

**Development, well-being and
organisation: perceptions of
employees in schools**

Ray Rumsby

**Thesis submitted for the award of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Leicester School of Education
September 2009**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is dedicated to my wife, Julia, for her unfailing support; and in remembrance of my parents, who always valued ideas.

I wish to thank the following people, from whom I have learned much:

Teacher Support Network for their financial help and long-term engagement in well-being

Worklife Support Limited for their assistance and technical advice

Doctor Hugh Busher and his colleagues, and Doctor Howard Stevenson formerly, for their encouragement and invaluable guidance

Many staff in schools and children's services nationally, for their rich knowledge, comradeship, and time.

ABSTRACT

Development, well-being and organisation: perceptions of employees in schools

Ray Rumsby

The thesis explores how employees perceive the meaning and significance of development in schools as organisations, and relative to their well-being at work. It reports how development is negotiated in particular contexts, personally and socially, through time.

A review of literatures from different disciplines examines three major themes: well-being, development and organisation. For different reasons, these commonplace yet complex ideas are relatively neglected in education scholarship, although used in schools and highly contested in other academic fields. Politicised school improvement literature, assuming deficit models while using inadequate and instrumental ‘growth’ metaphors, misses education’s developmental purpose.

Beginning from ontological theory of developmental process throughout human life, the longitudinal research design is consonant with views of socially constructed, experiential adult learning at work and elsewhere. In order to explore the unfamiliarities of superficially familiar ideas, a discursive ethnography is used. It records the perceptions of employees from a wide range of roles - including headteachers - in five English schools committed to staff well-being programmes.

The findings are drawn from analysing thematic and narrative data. Participants define development variously, but their accounts from experience are consistent: development is an indeterminate process which involves coming to recognise and understand capabilities, while negotiating and protecting opportunities to realise them individually and organisationally. The thesis offers a critical reconceptualisation of development as a possible basis for praxis and further research.

Learning and eudaimonic (self-determining) well-being are associated with, but distinct from, development. These associations work powerfully through the structural consequences of individuals’ actions in organisationally protected circumstances. Thus development in schools, as with individuals, is natural yet achieved, requiring principled, reflective, communitarian organisation. Such complex interactions and mutualities are central to educative purpose. They deserve more attention, but lack a coherent discourse.

CONTENTS

Chapter	Title	Page
	Acknowledgements	002
	Abstract	003
	Contents	004
Chapter One	Introduction	007
	<i>Identifying the research problem</i>	007
	<i>The background of stress in education</i>	008
	<i>The background to this research: a personal statement</i>	010
	<i>Staff well-being programmes</i>	011
	<i>From problem to question</i>	013
Chapter Two	Review of the literature	015
	Introduction	015
Section One	Well-being	016
	<i>Two conceptual traditions</i>	016
	<i>Well-being and health</i>	019
	<i>Well-being in adversity</i>	022
	<i>Well-being: a social phenomenon</i>	026
Section Two	The concept of development and its importance in schools	031
	<i>Difficulties in conceptualising development</i>	031
	<i>Learning, transformation and human agency in development</i>	036
	<i>Development ethics: power, capability and autonomy</i>	041
	<i>Metaphors of development: 'growth' in confusion</i>	048
	<i>Development, values, and school improvement</i>	052
Section Three	The organisational development of schools	058
	<i>Three essential aspects and a problem</i>	058
	<i>Schools are organisations first</i>	059
	¶ Boundary matters	061
	¶ Organisational environment	062
	¶ Purpose and perspective	065
	<i>Organisational change and development</i>	066
	<i>Learning in the workplace</i>	071
	<i>The relationship between individual, organisational and societal development</i>	077
Section Four	Overview and key questions	082

