with the schedule. The data emerging from these interviews, more so than that collected by other methods, enabled extensive and rich accounts to be collected from the interviewees, and these are reflected in the extensive extracts used from transcripts in analysis (§4.3).

Once again, the use of a convenience sample created a serious risk that my sample would not be representative of the rest of the teachers in the Academy (§3.5). Plausibly, teachers who were at either extreme of the spectrum of satisfaction may have been more likely to volunteer, to either support the Academy or to complain about it. To provide some modicum of triangulation I made use of secondary data collected annually by the Academy on staff satisfaction and motivation. This questionnaire is based on the Civil Service's People Survey (Cabinet Office, 2016). This allows the Academy's figures to be compared to the benchmark figures, which have made available by the Civil Service. Most questions made use of a Likert scale, requiring participants to agree or disagree with a statement. It is issued online, anonymously, and with no way of identifying who has completed the survey. The

response rate to the most recent survey was 55%. My intention in making use of the data from this survey was to assess whether the experiences of my interview participants were broadly representative of their peers. Suppose my participants indicated to me during the interviews that they were not motivated, but the survey results suggested that, overall, teachers were highly motivated. In this case I might have reason to think that my participants were not typical, or that they had been dishonest. It could be, of course, that the survey was flawed. Whatever the explanation, it would warrant further investigation. Conversely, if my participants' attitudes were in alignment with the survey results, this would provide some reassurance that they represented the wider Academy population.

3.8 TRANSCRIPTION

I created full transcriptions of each of the 13 interviews myself. Such transcriptions are preferable to notes because use of the latter increases the likelihood of missing a central insight from the interview that was not recorded and, in this way, transcriptions give access to a deeper level of understanding (Charmaz, 2014). I created the transcriptions myself since, having conducted the interviews, I was best placed to resolve any confusion or lack of clarity from the recording (Oliver et al., 2005). More importantly, the process of transcription was immensely useful: it allowed me to immerse myself in the interviews through a process of repeated listening, causing me to enrich my understanding and providing time to shape my initial thoughts and responses prior to analysis (Lapadat and Linsay, 1999).

A central decision in transcription is whether to create a naturalistic or non-naturalistic transcript. The former attempts to capture the interview exactly as it occurred, including pauses and non-lexical sounds. Non-standard orthography should be used to accurately represent slang and non-standard pronunciations. Such a naturalistic approach is justified, by its advocates, because it is the only way of faithfully capturing the views of participants. Any other approach involves unwarranted stipulations by researchers about which utterances are significant and, therefore, of the right way to view the world (Schegloff, 1997).

Yet naturalistic approaches also come with significant disadvantages. Firstly, recording every single non-lexical sound risks creating a transcription that obscures the voice of the participant because it requires too much decoding (Jaffe and

Woolton, 2000). Secondly, a naturalistic transcription may lead to a transcript that is unacceptable to the participant. Oliver et al. (2005) wonder whether participants hear their own utterances of 'um' and 'erm'? Do they consider their accent to be non-standard, and so require non-standard orthography? For Oliver et al., the worst case scenario was a removal of participant-confidentiality as verbal tics and oral idiosyncracies render participants identifiable. I recall, with regret, previous case study research I conducted where a phrase that struck me as devoid of any particular significance immediately allowed one colleague to identify another though, fortunately, no harm occurred (Holmes, 2017).

The most damning indictment of naturalistic transcription is that its claim not to impose judgements of significance on participants' words is impossible to sustain. As soon as a researcher begins to code and categorise, select particular quotations, or discuss a participant's comments, judgement is inevitable (Billig, 1999). Schegloff (1997) himself does just this, when he rejects one of his participant's claims that something is disgusting, arguing the utterance is coerced and so disingenuous. Would that participant have accepted that she did not mean what she had said in the interview?

It is impossible for researchers to avoid interpreting their results. It is arbitrary to say that this interpretation is legitimate after the creation of a transcription but not before the creation of a transcription, particularly when earlier interpretation serves to preserve anonymity and avoid offence. I therefore adopted a non-naturalistic method of transcription, preserving meaning (as I understood it) at the level of the sentence rather than the word. At times, I found that I had to take pains to reword particular distinct phrases so as to minimise the chance of repeating my previous mistake of inadvertently revealing the identity of a participant. At the same time, I worked hard to accurately capture the sense of the conversation, particularly my contributions (§3.7). Cues, such as a lengthy pause to encourage a participant to continue speaking, or encouraging noises, influence what participants say. It is therefore necessary to represent them in a transcript.

3.9 Interview analysis

The analysis of interview transcripts began with coding, whereby segments of transcript were given a precise label. These labels, or codes, categorise the data,

thereby facilitating further synthesis and analysis. Coding, as Charmaz (2014) notes, is the pivotal link between collecting data and explaining their significance. Coding allows a researcher to '*define* what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means' (p.113, emphasis in original).

Charmaz is writing in the context of grounded theory and, although this is far from a grounded theory study, my approach to analysis drew heavily from grounded theory. Grounded theorists are typically at pains to avoid imposing pre-conceived ideas and theories on data and may refrain from reviewing literature before conducting primary research, preferring to explore leads that emerge from the data (Dunne, 2011). Such a methodology is well-suited to a study that seeks to capture participants' perspectives.

Charmaz (2014) recommends coding early and coding everything. The goal at this stage is to remain open to all possible theoretical directions: as coding progresses themes and patterns will start to emerge. To facilitate this process, researchers make use of detailed, line-by-line coding, which ensures they pay close attention to the transcript, and reduces the possibility of their missing something significant (Holton, 2007). Coding early allows the researcher to pursue promising lines of enquiry in subsequent interviews: an approach I adopted in this study.

Whilst the intention is for codes to emerge, it must be acknowledged that each and every code involves some human judgement, inevitably shaped by perspective. It is impossible to have perfectly reliable codes for a given transcript, which would be agreed upon by all researchers. Nevertheless, in an attempt to increase reliability I have attempted to use short, precise and simple codes that are clearly reflected in the transcript. I also coded using gerunds as much as possible. This approach ensures codes identify what is happening in the interview, or reports of what happened outside the interview, preventing the early introduction of concepts or imputed motives (Charmaz, 2014). This is particularly significant, given the previously discussed risk that reports of motives are *post-facto* constructions that take place during the interview itself, rather than a reflection of a psychological reality (§3.7)

Saldaña (2013) notes that these initial codes must be further analysed and synthesised. For Charmaz (2014), this process of focussed coding, which can take

place contemporaneously with initial coding, allows a researcher to 'trim away the excess' (p.141). During this stage of analysis I sought to group my initial codes into categories, based on thematic links. As with the initial coding, I attempted to allow focussed coded to emerge from the data, and to facilitate this I sought actions and process rather than topics and checked that the focused codes continued to explain the data. Thus, the original 358 codes were grouped into 43 categories and subsequently, as analysis progressed, into 27 thematically linked categories. A copy of the coding tree is found in Appendix B.

3.10 SUMMARY

This study asked to what extent can teachers improve their working conditions whilst performing their roles as effectively, or even more effectively? It adopted a perspectivist approach when asking this question, recognising that any answer to this question will be partial: not-total, and not-impartial. Accordingly, the study took the form of a case study, with the aim of providing an accurate and simple account of one partial answer. This case study was based on a combination of Q-methodology, questionnaire survey and interviews, and the findings of these are presented in the next chapter.

As I have discussed the research methods, I have attempted to be explicit about their limitations. All three methods involve, in some way, asking teachers to offer an answer and I have suggested that these answers are not immutable, objective accounts of the way the world appears to teachers, but will be altered by any number of factors ranging from a teachers' mood to their relationship with me *qua* researcher. I have also argued that teachers will not have a shared understanding of the terms used in the questions, that they lack perfect epistemological access to their inner lives, and that any answer they do provide will be subject to my own interpretation.

It is important to acknowledge that, in addition to these intrinsic limitations of research methods, further weaknesses have arisen from the way in which I have made use of them. My choice to conduct insider research meant my approach to sampling was limited by ethical constraints. Using convenience samples for all three methods based around volunteers reduced the likelihood that my colleagues would feel coerced into participation but raised the possibility that my sample may not be

representative of the wider population of teachers. It is plausible, for example, that those colleagues who are most positive about the Academy and most supportive of its management will be more likely to participate in the research.

Nevertheless, the fact that no research, including this research, is perfect does not mean that research cannot be good, or useful. Teachers may not be perfectly honest with me, but that does not imply they will always lie, or give answers at random. Teachers' moods and opinions may change but they are likely to stay within certain limits, rather than oscillating wildly between emotional extremes. There are certainly different interpretations of what I, and teachers, say, but some shared meaning must be present or else all conversation would be impossible. Participants may differ in some respects from non-participants, but it is reasonable to suppose that if the former are motivated by praise rather than admonishment, then the latter will also prefer praise to admonishment.

It is also important to acknowledge strengths arising from the research design. The choice of insider-research raised ethical constraints but also raised the possibility that participants would feel they could discuss things with me that they would not be comfortable discussing with a stranger and gave me a deep level of contextual understanding. The variety of methods ensured that each research question was approached in the most appropriate way. Q-methodology, designed to investigate the points of view found in a population, is particularly well-suited to the first research question. Questionnaire surveys, on the other hand, are adept at describing large groups of people and so is particularly appropriate to answer the second research question. Interviews, which are well-suited to relatively in-depth investigations of people's experiences, were used for the third research question. Even here, the interview data were stronger for being informed by the other two methods. A schedule built around the recorded discrepancies between what teachers in the Academy have said they would like to do and what they are doing, is preferable to a schedule built around an individual researcher's perceptions of what may be motivating or dissatisfying.

What follows in the subsequent chapters, then, should not be taken as a perfect account of what is happening in a single academy, but as the best interpretation I can offer. I have been explicit about the limitations of this interpretative process, and

the way I have sought to mitigate these limits, and the relative strengths of the research. I have not done so to suggest that such interpretation is without merit nor argue that it should be taken as entirely trustworthy, but so that the reader is in a better position to understand the manner by which I arrived at this account and make their own judgement accordingly.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the data collected by the three collection methods in turn before describing the results in combination. In order to avoid ambiguity, I shall refer to those who were involved in the Q-sort as contributors, those who responded to questionnaires as respondents, and those who I interviewed as interviewees, reserving the term 'participants' to refer to the three groups collectively. I have sought to describe the results as accurately as possible though, as previously argued, I can only record my own interpretation and perspective of the results, rather than any objective account (§3.1; §3.10). My perception, such as it is, is of a coherent set of results. In the first section I describe the findings of the Q-methodology, including the *post facto* analytical decisions I made. In the second section I present the questionnaire findings and note their consistency with the Q-methodology findings: I found that respondents feel they spend too much time marking and completing data entry tasks, and not enough time planning and building relationships with children. These findings shaped my interview schedule, and I report the outcomes of the data collected through interviews in the third section. I report that interviewees consider Academy policies and culture, along with individual responsibility, as central in determining and resolving these mismatches between how teachers want to spend their time, and how they do spend their time. I discuss the significance of these findings in Chapter Five.

4.1 Q-METHODOLOGY

Q-methodological analysis proceeds according to four stages. Firstly, one performs statistical analysis to extract factors. Typically, in factor analysis correlations across tests (such as tests of vocabulary, general knowledge and mathematical ability) are reduced to factors (such as intelligence). In Q-methodology the same process is used to identify correlations between people, with each factor representing a shared point of view (§3.5). Secondly, a judgement must be made about which factors are significant enough to be subject to further analysis. Thirdly, the factors are altered or rotated, to ensure they capture contributors' shared points of view as accurately as possible. Finally, the rotated factors are described in plain English, so that the shared points of view can be understood.

Each stage of this analytical process required decisions to be made, and these were typically made *post facto,* with the data at hand. For that reason, and for the sake of candour, I have discussed these decisions in this chapter. I have attempted to do so in a manner that assumes no knowledge of the statistical calculations used, and so I have not included formulae and precise statistical terms in this chapter. More detail, including statistical figures and calculations, can be found in Appendix B.

Analysis of the Q-sort was conducted using the free downloadable software, PQMethod (Schmolck and Atkinson, 2014). I began by using the centroid factor analysis function to extract four factors: the number suggested by Watts and Stenner (2012) as a starting point for a study with 24 Q-sorts.

PQMethod reports the variance of each factor. That is, the extent to which a given factor can account for the configuration of the full set of Q-sorts. At one extreme, had all 24 contributors responded identically, a single factor could account for 100% of the variance. At the other extreme, had the contributors shown nothing in common the total variance would be close to 0%. Typically, a variance of 35% or above across all factors is considered a sound solution (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The four factors extracted had a total variance of 50% (35%+8%+6%+1%), which confirmed the utility of further analysis.

Generally, the greater the variance of a single factor, the more likely it is to usefully describe a shared point of view. This number is therefore useful in deciding which factors should be subject to further analysis. A common approach to making this judgement is provided by the Kaiser-Guttman criterion (KGC). This rejects any factor that explains less of the variance than a single Q-sort on its own. In this study, for example, the fourth factor extracted (Factor 4) accounted for 1% of the variance, whereas any of the 24 Q-sorts will account for one twenty-fourth, or 4.2%, of the variance. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that little explanatory value could be drawn from Factor 4.

The KGC is a popular approach: Patil et al. (2008) found that 62% of Q-methodological studies that provided information about their rationale for factor retention made use of this criterion. Yet the KGC is frequently criticised for leading researchers to include too many factors in analysis (Ledesma and Valero-Mora, 2007; Patil et al., 2008; Wilson and Cooper, 2008). In particular, Wilson and Cooper

note that the KGC will admit any factor with greater than average variance, and that half of all factors will have greater than average variance. Therefore, they claim, 'we should expect from any dataset (importantly, this includes random datasets), that there will be factors that explain a 'greater than average' variance', and so we can conclude that 'with random data comprising x items, Kaiser–Guttman will find x/2 factors'.

Wilson and Cooper seem to overstate their case: my own dataset of 24 Q-sorts only managed three factors meeting the KGC. Some Q-methodologists have worked out how many factors should be extracted so that there is less than a 5% chance that any given factor is there merely by chance: a process known as parallel analysis. When they do so, they often find that the KCG is too strict, which shows, at least, that the KCG does not *always* allow too many factors (Buja and Eyuboglu, 1992; Watts and Stenner, 2012). Wilson and Cooper seem to have overlooked that factor extraction is sequential, and the word 'extraction' can be taken literally. Once the first factor is identified it is extracted, meaning that all the commonality that it explains is extracted with it. As each factor is extracted, there is far less commonality left between the Q-sorts, and so each subsequent factor will be able to account for less variance. By way of analogy, we can imagine slicing a cake. There may well be enough cake for 12 reasonably-sized slices before the cutting begins, but if the first slice comprises three fifths of the cake, then the number of reasonable slices will immediately decrease. Similarly, there may have been enough commonality in the dataset for 12 factors before extraction began, but since the first factor took three-fifths of that commonality, the number of available factors meeting the KCG quickly fell.

Nevertheless, these concerns with the KGC led me to administer further tests of significance to the first three factors (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The first was to ask which factors had two or more Q-sorts that were significantly aligned with them. Here, the level of significance was taken to be 0.01, so that when a Q-sort was significantly aligned with a factor, it was closer to that factor than 99% of conceivable Q-sorts. It would therefore be reasonable to conclude that its configuration is captured by the factor. The second test was Humphrey's rule, which is a more complicated statistical procedure and is described in Appendix B. In essence,

though, this test also attempts to determine whether or not at least two individual Q-sorts are significantly aligned with a factor.

These results presented a difficult analytic decision. Whereas Factor 1 passed all tests for significance, and Factor 4 passed none, Factors 2 and 3 passed the KGC and failed the other two tests. There was no obvious statistical answer to the question of whether they were significant enough to be subjected to further analysis. I therefore returned to the axiological commitment of the study (§3.1). If there were multiple viewpoints present in the teaching body, it would be ethically wrong to erase them from analysis and effectively silence the voices of some teachers, presenting a false homogeneity of viewpoint. I therefore kept Factors 2 and 3 in the analysis. In any case, it would have been possible to discard the factors at a later stage if it seemed they had nothing to add to the final solution.

The next stage in analysis is known as factor rotation, where factors are altered with the intention of ensuring they capture contributors' views as accurately as possible. To be clear, if two or more Q-sorts have nothing in common it will be impossible to find a factor that captures them all. However, factor rotation can increase the amount of variance or can produce higher factor loadings by careful manipulation of the factors.

For this study I began by using varimax rotation: an automated statistical procedure that aims to maximise the cumulative variance of the factors available on PQMethod. Not only does this method provide a mathematically optimal solution, but it removes the possibility of researcher bias (Watts and Stenner, 2012). It might be the case that I particularly identified with a particular Q-sort and so was motivated, even unconsciously, to base one of the factors around that Q-sort. The varimax rotation led to no significant changes in the original factors, suggesting that PQMethod had extracted them in an optimal way in the first instance.

However, as noted above, I had an especial concern not to neglect alternative viewpoints that might be represented by Factors 2 and 3. Varimax rotation automatically prioritises a single viewpoint at the expense of others (Watts and Stenner, 2012). I therefore manually altered the varimax solution, shifting the factors so that Factors 2 and 3 were given more weight. In effect, I redistributed 4% of the variance from Factor 1 to Factors 2 and 3 so that the total variance was the same,

but Factors 2 and 3 provided more explanatory value. Following this process, all three factors contained at least two significantly aligned Q-sorts, suggesting Factors 2 and 3 did a better job of accurately representing distinct viewpoints and going some way to vindicate the decision to retain the factors. Despite the increased significance of Factors 2 and 3 it is tempting to talk of Factor 1 as a majority viewpoint and Factors 2 and 3 as minority viewpoints but such a claim would not be justified by the data and is not the aim of Q-methodology (§3.5). It could be the case that people whose views are captured by Factor 3 are less likely to volunteer to complete research tasks. What can be said is that there are at least three factors, or shared points of views, present in the teaching staff in the Academy.

What are these shared points of view? To determine this one must first identify those Q-sorts that are significantly aligned with each factor. Then, one will assign a score to each of the statements in the Q-set by taking the average score that statement received from the significantly aligned Q-sorts. This average is weighted, in favour of Q-sorts that were more closely aligned to the factor. Finally, it is possible to rank order the statements, and to use this rank ordering to generate a factor array: a completed Q-sort that best exemplifies the factor.

The completed rankings and factor arrays for each factor, along with a more detailed explanation of the calculations used to generate them, are included in Appendix B. For the sake of completeness I have included factor arrays in two formats. Firstly, as three separate Q-sorts with three distinct concourses, which mirrors the task originally given to the contributors (§3.5); secondly, as a single array, with the three concourses amalgamated. This latter presentation adds a layer of depth to the analysis because it better indicates where feelings were shared. For example, Factor 1 contains two statements about teachers' time in the highest scoring level of the array, whereas Factor 3 contains two statements about the aims of school: a difference that reflects strong agreement, and a strong priority, regarding different types of statements. For this reason, interpretation of the factors is based on the amalgamated arrays.

To interpret the factors I began by allocating each item, for each factor, a score based on its position in the array. The lowest position on the array (agree with least) was equivalent to one; the highest (agree with most) was six. I then examined each

item, recording which factors, if any, had a score that was higher or lower than the other two factors. For example, items 19 and 20 scored higher on Factor 1 than they did on either Factor 2 or 3, whilst items 9, 21, 29, 31 and 33 scored lower. I took these items, together with the highest and lowest scoring items as indicative of the distinctive features of that factor, and I have described these distinctive features below. Finally, I calculated a standard deviation based on the scores for each item, to indicate the extent to which the factors agreed or disagreed.

This final step revealed that the factors had more agreement than disagreement. There were unanimous rankings (i.e. sd=o) for 19% of items, and the median standard deviation of the set of scores of each item was 0.58: equivalent to two factors issuing the same score to an item, and the other factor issuing a score only one point away. Item one, for example, scored a three in Factor 1, a four in Factor 2, and a three in Factor 3. I have therefore begun my description of the factors with these points of agreement.

The factors all agreed that teachers should spend a lot of time planning (m=6; sd=0). Important, though less so than planning, is time teachers spend on their own professional development (m=4.33; sd=0.58), role as form tutor (m=4; sd=0), and their marking (m=3.67; sd=0.58). Whilst there was some disagreement about its importance, all factors placed time getting to know students (m=5; sd=1) in the top half of the distribution. Time spent analysing data, on the other hand, was always in the bottom half of the distribution (m=2.33; sd=0.58) and all agreed that the least important uses of teachers' time include time spent running extra classes and revision sessions (m=1.33; sd=0.58), and detentions (m=1; sd=0).

With respect to the use of leaders' time the factors agreed that it was important that school leaders should spend time looking after the welfare of staff (m=5; sd=0) and improving teaching and learning (m=5; sd=0). All placed time spent creating and delivering the values and visions of the school in the top half of the distribution (m=4.67; sd=1.15). All agreed that all of these tasks warranted more time than reviewing internal and external assessment data (m3, sd=0), reviewing and improving school policies (m=2.67; sd=0.58) and preparing for Ofsted (m=2.33; sd=0.58). Interestingly, the factors disagreed about the most and least important

uses of leaders' time, whereas they had been unanimous on the most and least important uses of teachers' time.

The aims of school elicited the least unanimity and also the statements with the largest standard deviation ("schools should help children to secure a positive destination" and "schools should help develop children's moral character"). However, half of the statements had a standard deviation of 0.58, indicating broad agreement. It is possible to say, for example, that the factors agreed that schools should prioritise helping children be happy and healthy during their time in school (m=5.67; sd=0.58), and all agreed this is more important than the still-desirable aim that schools should teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined (m=4; sd=0). All factors placed 'Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers' in the top half of their distribution (m=5; sd=1), and this aim was unanimously preferred to helping children to develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience (m=3.67; sd=0.58), and giving children a wide range of cultural experiences, (m=3.3; sd=0.58). All factors felt that teaching children how to be good citizens (m=2.67, sd=0.58) and how to behave in polite and socially acceptable ways (m=2.67, sd=0.58) were not priorities, locating them in the bottom half of the distribution, and all factors felt that schools instilling discipline in children (m=1.67; sd=0.58) was the least important of the school aims.

Taken together, these points of agreement suggest a school where teachers believe their priority, outside of the classroom, should be ensuring classroom provision is strong through time spent planning and, to a lesser extent, professional development. Leaders should facilitate this by focussing their energies on improving teaching and learning, looking after the welfare of staff, and communicating the priorities of the school. There is less agreement about the aims of the school but all agree that some form of academic outcomes are important, which is unsurprising given the amount of time teachers feel they should spend on preparing for their lessons. More important, though, is the health and happiness of children whilst they are at the school. Accordingly, pastoral roles such as form tutor and getting to know children should also be a priority for teachers' time. Teachers also aim, through these actions, to close the gap between disadvantaged children and their more advantaged peers. Anything that does not directly support this focus on teaching

and pastoral care is considered of less relative importance, though that it is not to say that these tasks are judged absolutely unimportant. Therefore, data analysis, running detentions and extra revision classes, providing cultural experiences and instilling discipline and polite behaviour all fall towards the bottom of the distribution.

These findings were key to answering the research questions (§2.5). The Q-methodology clearly identified the aims of teachers and school leaders. Teachers and leaders' beliefs about how they ought to spend their time is important to consider when asking whether they consider themselves to be pursuing their aims effectively or, in other words, spending time outside of the classroom on the most important things. Yet it is important to be clear that the contributors were not homogenous in their responses. As noted, the Q-methodology revealed three overlapping, yet distinct, perspectives, and their key features must be explicated.

Factor 1 had the highest number of significant loadings and so it is unsurprising that it bears the greatest resemblance to this shared point of view. If anything, it could be thought of as a distilled version of it. The bottom ranked items, for example, include teachers spending time on detentions and revision sessions, and the top ranked items suggest that teachers should spend their time planning and getting to know children, and schools should help children be happy and healthy. Indeed, Factor 1 is unique in placing teachers spending time getting to know children on the top rank. Factor 1 goes even further and suggests that school leaders need to spend time performing these functions in the same way as teachers. Thus Factor 1 gives higher weighting to school leaders teaching (4) and building relationships (5) than either other factor, and the joint highest rating for aiding in the smooth running of the school (5). Accordingly, Factor 1 gives less weight than the other two factors to school leaders reviewing and improving policies (2), and the joint least weight to their preparing for Ofsted (2), delivering the visions and values of the school (4), and spending time on the school's business functions (1). Teachers, too, have less time to perform some functions, including marking (3) and supporting children who need extra help (3). Factor 1's most distinctive view on the aims of the school is the low importance given to children securing strong qualifications (2), which is less important than teaching children manners (3), good citizenship (3) and providing cultural experiences (3). Teachers within Factor 1 do believe that teaching knowledge and skills is important (4) but still not as important as non-cognitive skills

(4) and moral character (5). The focus on the classroom and building relationships, which ought to be a priority for both teachers and leaders, seems to take as its aim the development of well-rounded, moral children with a well-developed character.