Chapter Three	Methodology	085
	Seeking answers by exploring questions	085
	‘A view from somewhere’	087
	Exploring and re-visiting	092
	Following-through	094
	Valuing voice: discursive ethnography	097
	Philosophical hermeneutics and voices of development	099
	Validity versus validation	102
	Designing and conducting the research	103
	<i>Structure, sampling and timing</i>	103
	<i>Collecting the data</i>	107
	<i>Conducting the conversations</i>	109
	<i>Ethics and the researcher’s role</i>	110
	<i>Analysing the data</i>	111
	Reflections on the procedures	116
Chapter Four	Findings from thematic data analysis	120
	Introduction	120
	<i>Referencing the recorded data</i>	121
	The participants and the schools	121
Section A	How employees perceive development	134
A1	<i>The idea of development: metaphorical considerations</i>	134
A2	<i>How employees experience development</i>	138
A3	<i>The influence of learning</i>	141
Section B	How development is negotiated	147
B1	<i>Negotiating development in different organisational contexts</i>	147
B2	<i>How roles influence the negotiation of development</i>	153
	¶ Roles and negotiation: an employee’s experience	153
	¶ Roles and negotiation: institutional experiences	156
B3	<i>Leadership for development: accounts of negotiation</i>	161
	¶ Negotiating development under threat: a headteacher’s account	161
	¶ Negotiating development: a headteacher’s work with governors	164
Section C	The ‘organisational’ in organisational development	168
C1	<i>Locating organisational sites of development</i>	169
	¶ Informal work-groups and Activity Theory	169
	¶ A leadership team uses symbolism	171
	¶ Well-being programmes	172
C2	<i>The relationship between individual and organisational development</i>	175
	¶ Development and continuity	177
	¶ Development and disengagement	179

Chapter Four (continued)	Contents	Page
C3	<i>How employees' well-being and organisational development are related</i>	182
	¶ Well-being and development: a conspectus	182
	¶ Feeling fortunate	186
	¶ Schools as communities: psychosocial parallelism	189
	Picking out threads of development	194
	<i>Introduction</i>	194
	¶ Perceptions of development	194
	¶ Development as negotiation	197
	¶ Development and organisation	200
	<i>Summarising the main thematic threads</i>	204
Chapter Five	Findings from narrative data analysis	206
	Introduction	206
	Marisa's narrative: 'People at home can't believe it'	208
	Rhianon's narrative: 'A very humbling experience'	212
	Donna's narrative: 'A lot of nerves in there'	216
	Sally's narrative: 'More than just putting up posters!'	219
	Picking out threads: analysing the narrative data	222
	Gathering the threads of development	228
	Re-conceptualising development: towards a new critical theory	237
Chapter Six	Conclusions	242
	The research focus	242
	Conclusions about the key questions	243
	The study's significance and contribution to knowledge	252
	Limitations of the study	257
	Recommendations for further research and for practice	258
	Reflexive comment	259
	Appendices	261
Appendix A	Extracts from introductory letter to headteacher	262
Appendix B	Sample extract from transcription	264
Appendix C	Three analytic methods	266
	References	268
	Tables	
Table 3.1	Fidelity to well-being programmes	096
Table 3.2	Distribution of briefing materials	108
Table 3.3	Roles and responsibilities of participants	118

Identifying the research problem

This thesis explores adult development in schools as organisations, emphasising staff well-being, and considers its significance (rather than that of improvement) to education. Fundamentally education serves present and future development - the pupils', the employees' and the organisation's development and well-being are routine concerns in schools.

However, an immediate challenge to their study is the low level of consistent, formal attention given to precisely these areas (well-being, development, and schools as organisations) in recent education research and theory. Compared with the vast literature on workplace stress, workplace well-being has been under-stated. The well-being of education employees is important - especially given the noxious effects of psychosocial strain within public services such as education and health. Similarly, if development is indeed central to the work of education, it has received scant attention in recent education studies, relative to school effectiveness and improvement. The current academic literature on education does include ideas from organisation theory - certain models of leadership, for example. But organisational perspectives upon schools are used selectively. Inclusiveness regarding pupils is a focus of policy, but the term 'staff' sometimes signifies 'teachers', who constitute a minority in some schools. Schools are not merely places where children learn but also places of employment: those functionalities vitally connect. The organisational development of schools is less described than prescribed through instrumental taxonomies of good practice based on adjudged effectiveness. Curiously, the phenomenal concerns of this research - high-profile elsewhere - are largely overlooked in education. More than 'gaps in knowledge' within education, it implies a lack of perception that such gaps exist.

The conceptual challenge to the research is that key terms (*well-being* and *development*) and to a lesser extent, *organisation*, are ill-defined. Each appears straightforward and commonplace, while masking depth and complexity. (Does well-being equate with health, or happiness? How does development differ from change, or from learning, or

improvement?) Another challenging aspect is that all three terms are associated with context, change and time - processual aspects difficult to study except indirectly, leaving research dependent on others' witness. Well-being, development and organisation have personal as well as social and temporal perspectives. Furthermore, part of the purpose of this thesis is to gain understanding of their possible inter-connections, both from the literature and from data analysis - and thus, to interpret findings. A fresh study of 'becoming' in employees and in schools will require careful interpretation and management in order not to lose itself.

A study of development has implications for the political, educational and social climate in which schools function, and for the quality of life they offer as places of work. Therefore its aims must be clear.

The aims of this research are:

1. To describe the nature and significance of adult psychosocial development as an individual and organisational phenomenon;
2. To explore how aspects of human well-being contribute to, or are influenced by, development in organisational contexts;
3. To learn from employees' accounts how individual and organisational development are negotiated;
4. To identify areas for future research.

The study does not seek to evaluate schools or well-being programmes, either singly or collectively. Such evaluation may be for others with different perspectives. But the research does come from experience; below, two contextual aspects are presented which help to clarify certain ideas, terms and procedures mentioned in the text.

The background of stress in education

The rising incidence of psychosocial stress amongst education employees (particularly teachers) in England became a major concern in the late 1990s. It was raised through public sector unions and in the media, but also was recognised by employers in local

and national government. Further analysis of data from a large-scale survey for the Health and Safety Executive (HSE) indicated high levels of self-reported stress in education, relative to other occupations (Smith et al 2000). The immediate problems were the toll upon individual staff of stress-related illness, and how to support people through long periods of recovery. However, associated problems surfaced: the demoralising effect on colleagues; the patchy provision of counselling services; the high costs of absence and of providing long-term replacements; the rising incidence of early retirement through ill-health; signs of an exodus from public service through disillusionment and burnout; and difficulties in recruitment and retention. These were not individual historical accidents, but persistent, systemic challenges to the education service requiring action. Contemporaneous academic literature and commentary highlighted British perspectives (Bowers and McIver 2000; Troman and Woods 2001) and international dimensions (Vandenberghe and Huberman 1999). A conspectus of the stress literature found that organisations commonly regarded stress-related ill-health as a problem for individuals, to be combated by stress management training rather than by eliminating workplace stressors (Grimshaw 1999: 302).

Besides the human suffering involved, stress in education had political importance. Firstly, the cumulative dysfunction threatened governmental drives for higher standards, and the country's longer-term economic prospects. Secondly, it was recognised that government itself, as a major employer, has a legal and regulative duty of care (HMSO 1974; 1999) to avoid causing employees 'psychiatric damage by the volume or character of the work which they are required to perform' (Cooper 2000: 12). Employers must eliminate known or foreseeable hazards to workers' health. The Securing Health Together strategy (HSE 2000) established targets for improved occupational health in Britain over a 10-year period. A new unit within HSE was charged with developing a strategic programme to achieve them.

At the end of the twentieth century coherent means to reverse the trends in health and in perceptions of education were lacking, despite the voluminous stress research literature detailing symptoms, causes and effects. To address this problem, well-being programmes were devised from within education, involving the schools themselves.

The background to this research: a personal statement

My interest in human psychosocial development has stemmed from my career as a teacher in state schools in England, and later, as a Senior Adviser with Norfolk Education Authority (now within Norfolk Children's Services). This latter role included responsibility for professional development in the Advisory Service, alongside working with schools. It proved challenging to find ways of offering meaningful support and encouragement to those who had suffered significant illness, including mental illness and 'burnout', associated directly or indirectly with strain at work. There were wide-ranging consequences also for colleagues, for the sufferers' families, and for users of the service. Education unions in Norfolk, as elsewhere, reported high volumes of members' calls across the education service on such issues.

In the late 1990s two working parties, established consultatively in Norfolk as part of a partnership strategy, recommended a co-ordinated, pro-active 'anti-stress programme'. I was appointed to lead the two-year project (1999-2001), with additional financial and political support from the Teacher Support Network (TSN, a registered charity), the unions and professional associations, and the Health and Safety Executive (HSE). The *Staff Well-Being Project* promoted a positive communitarian approach (proactively protecting and realising the potentialities within communities which use their own strengths) rather than the implicitly negative model of combating stress reactively through repairing health deficits in individuals, and without making the wider connection between stress-related factors and the working environment. The project reported to trade unions and associations as well as to the Local Authority. Subsequently, the *Well-Being Programme* has become an established part of Norfolk Children's Services Human Resources provision. Further information about the operation of Well-Being Programmes appears below, in Chapter Three (Methodology), and in the research findings (Chapters Four and Five).