Factor 2 is distinguished by attitudes to the most disadvantaged children in the school. Whilst all factors rated closing the gap between disadvantaged children and advantaged children highly, Factor 2 is unique in placing it in the top rank. In line with this, Factor 2 gives higher ratings to teachers spending time with children who need extra help (5) and running revision sessions (2) and to schools providing cultural experiences (4), all of which would plausibly provide the most benefit to disadvantaged children. Given these priorities, some items are inevitably lower ranked. Factor 2 gives less weight to teachers running enrichment activities (2), getting to know students (4) and their own welfare (3). Schools should spend less time concerned with instilling discipline (1), manners (2) and helping children be happy (5). It seems that the time spent on the needs of the disadvantaged minority leaves less time for the rest of the students: a programme of positive discrimination. Factor 2 recognises the central roles of school leaders in enforcing this programme, giving the most weight to their spending time sharing the values and vision of the school (6) and ensuring staff are following policies (4). This leaves less time for them to be visible outside of the office (3), and spend time supporting the smooth running of the school (3) and Factor 2 ranks these tasks lower than the other two factors, with leaders' spending time on the school's business functions (1) the lowest ranked task.

The most distinctive features of Factor 3 concern the aims of school. More priority is given to children securing a positive destination (6), securing good qualifications (4) and preparing children for the world of work (4) than either other factor, although ensuring children are happy and healthy (6) remains a central aim. Correspondingly, developing non-cognitive skills (3), citizenship (2) and moral character (2) are given less weight, as is closing the gap between disadvantaged and advantaged children (4). Factor 3 could be thought of as adopting pragmatic aims, and this pragmatism is reflected in the priorities of school leaders, with Factor 3 giving more weight to preparing for Ofsted (3) and running the business side of the school (3), although neither item is ranked as highly as looking after staff welfare (5), ensuring the school runs smoothly (5) and developing teaching and learning (5). Factor 3 also gives

relatively high value to leaders being highly visible (5). Factor 3 appears to lack distinctive views about how teachers spend their time, often falling in between the other two factors. Interestingly, though, it does give more weight to teachers' prioritising their own welfare (5) and analysing data (3) (although the latter is still a relatively low priority), and less weight to communicating with parents (2). To return to the theme of pragmatism, this focus on welfare may reflect a belief that teachers should work in sustainable ways and that communication with parents is beyond their remit.

These three factors each appear to have internal coherence, and this further vindicates the decision to extract three factors, and to emphasise Factors 2 and 3 through factor rotation. The alternative viewpoints suggest potential tensions in the way staff in the Academy perform their functions, with different weight given to different aims and functions. Factor 1 emphasises leaders teaching, and the aim of developing well-rounded individuals; Factor 2 emphasises positive discrimination, with leaders sharing this aim and spending time ensuring it is achieved; Factor 3 emphasises pragmatism: schools should aim to secure good qualifications and prepare children for the world of work so they can secure a positive destination, and leaders should ensure the school runs smoothly and work is conducted in a sustainable way. I shall discuss the significance of these distinct views in the next chapter, although I must emphasise the important finding that these points of difference are outweighed by the commonalities across all factors, with broad agreement that teachers and leaders ought to work together to ensure provision is of high quality and to ensure children are happy and healthy.

4.2 Questionnaire survey

In order to aggregate the results of the 45 completed questionnaires, several decisions had to be made. First, when analysing the responses, it became clear several respondents had left entire rows blank, neither recording how much time they spent on an activity nor a judgement as to whether this was too little, too much, or the right amount of time. Typically, these were classroom teachers leaving rows that pertained to managerial roles. I therefore judged they spent no time on these roles: recording a time of zero minutes would allow for more accurate calculations of mean, median and ranges in subsequent analysis. Only when no judgements, or no

times, had been recorded for all items on a particular questionnaire did I leave the spaces empty, which happened twice. Second, some respondents had put ranges when indicating how much time they spent on an activity in a typical week: for these, I recorded the mid-point of that range. One questionnaire gave prose descriptions of time spent, such as 'hours and hours', or 'not as much as I'd like' so that I felt I could not reliably record any times. Third, some respondents had doubled their teaching allocations. In the Academy teachers have a fortnightly timetable and so it is common for teachers to talk of a teaching allocation of 40 hours, describing their timetable across the fortnight. If a respondent said they taught 40 hours in a typical week, which contains 25 teaching periods, I recorded this as 20, reasoning that this was an error made through force of habit, and that the respondent would assent to this simple correction if I had any way of identifying them to check. Finally, in addition to completing analysis based on the three groups created by respondents identifying themselves as teachers, middle leaders or senior leaders, I created a fourth group consisting of middle and senior leaders. This reflects the Q-methodology's split between the ways teachers ought to spend their time and the way leaders ought to spend their time. I chose not to aggregate the results of classroom teachers and leaders as their roles are too different to allow for direct comparisons. In fact, because middle leaders spent so much time teaching, they can be thought of as occupying a dual role and aggregating their scores with senior leaders, who have very little teaching, is far from unproblematic. I have duly exercised caution when describing the behaviour of this combined group in the remainder of the chapter.

The results of these questionnaires have face validity. The mean working weeks for each group of teachers are plausible, the hours spent teaching and in tutor time are consistent with timetabled hours and the results suggest that, as one would expect, leaders spend more time on managerial and leadership tasks whilst teachers' time is devoted to teaching, planning and marking, which together make up approximately 70% of their total hours. However, some individual respondents' estimates of tasks are outliers, with one respondent estimating a 20 hour working week, and four more estimating a working week shorter than 30 hours. My first thought was that these were significant underestimations. In actual fact, these may be the responses of part

time members of staff, who make up 10 out of the 71 teachers. In hindsight, the questionnaire should have asked respondents to identify if they worked part-time.

Whatever the explanation for these low estimates, it makes it difficult to compare across questionnaires. In fact, even those questionnaires with plausible time ranges are likely to have significant inaccuracies within the estimates (§3.6). Some tasks are onerous and may feel more time-consuming than others, causing higher estimates of the time spent performing them; if the questionnaire came in an atypical week when one task was performed more than usual, the judgement of time spent on that task in a typical week may be overestimated. For this reason I have given each task a rank order, based on how much time respondents said they spent on it. The most time consuming task is rank 1; the second is rank 2, and so on. I have also calculated median times spent on each task, as well as mean, since the median is less likely to be distorted by outliers. I have subsequently rank ordered the mean and median times for each group. All results have been included in Appendix B.

The questionnaire results suggest teachers are generally happy with the way their time is allocated. In total, 59% of judgements classroom teachers made about how much time they spent were 'about right when considering the impact on children', rising to 66% for leaders. If one includes blanks as tacit judgements of satisfaction then these figures rise to 73% and 77% respectively. This is significant for the research questions, which asks to what extent teachers consider themselves to be effectively pursuing the aims of education (§2.5). It seems that, in general, they do consider themselves to be effective with respect to the way they use their time. That said, some activities are far more likely to attract judgements that too little or too much time is spent on them, indicating areas where they could pursue the aims of education more effectively, and it is to these activities that I now turn. Here, I have taken 20% as a threshold for significance: if one in five teachers feels they are not able to spend the right amount of time on an activity I consider this noteworthy.

For classroom teachers, marking stands out as *the* task that takes up too much time, with 56% of respondents making this judgement. Interestingly, the amount of time respondents felt they spent on marking varied by over five hours between respondents, though even teachers who spent far less time marking than their peers felt the task consumed too much of their time. The only other activity judged by a

significant proportion of classroom teachers to take too much time was data entry outside of lessons (41%). Leaders, taken together, are also relatively likely to judge that marking takes too long, although less so than classroom teachers (24%). It is worth noting that, although, classroom teachers mark more in absolute terms than leaders, they spend less time marking for each lesson: 9.6 minutes, based on mean times, compared to 11.0 minutes for all leaders. Senior leaders, none of whom felt they spend too much time marking, spend 15.8 minutes marking for each hour of teaching. Duties and spending time on the form tutor role were also identified by 24% of leaders as taking up too much time. The task that drew the most judgements of taking too much time by leaders was managerial work such as examination entries and preparing for Ofsted (41%). Whilst this remains a minority of responses amongst all leaders, it is striking that three out of four senior leaders felt they spent too much time on this task: the only task for which more than one senior leader made the judgement.

There were several tasks classroom teachers wanted to spend more time on. The clearest examples are individual support for children that need help and spending time with children outside of lessons, with 62% and 58% of teachers, respectively, feeling they spent too little time on these activities. Running intervention or catch-up sessions was the next activity most likely to garner a judgement of too little time, with 35% of teachers adjudging thus. In addition, 23% of teachers would like to spend more time running extracurricular clubs. These activities share a theme: spending time with children, particularly those who need help. A quarter of teachers feel they spend too little time planning, even though with a mean of 394 minutes per week and a median of 300 minutes per week, planning is the most time consuming activity outside of lessons. It is perhaps telling that all but one of the teachers who felt they spent too little time planning gave estimates of planning time well below these averages, suggesting teachers need to spend significant amounts of time planning before they consider it enough. The only other task that significant number of teachers felt they spent too little time on was communicating with parents (23%). Leaders share teachers' judgement that they spend too little time providing individual support for children (35%) and spending time with children (30%). Two of the four senior leaders who responded felt they do not spend enough time teaching.

I previously argued that, *prima facie,* if teachers abandon practices that do not help children in favour of practices that do help children then they will be able to help children at least as well in less time, therefore shortening their day and improving their satisfaction. Indeed, given how motivated teachers are by helping children, this is likely to improve their motivation as well (§2.2). The questionnaire and Q-sort have, together, shown areas where teachers spend too much and too little time. Importantly, their judgement of effectiveness is not based on a narrow conception of examination results, but on their own judgements about the right ways to spend time (§2.2; §2.4). These findings were particularly useful when identifying, as per the research questions, teachers' and leaders' beliefs about the aims of education and whether they are effectively pursuing those aims (§2.5). It remained to be seen whether, and how, teachers and leaders could improve their working conditions without adversely affecting their ability to pursue these aims. Presumably teachers would not spend too much time on some tasks, or too little time on others, without good reasons. Identifying these reasons, and considering whether or not they could be removed, was the focus of the interviews.

4.3 Interviews

Throughout the interviews the interviewees were consistently positive about the Academy. They talked about improvements in the systems governing reports, marking and data entry, of feeling well supported by managers, and of benefiting from a collegiate atmosphere. This accords with my previous research in the same setting (Holmes, 2017) and with the results of the Academy's staff welfare survey (§3.7), which found that 95% of the teachers completing the survey agreed or strongly agreed that they would recommend the Academy as a great place to work, compared to a Civil Service benchmark of 58%. The vast majority (94%) agreed that they had confidence in the decisions of senior leaders, 97% felt respected at work, and 95% agreed that their work gave them a sense of personal accomplishment, compared to Civil Service benchmarks of 49%, 85% and 77%. This suggests that the interviewees' reportedly high level of satisfaction with the Academy can be taken as broadly typical of their colleagues. This is not to say that the interviewees felt things were perfect. On the contrary: they were articulate about where they felt the Academy could make further improvements in their working conditions, and I shall describe these findings first.

Throughout the remainder of this chapter I shall make use of quotations from interviews. As I have previously argued, it is important to render the use of these extracts as transparent as possible (§3.7) and so I therefore include interviewer questions, line numbers, and non-verbal cues and encouragements in all of the extracts I provide to illustrate the results.

When the interviewees expressed dissatisfaction with the way they were working, they were most likely to blame Academy policies. When I refer to the Academy's policies I refer to any requirements it places on teachers to complete certain tasks and any further requirements to complete those tasks in a certain way. For example, a policy might require teachers to mark in certain ways, complete certain administrative tasks, or enter children's grades at certain points. Often, the interviewees would refer to these as 'systems', but I have chosen to use the word 'system' to refer to non-prescribed ways of working. This reflects a distinction that is clear from the interviews between Academy policies and the individual systems that interviewees have developed to discharge their policy-prescribed duties as quickly as possible.

Typically, the interviewees adopted a stance of acceptance towards policies. They accepted that requirements for tasks such as marking, data entry were an inevitable, if sometimes unwanted, part of the job, with nine out of 13 expressing such sentiments. However, when the Academy had not sought ways to minimise the time teachers had to spend on these required duties interviewees reported being frustrated. For example, three interviewees noted that the policies implemented by the Academy, and by their department, required duplication of data entry prompting dissatisfaction.

Where interviewees noted that policies created more work than necessary, they also often expressed scepticism about the extent to which a single system can adequately capture and support the multifaceted nature of teaching. For example, the interviewees collectively identified 11 different functions of marking, ranging from relationship building to checking understanding to making sure children complete work. Seven interviewees discussed the varied nature of marking explicitly, reflecting on the fluid nature of marking: different subjects, different children in the same class, and different children at different points in the academic year, require

different forms of written communication. Six interviewees went on to criticise one-size-fits-all policies: when they found themselves in situations not covered adequately by the policy the work they completed to conform to the policy felt meaningless. Seth expressed these frustrations in the following extract:

77 Seth: At the moment the, the majority of my time is on marking. Erm… erm… and I can't think… I spend a decent amount of time planning but I think that that's
80 more important than marking. I want to get the right activities to make sure it's meeting their needs.

John: Is that time, is it pen to paper, sort of actually writing those comments in the books that's taking away from your ability to plan?

85 Seth: Yeah. Yeah. And it's the requirement for… I think it's the requirement that *every* class has feedback after x lessons and every kid having a personalised comment. Because I don't, some kids don't, I don't think all children need that. Some children *need* that comment to motivate
90 them. Some aren't bothered. They know their book is neat, they know their book's tidy and then sometimes you think you're putting a question in there for the sake of making sure it's seen by someone…

John: Yeah…

95 Seth: So I have a girl who wouldn't care if I hadn't looked at a book all term because all her answers are correct and she knows they've got 100% before she's handed it in. For me, the time for her would be better spent thinking about an extension task rather than marking a
100 question that I'm 99% sure that.... Whereas, if I thought about, I've another girl in the same class who's weak, but

doing really well, and the comment makes her smile every time she sees it and actually she works twice as hard in her lesson.

Consistent with this is the observation that, when interviewees did talk about policies improving, the explanation was that the tasks required by the policy had become less prescriptive and more flexible.

Academy policies were also complicit in another frequent cause for complaint: change. Frequent change was highlighted as a frustration and whilst the Department for Education was held responsible for some of this, with four interviewees expressing discontent at recent, widespread specification changes, nine interviewees laid responsibility at the Academy. Fern's comments about planning reflect this dual responsibility.

47 John: How do you plan? Or, perhaps a slightly different question: what do you require to plan well?

Fern: For the courses not to change <laughs>.

50 John: <laughs>

Fern: No, I think for *us*, because we were on the old spec for a long time, everything was pretty much in place, and you could just go to a lesson and you could… erm… look at it, you might tweak things and adapt things because
55 you might look at something from last year and think, 'that's not very good'. Erm… but then… it was pretty much in place. But then we brought the new course in and we had to add loads more and we're almost at a place now where that's done. But I do think as a school
60 we bring other things in, so there was all of the end of last year to plan things, but there was no mention of DIRT [directed improvement and reflection time] tasks so

then, I know they're sort of reactive to marking, but there's probably some that could've been pre-planned. Erm… and so I think it's hard then… I think, we were almost in a place that, but now we need to do this now, we need to do that now and they've not worked well so we've had to adapt them so that takes time to do. So I think to get to a place where everything's done requires no change and that's not going to happen.

Earlier on in the interview, Fern praises the feedback policy and specifically says she really likes the DIRT tasks. Her concern is not with the policy itself, but with the speed and timing of its implementation.

Fern's support for DIRT tasks is not an anomaly. As sceptical as they were about some policies, the interviewees were enthusiastic about the overall aim of the policies, be it feedback or building relationships. They were equally enthusiastic about finding efficient systems: ways of completing their work faster. For example, all interviewees talked positively about marking, each returning to the subject an average of 5.4 times. They spoke of the use of self and peer assessment, whole-class feedback, marking pro forma documents, marking in lessons, or marking only select pieces of work as ways they had found to make their working more efficient. Similarly, all interviewees talked about the positives of data entry, 3.2 times each on average. They talked about recording children's progress to plan lessons or intervention, to identify gaps, to make sure they remember how different children are progressing, and about involving children in entering and owning data as a means of empowerment. The interviewees like efficient systems, seek ways to share them with each other, and four identified training on systems as desirable. We see this enthusiasm expressed by Ros in the following extract when, having expressed the typical view that data entry is necessary, expresses the need for a good system as I, in the role of interviewer, bemoan my failure to utilise one.

141 John: Is it right to ask for that amount of data? The termly input and seating plans and departmental tracker?

Ros: The argument would be if you don't do it, who else does? And if someone else did it then how much time would that save? It's the most time efficient way of doing it. It's about having a good system: you mark something, you put it straight in. It's when somebody does it, hands it out to the kids, realises they haven't recorded it and has to collect it back in.

John: It's like you're watching my secret life

Ros: Oh yeah

John: The number of time I've left my markbook and resorted to scraps of...

Ros: Yeah

John… paper with people's grades and names written on.

Ros: Oh yeah. And it is a system that needs to be systematic. You don't want to sit people down and say you will mark your books and enter your data like this, but unless you have a process for it then it becomes more difficult.

The extract finishes with Ros voicing a tension between the creation of restrictive systems (i.e. policies) that limit autonomy and the possibility that, without such policies, teachers will struggle to find the best ways of working.

A similar tension concerns accountability. Five interviewees expressed concern that policies required them to perform tasks that were for not for the sake of the children, but rather to enable their managers to see if they were completing tasks. One, for

example, must record that intervention has been completed by writing a code in the departmental markbook. On the other hand, three interviewees express a desire for accountability: in their view, it is important that policies lay out clear expectations and managers check that teachers adhere to them.

These considerations suggest that it would be an oversimplification to say the interviewees unreservedly support minimal, flexible Academy policies, allowing them the freedom to pursue the system of their choice. Nevertheless, the interview findings thus far suggest that reforming the use of policies may be a key way to improve teachers' job satisfaction without adversely affecting their ability to help children (§2.5).

In addition to dissatisfying areas, where teachers spend time on work that does not help children, the Q-sort and questionnaire results suggested that there were areas of work that help children where teachers and leaders do not spend enough time. Finding opportunities to increase the amount of time spent in these areas may be both more motivating and more effective at helping children. Here, interviewee's focus was not on policies, but on the culture of the Academy. For example, the interviewees identified a variety of opportunities for teachers to spend time building relationships with children, from tutor time and lessons, to clubs and trips, to break duties and detentions: a list with contributions from each transcript. Given this plethora of opportunities, the fact that teachers feel they need more time building relationships begs explanation. For the interviewees, one explanation was a lack of focus from the Academy. They noted that the Academy celebrates academic success, and the destinations of its students, but the hidden, yet powerful, impact teachers have through those relationships is often neglected. Mirroring this is the focus of in-school training, which centres on pedagogy, rather than ways of building relationships. The following extract takes place after Rachel has expressed frustration with the Academy's prescriptive assessment policy.

22 John: So if we roll forward to a couple of years…

Rachel: Yeah

John… and the system's better. And so people are, are

happier with their marking…

Rachel: Yeah

John: …load. What will have changed?

Rachel: Ok. So I think that, erm, what I noticed in our school, is I think we moved away from marking for relationships for a while. It just stopped being a conversation that we had when we talked about teaching and learning. When I first started we did. Erm… and I really felt a shift away from that…erm… and I get the balance between work and life <laughs> *but..* I felt like that is something that should never go. Erm… whatever your workload is, ***that's*** the thing that should *stick* because, beyond anything else your, the relationships that you build are the things that are probably… *arguably* more important than outcomes. So, I think it comes back to CPDL and QA and that being our clear focus, something we're looking for… so I think that's how it would look different.

Rachel's claim, that relationships are more important than outcomes, was consistently replicated in the Q-sort rankings.

Planning was the other task teachers wanted to spend time on, and for all interviewees, planning was conceptually linked with relationships. Each and every one said that effective planning required a teacher to know their students so that lessons could be adapted to the needs and interests of specific children and classes. Vicky referred to this as 'the joyous bit of planning', prompting the following exchange:

John: I love that phrase: 'the joyous bit of planning'.

Vicky: Yeah.

John: Because that, it does capture that's what people love about their job, is making it right, is making it bespoke.

Vicky. Absolutely. That's right. You know you've got it right when you look out there and see those light bulb moments, or kind of what I call the ah moments, like '*ah* yeah, I get it now'. Y'know, and, and that *doesn't* happen enough on an individual basis because we simply don't have the time to consider it on that deeper level,

[…]

It's complex. But you're absolutely right. Y'know, when I first started teaching 20 years ago that's *pretty* much all you did, is you focussed almost all of your attention on planning really meaningful lessons, um, and I do think we've *almost* overcomplicated the system so the very, very important, basic planning isn't the priority anymore…

John: Yeah

Vicky: … and actually without that all the other stuff is irrelevant…

John: hmm

Vicky: …so we need to find ways to go back to that. And again, coming back to establishing relationships, if you get that *planning* right the relationships will come as well.

Vicky is not the only person to suggest that effective planning, as well as requiring a relationship, prompts the building of better relationships. Nor is she the only interviewee to worry about the lack of time. Ten of the 13 interviewees expressed, in one form or another, a wish for more time: all of them saying they would spend it building relationships or planning. Nine, including Vicky, felt that the situation could be improved if the foundations of planning were in place for them. By this, they meant a pre-existing, skeletal set of resources that they could use, modifying and adapting them for their classes. It was the creation of this structure, the simple transfer of content to worksheets and presentations, that interviewees felt onerous and unrewarding. The second stage of the process, thinking about how to make the content really work for their classes, felt creative, enjoyable or, as Vicky put it, joyous. When the foundations were not in place building them, from scratch, took a lot of time and yet interviewees felt the most important part of the planning process was incomplete: an experience that may explain the questionnaire finding that, in spite of spending a great deal of time on planning, teachers wanted even more. In the following extract, I respond to Leslie who has just spent some time detailing the preparation she has to do for an A-level lesson:

> John: I didn't realise you'd have to go into that detail for, for A-level lessons. Do you have to...redo that work, or if you ever taught the A-level again could you reuse it?
>
> Leslie: Yeah I could reuse it. So I've got, so this year is, like, this is the first time I've taught Year 13, so as of next year I will have all the resources for everything and I will have all the exam questions it all planned. So next year it should be easier. But then I can spend that time, I guess, like, looking at more imaginative ways to get them hooked on relationships will come as well.
>
> […]

111 John: And if there were a department setting up in a new free school and they were thinking about planning, what would be your advice for them, to try to support their teachers?

115 Leslie: Erm… I think one thing is to share all resources. So as a department it's taken a few years for us to kind of start using the shared area. So for a while you'd just have to ask, 'does anyone have this?' and someone would email it over. Whereas now it's just so easy, you
120 can just search and there are loads of different things you can look through.

Leslie found that the foundation didn't exist because she had not taught that year group before. Other reasons suggested by interviewees included specification changes, the introduction of new courses or because they had moved into a new department. Thus frustration with change and a desire for stability was relevant to planning as well as policies. The solution, though, was not necessarily a completely stable timetable: indeed, interviewees often enjoyed keeping a class from year to year to build relationships. Rather, the solution was, as Leslie advised, a greater focus on collaboration and sharing of resources: something that teachers in smaller departments noted would be more of a struggle for them.

Therefore, whilst relationships between children and teachers are important, so are relationships between teachers: a point directly noted by six of the interviewees, who did so whilst expressing pleasure and appreciation for the teams with whom they worked. Five of those six also said they felt valued by the Academy. A number that, whilst less than half, should be considered significant in light of the fact that none of the interview questions directly invited any sort of comment on the level of support or collegiality in the Academy.

These findings suggest that there will be ways that the Academy can improve both motivation and the effectiveness of its teachers by considering its cultural focus, or

lack of, on relationships (§2.5). At times, though, the interviewees seemed to suggest that it would not be possible to improve the working conditions of teachers. The majority of them expressed the view that, to some extent, teachers determined their own experiences. Six talked about how their own attributes mean they are able to stay stress-free. This included positive outlook, aptitude (they could perform tasks faster than their peers) or time management and discipline. Four talked about how some of their colleagues found things difficult because they lacked those same attributes. Most interviewees expressed the view that teachers find things difficult because they let themselves become consumed by work. Fern, in the extract below, talks about a never-ending to-do list, and similar ideas of bottomless wells, and forever-incomplete jobs were recurrent themes throughout the interview.

John: Is there any other advice you'd have for a younger teacher, you know, if you really want to enjoy teaching and get a lot out of it you could….?

Fern: I just think it's about accepting that things aren't quite perfect and that you're gonna to do your best and that… I think sometimes you see young teachers, erm, just getting bogged down by everything. And I actually think when you've got a family it's almost easier. People say I don't know how you manage with kids and work. It's almost easier because it gives you a time that you have to leave, and it gives you a period of time in the evening where you don't do work because you have other priorities and I just think that for young teachers it's easy for them to just become consumed by it...

John: Yeah

Fern: … and they want everything to be perfect and I think it's easier to think you're doing the best you can: some lessons are great and others, you know, aren't, and as long as there's a balance between your classes in

who gets the great lessons and who gets the lessons to be improved. Erm... it's trying to not let it, you know, you'll never get to the bottom of your to do list, I guess, so it's just making sure you get the priorities done and things slowly move up the list and… you'll never get to the bottom of it and that's fine.

Here, the difficulty for a teacher is not caused by a negative attitude, but by an excess of diligence and care.

These personal issues were typically seen as requiring personal solutions, with teachers urged to accept that things won't be perfect, and sometimes good enough is good enough. If this were the case, it may not be possible to improve teachers' working conditions. Some positive teachers will improve their own working conditions and some negative teachers will be unable to do so.

However, some interviewees suggested ways in which the Academy might support teachers in adopting stances of positivity, captured in the following extract from Chloe:

John: Is there anything else you think, 'teachers love this; I love this,' that schools might do well to remember or to provide more opportunities for, and help people come in excited about work?

Chloe: Well when we had our CPD, it was a staff workshop as well, that was brilliant in just getting you fired up as a… specialist in your subject… again. Because it was, it reminded, y'know, me I am an artist at heart, like, it's not, I'm not just a teacher, I have got my interests and my creativity.

[…]

107 I think you need to be reminded about what you love about your subject

Several teachers spoke about their love for the subject, and the importance of this for them. They felt that subject specific training, with a focus on subject knowledge, was important, and were frustrated by being moved out of subject. Chloe's final phrase is particularly significant because it places the onus for reminding a teacher on other agents, presumably the Academy. Several other teachers said that the Academy ought to bring teachers' attentions to the best aspects of teaching, finding ways to remind them of the privilege and importance of their role. This suggests, in their view at least, that the Academy culture has some significance in determining whether individual teachers look at their jobs in a positive or a negative light and so it has a role to play in improving job satisfaction and motivation without adversely affecting the effectiveness of its staff (§2.5).

4.4 Summary

Thus far I have reported the findings of each data collection method in turn, signalling the applicability of those findings to different research questions. In so doing, I have reported that the three methods have produced data that are consistent in their findings. Whilst this is generally the case, it is important to note that there also areas where the Q-sort and questionnaires were, ostensibly, in contradiction. One such area centred on CPDL. Q-sort contributors generally ranked CPDL as an activity that teachers should spend a lot of time on, with it appearing on the third tier of Factors 1 and 3, and the second tier of Factor 2, as the second most important task for teachers. Every factor ranked it above spending time on extra-curricular activities and running intervention and catch-up sessions. The questionnaire findings revealed that teachers spend approximately the same time on each of those activities, with the median time of all three 60 minutes. Based on the Q-sort, one would expect respondents to say they spent too little time on CPDL, or too much time on the other activities: this would reflect their stated time preferences. In actual fact, respondents were evenly split on whether CPDL took up too much or too little time. By contrast, no teacher said they spent too much time on the other activities, and a significant proportion said they did not spend enough time.

The other area of apparent inconsistency was the results of the Q-sorts and questionnaires that were specific to leaders. For example, senior leaders who completed the questionnaire reported that they spent time teaching than doing anything else and two out of four would like to teach more. However the Q-sort factor arrays rank teaching as a medium-to-low priority for school leaders. A similar inconsistency can be seen in the task, 'improving the quality of teaching and learning', which was ranked consistently highly on the Q-sort factor arrays and, according to the questionnaire findings, does not take up much of leaders' time, ranked tenth, below tasks that the Q-sort suggests should be of less importance. Despite this, only one of four senior leaders, and one of 13 middle leaders, would like to spend more on this task.

Such inconsistencies are significant, and I shall discuss both these areas in more detail in the next chapter, drawing on the interview data to offer an explanation for them. Overall, though, the quantitative and qualitative data collected through the three research methods seem to paint a coherent picture. The Q-sort and questionnaire findings suggest teachers aim at promoting the well-being of children whilst at school, at developing character skills, and at reducing social inequality. They are generally happy with the way they work, with four key areas standing out as causes of frustration. On the one hand, they feel they spend too much time marking and entering data. They felt this was typically prompted by Academy policies, which could prompt unnecessary change and fail to capture the complex and varied nature of teachers' roles. On the other hand, they feel they do not spend enough time planning or developing relationships and interviewees discussed both Academy culture and personal attributes as having a role to play in limiting the time teachers spent on these activities. These findings suggest positive answers to the first three research questions (§2.5) and I shall discuss these answers in the next chapter. I shall also discuss the answer that these findings, taken together, suggest for the fourth and final research question, and the implications of these answers for the Academy and for future research.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

In this chapter each of the four research questions is answered in turn (§2.5). At first glance, it seems that the first three have relatively straightforward answers. The Q-sort and questionnaire findings demonstrated much agreement on the aims of education sought by teachers and leaders; the ways teachers and leaders believe they ought to spend their time, and the way they do spend their time. The interviewees identified key areas where they felt they would be able to eliminate work that didn't help children and replace it with fulfilling aspects of their jobs, thereby removing dissatisfying work and replacing it with more motivating tasks, whilst helping children more effectively. These findings are not likely to strike many people familiar with contemporary British education as surprising: it is well known that teachers would like to spend less time on data entry and marking (DfE 2016a; 2016c). Nevertheless, they provide highly context-specific actions for school leaders in the Academy under study: actions that could plausibly be taken in other schools with similar contexts. These answers are useful and fulfil the axiological commitment of this study to promote flourishing.

One thing that is striking and, to me, surprising in the findings is the way in which interviewees accepted the use of restrictive policies within schools, considering them necessary and inevitable. These policies were often the root cause of patterns of work that were demotivating and dissatisfying. I discuss this in detail when answering the third research question as without critiquing the necessity of these ways of working the opportunities available to improve working conditions are seriously limited.

This, in turn, has implications for the fourth research question, which asks whether teachers endorse any aims as the result of identifiable pressures and is the pursuit of these aims harmful? I argue that these policies are accepted as a result of subtle pressures and I consider the implications of these pressures and the resultant beliefs.

Before I address the research questions I should note that this chapter dwells on the relatively small number of areas where the results indicated that things could be

improved for teachers in this Academy. It therefore behoves me to emphasise that this research (§4.3), along with my previous research in the same context (Holmes, 2017), reveals that, for participants in the research, there is far more to celebrate than criticise. Teachers report they are happy; they feel their values are aligned with those of the Academy and its leaders and that they are part of supportive teams; and they acknowledge and welcome the attempts that school leaders have made to prioritise their welfare. This does not imply that things are perfect, but nor does the existence of areas for improvement imply that things are not currently going well.

5.1 Pursuing the aims of education?

Research question 1: what do teachers and school leaders consider to be the aims of education?

Q-sort contributors agreed less about the aims of education than they did about how teachers and leaders should spend their time. Even here, though, agreement outweighed disagreement. The most important aim of education identified by the contributors was that children should be helped to be healthy and happy during their time in school. Contributors also prioritised developing children's moral character and equipping them with useful skills and knowledge regardless of whether they were examined and were in broad agreement about the importance of education closing the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their more advantaged peers. This answer is in accordance with the Literature Review, which found that teachers are often motivated by the thought of helping children (§2.1). For the remainder of this chapter, effective teaching is taken to refer to teaching that promotes these aims.

The Literature Review also found that much school effectiveness research implicitly assumes that effective teaching is that which yields strong examination results (§2.2). This focus on examination results is shared by performative systems of accountability (§1.2). It is notable, then, that qualifications, preparedness for work, and positive destinations of children upon leaving schools were generally considered to be of low priority. Two factors placed all three of these aims in the bottom half of the distribution; the other, Factor 3, placed all three in the top half.

Q-methodology cannot generally be used to say how widespread a point of view is within a population of people. However, Factor 3 only just passed tests for statistical significance, and was almost eliminated from analysis (§4.1). Whilst it is clear that at least some teachers see the aims of education in the same way as performative systems of accountability, it is probable that it remains a minority view. This is suggestive of a tension between the aims teachers in the Academy are encouraged to pursue by the performative context in which they operate and those that they would like to pursue, which mirrors that found in research on performative education systems (§1.2). This may also lead to a tension between the pursuit of effective teaching, as it is defined here, and the pursuit of effective teaching as defined by accountability measures. Certainly, the former cannot be assumed to lead to the latter.

Research question 2: to what extent do teachers and school leaders consider themselves to be effectively pursuing the aims of education?

Both the Q-methodology and questionnaires provided an opportunity for teachers to judge how they could best spend their time outside of the classroom. Typically, the data from these two sources agreed: if a use of teachers' time was ranked highly on the Q-sort then teachers who spent relatively high amounts of time on that activity felt they spent the right amount of time on it. When teachers spent a lot of time on tasks that the Q-sort suggested were not a priority they felt they spent too much time on those tasks. The same can be said, *mutatis mutandis,* for those tasks shown by the Q-sort to be a high priority.

In most cases, teachers and leaders felt that, when considering the impact that different activities had on children, they spent the right amount of time on those activities. In total, 59% of teachers' judgements, and 66% of leaders' judgements, were made thus. If one includes blanks in these figures (§4.2) then they rise to 73% and 77% respectively.

Yet there is no room for complacency. Of the 45 respondents, only two reported that they were happy with the time they spent on every task. Even using the most optimistic measure, approximately a quarter of judgements were that too much or too little time was spent on activities. This is suggestive of the possibility that the teachers and leaders can pursue the aims of education more effectively and so

improve their working conditions. The tasks on which teachers and leaders are most likely to feel they spend the wrong amount of time are data entry and marking (too much), and planning and activities associated with building relationships (too little).

5.2 Improving working conditions

Research question 3: to what extent can teachers and school leaders be more satisfied, and more motivated, without adversely affecting their ability to pursue the aims of education?

The results suggest there are ways that teachers and leaders could be more satisfied and motivated whilst more effectively pursuing the aims of education. On the face of it, satisfaction could be best promoted by changing the policies governing marking and data entry to avoid duplication of work and to better capture the variety of aims of marking. Motivation could be increased by diverting the time saved to building relationships and planning. Interviewees recognised that this was a continuation of work the Academy had embarked upon as part of its commitment to improve working conditions (§1.2). The observation that the work was welcomed, but not seen as complete, is important to Academy leaders.

It is noteworthy that interviewees broadly accepted the need for Academy policies. I have argued that teachers' preferences are adaptive and shaped by the cultures in which they live and work, and so their acceptance of the necessity of certain policies may simply reflect their widespread use, rather than their usefulness (§2.2); if the policies are not useful at all, then it may be that eliminating their use altogether, as opposed to modifying them, yields greater benefits for teachers' and leaders' working conditions.

Consider marking. Whilst the term 'marking' ostensibly means issuing a mark to a piece of work, it has come to refer to the written comments that often accompany the issuing of a mark or, indeed, any written communication whatsoever. Despite the ubiquity of marking policies that guide such written communication, and the interviewee's acceptance that such a policy needs to be in place, there is only limited evidence for the efficacy of marking (Elliot et al., 2016). Whilst the interviewees suggested a variety of aims that could be sought through marking, none of these are obviously better achieved through written, as opposed to verbal, communication.

Indeed, several interviewees described preferring verbal communication to achieve some of these aims but felt that it had to be supplemented by written communication because of the marking policy. For example, they would provide feedback verbally, but then write a similar comment in that child's book since they were required to produce written feedback.

Similar considerations bear on the other task teachers report as taking up too much time: data entry. Just as written feedback seems no more effective at helping children than verbal feedback, completion of an electronic departmental mark book does not obviously help children more than a teacher completing their own paper mark book. Teachers thus feel that completing the former, which they often do in addition to completing the latter, is a task that is performed for the sake of managers. As with marking, teachers persist in expressing a broad sense of acceptance of this state of affairs.

The justifications for these policies, as provided by some interviewees, refer to the need to provide a high quality experience for children. Such an explanation suggests that given the importance of, say, feedback it is incumbent upon school leaders to lay out their expectations and check that these expectations are being met. This cycle of targets and monitoring is often seen as an important mechanism for improving performance (Barber et al., 2010). It is regrettable that teachers who are skilled and committed enough to provide feedback must duplicate work, or complete work that does not help children. However, the improvement in the practice of teachers who would not be able to provide such high quality feedback without specific guidance is significant. Ultimately, the benefits outweigh the costs and the interviewees' acceptance of policies reflects their recognition of this simple calculation.

It is hard to dispute the claim that policies are designed with the explicit and genuine aim of helping children through guiding teachers' practice. The research findings suggest that, as found in the Literature Review, the educational professionals in the Academy are highly motivated by helping children. The problem is not the attempt to guide practice, per se, but the choice of policies as the mechanism for providing this guidance: a function for which policies are ill-suited.

Let us take, as an example, the claim that a marking policy is necessary because it supports teachers in, amongst other things, providing feedback. The first question to ask is why the subject of the policy is marking, rather than feedback? For, whilst it may well be true that high-quality marking provides useful feedback for children, it appears to fetishise marking to make it, rather than feedback, the focus of a policy.

There certainly appears to be much in favour of simply requiring teachers to provide feedback, thus eliminating the 'middle man' of marking. The research evidence for the efficacy of feedback is strong (Graham et al., 2012; Lysarowski and Walberg, 1982) and it is rated as the most effective intervention on the EEF's Teaching and Learning Toolkit (§2.2). That same research also shows that there is a great deal of variety in the impact of feedback. One of the most significant determinants of how successful feedback is in improving performance is the extent to which learners act upon that feedback, and are able to do so quickly (Hattie, 2009; Hendrick and Macpherson, 2017). Marking, which is often time-consuming, can rarely provide immediate feedback. It will frequently be the case that teachers are better off generating an understanding of their pupils' performance through methods such as a conversation with a child that reveals a misconception, observation of children's performance, or a brief read through a selection of children's books. The resultant feedback can quickly be delivered through whole class explanations or individual conversations with pupils. It is worth noting that this notion of feedback is highly reminiscent of the 'joyous bit of planning' described by Vicky in her interview, which involves personalising lessons and tasks for children, and is intrinsically linked to relationships (§4.3). This, unlike marking, is a task highly valued by teachers and likely to be motivating. Why, in the face of these considerations, is marking rather than feedback the topic of policies?

One reason is that a marking policy can be specific. The requirement to 'deliver feedback well' is vague. It requires teachers to make a series of choices and it is likely that less skilled teachers will make unwise choices and as a result fail to provide useful feedback. This is exacerbated when one considers it will also be impossible to judge the quality or frequency of a teacher's feedback if they choose to routinely provide verbal feedback. Thus not only will some teachers provide poor quality feedback, but it may prove impossible to determine which teachers do so.

Yet such an approach to teacher accountability wrongly assumes that evidence must necessarily be measurable in a narrow and objective manner. One can investigate the extent to which a teacher has provided feedback by asking children if their teacher provides them with feedback or if they know what they need to do to improve. Such an approach may not yield straightforwardly measurable outcomes, and it includes aspects of subjective judgement, but it quickly cuts to the heart of what matters. If the pupils of a particular teacher said that their teacher knew about their work and frequently provided highly personal pointers to improve, should a leader in a school care that the book had not been written in by said teacher? Equally, if children said their teacher did not know their name, did not seem to know how their work was progressing, and never had useful advice, should a school leader be reassured that the child's book was full of highly detailed marking and apparently precise feedback?

What of those teachers who are revealed, through such questions, to have not been able to provide feedback well? Even here, it is not the case that a policy would be the best way to provide support for those teachers. Consider other ways that support is provided to novice learners, such as the stabilisers on a young child's bike, or the rigid essay skeletons provided to novice writers. Both are seen as a temporary tool to enable minimally competent performance whilst expertise is developed. In time, the cyclist will abandon the stabilisers, and the essayist will abandon the skeleton. When they do so, the cyclist will be able to go faster and the essayist will be able to write more creatively. Now suppose these supportive tools were treated in the same way as a school policy. We would require every cyclist, no matter how proficient, to affix stabilisers to their bike simply because some cyclists would benefit from doing so, and every essay would conform to the same prescriptive plan. Moreover, this would be an indefinite state of affairs, with cyclists persistently slow, and essays persistently dull. I hope the significance of this for the suggestion that policies are a useful tool for providing support is clear. Far from improving practice, they are likely to lead to inefficient, slow and uncreative work. It is true that teachers who are not providing feedback need support and that support may even need to be highly prescriptive. It is an unwarranted jump thence to conclude that everybody will benefit from permanent prescriptive policies.

The central issue is that, as the interviewees noted, teaching is too complex to be able to be adequately guided by a simple list of requirements. One would not expect a simple policy to sufficiently guide a barrister's interactions with a judge, a CEO's approach to change management, or a general practitioner's consultations with patients (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012). At best, a checklist might act as a reminder to complete complex tasks without presuming to direct these professionals as to the best way to complete these tasks (Gawande, 2010). Teaching is no less challenging than these other professional tasks, requiring teachers to utilise practical wisdom, technical expertise, and subject knowledge in order to explain complex concepts to 30 children with significant variations in their prior knowledge. It may be appropriate to remind teachers to provide feedback, but more precise specifications are inappropriate. The implication of such policies is that their creators view teaching as a simple, paint-by-numbers exercise, achievable by anybody with a checklist. Such a conclusion is suggested by Whitty (2006) who reports performative systems abandon the idea of up-skilling teachers and erode their professionalism.

This approach may have implications for the nature of teachers' engagement with staff development, dissuading them from seeking richer continuing professional development and learning. Just as there is no incentive to seek ways of creatively writing if one knows one must always follow the same essay skeleton, there may be no incentive to seek ways of creatively providing feedback if you will be forced to provide feedback through one format. This impulse would be exacerbated if teachers consistently received feedback from their managers that they are in line with the policy and so, on the face of it, doing everything they need to do.

Interestingly, the combined results of the Q-sort and questionnaire survey are suggestive that CPDL is undervalued in precisely this manner. As noted above, there is an apparent conflict between the fact that teachers prioritise CPDL in the Q-sort, and the fact that, according to the questionnaire results, they would rather spend more time on less important tasks (§4.4). One plausible explanation for this could be that teachers have come to rely on these inflexible policies, believing therefore that, since they have mastered the demands of the policies, they have nothing more to learn. Another is that the CPDL has become little more than an exercise in how to follow policies, neglecting the need to develop teachers' expertise in meeting the complex, multi-faceted and challenging demands of their role.

Thus the claim that a marking policy is necessary because it supports teachers in, amongst other things, providing feedback is not defensible. At best, such policies are restrictive and prevent teachers with genuine expertise from becoming more creative and personalising their practice. At worst, such policies inculcate a simplistic and reductive view of teaching that discourages professional development.

A reliance on policies has a further, pernicious implication: they focus teachers' and leaders' attention and efforts in the wrong areas. The most valued tasks teachers can perform, as revealed by the Q-sort and questionnaire findings, are planning and building relationships. Yet the Academy policies are silent on these complex areas, preferring to discuss the lowly ranked, but simpler, tasks of marking and data entry. This has led to a neglect of precisely those areas that are most motivating for teachers, in favour of areas that are dissatisfying.

One such neglected area is relationships. Teachers and leaders in the study repeatedly stressed the importance of relationships: in the Q-sort they were consistently ranked as more important than academic outcomes (§4.1; §4.3). Moreover, the evidence for the significant impact of positive teacher-student relationships, particularly on more vulnerable students, is overwhelming (Cornelius-White, 2007; Hattie, 2009; Roorda et al., 2011). Interviewees recognised school leaders explicitly shared this priority, and some talked about ways that relationships were celebrated. However, the general view was that relationships were less of an institutional priority than academic outcomes. This hierarchy of value was inferred from the neglect of relationships in CPDL relative to the amount of time sharing policies and good practice with respect to policies.

It must be acknowledged, as some interviewees did, that building relationships is challenging. They are personal in nature, there is no annually produced set of relationships data indicating the extent to which relationship-building was successful, and teachers themselves may not be aware of the subtle but powerful impact their relationships have on children. Similarly, the psychological needs of children are highly varied, and training teachers on how to cater for these needs may appear daunting. There are no easy steps to follow that guarantee strong relationships between any two humans in any context. Yet these challenges simply make the need to find ways to support teachers in developing relationships, and to recognise

and celebrate those that do so successfully, more pressing. As the interviewees noted, they needed to be reminded of the importance of relationships to themselves as teachers and indeed humans, as well as the importance of relationships to children. An absence of such reminders meant they found themselves neglecting to invest time in such relationships out of the classroom, diverting that time to what struck them as tasks that the Academy considered more important.

Interviewees were able to provide suggestions of ways to talk about relationships, including talking in detail about the different and varied ways teachers and other members of staff had worked together to help a child; ensuring that feedback to lesson observations take the quality of relationships in the classroom as a serious point of evidence and discussion; and providing training on written communication that emphasised its utility in building relationships. In a sense, it is not important which of these precise mechanisms leaders adopt. What would be important is the simple fact that they pick one, thereby signalling the import of relationships.

Another value neglected, at an institutional level, concerns those teachers who work very long hours. The relative silence concerning such staff, as revealed through the interviews, appears to be in contrast with the Academy's explicit and genuinely meant concern for the well-being of its staff. The interviews identified two ways leaders could support such staff. Firstly, leaders can begin by acknowledging this as a problem, and accepting that this problem is worth addressing. To be sure, if teachers were staying late because doing so was a genuinely pleasurable or rewarding experience then working long hours may not be a cause for concern (§2.1). However, the interviewees reported that long hours were caused by perfectionism and anxiety, often related to the endless nature of teaching. Engineers can look upon a finished design or product; barristers will have a final judgement from the court, but there is always something else a teacher could do, and this prompts feelings of guilt (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012). Such attitudes are changeable, as was noted by interviewees who reported an improvement in their own attitudes coming with time, experience or, in one case, parenthood. Tellingly, all interviewees reported this as a change that they made themselves and it is reasonable to think that not everybody is able to make this change at all, or make it in time to prevent leaving the profession or damage to health. There is a missed

opportunity for school leaders to support staff in managing their attitudes towards work.

Not all teachers who stay late do so because of psychological attitudes. Another explanation was poor time management or completing work slowly. Accordingly, leaders ought to run CPDL sessions specifically about time management, and ways of completing work in a quicker and more efficient manner: working smarter, not longer. Interviewees regularly made use of systems to help them achieve these goals, which included software-based tools for speeding up data entry and mark books, self and peer assessment; generating whole-class feedback through reading a sample of books, or marking in lessons. Once again, they spoke of working them out for themselves through trial and error across a period of time, of discovering them through happenstance, usually through a personal relationship with a colleague, or of 'naturally' having good time management. Whilst some interviewees felt that 'learning the hard way' was an intrinsically valuable process, a more common view was that having these simple yet powerful time saving tips shared centrally would have improved their experience in the Academy, particularly as younger teachers or new recruits. This mirrors the findings of a DfE commissioned research report, where teachers felt training in precisely these areas would help them manage their workload (DfE, 2018a). In this case, as with the case of supporting teachers through their emotional experiences, a CPDL system focussed particularly on policies, appears to leave out something important, or at least something judged to be so by both leaders and teachers.

Finally, the Academy neglects to focus on planning. Planning takes up more of teachers' time than any other activity outside of the classroom, and yet teachers want to invest more time in planning (§4.2). The explanation seems to lie in the significant amount of time teachers spend making resources the first time they deliver a course. This leaves little time to consider the best way to use those resources, tailoring the teaching to the needs of individual classes (§4.3). Teachers therefore expressed a desire to have this first stage in place already, and those with experience of collaborative planning pointed to this as an example of something that has helped them in the past. This would then free up teachers to consider how best to teach the children in front of them: a process that could benefit from further collaboration. This approach to collaborative planning directly echoes the

recommendations of the DfE report on reducing unnecessary workload associated with marking, which states that leaders 'should ensure, as a default expectation that a fully resourced, *collaboratively produced,* scheme of work is in place for all teachers for the start of each term' (DfE, 2016d, p.11, my emphasis). There seems to be good reason to consider such collaborative planning as part of the Academy's development of teachers. Gu et al.'s (2018) investigation into implementing collaborative planning in a multi-academy trust led them to the conclusion that collaborative planning could make a positive impact on both teacher workload and quality of teaching. So far, the Academy has not put in place mechanisms to support this collaborative planning, although several interviewees reported that they, and the teams with whom they worked, had arrived at such arrangements independently.

Thus the use of policies has led to a mismatch between values and practice in the Academy. The Academy values feedback but instructs teachers to mark. It values teachers knowing their children's progress and using this to guide lesson planning, but instructs teachers to fill in generic markbooks. It values relationships, planning and looking after teachers but has no systematic approach towards achieving any of these ends.

This suggests that if the Academy wants to make significant gains to teachers' working conditions it must look beyond merely reforming its policies, in the manner suggested by interviewees, and seriously consider whether policies, in the strict and prescriptive sense with which I have used the term, are a useful tool at all. Removing these policies, and focussing directly on valued ends, such as relationships, feedback, and staff well-being presents several distinct advantages. Firstly, the evidence suggests that it has the greatest capacity to help children. As noted, relationships and feedback have been found to improve outcomes for children: written marking has no such evidence base. Secondly, this approach responds to the concerns of interviewees, that policies were often too restrictive and failed to capture the varied nature of their jobs. Those times where interviewees felt most frustrated were when they felt they were completing work required by a policy that did not achieve their ultimate end of helping children (§4.3): a finding that is reflected in the judgement of respondents that too much time is consumed by marking and data entry (§4.2). Thus, a shift to this approach is a strong candidate for something that would improve the working conditions of teachers, by removing

dissatisfying tasks, without harming their ability to perform their roles at least as effectively (§1.1). Finally, an ends-based approach need not necessitate dramatic and sudden change, which was something interviewees reported finding difficult (§4.3). Teachers, and departments, already have tools and systems for pursuing the specified ends and since this approach does not specify particular means, there is no need to change those already in place. Rather, where teachers desire changes to the means they use, they are able to make them, unrestricted by an inflexible policy. In short, this shift in focus has the potential to remove dissatisfaction, improve motivation and help teachers to pursue the aims of education more effectively.