After leading the Norfolk project for two years, I was invited to introduce a similar programme for TSN, in a national team working with a large number of Local Authorities and in hundreds of schools, because this was plainly a countrywide problem. As part of the re-structuring of TSN's services during this period, the national well-being programme transferred to Worklife Support Ltd. (WLS). This was a new

social enterprise organisation established by TSN (whose work is for the teaching profession). Closely associated with the charity, WLS offers a suite of support services in the field of education that Local Authorities, schools and related organisations or groups could purchase. Part of my role was to help devise the online self-review and associated data-collection, where many ethical questions arose about confidentiality, trust, and ways to encourage a wide range of education workers in participating actively. Another part of my role was to establish and participate in training programmes, conferences, briefings for headteachers, and meetings with Local Authority representatives.

From these discussions I came to realise how development and well-being seemed associated, but that these ideas were ill-defined. In terms of offering services to schools, it was crucial that some common understanding existed about what to expect. When I decided to retire from the national role it was in order to pursue research in this field. Both TSN and WLS supported the study reported here because potentially it would contribute to their work in education. (The ethical relationship with sponsors is reported in Chapter Three.) The theme of development became increasingly important during the course of my research, because it seemed to offer a philosophical rationale for well-being that associated it with fundamentally forward-looking educational concerns, and with the mutualities of informal learning amongst employees - not just with health.

Staff well-being programmes

Well-being programmes have been established nationally by Worklife Support Limited (a social enterprise working closely with the TSN) in numerous English Local Authorities and in other parts of Britain (Health Development Agency 2002).

It is part of any employer's duty of care under regulation and law to protect employees' welfare, including psychosocial health. Schools elect to join well-being programmes, investing in them financially as a positive, collaborative response to the complex challenges associated with work-related stress and the particular demands of working in education (Industrial Relations Services 2001). The main aim is to promote the well-being of all employees, not just teachers, and (through good managerial practice and

whole-school approaches) organisational well-being. Programmes have an inclusive developmental purpose: sufferers from stress are not ‘pathologised’ (Troman and Woods, 2001: 5).

School-based *facilitators* are employees (by no means all of them teachers) who volunteer to champion employees’ well-being through a cyclical, medium/long-term programme. Well-being facilitation is a role, not a job. Initial training for facilitators emphasises that they are not substitutes for counsellors, union representatives, or indeed for leadership teams, and that they are not responsible for their colleagues’ well-being. Since well-being facilitators need active support from senior staff, headteachers are also encouraged to attend the out-of-school training, for which support materials are provided. Facilitators function collaboratively within organisational structures, infusing school practices and policy with well-being thinking. Their roles support well-being in different ways: social and promotional events, organisational adaptation and related meetings, and strategic development including professional development. Thus the role requires trusting inter-personal relations with colleagues. Strategically much care is needed in deciding how to establish the facilitator role when it is a fresh organisational undertaking.

A school’s facilitators lead the internal arrangements to conduct an online, confidential self-review of staff opinion about school climate. The local well-being *co-ordinator*, employed for this purpose, will have received training on a residential course. The co-ordinator presents a commentary upon a school’s data at a meeting with the headteacher and the facilitators, where the implications are explored in the light of the school’s existing knowledge and plans. Similar meetings are held with the staff or groups of staff. The broad purposes are to help identify and broaden strengths, using them to negotiate one or two significant issues identified by the staff. Further self-reviews are conducted in later years. Co-ordinators provide the local training for groups of volunteer facilitators from schools. Well-being programmes emphasise proactive, whole-school development, ‘small steps’, teamwork, and responsible attitudes towards the well-being of self and others in school life.

From this experiential background, the research problem described above began to emerge. The challenge was to identify what research question to ask of this complexity.

From problem to question

Development impels this study, and is a common factor in areas of knowledge from career and other experience. Yet despite its ubiquity in the discourse of education and of social purpose, development remains a vague concept. The current predominance of 'Improvement' in educational discourse and regulation (signifying politicised perceptions of chronic deficit) may be countered by reasserting education's ethical, intellectual, and universal purpose. Therefore this research is timely, because it may help to clarify the nature and educational importance of psychosocial development as a robust, fundamental, yet subtle concept requiring rigorous and unsentimental understanding.