The fact that this shift has not previously been made begs explanation. Leaders explicitly want to improve working conditions for teachers yet have continued to make use of policies. Teachers want improved working conditions, they believe leaders should make this an institutional policy, and yet they accept the use of policies as inevitable. If, as I have suggested, policies are neither inevitable, and they do not help children, their continued use appears thoroughly mysterious. In the next section, as I turn to the fourth research question, I shall seek to explain the appearance of necessity. Understanding the source of this preference, and ways in which it might be challenged, is an essential step to improving working conditions for teachers.

5.3 Neoliberal lenses

Research question 4: do teachers and school leaders endorse any aims as the result of identifiable pressures, and would the pursuit of those aims cause harm to teachers?

Based on the research findings, the answer to this fourth research question is ‘no’. It is hard to argue that the most strongly held aim of teachers, that children should be helped to be healthy and happy during their time in school, is the result of an identifiable pressure, or that pursuing that aim would cause harm to teachers. It may be easier to argue that the minority of teachers who endorse the performative aims of education do so because they exist under a regime of high stakes accountability and performativity (Wilkins, 2011; Mausthagen, 2013b). Even here, though, it would

be hard to argue that the teachers in this Academy who prioritise pursuing ends such as, say, good qualifications are subject to harm.

However, if one were to consider the means by which these aims are pursued, then a stronger case can be made for the claim that particular means are endorsed as the result of identifiable pressures, and that the use of these means has the capacity to cause harm. This is not strictly speaking within the bounds of this research question, despite Biesta's (2007) argument that means and ends cannot be neatly demarcated in education. Nonetheless, the argument is significant enough, and closely related to the other research questions, to warrant inclusion in this chapter.

To illustrate the nature of the pressures that prompt the adoption of certain means, let us once again return to marking policies. There is no *a priori* reason that explains the fact that policies that govern written communication within schools are commonplace, but no school has a 'talking policy' that governs verbal communication. Nor is it obvious, to a neutral observer, why so many schools would require data entry to be so strictly laid out. Particularly when, as noted above, these policies seem to address tasks that are generally considered by teachers and leaders to be of low priority.

One distinguishing characteristic of both data entry and marking is that they generate clear, observable, objective evidence. As such, they are of particular significance to managerialist approaches to education: those that seek to coach, persuade or coerce teachers into adapting their practice to meet the demands of performative systems (§1.2). In short, the performative nature of contemporary education requires judgements. These judgements require evidence, and marking policies exist to ensure teachers provide their own written evidence of practices such as feedback. Verbal feedback may well be efficacious, but since it cannot be easily shown to a manager or inspector, it is of little interest. For managerialists, strong evidence is more important than strong practice. Such an explanation is supported by the interviewee's reported experiences, which are reminiscent of those found in the literature on neoliberalism (§1.2). They describe experiencing values-schizophrenia: torn between the need to conform to policy, and their perception that doing so will not serve children. This prompts them to say that their marking

sometimes feels like a performance, completed for an audience consisting of managers and hypothetical Ofsted inspectors.

Such managerialism is unlikely to be cited by those who design these policies. Indeed, as I have argued above, it is hard to question the genuine nature of the explanations offered by interviewees, that policies aim ultimately to improve teaching. Interestingly, these are strongly redolent of justifications for performativity in the UK education system (§1.2), and, as with the national performative system, there is no good reason to think that improvement has come about as a result of this approach (§1.2; §5.2).

My argument is that, although, managerialism is responsible for the use of policies, the claims that policies aim to help teachers are not disingenuous. Rather, I argue that the managerialism guiding the use of policies is unconscious. By this I mean that the national, neoliberal context in which teachers and leaders operate, has limited their imagination so that they only seem to consider managerialist approaches to improving teaching. No alternative approaches seem possible. Hence the view commonly expressed by interviewees that policies are a disliked and yet *necessary* evil. I have earlier argued that people see the world through lenses shaped by their unique histories (§3.1). My suggestion here is that, as a result of the national context in which they live, leaders in the Academy perceive the world through neoliberal lenses. Certain options and ways of working appear inevitable; others appear invisible. These perceptions are not objective, but are a matter of interpretation: albeit, an interpretation leaders may not be aware they are making. The neoliberal context in which they operate, has thus bounded their imagination so that they only seem to consider managerialist approaches to improving teaching.

This is reminiscent of the language of adaptive preferences, where agents' preferences are, to a large extent, shaped by their culture (§2.2; §2.4). Yet the language of adaptive preferences does not capture what is happening. Teachers and leaders do not have a preference that is the result of an adaptation to their culture. Rather, it is their understanding of the world, and so the ways in which they believe they can realise their preferences, that has been adapted. Such unseen constraints are well-analysed by Foucault (1991, pp.102-3), who, following Servan, writes:

> *A stupid despot may constrain his [sic] slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas; [...] this link is all the stronger in that we do not know of what it is made and we believe it to be our own work.*

Such a slave might genuinely believe they are unable to leave the home of their owner, although in reality they are under no restraint. They may therefore do everything possible to fulfil their preferences without trying to leave their owner's home. Teachers and leaders also work hard to fulfil their preferences to, say, help children and improve working conditions. They too never leave the confines of their imagined prison, of managerialist approaches to improving teaching.

Foucault's work also reveals a possible mechanism for the creation of this bounded imagination through his analysis of discourse: the structures and rules that govern the way people talk about a particular subject. Discourse is intrinsically related to power and social practices such that, in very broad terms, power shapes discourse. This is particularly significant because, as Ball (2012, p.19) notes, discourse (and therefore power), 'constrains *or enables*, writing, speaking and thinking' (emphasis in original). Using this framework, is possible to say that neoliberalism shapes educational discourse, which in turn shapes the thoughts of educators. On the one hand, discourse can limit thinking by closely linking two words or phrases (such as 'observation' and 'improving teaching') or it can render some thoughts impossible by simple ensuring there is no word to describe them.

It is important to note that the notion of a bounded imagination is not only well-explained by Foucault's analytical framework, but provides some confirmatory evidence for it, as applied to education. It is precisely what, according to Foucault, one would expect to see in a neoliberal education system. This is particularly significant because confirmatory evidence, of this type, is relatively rare. To be sure, there is much discussion and evidence that draws directly on Foucault. However, the majority of it focusses on the way power acts directly upon subjects, rather than the way power shapes and forms subjects (Butler, 2004). Such evidence often draws on Foucault's writings about intense and overt regulation coupled with his analysis of constant, or panoptic, surveillance to check that regulations are followed. This work

is often insightful and valuable: Ball et al. (2012), for example, apply precisely this analysis to four case study schools in order to critique the UK Government's talk of raising standards. Butin (2001) agrees that such work is important, revealing ostensibly positive and empowering ways of working to be negative and controlling. Yet he goes on to argue that the relative absence of discussion surrounding the way in which power shapes and forms subjects severely undermines the ability of educational researchers to resist the neoliberal pressures identified by that work. My hope is that providing evidence for, and a description of the way in which, neoliberal pressures have shaped the subjectivities of teachers and leaders in a particular school, goes some way to reducing this deficit.

To be clear, I am certainly not the first to provide such evidence. This discussion echoes the findings of Hall and Noyes (2009) who in their research on school self-evaluation used a Foucauldian analysis of the interviews they conducted within a single school. They argued that performative systems have created new regimes of truth, which create limits on possible thought and action. Their interviewees describe a school in which performative systems are much more closely embraced than the Academy I have studied, including the use of graded lesson observations and examination data in judgemental fashion. The leaders in that school persist in using the language of 'support' and 'development' to justify their decisions. The severity of the regime of truth may differ between contexts, but in each case leaders do their best to develop and support both teachers and leaders within these invisible, imagined bounds.

I had originally asked whether teachers and leaders endorsed any aims as the result of pressure because it would be legitimate to disregard such aims (§2.4). I had thought it plausible that the study might discover teachers pursuing performative ends in a way that damaged their health and that it would be right to restrict those actions, even if meant impinging their autonomy (§2.2). To return to my introductory analogy, this is equivalent to forcing the workers in a factory to wear safety gloves, even if they did not want to do so (§1.1). I had not asked about the adoption of means because I had not anticipated this would be an issue, assuming that teachers and leaders would pursue their ends in an unbounded way. I was wrong. Teachers' and leaders' aims are unproblematic, but they do not pursue them freely because their own ideas, and ways of seeing the world, are limited by educational discourse.

It is as though the factory workers avoid safety gloves not because they don't like wearing the gloves, but because *they can't see them*.

This has implications when considering the extent to which working conditions can be improved. If the recommendations of this study strike teachers and leaders as beyond the realms of possibility, they will not follow them. To be clear, other ways of working in education do exist, as described by, for example, Sahlberg (2007). The challenge is getting teachers and leaders to believe that they can be adopted in their own local contexts. Identifying these unseen constraints is an important first step: if a slave is told that their chains exist only in their mind, then they may be able to disregard them. Similarly, if a leader is told that they are assuming that policies must be used in particular ways and that there are other approaches, then that may be sufficient for them to change the way they work.

In all likelihood, however, making these changes will be complicated. I have previously argued that school culture is complex and multi-faceted with both implicit and explicit dimensions (§2.3). The neoliberal lenses worn by teachers and leaders will have had ramifications for all aspects of that culture. Consider, for example, the system of lesson observations used by the Academy. The Academy does not embrace or endorse judgement-based lesson observations. It does not grade lesson observations, and interviewees reported an emphasis on formative feedback, which they welcomed. Nevertheless, its system of lesson observation largely mimics the structure of performative lesson observations as delivered by Ofsted: sporadic observations led by school leaders, sometimes paired with a middle leader; sometimes paired with an outside visitor. Again, the issue seems to be a failure of imagination: the managerialist structure is taken as given because leaders look at the world through neoliberal lenses. Academy leaders adopt a managerialist structure because alternatives are invisible. They then do their best to express their values within that structure, creating as supportive a system of observations as they can. However, the tacitly accepted structure inevitable acts as a limit on the quality of support.

The pervasive nature of these neoliberal assumptions is important because attempts to change single areas will be difficult if the implicit messages deriving from other areas of a school's culture are antithetical to that change. Suppose, for example,

that leaders removed the marking policy but continued to scrutinise books for evidence of marking. Where marking was absent, this was taken as strong evidence of poor teaching. Here, the failure to change the procedures around work scrutiny sends an implicit message that is in direct conflict with the explicit message that a marking policy is no longer operational. The net result will be confusion, a lack of trust in what leaders say, and teachers redoubling their efforts to produce lengthy marking. I do not suggest that the Academy's leaders would approach the issue quite so clumsily. Rather, I aim to illustrate the significance of cultural cohesion when bringing about change. Values are communicated through actions as well as through words, and the actions of leaders must marry perfectly with their words in all domains if they are to be trusted.

It was beyond the scope of this study to investigate fully how this widespread cultural change might be achieved. Nevertheless, I would suggest that an approach that is teacher-led, rather than leader-led, where decision making is collaborative, and bottom-up, is likely to yield the greatest advantage. Not only is such an approach characteristic of a school culture that promotes flourishing (§2.3), but there is evidence from the research findings that it would be particularly successful in this specific context.

One point in favour of such an approach is that it chimes so strongly with the reported experiences of interviewees. They said they enjoyed being in a collegiate school and felt relationships were strong and positive. In particular, they praised the support they received from their teams. This sometimes took the form of emotional support, where interviewees said their colleagues helped them when times were difficult. More often, interviewees said they were able to receive advice and support about their practice: they could bounce ideas off their colleagues, share and improve each other's resources, or gain advice about dealing with challenging behaviour. One interviewee stressed the importance of teams in supporting weaker members of staff. She said that in a strong team such members of staff can learn and flourish, whereas in a weak team they are merely a weak link. This is consistent with Pil and Leana's (2009) investigation into the relative impact of teachers' human and social capital on their students' mathematics results. They found social capital, the strength of relationships between teachers, is associated with significant gains, and these gains are greatest for the weakest teachers. These teachers become aware of

the practices of their more-able colleagues and feel more able to seek out support, leading to rapid gains in their practice and, ultimately, in their students' results.

This sense of the importance of collaboration recurs through the interviewees' discussion of CPDL. For them, the highlights are talking with peers, and sharing insight and expertise. Indeed, as previously noted, the shortcuts and efficient practices that they found especially useful had typically been shared by a colleague. Interviewees appreciated having time to experiment and try new things, rather than having them explained and prescribed in a top-down fashion. They expressed a desire to observe their peers, including those in different schools to see how other ways of teaching, with the hope that they could 'take something away'. Whilst interviewees recognised the value of working with colleagues from different subject areas as an important means to introduce them to new ideas, they particularly expressed a desire to work more closely with people in their own subject. This reflected a shared belief that each subject posed unique challenges and opportunities. This limited the use of any top-down training input, which several teachers saw as tailored for the needs and experiences of English and maths in particular, reflecting these subjects centrality to performative measures. It also meant that senior leaders observing lessons outside of their expertise were unable to give feedback that was specific to that subject context. Thus interviewees preferred the prospect of working closely with their colleagues, developing subject specific knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge in order to meet the needs of children in their subject.

There is a rich literature on peer-led, collaborative approaches to CPDL such as professional learning communities, which can be broadly understood as 'a group of people sharing and critically interrogating their practice in an ongoing, reflective, collaborative, inclusive, learning-oriented, growth-promoting way' (Stoll et al., 2006, p.223). Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) note that approaches that focus on improving the extent to which teachers work together and support each other will yield greater, and more sustainable, improvements than approaches that focus on individual teachers, whilst Mourshed et al.'s (2010) report into improving school systems found that peer-led improvement was the key driver for the final stage of improvement, 'from good to great'.

Another benefit arising from a bottom-up, collaborative approach arises simply because the experience of school leaders is so different to the experience of teachers. Evidence for such disparity of experience can be found in the questionnaire survey results, which showed that senior leaders reported spending more than 50% time marking in relative terms than classroom teachers yet, unlike classroom teachers, did not feel they spent too much time marking (§4.2). One possible explanation for this is that, because of their reduced teaching allocation, leaders spend far less time marking in absolute terms: 103 minutes per week as opposed to 187 minutes. This marking can perhaps be completed in the additional free periods, nominally set aside for leadership activities. Teachers are more likely to complete their three hours of weekly marking in the evenings or weekends. Indeed, one leader, when interviewed, reported that they would not be able to complete the required marking if they had a full teaching timetable, and they were not sure how classroom teachers managed to do it. A similar pattern was found in time spent planning, with leaders spending over 50% more time planning per lesson than teachers, yet only 55% of the time planning in absolute terms.

Further evidence of the differing experiences, and beliefs, of teachers and leaders can be seen when comparing the results from Q-sorts and the questionnaire survey. I previously reported an apparent contradiction arising from the data, whereby the preferences of leaders, as expressed through the questionnaire survey, do not appear to conform to the priorities for leaders as expressed through the Q-sort (§4.4). Here, it is significant that these priorities were generated by both leaders and teachers, with the latter group making up the majority. Thus the apparent contradiction may serve to indicate that leaders disagree with teachers about how they ought to be spending their time. Teachers place greater value on leaders spending time improving the quality of teaching and learning than the leaders do themselves: Leaders would like to teach; teachers would like leaders to improve the quality of teachers' teaching.

To be sure, it would be unwarranted to draw definitive conclusions from the research findings, which admit of rival explanations (§3.10). Nonetheless, these examples serve to illustrate that there is, at the very least, a possibility that leaders have a different perspective to teachers. Their roles may contribute to them adopting a different set of priorities or even blind them to the implications of the decisions they

make. Nor should we assume teachers are themselves homogenous in outlook. As noted when reporting the results of the Q-sort, there are three distinct 'points of view' within the staff body and, whilst they share a great deal, they differ when considering about the amount of support that should be provided for the most vulnerable children and the balance between the ends of success in public examinations and the development of non-cognitive and non-examined skills (§4.1).

I have argued that it will be a cultural challenge to eschew the neoliberal lenses that have hitherto bounded the imaginations of teachers and leaders and limited their ways of working. Given the importance of collegiality, the disparate experiences of teachers and leaders, and the diverse views about education, it is plausible that such a challenge is best tackled with a collaborative, teacher-led approach. Such widespread collaboration between teachers and leaders is an important step to ensuring that the experiences of all are taken into account when considering staff development, workload and well-being.

5.4 Summary

The teachers and leaders who have participated in the study are generally satisfied and motivated. They seek to ensure the children with whom they are work are happy and healthy, and that they leave the Academy with important knowledge, skill and a well-developed character. Generally, they consider that they use their time outside of lessons in the way that best promotes these ends. Ideally, though, they would spend less time marking and completing data entry, some of which does not help children, and spent more time building relationships and planning. This would improve their working conditions and help them to work more effectively.

Whilst this could to some extent be achieved through continuing to reform the policies that govern these areas, I have argued this approach will likely have limited efficacy. Stronger gains are, I believe, possible through eschewing the use of policies as a prescriptive means of controlling teachers' behaviour, and instead focussing on the ends of teaching ostensibly sought by policies. Teaching is too complex to be captured by a simple checklist. A significant barrier to such change is presented by teachers' apparently bounded imagination: they have so internalised performative ways of working that alternatives do not seem possible. Challenging

this restrictive assumption is key to making significant improvements to both working conditions and effectiveness.

The thought that school leaders should focus on the ends of education, and work to support teachers in teaching well may not strike an independent observer as revolutionary. Such an independent observer would not be familiar with western, neoliberal school systems, where particular, potentially damaging approaches to teaching and running a school are commonplace. I have shown how such beliefs have taken root in the minds of teachers, even in contexts that explicitly oppose neoliberal norms, and I have shown how these beliefs are damaging to both the working conditions and efficacy of those teachers. I hope this diagnosis serves as an important and useful starting point for those hoping to improve conditions for both teachers and students in such neoliberal school systems. As Carr (2015, p.114) says, 'it is only through better understanding the effects of the neoliberal educational landscapes on real human beings that we can be genuinely critical'.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study began with the observation that some teachers appear to assume challenging working conditions are inevitable. I claimed that it is necessary to critique that assumption, arguing that it may be a cause, as well as an effect, of such challenging conditions. This prompted me to investigate the extent to which teachers could improve their working conditions whilst performing their roles at least as effectively (§1.1). I adopted a case study methodology, investigating a school that was attempting to support the well-being of its staff. My aim was to provide research hypotheses or questions to stimulate more general inquiry. In order to achieve these aims I gathered data in three separate and distinct ways. Firstly, Q-methodology to investigate what teachers valued and how teachers felt they should spend their time; secondly, a questionnaire survey to find out how teachers actually did spend their time; thirdly, a series of interviews to investigate areas where teachers appeared to spend too much, or too little time. Having reported the findings, I answered each of my four research questions. These were constituent parts of an overarching question (§2.5) and my first task in this chapter is to answer that question. I shall subsequently summarise the key findings and subsequent recommendations in this chapter before reflecting upon the research process and discussing the impact of this research.

6.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

> *To what extent can teachers and school leaders improve their working conditions whilst performing their roles as effectively, or even more effectively?*

Taken together, the findings suggest that it is possible for teachers and school leaders to improve their working conditions and, in so doing, perform their roles even more effectively.

The most straightforward interpretation of the results is that this can be achieved by reforming the policies that govern marking and data entry so that they are more flexible and do not require duplication of work, or work that does not help children. The time freed up from this unnecessary work can be diverted to activities such as

building relationships or planning. This not only allows teachers to spend more time on rewarding, motivating, work and less time on dissatisfying work but it means that their time will more effectively be spent pursuing the aims of education.

I have argued that this interpretation follows the participants in tacitly accepting the need for policies that strictly specify and prescribe ways of working. In fact, there is no reason to assume policies are necessary, and good reasons for thinking they are a counter-productive approach to adopt. I go on to suggest that abandoning them in favour of focussing more directly on the ends they attempt to achieve will yield greater benefits to both working conditions and effectiveness.

The fact that policies appear necessary requires an explanation. I argue that the explanation is that the neoliberal context in which teachers and leaders operate has bounded their imaginations, making certain ways of working appear inevitable and others appear impossible. This bounded imagination poses a serious challenge to improving working conditions for teachers. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study to suggest a way of overcoming this challenge, I have suggested that the research findings, along with evidence from the Literature Review, suggests a teacher-led, collaborative approach is likely to be the most fruitful.

As I have previously argued, the possibility for further improvements within the Academy in no way mitigate the success of the work it has done to promote healthy working conditions. The Academy should be celebrated for doing admirable work to realise its values within the constraints of these Foucauldian 'chains of ideas'. Indeed, it is perhaps only because the Academy has done so much within these chains that their limits have started to become visible. Even without removing these chains, teachers consider themselves well supported. They believe that leaders share their values and acknowledge and appreciate their efforts. They appreciate the collegiate atmosphere of the Academy and the efforts of its leaders to look after their well-being. Whilst they express frustration with the consequences of managerialist ways of working, they share the assumption that such ways of working are inevitable. As a result, they do not see their use as reflecting poorly on the Academy.

Thus the Academy is well placed to make these chains visible and to remove them. Such work is necessary because no policies, however well intentioned, can

adequately guide teachers to perform their jobs in an expert fashion. If a school truly wants expert teaching it must accept this as axiomatic and embrace a more robust, collegiate model of staff development, aimed at equipping teachers with the ability to respond to different situations in the most appropriate way. Doing so has the potential to improve working conditions, improve outcomes for children, and honour the Academy's commitment to look after its staff.

6.2 Recommendations

These recommendations are, in the first instance, aimed at the Academy under study. This fulfils my ethical commitment to use the research to attempt to improve things for the participants (§3.3). They are likely to be applicable to some other academies. However, given the context-dependent nature of school research (§2,2; §3.2) I stress the important caveat that those operating in other contexts must consider whether these are applicable to them.

In the short term, the Academy should:

- Remove requirements for centrally completed mark books.
- Remove specific requirements for written feedback.
- Provide training on relationships and investigate ways to celebrate successful relationships between teachers and pupils.
- Provide training on the use of 'systems': ways of completing work efficiently.
- Provide training on managing workload with a focus on the dangers of perfectionism and the challenges of dealing with a literally endless job.
- Implement measures to encourage and support collaborative planning.

In the medium-to-long term, the Academy should:

- Communicate with its staff its intention to move away from the use of policies and invite them to be involved in the process.
- Work with teachers to consider new, collaborative ways of running staff development programmes.
- Provide opportunity, time and support for teachers to form professional learning communities to supplement new forms of staff development.

Suggestions for future research:

- To what extent do teachers in different contexts experience a bounded imagination in the manner described in this study?
- What are the consequences of such bounded imaginations?
- What are the best ways for challenging such bounded imagination?
- What are the implications of these recommendations for schools' performance on measures used in high-stakes accountability systems?

The last area of research is important to highlight because it is conceivable that some school leaders will value the results on high-stakes accountability measures more highly than ends that they and their staff may personally endorse. It is possible to imagine such a leader worried about the personal and professional implications of a poor Ofsted judgement that comes about through focussing on, say, the moral development of their children rather than their pursuit of qualifications. Whilst the research on peer-led development of teaching suggests that such an approach will yield improvements to examinations results (§5.3) it is important to thoroughly establish the effects so that leaders can make informed choices.

6.3 Reflections on the research process

I previously argued the decision to conduct insider research had both advantages and disadvantages. Rapport, trust, and an understanding of cultural subtleties had to be weighed against the risks of making assumptions, or of participants avoiding sensitive topics or complete candour (§3.3). It is important at this point to reflect on the extent to which these potential advantages and disadvantages were realised.

In particular, I found the insider perspective vital in making judgements about the thought processes and assumptions of leaders with respect to policies. As a senior leader in the Academy I wrote the assessment policy that made stipulations about marking. I did my best to make the policy as flexible as possible and I twice consulted with the middle leaders, including the leads of every subject. This led me genuinely to believe that I had created a policy that met the needs of all subjects and which would prove helpful to teachers and limit none. Clearly, I was wrong.

My insider status has been valuable in diagnosing the problem because I can say with certainty that nobody, myself included, raised any objection to the idea of a policy at all. Whilst I have not led decisions regarding the structure of lesson

observations or the best means of delivering CPDL, I have been present at leadership discussions and so I know that in these areas, key neoliberal assumptions have not been questioned. I also know that my colleagues and I are not people who explicitly endorse neoliberal norms, and so I can conclude with confidence that the acceptance of these ways of working is tacit. Indeed, not only have these assumptions not been questioned but, in my case at least, I have not been aware I have been making them, lending credence to the idea of unseen limits to ways of thinking. This same level of confidence in the findings would not be available to me in the case of outsider research.

I previously argued that my status as an insider could either decrease or increase the trustworthiness of the data I collected, depending on the extent to which my participants trusted me and felt I was genuinely motivated to help teachers (§3.3). I feel that the contributions of the interviewees suggest they did trust me, and felt able to be candid. Several interviewees criticised senior leadership decisions, leading me to conclude they did not perceive me as a senior leadership spy. One interviewee told me about a recent bereavement and how the Academy had responded positively to her needs. I do not believe they would have shared this story with an outsider, or even an insider with whom they had no previous relationship. Further evidence for my interviewees' honesty comes from their criticism of the marking policy, given that they were aware of my central role in its creation. If they were worried about upsetting or angering me, they would be unlikely to criticise a policy document they knew I had been involved in creating. It may be true that they tactfully understated their criticisms of this policy because I was seen as its creator, in which case the policy may have caused more issues than were revealed through interviews, but the general concerns were clearly registered. I believe this indicates a high level of trust and, in the absence of such trust, I may have received less candour had I conducted outsider research.

More problematic were the ethical issues arising from insider research. I found in my previous research that some of my colleagues, having worked together for many years, were able to identify the interviewees from particular transcribed phrases, even though those phrases did not strike me as significant (Holmes, 2017). Whilst I have tried to mitigate this to some extent by avoiding entirely naturalistic transcriptions (§3.8) it remains a genuine risk. The interview schedule focussed

overwhelmingly on the positives, and I carefully considered the extracts I have shared in this report, in order to mitigate this risk as much as possible.

Another limitation concerns my treatment, or lack of treatment, of teachers' generational membership and length of service, both of which have some effect on teachers' values, needs and perceptions of work (Day and Gu, 2010; Edge, 2014). I have not analysed or discussed my results with reference to these variables and for that reason, it cannot be assumed without further research that my findings apply to all groups equally.

I must also acknowledge some mistakes in the design of research tools. Firstly, the failure of the Q-sort to ask if participants were teachers or leaders. This would have allowed me to assess more robustly if there was evidence for teachers and leaders having different priorities, which may have been able to add support to my argument that a collaborative approach to reform may have advantages. Secondly, the failure of the questionnaire to ask whether respondents worked part time, which limited certain avenues of enquiry. For example, when I directly compared figures such as the amount of time teachers spend on marking compared to leaders, there is a possibility that one number is artificially low because of part time staffing. However, I drew such comparisons rarely, and generally for illustrative purposes, not least because there are good reasons to think teachers' judgements of how long they spend on tasks are likely to be inaccurate (Robinson and Bostrom, 1994). I preferred to use rank ordering and judgements of whether the time spent was too much or too little as the central planks of analysis and so, fortunately, this avoidable error had limited implications.

Finally, it is important to remind the reader of limitations in the form of areas that this research did not attempt to address. For example, this theory is a case study and whilst it sought a simple, accurate theory, it does not yield generalisable conclusions (§3.2). The study focussed on activities outside of the classrooms and its conclusions apply to that domain (§1.1). It may be that teachers behave in similar ways outside the classroom but have very different experiences inside the classroom: one teacher may find their curriculum extremely narrow and feel like they are being forced to do nothing but prepare for examination; another may feel they can explore a broad and balanced programme of study. One teacher may feel their

manner of delivery is tightly constrained by school leaders; another may feel they have a large degree of autonomy. Generalisable theories, and an understanding of teachers' experiences inside the classroom are important, but this study did not set out to achieve either of these goals.

6.4 The impact of the research

My aim, when adopting a case study approach, was to generate a simple yet accurate understanding of the details of a secondary academy that is trying to look after the well-being of its staff (§3.2). I believe this aim has been achieved, and this understanding offers a positive contribution to the wider body of academic knowledge.

In particular, this understanding concerns the implementation of recommendations than can be derived from the wide body of extant literature on flourishing teachers and school cultures that promote flourishing (§2.3). It can be seen from the positive judgements of well-being that the implementation of measures such as a values-orientated culture, a collegiate atmosphere, and the development of trust, do work in practice. Such insight, and the details of individual cases, is important for would-be expert evidence users, who seek to amalgamate evidence with specific contextual and environmental factors to assess what will work (§2.2).

Just as importantly, the research suggests a barrier to the implementation of some of these recommendations in schools that seek to improve working conditions. Given the Government's recent focus on the need for schools to make such improvements (DfE 2018a; 2019; Ofsted 2019) this is particularly timely. I have argued that the bounded imaginations of teachers and leaders in this context limits their ability to further improve working conditions and, in doing so, have offered some confirmatory evidence for a Foucauldian analytical framework, as applied to education (§5.3). Such a bounded imagination may also be inimical to fully developing such things as instructional or learning-centred leadership. If teachers and leaders are limited to adopting ways of working that presuppose narrow and limited conceptions of teaching, developing more robust programmes of staff development will be challenging. The research does not address ways of removing these barriers, but I consider the diagnosis, and demonstration, of such a subtle but pervasive influence, and limit, on behaviour to be an important first step. If such influence can be

demonstrated in other contexts, and if further research can begin to look at ways to challenge it, then many teachers, school leaders and children stand to benefit.

In the meantime, it is important not to understate the impact of the research on the Academy in which it was conducted and the schools with which it has local relationships. The recommendations of the research have been, or are in the process of being, implemented in the former and the latter are putting similar changes in place as the findings of the research are disseminated. If the several hundred employees of these schools, and the several thousand children who attend them, benefit from these changes, then the research can be said to have had significant impact.

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH MATERIALS

Q-SORT RECRUITMENT MATERIAL

[The original information about joining the Q-sort was delivered orally in a whole-staff briefing. Teachers were then able to pick up a slip and return it to me, or email me, if they wanted to be involved. The following email was sent to all teachers who had agreed to participate]

Good morning,

If you are receiving this email it is because you have told me that you are happy to complete a sorting exercise about what teachers value. Thank you.

There are 3 sorting exercises. In total, you can expect to spend between 5 and 15 minutes on them (in total – so 2-5 minutes for each sort). You'll be asked to rank statements about the purpose of school, how leaders should spend their time, and how teachers should spend their time based on how much you agree with them. The twist is that you're likely to agree with a lot of them. For example, we all agree teachers should spend time marking and should spend time planning – but we rarely ask which we think is most important. If in doubt, go with your gut.

You'll shortly receive an email from Qsortware with a link and no text. It's not spam – it's the link to the sorting exercise. I can't send group emails from Qsortware so I'm putting all of the information here rather than typing it out repeatedly.

If you click on the link and follow the instructions everything should be clear – there are instructions on the website. If it's not I've included a very detailed help sheet for you.

Once you've completed the exercise I'll drop a consent form in your pigeonhole asking if I can use your results, anonymised, in my research. If you want to give consent please sign and pop in my pigeonhole. Again, you absolutely do not have to give consent. I won't mind, and please rest assured you won't be hindering my research if you don't want to give consent.

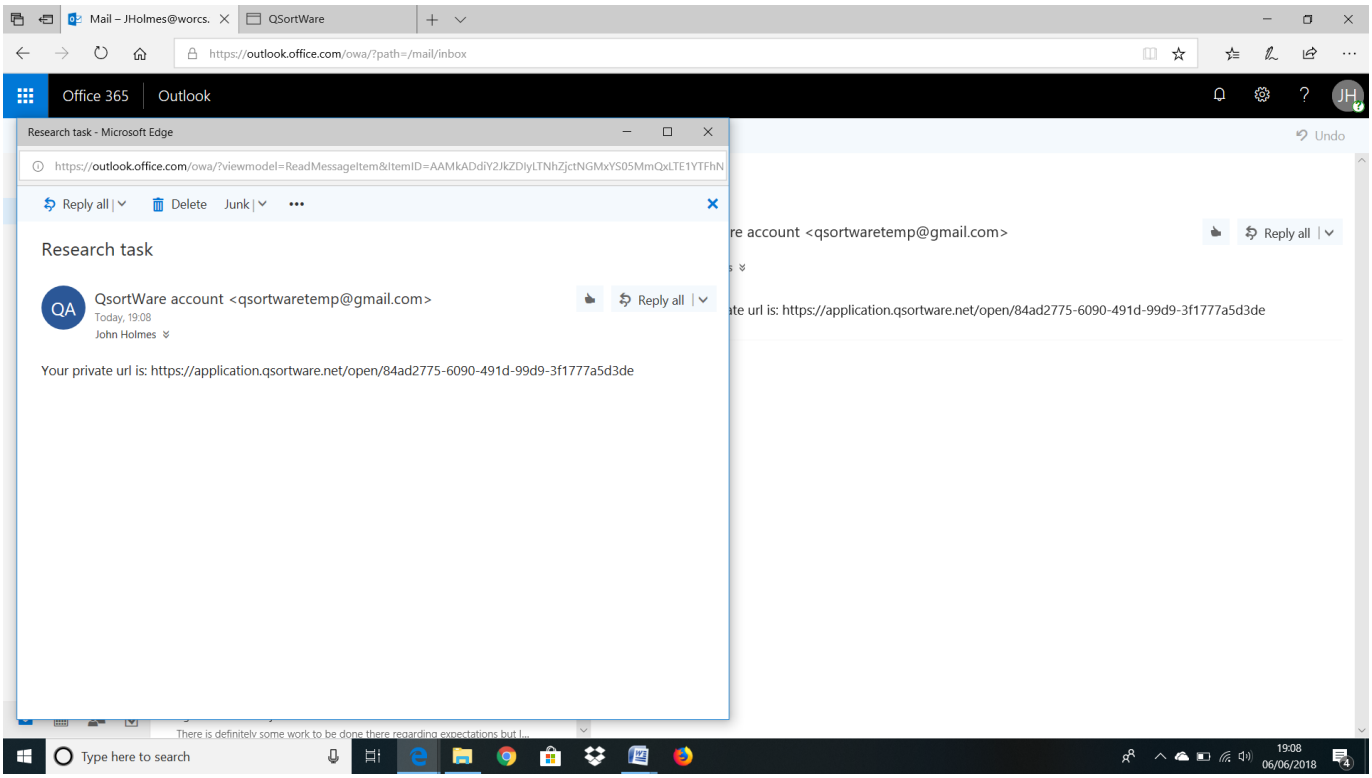
Please let me know if there are any problems.

Thanks,
John

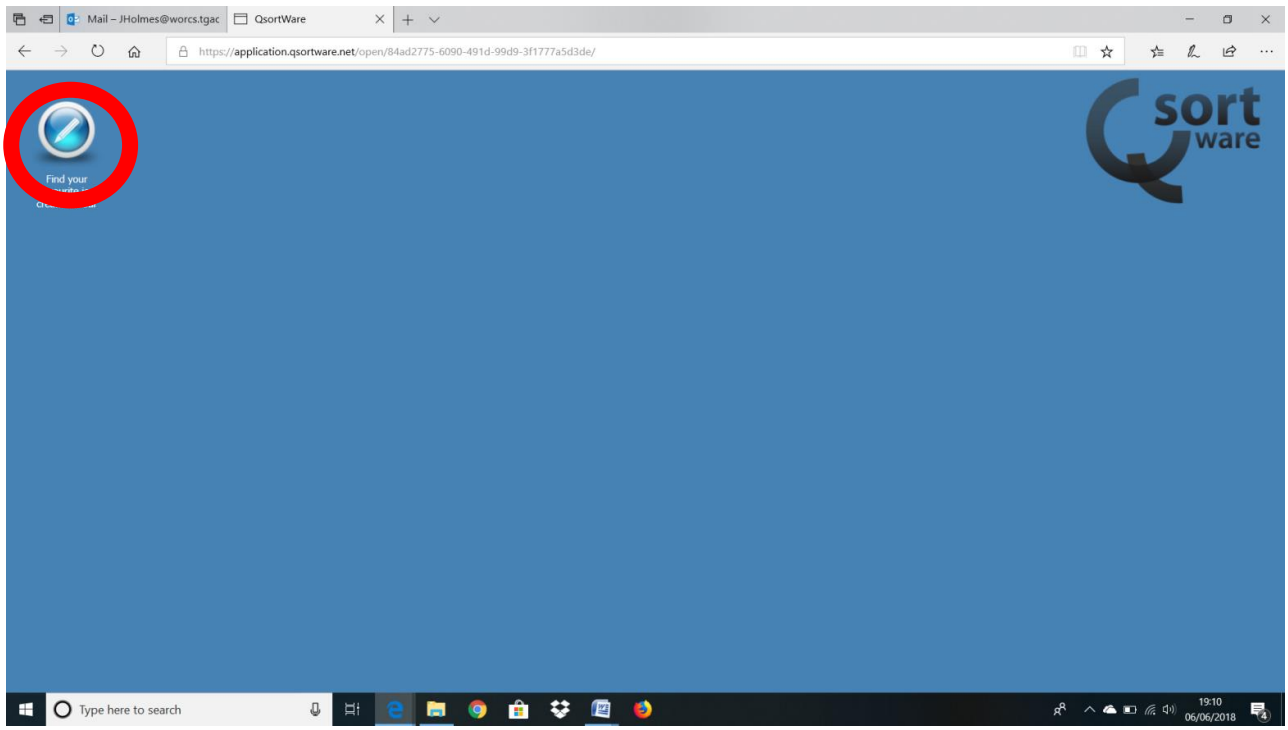
Q-SORT HELP SHEET

Thank you for agreeing to be part of this research task. This guide is intended to provide thorough instructions for completing the task if you feel that you need them.

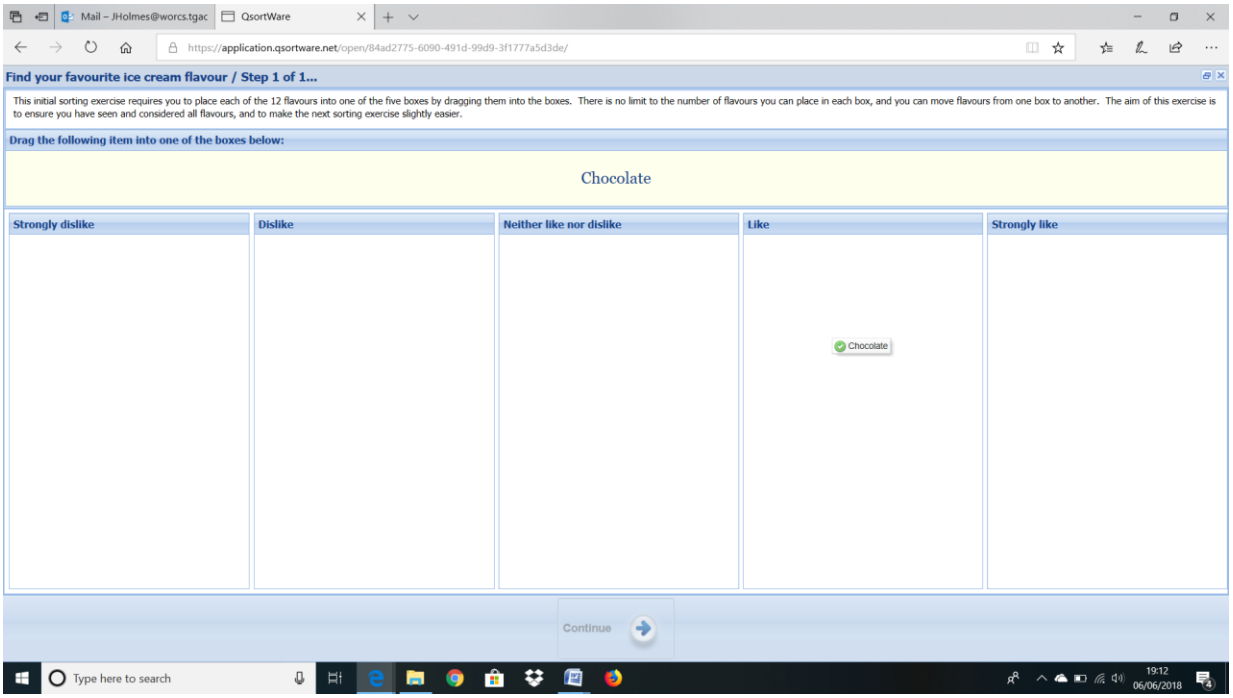
1) Go to your email and open the link from Qsortware by copying and pasting it into your internet browser.



2) Click on the button to begin the task. This is an example Q-sort, so your button will look different

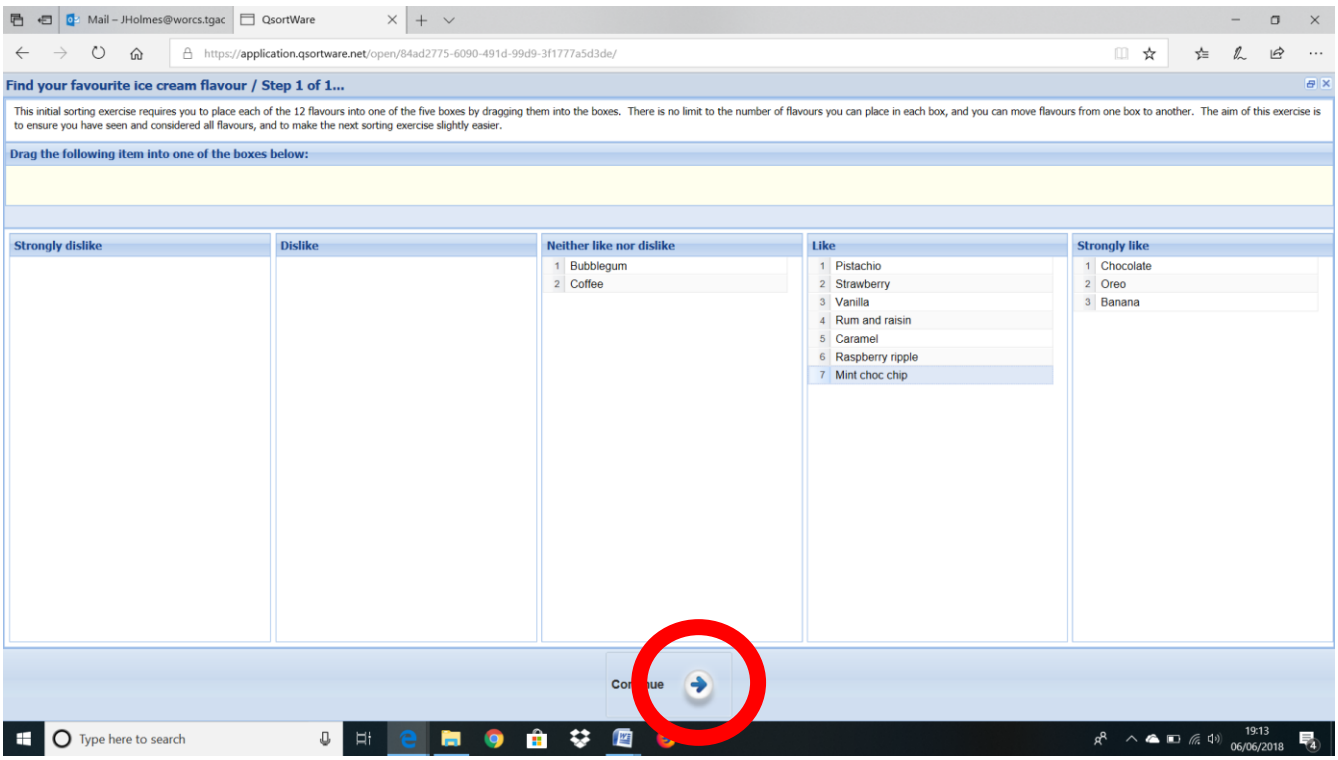


3) Read the instructions at the top of the screen and begin to drag the statements (in this case they are flavours) into the correct boxes. If you are struggling to drag them, make sure you are clicking on the text.

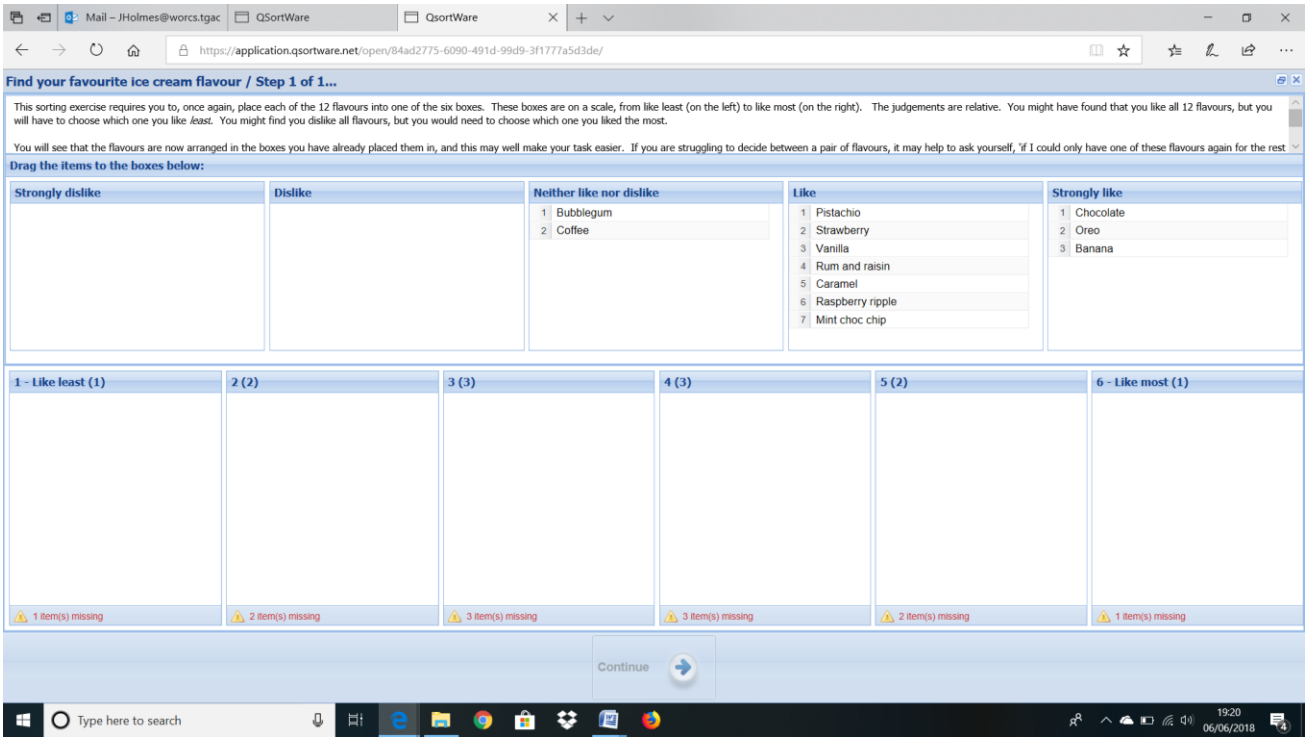


4) Continue until all flavours are in boxes. You can move flavours from one box to another if you make a mistake or change your mind. There is no limit to the amount of flavours you can place in a single box. As below, there it is clear I like most ice cream flavours.

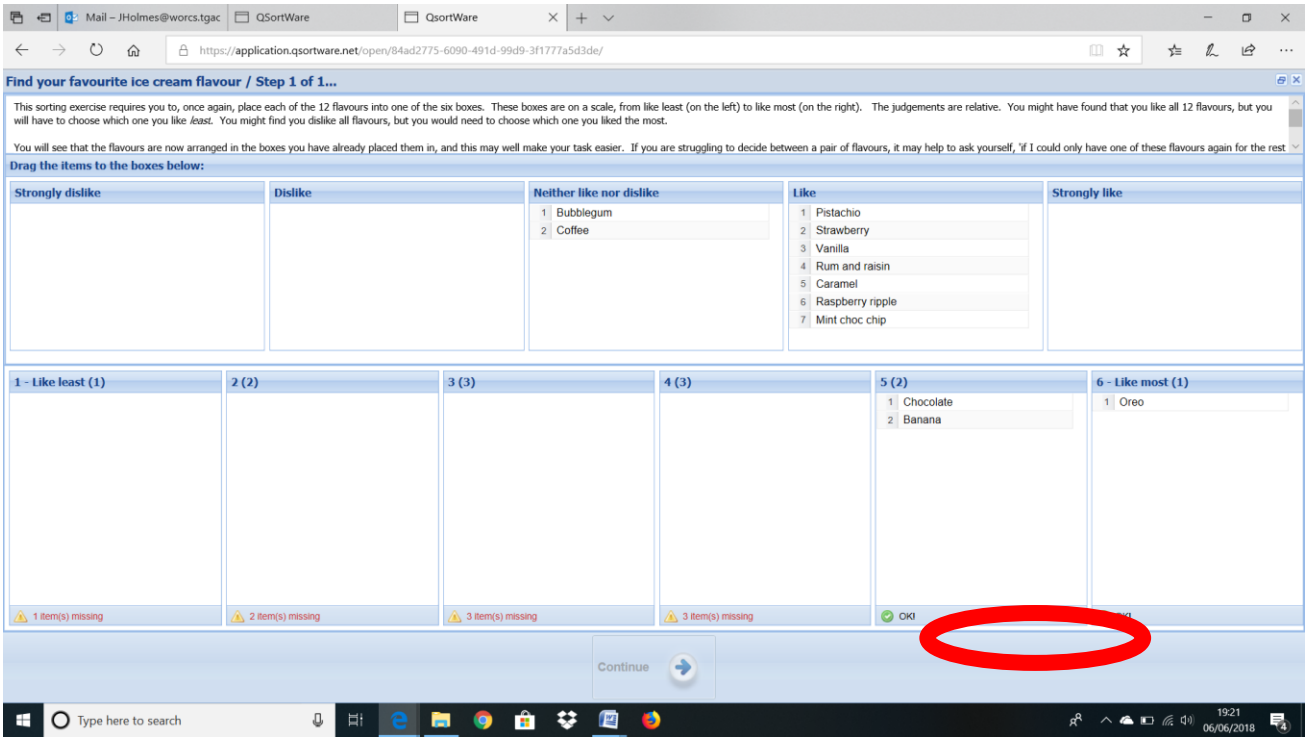
When you finish, the software will prompt you to press the continue button at the bottom of the page. Please do so.