Originally this thesis was to include statistical data from well-being programmes in a form of mixed methods research - a significant quantitative element alongside a schools-based study. Well-being programmes generate rich numerical data about staff opinion on schools as workplaces. These can be analysed nationally, regionally, by Local Authority, and by school, offering sub-categories such as employees' roles, gender, and full-time or part-time status. In some cases, progressive data since 1999 exists. Individual schools may have relatively long histories of repeat surveys, allowing them to compare profiles over time. Thus the earlier research planning envisaged evaluative and statistical elements - for example, 'the better management of organisational change' (Rumsby 2005a: 3) and 'key organisational factors and independent variables associated with the baseline data' (Rumsby 2005b: 24).

However, after several months of reflective study the question was re-cast: 'mixed methods' were inappropriate. A naturalistic research paradigm (assuming that reality is multiple and divergent, and that the researcher and the participants in their natural setting have some mutual influence) fits the study of a psychosocial phenomenon, while supporting the ethic of well-being programmes. However, essentially the decision was not about appropriateness, but identity. A different paradigmatic path would have proved personally inauthentic, and was rejected.

The main research question has been revised progressively through 'question development work' (Punch 2005: 4). Initially a large-scale problematic nexus and some

of its inter-relations were recognised. Next, the research problem-in-context was identified. Finally, from an approach emphasising practitioner issues, strategies and techniques, the focus has become adult development as the process through which these are experienced:

How do employees in schools within Well-Being Programmes perceive and negotiate organisational and individual development?

Review of the academic literature relating to this question will indicate current debates and understanding in these areas, helping to establish key and subsidiary topics for exploration.

Introduction

The research question embraces three broad themes, well-being, development and organisation, providing the basic structure of the literature review. The first section considers conceptions of well-being relative to health, adversity, and associated ideas of human flourishing. The second focuses on development in adults - especially as a social process. The review explores how development is related to terms such as *improvement* and *learning*, and the implications. The third section draws upon the organisation and education literatures concerning schools as organisations that change and develop. The overall approach emphasises employees' perspectives, their well-being and development, and aspects of leadership. Finally, the chapter presents key and subsidiary research questions emerging from the review.

Literature Review Section One: Well-Being

Two conceptual traditions

The notion of human well-being derives from classical antiquity. A simple principle, *hedonism*, was proposed by Aristippus of Cyrene (435-356 BC), wherein ‘...pleasure is the universal and ultimate endeavour of life... His followers... reduced the system to a plea for self-indulgence’ (Catholic Encyclopedia 2009). However, the hedonic pursuit of pleasure was later rejected in the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle (1996 [c334-323 BC]) who theorised *eudaimonia*, or human flourishing (Waterman 1993; Ryan and Deci 2001; de Ruyter 2004; Joseph and Linley 2005). Its literal meaning is ‘having a good guardian spirit’ (Griffin 2007: 140). The *eu* prefix means ‘good’ or ‘well’, while *daimon* signifies a person’s true self or authentic being. Thus, the root meaning of the ancient Greek word resembles the English ‘well-being’ (Catholic Encyclopedia 2009). As a principle for living, Aristotle (1996[ca330 BC]: 11) sought to differentiate the real good, which “perfects a being” (Lang 2003: 83), from the apparent good, which negates that possibility. From this perspective, Aristotle’s view of eudaimonism anticipates ideas of self-actualisation in humanist psychology and existentialist conceptions of authenticity. Ultimately, though the quest for a good life need not be ascetic, the pleasure principle is an insufficient condition. Something further, more enduring, seems necessary. This recognition is connected less with ‘having’ than with ‘being’ (Fromm 1976), although these are not completely oppositional concepts.

The Aristotelian hedonic/eudaimonic distinction has been explored in the modern era. From a psychological perspective, Waterman (1993: 678) identifies the hedonic and eudaimonic perspectives as ‘two conceptions of happiness’, analysing statistical data from two surveys to examine the relationship between hedonic enjoyment and what he labels ‘personal expressiveness’ (Waterman 1993: 678). The studies are limited by the use of relatively small sample sizes (N = 209 and N = 249) of populations drawn from student groups rather than from a wider variety of social occupations and more fully representative age-groupings. Nonetheless, Waterman concludes that the two conceptions are distinct - related, but not mutually exclusive. Notably for the present research, he finds that eudaimonic but not hedonic factors signify achievement in self-

realisation, being linked with overcoming challenges competently through invested effort, rather than with simpler pleasures or placid contentment.

A commentary on the ‘two traditions’ concerning human potentials notes that the scholarship of psychology has divided according to the Aristotelian duality (Ryan and Deci 2001: 143-147). The authors identify that *subjective well-being* (SWB) (Diener 1984; Kahnemann et al 1999) adopts an hedonic perspective, whereas *psychological well-being* (PWB) (Ryff 1989; Ryff and Singer 1998) represents the self-actualising eudaimonic tradition.

The hedonic tradition includes SWB: ‘what makes experiences and life pleasant and unpleasant’ (Kahnemann et al 1999: ix) and “people’s emotional responses, domain satisfactions, and global judgments of life satisfaction” (Diener et al 1999: 277). Subjective WB is properly an area of scientific interest rather than a specific construct - partly as a positive response to the over-emphasis on negative states such as stress within much psychological scholarship (Diener et al 1999: 277). SWB envisages three major constructs: life satisfaction, presence of positive affect, and absence of negative affect, although commonly ‘researchers continue to measure a single aspect of well-being or ill-being’ (Diener, et al 2003: 404). The commitment to SWB has arisen from an acceptance that ‘life satisfaction’ requires more than evading mischance. Nonetheless SWB embraces a spectrum from pleasant to unpleasant affect, thus conceding possible negative states of well-being, mediated by personality. The area includes domains such as family and work, and affective components including joy, elation and contentment.

Other perspectives have been discussed, such as people’s fluctuating, longitudinal evaluations of their well-being, and surveys from different academic sources to compare cross-cultural levels of subjective well-being (Diener et al 2003). Individual differences within societies are the major source of variance in levels of SWB, but cross-cultural and between-nation differences are significant also. Such large-scale work critically requires agreement about precisely what is being measured. Noting that the topic is difficult to synthesise with scientific rigour because many studies measure a single SWB factor, the authors observe that ‘no single conceptual scheme ... unites the field’ (Diener et al 2003: 405). This seems to raise a bigger question for research than those posed in the article: if different perceptions and sources of SWB are found within and

between cultures, and different individual variables are separately tested under the general heading, where is the essence?

The eudaimonic tradition identified by Ryan and Deci (2001) is a broader conception, more explicitly based in developmental psychology and in humanist thought. It asserts the importance of intrinsic motivation for self-determination, fulfilment, and the achievement of values-based goals. For example, six dimensions comprise *psychological well-being* (Ryff and Keyes 1995: 724): self-acceptance; continued personal growth and development; positive relations with others; meaning and purpose in life; environmental mastery; and self-determining autonomy. These constructs both define PWB and predict emotional health (Ryff and Singer 1998). A different model, Self-Determination Theory, includes autonomy, competence and relatedness (Ryan and Deci 2001: 146), while distinguishing autonomy (volition) from independence (non-reliance) (p.160). The authors' needs-based view of eudaimonic well-being differs from that of Ryff and Keyes, whose six factors define it conceptually. To adopt either position is to shift the argument from a somewhat static aggregation of affect, disposition, personality characteristics and contextual factors, towards a focus on human motivation and flourishing, on realising latent potentiality, and on social development - indeed, to emphasise agency.

Scholars in the eudaimonic tradition conceptualise well-being differently from those with a more hedonic perspective (Tiberius 2004). For example, Fromm (1976) equates eudaimonia with well-being. This different epistemological standpoint may require more flexible approaches and methods. When Ryff and Keyes (1995: 727) describe psychological well-being dimensions as 'theory-guided', their empirical work follows Jung's (1933) account of individuation, Rogers' (1963) theorisation of the fully-functioning person, and Maslow's (1968) conception of self-actualisation. Their article advocates use of wide-ranging evidential sources. From this viewpoint well-being becomes less rigidly a set of empirically-established factors measuring the mental state called happiness, but rather, embraces endogenous, future-oriented means of human flourishing. Happiness has been over-simplified in some academic literature (Smith 2009: 570), but happiness is not identical with well-being.