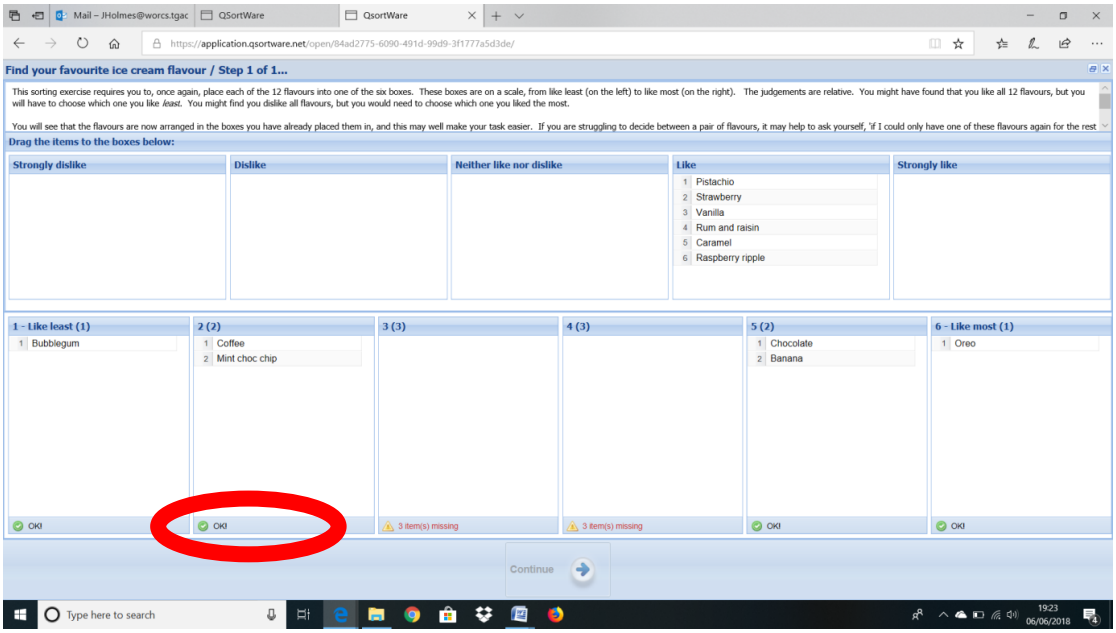
5) You are now on the second step. Please read the instructions at the top of the page and begin to drag the flavours into the correct boxes. You can do this in any order.



6) In this case, I will begin with my favourite flavours. I know Oreo is my favourite so I will put that in 'like most'. I can see that this box only has room for one entry, so that is now finished. The next box along has room for two and since there are only two other flavours I strongly liked, I can put those in the next box without too much thought. Of course, I could change my mind at any time, and place coffee in the top box.

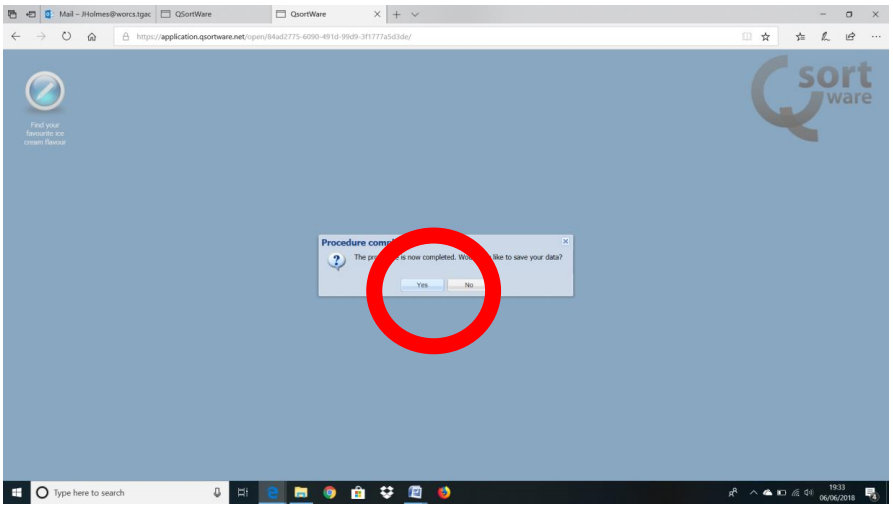


7) I now go to the bottom. I like bubble gum the least, and so I place that in the left-most box, which is now full. That leaves coffee to place in box number 2. I can see I need one more in box number 2 and, after some consideration of the ice cream flavours I like, I decide that, of these, I like mint choc chip least, so it fills the box. Even though I do like mint choc chip, it is in one of the boxes on the left, because the scale is relative.



8) After some deliberation I divide the remaining six flavours up. This is difficult (I like them all) but I can make it easier by going with my gut rather than overthinking it. If I do overthink it, I follow the advice on the screen and ask which one of the pair I'm thinking about I would rather choose if I could only have one flavour ever again. I can move flavours from box to box, and I can put too many flavours in a particular box at one time. However, I will only be allowed to click the 'continue' button when all boxes have the right number of flavours on them.

9) After the ranking exercises are complete you will be asked if you would like to save your data. Assuming you are happy with everything, click 'yes' and, after a confirmation message, you are done. Once again, thank you for taking part.



Q-SORT CONSENT FORM

Consent Form

To what extent can teachers improve their working conditions without adversely affecting the children with whom they work?

Research project, May 2018-December 2018

This research project seeks ways to improve the working conditions of teachers. It takes as its starting point the claim that it may be possible for teachers to improve their working conditions including, though not limited to, their workload, and that they can do this whilst helping children as effectively, if not more effectively, to learn. It will aim to lead to practical recommendations for teachers in the trust, and beyond, to do just that.

The aim of this q-sort activity is to determine the things that teachers, and leaders, value within a school. Later research will compare this to the way that teachers, and leaders, spend their time. If it is the case that there are variations between what people value, and how they spend their time (suppose they spend their time doing things they don't value) then this might suggest a pattern of work that ought to change.

You will be asked to perform three q-sort activities. In each one you will initially sort 12 statements into boxes, depending on the extent to which you agree or disagree with each one. You will then be asked to place the statements on a scale, from those you agree with least to those you agree with most. This scale is relative, so it may be the case that you place statements that you broadly agree with at the bottom of the scale, or statements that you broadly disagree with at the top of the scale.

Please read and complete this form carefully. If you are willing to participate in this study, ring the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask.

The research has been explained to me in verbal and / or written form by the researcher.	YES / NO
I understand that all information about me will be treated in strict confidence by the researcher and that I will not be named in any written work arising from this study.	YES / NO
I understand that the contributions I make may be drawn upon in a research report, although I will not be named or otherwise identified.	YES / NO
I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time without having to give an explanation. This will not affect my future treatment at work.	YES / NO
I understand that I may contact the researcher if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the Institute of Education, University College London if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.	YES / NO

I freely give my consent to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Signature: …… Date: ……

Researcher: John Holmes, **jholmes@xxxxxxx**
Institute of Education Ethics committee: **researchethics@ioe.ac.uk**.

Q-SET

1	Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences
2	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers
3	Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations
4	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school
5	Schools should prepare children for the world of work
6	Schools should help to instil discipline in children
7	Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience
8	Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens
9	Schools should help children secure strong qualifications
10	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined
11	Schools should help develop children's moral character
12	Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways
13	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff
14	School leaders should review internal and external assessment data
15	School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection
16	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office
17	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis
18	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school
19	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families
20	School leaders should teach
21	School leaders should review and improve school policies
22	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies
23	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning
24	School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly
25	Teachers should spend time analysing data
26	Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes
27	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare
28	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities
29	Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help
30	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor
31	Teachers should spend time marking
32	Teachers should spend time planning
33	Teachers should spend time getting to know students
34	Teachers should spend time communicating with parents
35	Teachers should spend time running their own detentions
36	Teachers should spend time on their own professional development

QUESTIONNAIRE

Welfare Week Survey: using time well

Please tick the description that best describes your job role:

Classroom teacher ☐ Middle leader ☐ Senior leader ☐

	As a <u>very rough</u> estimate, how much time do you spend in a typical week…	**When considering the impact on children this is…**		
		Too little time	About the right amount of time	Too much time
Analysing data (e.g. reviewing Trackers)				
Communicating with parents (e.g. phone calls home, report writing, writing letters)				
Communicating with other external organisations (e.g. other schools, social services)				
CPDL (e.g. attending CPDL sessions, departmental development meetings, conducting research)				
Data entry outside of lessons (e.g. iSams input, updating markbooks)				
Duties				
Individual support for children that need help (e.g. meeting with a student that missed a lesson; mentoring)				
Managerial tasks, including administration (e.g. completing exam entries, Ofsted preparation)				
Marking children's work				
Planning and preparing lessons				
Running detentions				
Running extracurricular clubs and activities				
Running intervention or catch-up sessions (e.g. scheduled P6)				
Spending time on my role as a form tutor (e.g. timetabled tutor time; supporting your tutees outside of tutor time)				
Supporting the CPDL of others (e.g. running or planning CPDL sessions, observing lessons, coaching)				
Strategic leadership work (e.g. reviewing policies, curriculum development, planning for improvement)				
Spending time with students outside of other activities (e.g. sitting together at lunch; talking in corridor)				
Teaching (i.e. timetabled lessons)				

I do give permission for this survey to be used as part of a research project ☐

I do **not** give permission for this survey to be used as part of a research project ☐

INTERVIEW RECRUITMENT MATERIAL

[The following email was sent to all teaching staff]

Hello everyone,

Thank you to everyone who completed the Use of Time Questionnaires at the recent inset day. Those questionnaires, along with some survey work from the summer, have given us some very useful insight into how teachers would like to spend their time, and how they are currently spending their time. I now plan to interview teachers about ways to make sure we are able to spend as much time as possible on the most valuable activities. The ultimate intention is that the findings of the research can be used to improve the working lives of teachers at the Academy and beyond. I'd like to invite you all to be a participant in one of these interviews.

The interview would be one-to-one, and I'd be inviting you to share some your positive experiences of teaching, particularly times you felt you were able to prioritise the most important work we do. The interview will last for no longer than 45 minutes, and will be audio recorded. If you're able to participate, I'll work around your schedule, and I can shorten the interview if that will help.

I will ask for your permission to use your interview in my doctoral research. Of course, if you'd like to talk about this topic because it will help teachers in the Academy, but would rather not be included in the research, that is absolutely fine. You can also change your mind about being involved at any point, even after the interview.

If you are interested in participating, please just let me know, and I'll suggest some times and send you more information.

Many thanks,
John

[The following email was sent one week later, as a reply to the first]

Hello everyone,

I wanted to send a quick reminder about the invitation below. It would be great to speak with as many of you as possible about how we can make the way we work even better. Please do get in touch if you would like to be involved.

Thanks,
John

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Interview Consent Form
'I love teaching but I hate being a teacher': How can effective teachers flourish?
Research project, November 2017-April 2019

Teaching is an exceptionally important, interesting and rewarding job, but some of the day-to-day experiences of working in a 21st century school can be challenging The central aim of this research is to find ways to make sure that people continue to love teaching, and to find ways to enable them to like being a teacher. And to do that whilst making sure the children continue to do at least as well as before.

This interview will look at areas where teachers want to spend more or less time, and we'll focus on looking at solutions – past, present or potential – with the hope that what we do aligns as much as possible with what we want to do. The interview will last for approximately 45 minutes, and will be audio recorded. The data from your interview will be used, alongside data from other interviews in a research report, which will be publicly available and available within the Academy. Every care will be made to anonymise your contributions and pseudonyms will be used.

Please read and complete this form carefully. If you are willing to participate in this study, ring the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask.

The research has been explained to me in verbal and / or written form by the researcher.	YES / NO
I understand that the research will involve an audio recorded interview of approximately 45 minutes in length.	YES / NO
I understand that all information about me will be treated in strict confidence by the researcher and that I will not be named in any written work arising from this study.	YES / NO
I understand that the contributions I make may be drawn upon in a research report, although I will not be named.	YES / NO
I understand that any audiotape material of me will be used solely for research purposes.	YES / NO
I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time without having to give an explanation. This will not affect my future treatment at work.	YES / NO
I understand that data will be stored electronically and only be accessible to the researcher. All data will be stored in accordance with GDPR legislation	YES / NO
I understand that I may contact the researcher if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the Institute of Education, University College London if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.	YES / NO

I freely give my consent to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.

Signature: …… Date: ……

Researcher: John Holmes, **jholmes@xxxxxxxx**
Institute of Education Ethics committee: **researchethics@ioe.ac.uk**.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Before we start, I would like to explain what I'm hoping to achieve in this interview. One of the phrases that has been in my mind when conducting this research was that idea that some people love teaching, but they hate being a teacher. I think this captures the idea that we have an exceptionally important interesting and rewarding job, but that some of the day-to-day experiences of working in a 21st century school can be challenging. The central aim of this research is to find ways to make sure that people continue to love teaching, and to find ways to enable them to like being a teacher. And to do that whilst making sure the children continue to do at least as well as before.

Before these interviews I've conducted a couple of surveys, and analysis of those has given me some insight into how teachers would like to spend their time, and how they are currently spending their time. This interview will look at areas where teachers want to spend more or less time, and we'll focus on looking at solutions – past, present or potential – with the hope that what we do aligns as much as possible with what we want to do.

Before we begin, have you got any questions?

Questions

I'm going to begin by talking about the teaching role, which includes middle and senior leaders have for varying amounts of time.

1) The activity that stands out most clearly from all of my research as taking up too much of teachers' time, in their opinion, is marking. What is the point of marking?
2) How much time should we spend marking outside of the classroom, for each hour of teaching?
3) I know everyone would agree that some marking is right, so perhaps there is something about the school culture, the way it trains staff, or its policies that means marking takes too long. What can a school do, to make sure teachers do the right amount of marking, and no more?
4) Data entry was also raised as something that takes too much time. What data are classroom teachers required to enter?
5) Again, I'm sure most would agree some data is required at some level. How could a school make sure teachers only had to enter useful data?
6) To return to my first phrase, I would think these are the areas of teachers' work that cause them to dislike being a teacher: that dissatisfy them. What else can schools do, to try to make sure teachers aren't dissatisfied?
7) I've asked a bit about areas where teachers want to spend less time. I'm going to ask now about where want to spend more time. It turns out, this is mainly with children. Most teachers want to spend more time just being with children outside of lessons or other activities. What opportunities do teachers have to do that already?
8) How can a school encourage teachers to do this, or create more opportunities?
9) Planning was something that teachers would like to do more of. How much planning should go into a single hour of teaching?
10) What would help teachers plan more, aside from reducing the time they spend on other activities?
11) I would say this half of questions has been about the things that cause teachers to love being a teacher. Is there anything else a school could to help teachers turn up to work excited, and loving their jobs?

APPENDIX B: ANALYSIS MATERIALS

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE Q-SORT

The table below shows the factor loadings of each Q-sort for each of the four factors initially extracted by PQMethod, along with their eigenvalues and the percentage of the variance that they explain. The factor loading, when squared, shows the extent to which the configuration of any given Q-sort can be explained by a given factor. For example, the loading of Q-sort on factor 1 is high, at 0.8065. Squaring this number gives 0.65, indicating that Factor 1 accounts for 65% of the configuration of Q-sort 8. Factor 4, on the other hand, accounts for none of the configuration of Q-sort 8.

The eigenvalue of a factor is the sum of the squared loadings of all of the Q-sorts on that factor. The variance can subsequently be calculated using the following equation:

Variance for Factor 1 = 100 x (Eigenvalue ÷ no. of Q-sorts)

Technically, the Kaiser-Guttman criterion rejects any factor with an eigenvalue of less than 1.00. This is same as rejecting any factor that accounts for less of the variance than single Q-sort (§4.1). I preferred the second way of expressing the criterion as it avoided talk of eigenvalues.

A similar desire to avoid technical language led to me oversimplifying the other two statistical tests (§4.1). The first was to ask which factors had two or more significant factor loadings. A test for significance at the 0.01 level can be calculated using the following equation.

Significant factor loading = 2.58 x (1 ÷ √no. of items in Q-set)

For this study, a significant factor loading is any greater than 0.52, or less than -0.52. In other words, if a Q-sort has a factor loading of 0.52 or greater on a factor, then it is closer to that factor than 99% of conceivable Q-sorts. There are several Q-sorts with significant factor loadings for Factor 1, a single Q-sort significant factor loading for Factor 2, and none for Factor 3.

Initial factor loadings

Q-Sort identifier	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Q-sort 1	0.3413	-0.4158	0.4015	0.2262
Q-sort 2	0.7637	0.0619	0.188	0.0333
Q-sort 3	0.2129	-0.2517	0.2466	0.0812
Q-sort 4	0.5955	-0.0883	0.1381	0.0211
Q-sort 5	0.7844	0.0587	0.3464	0.092
Q-sort 6	0.7637	0.2139	-0.0814	0.0279
Q-sort 7	0.3778	0.3499	-0.0006	0.0751
Q-sort 8	0.8065	0.031	-0.0699	0
Q-sort 9	0.7176	0.3418	0.0859	0.0813
Q-sort 10	0.4111	-0.0187	-0.2183	0.0141
Q-sort 11	0.6935	0.2304	0.3149	0.1106
Q-sort 12	0.6109	-0.1655	-0.3241	0.0538
Q-sort 13	0.3572	-0.2932	-0.2585	0.0676
Q-sort 14	0.5471	0.4098	-0.2997	0.1415
Q-sort 15	0.2644	0.4272	0.0023	0.1132
Q-sort 16	0.7043	0.1212	-0.0291	0.0088
Q-sort 17	0.6515	-0.4044	-0.3082	0.1274
Q-sort 18	0.6216	-0.0436	0.3623	0.0971
Q-sort 19	0.7091	0.3294	-0.2278	0.084
Q-sort 20	0.4353	0.086	-0.3085	0.0414
Q-sort 21	0.5038	-0.2531	-0.2956	0.0652
Q-sort 22	0.6646	0.0375	0.0294	0.0034
Q-sort 23	0.7358	-0.1993	0.2132	0.0571
Q-sort 24	0.1474	-0.5921	-0.0067	0.2056
Eigenvalues	8.3841	1.8063	1.3317	0.2179
Variance	35%	8%	6%	1%

The second test was Humphrey's rule, which states that a factor is significant if the product of its two highest loadings, ignoring the sign, exceeds twice the standard error. The standard error can be calculated thus:

$$1 \div \sqrt{\text{no. of items in Q-set}}$$

In this study, the standard error is 0.2. The products of the highest factor loadings are as follows:

Factor 1= 0.8065 x 0.7844 = 0.63
Factor 2 = -0.5921 x 0.4272 = -0.25
Factor 3 = 0.3464 x –o.3241 = -0.11

Clearly, only the product for Factor 1 exceeds twice the standard error.

As described above, rotating the factors had the effect of transferring variance from Factor 1 to Factors 2 and 3. The rotated factor loadings are shown below:

The final task in analysis was identifying the rotated factors so they could be described in plain English. I gave a simplified description of this process above (§4.1). The more complete explanation is that one must work out a weighted score of the Q-sorts that significantly load on each factor, calculating a separate score for each statement from the Q-set. It is then possible to rank order the statements, and to use this rank ordering to generate a factor array: a completed Q-sort that best exemplifies the factor. For the purpose of this calculation I used a significance level at the 0.05 level, calculated thus:

$$\text{Significant factor loading} = 1.96 \times (1 \div \sqrt{\text{no. of items in Q-set}}) = 3.92$$

This is a weaker level of significance than typically used but had the advantage of allowing more Q-sorts to be included in each of the weighted averages, increasing their stability (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Factor 3, for example, would have been calculated using a weighted average of two Q-sorts at the 0.01 level of significance, and five at the 0.05 level of significance. To be clear, a 0.05 level of significance still means each Q-sort used is closer to the factor than 95% of possible Q-sorts and, since the average is weighted accorded to the factor loading, the more significant Q-sorts will still dominate the calculation.

Rotated factor loadings

Q-Sort identifier	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Q-sort 1	0.0605	0.6256	0.2357
Q-sort 2	0.6577	0.4357	-0.0083
Q-sort 3	0.0413	0.3841	0.1421
Q-sort 4	0.4705	0.3829	0.1163
Q-sort 5	0.6313	0.5784	-0.075
Q-sort 6	0.7823	0.1527	-0.0163
Q-sort 7	0.4558	0.019	-0.2388
Q-sort 8	0.7579	0.2466	0.145
Q-sort 9	0.736	0.2284	-0.2127
Q-sort 10	0.4258	-0.0155	0.1882
Q-sort 11	0.6141	0.4529	-0.2257
Q-sort 12	0.5877	0.028	0.3993
Q-sort 13	0.2986	0.0306	0.4363
Q-sort 14	0.7115	-0.1885	-0.1235
Q-sort 15	0.3779	-0.0516	-0.327
Q-sort 16	0.6838	0.2076	0.03
Q-sort 17	0.5417	0.1453	0.6069
Q-sort 18	0.4464	0.5656	-0.0215
Q-sort 19	0.8116	-0.0346	-0.0587
Q-sort 20	0.507	-0.1206	0.1429
Q-sort 21	0.4544	0.0421	0.4438
Q-sort 22	0.6043	0.2721	0.0689
Q-sort 23	0.54	0.5421	0.2025
Q-sort 24	-0.0587	0.2704	0.5438
Eigenvalues	7.37846	2.434486	1.708849
Variance	31%	10%	7%

The weight given to each Q-sort on a factor is calculated in a two-step process as shown below:

Step 1: initial factor weight = factor loading ÷ (1 – factor loading^2)

Step 2: final factor weight = initial factor weight ÷ largest initial factor weight

For Factor 1, the largest initial factor weight was Q-sort 19 (2.932). This meant that, in Step 2, all initial factor weights were divided by 2.932. The final factor weight for Q-sort 19 was therefore 1.0. Q-sort 10, the significant Q-sort with the lowest loading, had an initial factor weight of 0.516. This was then divided by 2.932, to give the result 0.18: Q-sort 10 accounted for only 18% as much to the final factor score as Q-sort 19.

A total weighted score (TWS) for each item in the Q-set can now be calculated by summing the products of the score each Q-sort gave an item and the final factor weight of that Q-score.

Whilst it is possible to generate a ranked list and factor array from these totals, factor-to-factor comparison would be impossible as a different number of Q-sorts have contributed to the totals scores in each factor. To enable factor-to-factor comparisons the total scores must be standardised: turned into z-scores. This is done using the following formula on each item, on each factor:

Z-score for Item 1 = (TWS of Item – mean TWS of all items on Factor) ÷ SD of TWS for all items on Factor

These Z-scores are shown in the rankings, in the following section of Appendix B.

FACTOR RANKINGS AND ARRAYS

FACTOR 1

Statement	Z-score
Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school	2.092
Teachers should spend time getting to know students	1.816
Teachers should spend time planning	1.579
School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	1.311
School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	1.044
School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	0.896
Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers	0.8
Schools should help develop children's moral character	0.777
School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	0.689
Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	0.672
School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school	0.661
Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor	0.637
Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	0.449
Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	0.372
School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	0.223
Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	0.16
Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	0.141
School leaders should teach	0.137
Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	0.077
Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	-0.053
Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	-0.191
Teachers should spend time marking	-0.212
Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	-0.292
Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	-0.301
School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	-0.309
School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	-0.756
Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	-0.761
Teachers should spend time analysing data	-0.801
School leaders should review and improve school policies	-0.922
Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	-1.041
Schools should prepare children for the world of work	-1.177
School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	-1.218
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	-1.222
Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	-1.631
School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	-1.756
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	-1.888

		Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience		
	Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers	
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	Schools should prepare children for the world of work	Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	Schools should help develop children's moral character	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school

		School leaders should teach	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning		
	School leaders should review and improve school policies	School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	
School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff

		Teachers should spend time marking	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor		
	Teachers should spend time analysing data	Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	Teachers should spend time planning	
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	Teachers should spend time getting to know students

		Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare		
		Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school		
		Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor		
	Teachers should spend time analysing data	Teachers should spend time marking	Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	
	School leaders should review and improve school policies	Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	
	Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	
Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	Schools should prepare children for the world of work	School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school
School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	Schools should help develop children's moral character	Teachers should spend time getting to know students
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	Schools should help to instil discipline in children	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	School leaders should teach	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	Teachers should spend time planning

FACTOR 2

Statement	Z-score
Teachers should spend time planning	2.092
School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school	1.816
Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers	1.579
Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school	1.311
Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	1.044
Schools should help develop children's moral character	0.896
School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	0.8
School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	0.777
Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	0.689
Teachers should spend time marking	0.672
Teachers should spend time getting to know students	0.661
Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	0.637
Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor	0.449
Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	0.372
School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	0.223
School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	0.16
Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	0.141
Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	0.137
Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	0.077
Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	-0.053
School leaders should teach	-0.191
School leaders should review and improve school policies	-0.212
Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	-0.292
School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	-0.301
School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	-0.309
Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	-0.756
School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	-0.761
Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	-0.801
School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	-0.922
Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	-1.041
Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	-1.177
Teachers should spend time analysing data	-1.218
Schools should prepare children for the world of work	-1.222
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	-1.631
School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	-1.756
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	-1.888

		Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined		
	Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school	
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	Schools should prepare children for the world of work	Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	Schools should help develop children's moral character	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers

		School leaders should review and improve school policies	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families		
	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	
School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	School leaders should teach	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school

		Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	Teachers should spend time marking		
	Teachers should spend time analysing data	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	Teachers should spend time getting to know students	Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor	Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	Teachers should spend time planning

		Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	Teachers should spend time marking		
		Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	Teachers should spend time getting to know students		
		School leaders should teach	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined		
	Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	School leaders should review and improve school policies	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school	
	School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	
	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	Schools should help develop children's moral character	
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	Teachers should spend time planning
School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	Teachers should spend time analysing data	Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	Schools should prepare children for the world of work	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers

FACTOR 3

Statement	Z-score
Teachers should spend time planning	2.092
Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations	1.816
Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school	1.579
School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	1.311
School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	1.044
School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	0.896
Teachers should spend time getting to know students	0.8
School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	0.777
Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	0.689
Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor	0.672
Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers	0.661
Schools should prepare children for the world of work	0.637
Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	0.449
Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	0.372
Teachers should spend time marking	0.223
School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school	0.16
Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	0.141
Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	0.137
School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	0.077
School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	-0.053
Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	-0.191
Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	-0.212
Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	-0.292
School leaders should ensure the ‘business side’ of the school runs smoothly	-0.301
School leaders should review and improve school policies	-0.309
Teachers should spend time analysing data	-0.756
Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	-0.761
School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	-0.801
Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	-0.922
Schools should help develop children’s moral character	-1.041
School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	-1.177
Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	-1.218
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	-1.222
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	-1.631
Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	-1.756
School leaders should teach	-1.888

		Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	Schools should help children secure strong qualifications		
	Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school	
Schools should help to instil discipline in children	Schools should help develop children's moral character	Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	Schools should prepare children for the world of work	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers	Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations

		School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office		
	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	
School leaders should teach	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	School leaders should review and improve school policies	School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis

		Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor		
	Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	Teachers should spend time getting to know students	
Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	Teachers should spend time analysing data	Teachers should spend time marking	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	Teachers should spend time planning

		School leaders should ensure the school will be successful if there is an Ofsted inspection	Teachers should spend time on their role as form tutor		
		School leaders should review internal and external assessment data	Schools should seek to close the gap between students from disadvantaged backgrounds and their less disadvantaged peers		
		Schools should help children develop non-cognitive skills such as grit and resilience	Schools should prepare children for the world of work		
	School leaders should build relationships with children and their families	Teachers should spend time planning and running enrichment activities	Schools should help children secure strong qualifications	School leaders should be hands-on and proactive in keeping the school running smoothly on a day-to-day basis	
	Schools should help to teach children how to be good citizens	Schools should help to teach children how to conduct themselves in polite and socially acceptable ways	Teachers should spend time supporting students who need extra help	School leaders should improve the quality of teaching and learning	
	Schools should help develop children's moral character	School leaders should ensure the 'business side' of the school runs smoothly	Teachers should spend time marking	School leaders should look after the welfare of staff	
Teachers should spend time running their own detentions	School leaders should ensure members of staff are following school policies	School leaders should review and improve school policies	School leaders should create and deliver the visions and values of the school	Teachers should spend time getting to know students	Teachers should spend time planning
Teachers should spend time running extra lessons and revision sessions for examination classes	Teachers should spend time communicating with parents	Teachers should spend time analysing data	Schools should help to teach children valuable knowledge or skills, whether or not they will be examined	School leaders should be highly visible and spend a lot of time out of the office	Schools should help children to secure a positive destinations
School leaders should teach	Schools should help to instil discipline in children	Schools should help to give children a wide range of cultural experiences	Teachers should spend time on their own professional development	Teachers should spend time prioritising their own welfare	Schools should help children be happy and healthy during their time in school

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

	Classroom teachers								
	Mean time spent (mins)	Rank of mean time	Median time spent (mins)	Rank of median time	Range (mins)	Too little	About right	Too much	Blank
Analysing data (e.g. reviewing Trackers)	**41**	**13**	**30**	**11**	**150**	1	23	2	0
Communicating with parents (e.g. phone calls home, report writing, writing letters)	**39**	**14**	**30**	**11**	**115**	6	18	1	1
Communicating with other external organisations (e.g. other schools, social services)	**10**	**18**	**0**	**16**	**60**	0	16	0	10
CPDL (e.g. attending CPDL sessions, departmental development meetings, conducting research)	**76**	**6**	**60**	**5**	**120**	5	14	4	3
Data entry outside of lessons (e.g. iSams input, updating markbooks)	**51**	**10**	**30**	**11**	**120**	0	17	7	2
Duties	**43**	**12**	**40**	**10**	**40**	0	23	2	1
Individual support for children that need help (e.g. meeting with a student that missed a lesson; mentoring)	**57**	**8**	**60**	**5**	**120**	16	8	1	1
Managerial tasks, including administration (e.g. completing exam entries, Ofsted preparation)	**28**	**16**	**0**	**16**	**180**	0	12	4	10
Marking children's work	**187**	**3**	**150**	**3**	**315**	3	8.5	14.5	0
Planning and preparing lessons	**394**	**2**	**300**	**2**	**1020**	6.5	16	3.5	0
Running detentions	**51**	**9**	**60**	**5**	**120**	0	19	5	2
Running extracurricular clubs and activities	**78**	**5**	**60**	**5**	**300**	6	17	0	3
Running intervention or catch-up sessions (e.g. scheduled P6)	**67**	**7**	**60**	**5**	**180**	9	15	0	2
Spending time on my role as a form tutor (e.g. timetabled tutor time; supporting your tutees outside of tutor time)	**131**	**4**	**140**	**4**	**240**	5	15	1	5
Supporting the CPDL of others (e.g. running or planning CPDL sessions, observing lessons, coaching)	**38**	**15**	**15**	**15**	**180**	5	13	0	8
Strategic leadership work (e.g. reviewing policies, curriculum development, planning for improvement)	**17**	**17**	**0**	**16**	**150**	4	11	0	11
Spending time with students outside of other activities (e.g. sitting together at lunch; talking in corridor)	**45**	**11**	**30**	**11**	**180**	15	9	0	2
Teaching (i.e. timetabled lessons)	**1162**	**1**	**1200**	**1**	**360**	0	21	1	4
Total	42 hrs		38 hrs			81.5	275.5	46	65
Percentage						17%	59%	10%	14%

	Middle leaders								
	Mean time spent (mins)	Rank	Median time spent (mins)	Rank	Range (mins)	Too little	About right	Too much	Blank
Analysing data (e.g. reviewing Trackers)	**65**	**12**	**60**	**7**	**150**	1	11	0	1
Communicating with parents (e.g. phone calls home, report writing, writing letters)	**64**	**14**	**45**	**15**	**220**	2	8	2	1
Communicating with other external organisations (e.g. other schools, social services)	**20**	**18**	**13**	**17**	**120**	0	9	0	4
CPDL (e.g. attending CPDL sessions, departmental development meetings, conducting research)	**95**	**6**	**60**	**7**	**300**	0	12	0	1
Data entry outside of lessons (e.g. iSams input, updating markbooks)	**46**	**16**	**55**	**12**	**80**	0	10	2	1
Duties	**45**	**17**	**48**	**14**	**20**	0	10	3	0
Individual support for children that need help (e.g. meeting with a student that missed a lesson; mentoring)	**98**	**5**	**53**	**13**	**360**	5	6	2	0
Managerial tasks, including administration (e.g. completing exam entries, Ofsted preparation)	**70**	**9**	**60**	**7**	**150**	0	7	4	2
Marking children's work	**190**	**3**	**135**	**3**	**360**	1	6	4	2
Planning and preparing lessons	**365**	**2**	**300**	**2**	**540**	2	8	2	1
Running detentions	**68**	**10**	**60**	**7**	**120**	0	9	3	1
Running extracurricular clubs and activities	**68**	**10**	**0**	**18**	**360**	2	6.5	0.5	4
Running intervention or catch-up sessions (e.g. scheduled P6)	**65**	**12**	**60**	**7**	**240**	2	10	0	1
Spending time on my role as a form tutor (e.g. timetabled tutor time; supporting your tutees outside of tutor time)	**145**	**4**	**120**	**4**	**450**	1	5	4	3
Supporting the CPDL of others (e.g. running or planning CPDL sessions, observing lessons, coaching)	**84**	**7**	**120**	**4**	**120**	1	10	1	1
Strategic leadership work (e.g. reviewing policies, curriculum development, planning for improvement)	**83**	**8**	**120**	**4**	**180**	1	10.5	0.5	1
Spending time with students outside of other activities (e.g. sitting together at lunch; talking in corridor)	**49**	**15**	**30**	**16**	**180**	3	9	0	1
Teaching (i.e. timetabled lessons)	**1088**	**1**	**1080**	**1**	**520**	0	10	2	1
Total	45 hrs		40 hrs			21	157	30	26
Percentage						9%	67%	13%	11%

	Senior leaders								
	Mean time spent (mins)	Rank	Median time spent (mins)	Rank	Range (mins)	Too little	About right	Too much	Blank
Analysing data (e.g. reviewing Trackers)	**127.5**	**9**	**90**	**10**	**270**	0	2	1	1
Communicating with parents (e.g. phone calls home, report writing, writing letters)	**237.5**	**3**	**300**	**2**	**310**	1	1	1	1
Communicating with other external organisations (e.g. other schools, social services)	**112.5**	**11**	**75**	**12**	**300**	0	4	0	0
CPDL (e.g. attending CPDL sessions, departmental development meetings, conducting research)	**165**	**6**	**150**	**6**	**240**	1	3	0	0
Data entry outside of lessons (e.g. iSams input, updating markbooks)	**40**	**14**	**45**	**14**	**50**	0	4	0	0
Duties	**247.5**	**2**	**255**	**3**	**240**	0	3	1	0
Individual support for children that need help (e.g. meeting with a student that missed a lesson; mentoring)	**145**	**8**	**135**	**7**	**290**	1	3	0	0
Managerial tasks, including administration (e.g. completing exam entries, Ofsted preparation)	**150**	**7**	**120**	**9**	**240**	0	1	3	0
Marking children's work	**102.5**	**13**	**75**	**12**	**220**	1	3	0	0
Planning and preparing lessons	**215**	**4**	**180**	**5**	**460**	1	2	1	0
Running detentions	**0**	**17**	**0**	**15**	**0**	0	3	0	1
Running extracurricular clubs and activities	**0**	**17**	**0**	**15**	**0**	1	2	0	1
Running intervention or catch-up sessions (e.g. scheduled P6)	**15**	**16**	**0**	**15**	**60**	0	3	0	1
Spending time on my role as a form tutor (e.g. timetabled tutor time; supporting your tutees outside of tutor time)	**30**	**15**	**0**	**15**	**120**	0	1	0	3
Supporting the CPDL of others (e.g. running or planning CPDL sessions, observing lessons, coaching)	**127.5**	**9**	**135**	**7**	**120**	1	3	0	0
Strategic leadership work (e.g. reviewing policies, curriculum development, planning for improvement)	**210**	**5**	**210**	**4**	**180**	1	3	0	0
Spending time with students outside of other activities (e.g. sitting together at lunch; talking in corridor)	**110**	**12**	**90**	**10**	**220**	2	2	0	0
Teaching (i.e. timetabled lessons)	**390**	**1**	**360**	**1**	**480**	2	2	0	0
Total	40 hrs		37 hrs			12	45	7	8
Percentage						17%	63%	10%	11%

	Middle and Senior leaders								
	Mean time spent (mins)	Rank	Median time spent (mins)	Rank	Range (mins)	Too little	About right	Too much	Blank
Analysing data (e.g. reviewing Trackers)	**81**	**12**	**60**	**7**	**270**	1	13	1	2
Communicating with parents (e.g. phone calls home, report writing, writing letters)	**108**	**8**	**45**	**15**	**310**	3	9	3	2
Communicating with other external organisations (e.g. other schools, social services)	**43**	**18**	**12.5**	**17**	**300**	0	13	0	4
CPDL (e.g. attending CPDL sessions, departmental development meetings, conducting research)	**113**	**6**	**60**	**7**	**300**	1	15	0	1
Data entry outside of lessons (e.g. iSams input, updating markbooks)	**45**	**17**	**55**	**12**	**80**	0	14	2	1
Duties	**96**	**9**	**47.5**	**14**	**320**	0	13	4	0
Individual support for children that need help (e.g. meeting with a student that missed a lesson; mentoring)	**109**	**7**	**52.5**	**13**	**360**	6	9	2	0
Managerial tasks, including administration (e.g. completing exam entries, Ofsted preparation)	**90**	**11**	**60**	**7**	**300**	0	8	7	2
Marking children's work	**168**	**3**	**135**	**3**	**400**	2	9	4	2
Planning and preparing lessons	**328**	**2**	**300**	**2**	**640**	3	10	3	1
Running detentions	**51**	**15**	**60**	**7**	**120**	0	12	3	2
Running extracurricular clubs and activities	**51**	**15**	**0**	**18**	**360**	3	8.5	0.5	5
Running intervention or catch-up sessions (e.g. scheduled P6)	**53**	**14**	**60**	**7**	**240**	2	13	0	2
Spending time on my role as a form tutor (e.g. timetabled tutor time; supporting your tutees outside of tutor time)	**116**	**4**	**120**	**4**	**450**	1	6	4	6
Supporting the CPDL of others (e.g. running or planning CPDL sessions, observing lessons, coaching)	**95**	**10**	**120**	**4**	**180**	2	13	1	1
Strategic leadership work (e.g. reviewing policies, curriculum development, planning for improvement)	**114**	**5**	**120**	**4**	**300**	2	13.5	0.5	1
Spending time with students outside of other activities (e.g. sitting together at lunch; talking in corridor)	**64**	**13**	**30**	**16**	**240**	5	11	0	1
Teaching (i.e. timetabled lessons)	**914**	**1**	**1080**	**1**	**1060**	2	12	2	1
Total	44 hrs		40 hrs			33	202	37	34
Percentage						11%	66%	12%	11%

SAMPLE TRANSCRIPT

John: OK. Thank you very much. I'm just going to start by trying to explain a little bit about what I'm looking for in the interview. So one of the phrases that's been in my mind a lot when I've done this *latest* batch of research is the idea of people that love teaching but hate being a teacher. And I think that captures the idea that we have this amazing, rewarding, inspiring job. But there's also a lot about being a teaching in the 21st century UK that can be difficult at times. So the overarching aim of the research is to build on the ways people love being a teacher; try to remove the things they don't like about being a teacher and do that whilst making sure that children are as well served by teachers as possible. So far I've done two batches of research. I've done a survey, which gave me some insight into what teachers want to do and what leaders want to do, and I've done a questionnaire which gave me some insight into what teachers and leaders *are* doing. So in this interview I'm hoping to look at where those two things are different: where teachers aren't doing what they want to do, or are doing too much of the things they don't want to do. What I'm hoping for is to focus on some solutions, past, present or potential solutions to help make those things align as much as possible

Ros: OK

John: Do you have any questions before we begin?

Ros: Nope

John: Alright. I'm going to being by talking about the teaching role. So everyone, including senior and middle leaders have a teaching role for varying degrees of time. And the activity that stands out clearly as taking up too much of teachers' time, in their opinion, is marking. Um… how much time should we spend marking outside the classroom, for each hour of teaching?

Ros: I feel that it's hard for me to give a balanced perspective now because previously I was a music teacher and when I was teaching as a music teacher there wasn't very much written work to mark for early year groups so it was very key stage four focussed. So it didn't feel too bad. And then after that I went onto teach different subjects. At the moment I'm teaching Sixth Form, I've only got two children in the class, and I've got one RE class with 30 children in the class, and the marking

there is very balanced because we're using the new marking philosophy. So actually what I'm having to do doesn't feel onerous at all, but we haven't had an end-of-term exam yet so… And then it'll be on class, and the marking I'm doing for two children…

John: Hmmm

Ros: …so I'm *probably* not a good person to give a good, fair picture of what it looks like. What I *know* is teachers who I talk to talk about marking being difficult and I think at the moment the stress is they're setting up new systems so it feels more difficult than in future it will probably feel. So it's not as much, maybe about the marking, it's about the strategies they're putting into place so that they can minimise the amount of time marking. In terms of how much time we should spend I suppose I'd go to, well, how many hours planning and preparing are we allocating to teachers? Are we saying that teachers should be able to do their job in their working hours? Because it it's within their working hours I would anticipate we assume that to be… half four is reasonable?

John: hmmm

Ros: And if you can't do it in that time then I would say what are we asking teachers to do then? Because I would say we're asking them to do too much.

John: I guess in theory we've got about 44 hours of teaching and tutor time in a fortnight. If you imagine people doing a 44 hours working week. We should have about an hour outside of a lesson for every lesson they teach… if they were going to get it done in those hours. Do you think most of that? Not much of that should be marking? And I know what you're saying: around the CA period it's going to be nearly all of it. But generally?

Ros: No. Because you want them to plan, I suppose. And the issue is if you're teaching a subject then you can see ways of avoiding marking. I'm teaching child development and children are writing long extended answers… there isn't a right or wrong necessarily… and they've got to practice as often as possible. Even if I say to myself I don't need to mark that, it's just practise. I find it very hard not to give feedback to the kids because I know that'll have impact. The frustration is that takes extra time. I don't think an hour for every class should be spent marking because it should be spent planning. And it's difficult to have parity for teachers. Because if

you're a teacher who teaches three year groups and you have four different classes learning the same thing in the week you can cut down on planning time. Even though the need will be slightly different, you're going to cut down on planning time. IF you're a teacher who sees a class once a fortnight and you have far more classes you're going to have more marking, you're going to have more planning, so it's really difficult to give equity. And I know we've got strategies that try to circumnavigate that so you mark based on the number of lessons rather than the number of week so I think we've gone some way to addressing that. I think because I'm not at the coalface of marking I don't think I'm feeling either the benefit or the deficit because it's totally manageable for me. I've got a handful of children in one class. If those two were 27 there's no way I'd manage the marking load.

John: It's funny you talk about the coalface. In the study teachers mark less than hour than senior leaders do. About nine versus 15. The senior leaders mark more but none of them feel it's too much.

Ros: For me it's because I'm out of subject. None of its intuitive. If I marked a 20 mark music answer it would take me lots less than what I'm doing now. I don't know every permutation of the answer so I have to work harder to meet the needs of the children. And I think maybe we're given more difficult and challenging groups. They might be lower abilty. OR if I look at my psychology class I had that because it was a tough gig. That is fair but it meant the hours I spent planning and marking, it was like I was an NQT. Experienced as you are in the classroom it's not the same and, I did it the best I could, but I think there'll always be instances when you're having to, not overwork, but work far harder than the lesson you'd have as a non-senior leader.

John: I think going out your area is tough. You're right. You also talked about balance when we were talking about marking originally. Can you just talk me through what policies are working, or what policies you'd like to see, to help people achieve a more balanced approach to marking?

Ros: What I don't get to see much is… we're using DIRT tasks which I think is the right way to go. I like the idea of responsive feedback. With only a few kids kids I'm not sure how you'd reap the rewards of that. I know that when you've got large classes sheets that you can develop for the whole class are obviously going to cut time. I need to see more of them. I'd like to see more examples of DIRT tasks.

Good DIRT tasks. I know children still can't articulate what they are in some areas. I think that is detrimental because they don't know what they're doing it for. Teachers are gung ho in trying tg et everything done. I'm not sure how clearly they're communicating with thie children. That's just based on some conversations last week where children still weren't able in, classrooms with experienced teachers, they still weren't able to articulate what the DIRT task is and what its for.

John: hmmmmm

Ros: But I like it. I like the idea of it being instant so we're not taking weeks to give feedback. For children to then have to address areas of development after too much time has passed. I used to find that in English. I'd have a set of CA and I'd mark it. It'd take a long time and I'd have had four lessons but then. With my RE class I see then once a week and it's manageable. Where classes are more regular, I'd love to see how those teachers are managing it because it's a different skill, I think?

John: Yeah

Ros: It's totally different to where a teacher has loads of different classes all the time and is constantly having to work with different children. In terms of the balance, I think that addresses some of the balance, but I think we need to collate more feedback from staff. I wonder how honest they are about it. I think there are some staff that are probably treading water making sure they're addressing everything and I'm not sure they're really looking at the impact of what they're doing. Because they're trying to get everything in place to meet the policy. How confident are they it's working in the classroom? I don't know. It's everybody senior, and middle leaders, that need to address that. I'm not sure that answers the question. I'm trying to say I think that's the way forward and addresses the balance but I'm not sure it's being used effectively across the school.

John: I think… what I'm hearing is… why you were talking I wrote 'what the point of marking?' as a question to ask. Welcome to the first interview where the questions are less good. But what I was hearing was the balance is getting the impact straight away. That would be aim of marking, to have instant impact in a lesson. IS that right?

Ros: Yeah

John: One of the tasks that was raised by teachers as taking too much time, in their opinion, was data entry. As you understand it, what data are we asking teachers to enter in a term?

Ros: If you're in a department they'd have a tracker and you'd be tracking assessment points. That's what I'm asked to do. So you track those along the way. You would have assessment information to put onto iSams at common assessment points. That's it. As a middle leader you'd have other analysis to do, looking at assessment data, improvement plans and so on. As a senior leader there' obviously other data we use and work on. But I think that's it.

John: I think seating plans *might* be included?

Ros: Oh yeah

John: I'm sound confused as well because some teachers said they spent three or four hours a week…

Ros: I don't know how

John:… and whether or not that's a perception because they really don't like doing it or if that is a very accurate description of their reality?

Ros: Maybe that's competence in terms of their data entry because I know the people that used to struggle with it were people who didn't know Excel or whatever. When you go to maths and ask them to see their trackers it's no problem because they use them constantly and they're very competent. When you go to other teachers who rarely uses them when it comes to that time of putting the information in it probably takes a lot longer. But, yeah, seating plans but we've given strategies and tools to make that a simpler process. But again, if you're a teacher who isn't comfortable using those systems you'll do it you own way and it'll take a lot longer.

John: And some people have more seating plans to do

Ros: Yeah

John: Is it right to ask for that amount of data? The termly input and seating plans and departmental tracker?

Ros: The argument would be if you don't do it, who else does? And if someone else did it then how much time would that save? IT's the most time efficient way of doing it. It's about having a good system: you mark something, you put it straight in. It's when somebody does it, hands it out to the kids, realises they haven't recorded it and has to collect it back in.

John: It's like you're watching my secret life

Ros: Oh yeah

John: The number of time I've left my markbook and resorted to scraps of...

Ros: Yeah

John… paper with people's grades and names written on.

Ros: Oh yeah. And it is a system that needs to be systematic. You don't want to sit people down and say you will mark your books and enter your data like this, but unless you have a process for it then it becomes more difficult. The best way to do it is to stay at school, get you books marked and then go home. And I know that can be difficult when it's busy and that's when things fall done. You know, you've done half, you hand out that half. Then you've got to collect the books to get it, but one kids lost their book and you don't remember the assessment grade. We've all been there. That's when it becomes onerous. In terms of the seating plan once you've done it on the template we've been given it's so quick to make changes. I think people moan about things they don't like doing, and I'd rather they moan about data entry than teaching.

John:< laughs>

Ros: They're going to moan about something. But I don't think it's too much to ask. And if it is then I think leaders need to sit with the person that's struggling and say show me what's difficult? Help me to understand? Because I do know people sometimes underestimate the difficulty of things. It's easy to go back and say, and I hated when people said to me, it was fine when I did it, it can't be a problem. I think maybe people need a bit of support and help, or it could be more difficult than we think and we're assuming that because we can do it they should.

John: Yeah. I like that idea of going back, sitting down with people. I think we've got an issue where we teach people things once, and three or four years later, new people have come onto teams, or become leaders, and we need to revisit.

Ros: Yeah, and you forget. IF it's something you don't use every day, of course they don't understand. IT amazes me sometimes but of course they don't because they're not using it every day. It's habit. And then you might say they should enter it more often because then they'd know what to do. I think it's understanding that for some people that are more difficult. And just like we have our tricky students we have our tricky teachers and it's about knowing who they are and having some patience because it's something they struggle with. Sometimes maybe we do underestimate it. I know as a drama teacher data entry point at Christmas was hideous because you had a school show, assemblies that needed doing, equipment people wanted and then data to enter. At any other time of year you'd manage that perfectly well but at that time of year you wanted to get very cross with the person asking for data.

John: The only other task that came up, very obviously, on the questionnaire as taking too much time was managerial and administrative tasks. Middle and senior leaders thought that took too much time. First of all, what are we having to do?

Ros: The thing that makes me most frustrated is checkers checking the checkers. It's where we decide we need something monitoring of checking, so we put a system in place to monitor or check it. And then we get other people to check that that the people who are checking it are checking it. An example would be lunch duties. I have no problem with it. I quite like it. You get fresh air and talking to the children. But it's a lot of hours; a lot of very expensive senior leader hours. And when you think about what we're going for an hour, we're standing making sure people are doing what they should be doing and then reporting back that they're not doing it, and then someone collates that they're not doing it. And it drive me a bit crazy because whilst I'm doing it all I can think about is the other 15 things…

John: Yeah

Ros:… that I could be spending my time on. I can think of other examples but it's that. What's the problem? Why aren't they doing it? Because it feels like

babysitting and I find that quite frustrating because ultimately if people were fulfilling their roles we'd be more productive.

John: What would a solution be?

Ros: Accountability. Or honesty about asking people why they weren't there. Even if I'm checking I'm not on the duty point I'm running around looking for them. I'm not sure if it's a management thing because if somebody's off or they're not well how do we manage it. It wouldn't happen in lesson so we know it's possible. It's very rare somebody doesn't turn up to teach a lesson. IS it timetable? Is it registers? It astounds me that it's something we can't get right and as a result the head teacher, deputy head teachers, are wandering around trying to see if two science teachers are standing on a duty point for a hour. I understand it's right to circulate but an *hour?* It's frustrating.

John: I've spoken with middle leaders and a few time and said they struggle because they're working with people who aren't like them. They're very diligent: that's why they're middle leaders at the age of 25 or whatever. They are very keen to please; the idea of letting people down upsets you. But some of your colleagues don't see it like that. And you can't assume the gentle reminder that would have sent a young you into sleepless nights of guilt is going to have the same effect on others. IS there an equivalent with the administrative side of things? I mean, I agree checking is managerial but…

Ros: Well, I suppose, totally valid and I wouldn't change the process, but report checking. So, I'll have a set of reports from a tutor. They're atrocious. I could send them back and they could come back semi-atrocious and I could send them back again. Or I could get them, write them, get it done and save time, which is inevitably what I do. It's not the best way of doing things. I do send them to the member of staff and say I had to make some changes, please keep them for your records etc. But next year I'll get the same old rubbish reports sent to me. And again, it's the checking of the checking. And it's important to the family and I want them to be right and I want them quality assured, but I know it takes a long time and actually it's frustrating when, to me, it shouldn't be so difficult. Because we've all got degrees and are fairly intelligent people and we can't tell is someone is a he or a she. It drives me a little bit insane.

John: <laughs> I don't think that's just you

John: And it is an administrative task but what do we do? Do I send it to someone in the office to not get quite right. At the end of day it reflects on me which is why I sit and spend hours making sur they're right.

John: You're also the one that fields the phone call…

Ros: when it's wrong. Yeah. But if it's gone through me then I feel happy to apologise about it. But that's an example… I think those things take away time. I'm sitting there observing someone on duty but I'm not observing a lesson.

John: Yeah

Ros: And then when I observe a lesson it takes time away from me planning a lesson for a subject that's not my subject.

John: I think these are the things that make people not like being a teacher. Is there anything else like this, that's *dissatisfying,* that schools could try to help with?

Ros: I think I've noticed more since being in senior leadership is… frustration about progress, pay, progression, entitlement. In the last so many years that feels like a bigger issue. I think not so much for established, or experienced, members of staff. Whatever I am. I'm not going to lie, there's a time you think I've been doing x, y an z, so you think it's appropriate to progress. But I think I see more disgruntlement in younger teachers. And I'm not sure whether it's because as teachers now we've not kept up in terms of pay when you compare it to the private sector and there's obviously lots of news in the press. And maybe that's more of an issue to graduates now as opposed to when I was a graduate because then it felt like a very good salary to me. But I never really noticed it until three of four years ago when suddenly I had lots of conversations about not liking this or thinking they should be given that. I think that is something people dislike about being a teacher. I know we're not at the strikes of the 80s but.. I know it's not about the job but I think people don't think they're being fairly paid for the work they do.

John: we've had strikes but…

Ros: It's not like the 80s…

John: … no one has really *pulled* together

Ros: … no one has got involved. When there was a strike I came in. In fact I sent a letter to my union saying I didn't agree with strike action. Then I wasn't in a union for four years which was dreadful. But it's difficult because I don't want to get in a fuss about that. I don't know what I would be doing that would earn me more money than I am now. I wasn't going to earn more as musician, that's for sure. So it's not a dealbreaker but I think about the young people and the teachers that haven't carried on and are frustrated and disgruntled. They might talk about wanting to be heads of department but actually, when you get into the nitty gritty of the conversation it's about money. It's about not being able to afford a deposit on a house or buy a car or… And I think that's something people like yes about being a teacher.

…

John: Let's talk about some nice things

Ros: <laughs>

John: um…

Ros: I like my job

John… people do! The thing that came up the most… there were a few things that teachers wanted to spend more time on but I guess they shared a theme which was being with children. So teachers wanted to spend more time with children out of lessons. Like literally just talking to them. They wanted to spend more time with children who had fallen behind, by running more clubs. And I know that creating time through balanced marking and better systems would help with that. But is there any way a school could encourage people to do that? To incentivise them, or provide opportunities?

Ros: I think it's when… it's impact again; it's understanding the impact it has on the children. When I say I'll run a reading corner for you on a Thursday lunch time and spend some time with children. Like quality time. When really we're asking people to relieve some pressure on social time. Actually, that's a problem we're asking people to solve. But you might not sense an impact unless you are seeing children who enjoy the end of a book and… I'm not sure where this is going but I'll stay with

it. I'm in a job now, probably my favourite job. I love it even though it's really hard and that's because I see so much about how things impact the children. Even when sometimes it's a very negative impact on a kid, what I know is if we have time with them and we're caring and we go out of our way and above and beyond the impact is *huge.* So I've got no issue with going above and beyond. I've probably done more hours, and extra bits and bobs and bringing in treats, because I know what the impact is. So maybe that's it. Because we're very focussed on the impact with their outcomes. So if we do this task or that will we have a better percentage of children passing this test. But how are we checking the impact of whether a kid is safer, or happier, or whether they feel more cared for. And I think, for me, that's what makes the difference.

John: Interestingly, based on that first survey, that is *precisely* what teachers think we should be doing. Happy and healthy in school was consistently right at the top…

Ros: hmmm

John: more than any academic outcome.

Ros: Hmm. And if you listen to the mentors last week. They were doing the exam dispensation, they were scribes and readers. I didn't talk to one who said that's good. Every single one came out and said that was awful. And it wasn't awful because they'd wasted an hour. It was awful because of what they felt the child had gone through in the exam. And the deficit they saw the child had in terms of being able to answer some, any questions. They felt really upset and demotivated. And that's significant isn't it. Because we're trying to help them to an outcome. We can say we don't need them but we do. Even now we pull them out of a subject and the Principal's question is what are they going to get. We said we didn't want children in crisis but I'm in a situation now where kids are doing very few exams but what are we going to do about out Progress 8? I can't answer that question for you but I know they'll experience far fewer hours less of hideousness than they would have if we put them into everything. I'm not sure how I go here but I think it's an example of how much we're affected by the kid's happiness. They might get a 1 or a 2 out of that. That might be great. But the teachers don't care about that; they just care it was painful for the kids. So I'm not sure what the answer to that problem is. Maybe BTECs. I'll let you fix it. That really struck a chord with me because these are some

of our most caring staff who help our most vulnerable students. And they came out feeling really depressed. It's awful they felt like that whilst in what was supposed to be a supportive role. I'm not sure if the kids felt the same.

…

John: I feel speechless. It says so much about a gap between the aims of what teachers want and what we've achieving for some kids. For the brightest kids happy, healthy children is teaching them GCSEs. But… these exams must roll back and affect their whole experience of Year 11 and Year 10. Their whole school career.

Ros: I'm telling those children it doesn't matter. I have a really weak group of kids. And I know I'll be sitting in exam meetings and we'll be saying why didn't we see this coming? We should have done something because these kids are minus blah blah. But we do know. When we see a boy who can't tell the time struggling with GCSEs we pull him out because it's really upsetting him. But then we come away from him and we look at the numbers and we get worried.

John: Is looking at numbers the mistake?

Ros: Well yeah, but it's not our mistake. Because Ofsted wouldn't have wanted to hear about that. I'd have liked to put that lad in a meeting with Ofsted. Although he'd probably have come across as a charming and competent individual. But we've got others who can't some to school and they get upset and they cry because he feels he's is a round peg in a square hole if ever there was one. So what do we do? We can't reverse it for them. I think the curriculum is so important because these kids would have managed years ago with the old BTECs. He'd have been alright but he's not alright. But then our brightest kids would have been completely miffed if they'd been around them because they'd have left with qualifications that were totally different. I guess we've moved from one extreme to another and we've got to go back to the fact we've got both sets of children and we need a conversation about whether we can teach them all. I couldn't have had Reece talking about his love fart in classroom with Mabel, who wants to talk about the social diversity of Liverpool in the 70s. I couldn't do that. They're separate worlds, really. Managing that is just… we're a great school with talented teachers and diligent leaders who care about the

kids and we haven't got it right so… crikey it's not through lack of trying. It's the Government who have got it wrong. It's the Government who have got it wrong.

John: I'll ask you about love farts after.

Ros: Yeah. We have a video.

<both laugh>

John: Can I ask you about planning? Which, again, is up there as something people want to spend more time on. People do plan more than mark but they want more time. Is it possible? Is it a case of freeing up time from other things? Or is there something we can do to encourage or help people?

Ros: I think planning is something that is best done with others. I really miss, probably because of that I'm teaching now, but I really miss sitting down and talking. I might not have had all the schemes of work on a document a few years ago. You'd have come to see a lesson, hopefully you'd have thought it was good, but you might have asked for some paperwork and I wouldn't have had it. What I would've had was really good conversations about where the children were, what they were going to do next. I'd have had time to think and be creative, go away and be experimental, they things that suited the children. I'd have had conversations in the office about it with other people who taught drama. That's when I plan best. When I don't plan best is sitting in a room with five text books trying to work out what a term is so I can break it down and teach it. And I think they must do it in big departments. I used to miss that English didn't do that because I never understood thoroughly what I was doing. I think I was a weak link because it was given to me and I didn't really get it. I think they do it in maths. I think they really do think how they teach certain elements and talk about their plan. I miss those conversations because then, that's when planning is easy. It's difficult in isolation. The RE is given to me and I don't have to think because it's done very well. And child development takes me ages because I don't understand five steps down the line. When you've got 40 hours of teaching that must be really difficult and I imagine they do want more time doing it. I guess I wonder what we want from planning. Is it a PowerPoint?

John: What should we ask for?

Ros: When it was drama I knew what I was doing and I did it. Having it on a piece of paper wouldn't've made a difference and I didn't have a working projector anyway. But I used to go in and get excited about the things I taught. I've never felt that excited since because it's mean more stressful. But I wonder what we mean by *planning* because we used to have a folder and we'd write it down and say what we were doing. The older the teachers the less there'd be. NQTs would haves essays.

John: When I started it was a full lesson plan for everything

Ros: I had that for a while because we had non-specialists so I had to give them everything. And we were in special measures. I just wonder what planning means. I've never really spoken to someone and said when you're planning what do you get. As a curriculum leader you'd expect a scheme of work, potentially, but then what comes after?

John: In my mind, those schemes of work and PowerPoints are maybe the beginning of planning. The things to help. You might want to use these. I guess planning is taking all of that and knowing what you will do with that lesson, with those children, to get them what they need.

Ros: And that might affect how much time people spend planning. Because if I was teaching music it would take me now time. Well maybe now because of the new specification. But I'm assuming after a while it would be a doddle.

John: This year is the first time I've taught a course more than once ever. In my time here. But the difference is, whereas last year I was 'Oh my God, get the text book, write a PowerPoint, what the hell is this?', now I'm 'oh yeah, they don't know this, so I can do some questions on that, and this bit we can skip'. It's much more dynamic this year but before it was more presenting content in slide form.

Ros: That's kind of what I'm doing I suppose. I have some activities that are a bit more interesting to try to keep them interested but, again, I just think it would depend on who you're asking about planning. Keep this to yourself, but I could plan a great lesson for drama in the car. I can't do that now. The issue *is* that planning is the last thing I do, in my role. Because if it's a busy day it's because of safeguarding or a parent has called in or a kid has had a breakdown. I can't then say, sorry I'm planning a lesson. So I can't plan to plan in school. I've given up on that: it can't

happen. So I plan to plan at home. Either very early, or at weekends, or when I get home. Normally very early in the morning. That's what I've noticed.

John: I feel the same, right down to the planning in the car

Ros: And when you go to a folder and find the presentation you did last year and you fist pump and squeal with joy. I don't remember teaching it but there we are. That's a new experience for me. It's like being an NQT. That's where it's difficult but I think it depends on the teacher

John: Planning is the area with the greatest range on those questionnaire responses. Some people spend about 20 hours planning a week, some are spending about 30 minutes

Ros: I can imagine. Psychology took me one hour to plan an hour-long lesson. Child development is easier.

John: I found that with psychology. And economics, the first time

Ros: Don't give me that

John: I won't. I got rid of it. Um… so that's the stuff that makes people think I enjoy being a teacher. Is there anything else schools can do to help teachers turn up to school excited? And loving their job?

Ros: Keep reminding them, and I know we do it, but keep reminding them how lucky we are. We forget. People do think we're lucky because of the holidays and finishing at half three. That's not why you're lucky, you're lucky because you work with the children. It's about remembering successes. There was one girl, and all of last year was about that girl. Every time something got wrong, or a kid told me to bog off, I thought about her and it made everything feel worthwhile so I had a really personal reminder. Some staff don't have those yet or we forget to remind them. Just about, I know we've got a wall about universities, but that's not about kid's memories of school and what we did to help them. Maybe we should get the children back in. When you're having a tough day all you can see is planning and data entry and you forget the time a kid made you laugh so much you cried. Or a kid who really struggled and you see them later managing a shop. That's what makes me happy about getting up but you don't realise that one day that challenging boy

will be a success. Right now they're just a challenging boy and maybe we can remind staff more about that. They've all had those experiences, there'll be children they've affected, but I'm not sure we remind ourselves of that very much. IT's always about what we do now, what's in the future, and we forget to look back in the past.

John: *That* … is a very nice thought to finish off on. Thank you very much, Ros

CODING TREE

Name
Acceptance
Accepting data analysis needs to be done
Accepting marking
Accepting safeguarding work takes time
accepting that things aren't quite perfect
Accepting the necessity of centralised policies
Accepting the necessity of change
Accepting the necessity of cover
Accepting the necessity of data entry
Accepting trips take a lot of time
Accepting you have to mark CAs
Think we enter too much data here. Definitely. I suppose we need to
All the small things
Use administrators
Wanting a school crèche
Wanting protected time
Bad data
Frustrated by entering data I know is inaccurate
frustrated data goes into the ether
Frustrated with multiple data entry
Lots and lots of data entry early on is time consuming and not helpful.
Not using data
Worried about being pulled over the stones because of data
Being mindful of how we can make sure teachers come to work and remember what a privilege it is
Doing the nice things to build resilience
I generally do enjoy work and enjoy coming into work
Enjoying cover
Enjoying trips
I actually have fun planning so I don't mind the time it takes to be honest
I enjoy being in lessons with kids
Keep reminding them how lucky we are.
Looking for the positives
Not appreciating how good things are here
sometimes I think we need to be reminded about what we love about our subject
Using the good bits to keep you doing when it's tough
Wanting to talk about the good things a lot
We're doing something right
I don't feel the pressure that I used to before I moved here
I think we're doing something right
I think weave about the right amount of data assessment points
I'm not upset by the amount of marking I have
you're lucky because you work with the children
Boom and bust
Entering data varies at different times of year
Frustrated with the boom and bust of the job
I think there are times when it's ridiculously intense for the job that it is. And then I also think I need to bear that in mind because there are times when it's not that

intense and I’m looking for something to do
Caring for children
Building a child centred school
And I feel that a lot of the CPD I get is how to teach, and not enough of it is about my role as a carer of children
Being yourself in the classroom
Benefiting from taking the time to build relationships
But in reality the good teacher, like the good parent, is just themselves really
If we have time with them and we’re caring and we go out of our way and above and beyond the impact is huge.
Prioritising relationships over outcomes
The more I know them the better I am at teaching them.
They're right there!
Building relationships are break and lunch
Building relationships at break
Building relationships by observing my kids in lessons
building relationships in corridors
Building relationships in the classroom
Building relationships over lunch
Building relationships through afterschool intervention
Building relationships through detentions
Building relationships through duties
Building relationships through extracurricular activities
Building relationships through lessons
Building relationships through marking
Building relationships through tutor time
Reminding yourself to build relationships
Understanding the impact of building relationships
Wanting feedback from children to staff
Wanting more of a focus on the impact on relationships
Wanting to focus on the impact of positive relationships
Wanting training on relationships
Conflicted between data and children
Focusing too much on league tables
I feel very often with the curriculum that I’m squashing them into a shape which they’re not, which feels immoral, actually
We’re very focussed on the impact with their outcomes.
It’s the Government who have got it wrong. It’s the Government who have got it wrong.
Frustrated by constant specification change
Frustrated by lack of progression
Frustrated by league tables
Frustrated by pay
frustrated that specification changes have led to children feeling stressed
Frustrated with Wolf reforms
People don’t mind working hard.
Really valuing progress over time rather than immediate progress, I think is important.
they do it because of the impact they are having on children, the way children respond to them
thinking about them and their daily experience
Upset when children find things upsetting
Wanting to help children
Collegiality
Appreciating communal time
Appreciating my team

Appreciating the climate
Benefiting from good teams
Wanting cross-departmental communal time
Wanting teachers to ask for help
CPDL
Appreciating CPDL
Appreciating formative lesson observations
Benefiting from CPDL
Wanting to spend more time observing lessons
Wanting to visit other schools
Efficient systems
Appreciating changes to DIPS
Appreciating improvement in efficiency of systems
Appreciating more efficient improvement plans
Appreciating the reduction in report writing
Benefiting from efficient data entry systems
Benefiting from good habits
Finding it difficult to get approval for trips
Frustrated by doing unimportant things
Frustrated by faffy systems
Frustrated by trip admin
Frustrated by trip admin (2)
It’s about having good system
Lot of good teaching is just habits.
Planning doesn't require writing things down
Quicker is better.
Relieved by change to behaviour policy
Relieved trip admin has decreased
Using practical tools to save time
Wanting quick systems
Wanting space to work
Wanting systems to manage behaviour
Wanting systems to share information
Wanting tools and training to save time
Working with the worried well
Entering data to help children
Benefiting from constantly using trackers
Benefiting from data
Children owning their data
Children struggling with learning journeys
Entering assessment and target grades
Entering data helps share information about children
Entering data so children can see they're making progress
Entering data to identify gaps
entering data to keep track of progress
Entering data to track behaviour and sanctions
Entering data to track fundamentals
Entering data to track work completion
feels like the most important data is anecdotal
Happy with data entry level
I don’t mind entering the data it’s the response I get from them.
Recording my own grades helps me
Relieved by reduction in central data collection
ultimately you want to get to find out which students are underachieving

Using a mark book as an aide memoire
Using children's books to record data
Using data to guide planning
Using data to plan intervention
Using data to track progress across time
Using my personal planner for data entry
Wanting data training
Wanting training on data entry
Wanting more data entry
I am an artist at heart, not just a teacher.
Benefiting from maintaining passion for subject
I think it's important to make sure you love your subject, still.
Out of specialism
Marking is harder when you're out of subject
Planning is hard when you don't know the subject
Planning is harder out of subject
Planning takes longer out of subject
Wanting children to love the subject
Wanting subject-specific CPDL
I would ideally like to plan individual tasks for individual students
Marking is the first step of planning
Planning for one lesson is only possible when you've done the last
Planning lesson time to build relationships
Planning ought to expand beyond 'getting through the material'
Planning requires knowing the children really well
Planning requires knowing your class
Planning should aim at specific outcomes
Planning should focus on the most vulnerable
Planning should involve adapting resources for individual classes
Planning should involve tweaking and adapting
planning should make sure the lesson meets the needs of the student
it's difficult to have parity for teachers
Appreciating that the policy deals in lessons not weeks
Entering data varies across departments
Frustrated by one size fits all policies
marking depends on class size
Marking is different in different subjects
Marking is easier in my subject
Only able to do clubs on certain days
Wanting people to be aware of part time status
It's the most important thing, to plan to teach good lessons.
I do think we've almost overcomplicated the system so the very, very important, basic planning isn't a priority anymore
it feels absolutely dreadful if a lesson is poorly planned and goes really badly
Planning requires a theory of learning
Planning requires being prepared to take risks
Planning requires time spent acquiring pedagogical content knowledge
Planning requires time to think and reflect
Planning well gives you the light bulb moments
Planning well requires good training
Spending less time looking at the exam may improve exam results
Letting yourself get consumed by work
Always improving lessons and resources
Benefiting from being forced to leave

	But it is that balance between your workload and having the time to talk with them,
	Controlling my time and limiting access
	Frustrated by having to be in a teacher persona
	Giving too much causes stress
	I do want to talk to them but I also need to get on with stuff
	I think I could always create a lot more work for myself
	More flexibility and less worry about perfect planning and the perfect PowerPoint and more worry about being there in the moment in the classroom.
	Not having the answers
	Perfectionism takes time
	Planning gives an (illusory) sense of security
	Planning is a bottomless well and could always be better
	Taking on impossible tasks
	The problem is it's got infinite potential so it could always be better
	think teachers have a fear of doing things wrong
	Wanting lessons to be well prepared
	Wanting time away from children
	We're very fixed and our self-worth is tied up in how well we do our job which is why we all work so hard
	what causes me stress, is not knowing whether I'm going to complete the work I know I need to get done
	You'll never get to the bottom of your to-do list and that's fine
Limiting change	
	Benefiting from focussing on one thing
	Frustrated by frequent changes to team
	Frustrated by working outside specialism
	frustrated when I know I won't reuse resources
	I've just really appreciated this timetable and the repetition of lessons.
	It causes dissatisfaction because people do it just one year and they don't get to do it the next.
	It's enabled me to get to know the students better because my head's freer in lessons
	Setting up new systems is stressful
	there's always something new that we're trying to do,
	Wanting courses to stay the same
	Wanting policies not to change
	Wanting to keep classes year on year
	Wanting to limit policy change
	Wanting to teach the same material in multiple years
Mark smarter	
	appreciating the changes to assessment policy
	Avoiding tick-box marking
	Benefiting from DIRT tasks
	Benefiting from marking
	Benefiting from whole class marking
	Checking work in lesson instead of marking
	Finding strategies to save time with marking
	Giving children time to act on written feedback
	I find it very hard not to give feedback to the kids because I know that'll have impact
	I'm not upset by the amount of marking I have
	Making time to see children in a lesson
	mark what you need to mark
	Marking concisely
	Marking doesn't have to cover every piece of work
	marking gives you the most useful data
	Marking in lessons

Marking is improving
marking is not overwhelming
Marking is useful
Marking less, better
Marking made redundant by whole class feedback
Marking only assessments
Marking only exam questions
Marking really needs the student in front of you while you do it
Marking should yield instant feedback
Marking used to take me a lot of time
Not needing a marking book
Relieved by change in assessment policy
Relieved by reduction in marking
Relieved to complete fewer assessments
Teaching the children about FA
Using learning journeys
Using marking pro forma
Using marking pro forma to save time
Using marking to plan lessons
Using peer assessment
Using peer marking
Using self assessment
Using whole class marking
Marking doesn't always help children
Marking that doesn't help
Marking takes many forms
I feel like they need to feel safe with you and I think that's a dialogue in their books
I think with some of the most vulnerable students I've taught I don't realise how much it means for some of them to read a personalised positive comment in their book
if I could choose I would very much choose to have a little bit more of a fluid marking policy I suppose,
Marking changes as your relationship changes
marking changes depending on the student
Marking changes depending on where you mark
Marking for FA
Marking for SA
Marking is too complicated for a single, simple policy
Marking so that kids complete work
Marking to build relationships
Marking to check understanding
Marking to communicate
Marking to focus on knowledge and skills
Marking to give specific feedback
Marking to listen
marking to make a connection
Marking to make a connection (2)
Marking to motivate
Marking to motivate (2)
Marking to praise
Marking varies between subjects
Marking varies with key stage
Not for the kids
Completing work nominally set for children
Doing things for the sake of parents

Entering data for leaders to check
Entering data on departmental tracker
Entering data to report to parents
Keeping a mark book for leaders to check
Marking because someone will check your book
Marking for parents
Marking in case someone checked my books
right now I feel I'm writing it down for the sake of writing it down
Using data entry to check teachers are completing tasks
Planning from the foundations up
Benefiting from accumulated resources
It's trying to find mechanisms that enable people to do that, so teachers can do that joyous bit of planning.
Planning for the first time is hard
Planning is better when you deliver the same lesson multiple times
planning is easier with a foundation of resources
Reflecting and improving accumulated resources
Wanting a planning skeleton in place
Planning ought to be collaborative
I think planning is something that is best done with others.
Planning is easier with a shared, coherent approach
Sharing resources makes planning easier
wanting to share resources
Recognition and support
Appreciating being valued
Appreciating being recognised
Appreciating being treated as a professional
Appreciating fair treatment of staff
Appreciating being looked after
Not wanting to be the first car out
Wanting support from SLT
Wanting to know you're doing a good job
Sometimes it comes down to you as a person
People like to moan and I think there's often a bit of competitiveness about it
And just like we have our tricky students we have our tricky teachers
I know personally I never look at the positives I always look at the negatives
I think people moan about things they don't like doing, and I'd rather they moan about data entry than teaching
I think the whole workload thing is a self-fulfilling prophecy sometimes
people often confuse busy-nests with importance and I think people like to feel important and you do that by looking busy and being stressed out
Working made me exhausted
Positive people
benefiting from experience
Having good time management
Learning through struggling
Solving workload problems myself
Some of it is because I haven't thought about easy ways to do things
sometimes it comes down to you as a person and how organised you like to be
The thing is I'm quite good at time management,
what helps me is that I'm very strict with myself
Timely, two way communication
And I would say, organisationally, having things change with late notice
Lacking communication
wanting clear communication

Wanting timely communication
Wanting to listen to staff
Wanting accountability
Frustrated by having to do other people's jobs
The thing that makes me most frustrated is checkers checking the checkers
Wanting consistency
Wanting to challenge people who aren't doing their jobs
Wanting to know why people can't write a decent report
Wanting more time
But the elephant in the room is how much time you teach for. That's the main thing but I understand that's extremely expensive.
Completing extracurricular activities is hard because of my specific timetable
I get frustrated because I want to be a better tutor
That is the one thing that stresses me a lot to be honest, is not having the time I need to support them best but it's the system.
Wanting to phone parents proactively
Wanting to run more clubs
you can't progress to managing others without feeling like you're letting someone down
Losing the best teachers to leadership
The issue is that planning is the last thing I do, in my role
Wanting more time for leadership responsibilities