In psychiatry: ‘Happiness and unhappiness are not ends, they are means’ (Nesse 2004: 1337), influencing actions in the interests of our evolutionary genetic make-up. Positive emotions are thought to carry situations forward, ‘finding opportunities rather than threats, and with a strategy of approach rather than avoidance’ (Huppert and Baylis 2004: 1447). Similarly, the ‘broaden and build’ theory of positive emotions describes orientations which extend, rather than restrict, our thought-action responses, leading us to follow ‘novel, creative, and often unscripted paths of thought and action’ (Fredrickson 1998: 304). Functionally these enhanced repertoires build “more accurate cognitive maps of what is good and bad in the environment” (Fredrickson and Losada 2005: 679), thus producing a lasting personal resource.

Theoretical discussions of eudaimonic flourishing emphasise the relationship between well-being and health, rather than between stress and illness. The health/well-being relationship is important to schools undertaking well-being programmes - for example, it may influence rationales or infuse thinking about employees’ potentialities rather than their limitations.

Well-being and health

The preamble to the founding constitution of the World Health Organisation (WHO, 1946) asserts that health is more than the absence of illness: health cannot be defined by what it is not. Academics following eudaimonic lines of inquiry (Drew and Kiecolt-Glaser 1998; Ryan and Deci 2001; Ryff et al 2004; Rau 2006) affirm this principle. By analogy, positive strategies are needed to counter the ‘pathologising’ tendency of much health psychology:

‘For health is not simply the absence of disease, just as happiness is more than the lack of misery, and towering strengths cannot be fostered by putting all of our resources into the remediation of deficits.’ (Huppert, et al 2004: 1332)

In this strand of the literature well-being and health share some features but are not identical (Scheier and Carver 2003: 420-422; Ogden 2004: 262). Indeed, Huppert and Baylis (2004: 1447) refer to ‘well-being and its polar opposite, psychiatric disorder’.

However this assertion is not universally accepted: ‘...well-being is not the opposite of mental illness’ (Ryan and Deci 2001: 142). Irrespective of the polarities debate itself, in both cases well-being (associated specifically with psychosocial functioning), not health, is the preferred term.

Three broad features within the health literature have implications for well-being. Firstly the medical, health promotion, and ‘positive health’ fields show growing awareness of the importance of well-being - whether from hedonic, eudaimonic, or unspecified theoretical perspectives. This stems partly from the biopsychosocial model of health (Engel 1977), which in diagnosis associates biological and genetic with psychological and social factors. Illness is perceived to have multiple causes. A patient’s treatment and recovery likewise involves a combination of factors – including the individual’s own perspectives. People are no longer regarded as passive victims, but consequently share some responsibility in their own treatment and in sustaining recovery (Ogden 2004: 5). Health promotion literature about well-being uses such awareness constructively: valuing human capability, assisting others to use their own insights and to follow their own paths.

Secondly, features of well-being in health promotion are seen as resources or utilities supporting individuals’ recovery from significant illness or injury. For example, a study over six months of Israeli women with pre-diagnosed breast cancer, finds that the best chance of successful post-operative recovery depends more upon what might be termed resourcefulness than upon optimistic or pessimistic beliefs (Gidron et al 2001). Pessimism stems from judgement, and does not necessarily describe mood. Patients prepared to ‘fight’ the condition, whether pessimistically or optimistically, nevertheless maintain their chances of recovery, whereas patients displaying ‘hopelessness’ reduce their own chances (Gidron et al 2001: 289). Resourcefulness (defined here as readiness to take considered, appropriate, timely, and sustained action) seems to be the key factor. Deployment of such resources would involve eudaimonic features identified by Ryff and Keyes (1995) - for example, self-acceptance, environmental mastery and self-determining autonomy.

Thirdly, recent trends in medical and psychological health literature, especially concerning psychoneuroimmunology (PNI), consider well-being features potentially

important in maintaining health, resistance to infection, and capacity to recover effectively from stress, as part of an increasing concern in western society for quality of life (Smith and Baum 2003: 434-436; James 2008: 5; Bunting 2004: 300). A person's psychological state influences the immune system via the nervous system (Ogden 2004: 260), which in turn responds to and generates emotion. Research in PNI indicates the intimacy of mind-body interaction, and the importance of regarding 'the whole person' functionally in context, not merely as a physiological system. However, research concerning psychological influences on bodily systemic functioning 'has been overwhelmingly focused on the negative' (Ryff et al 2004: 1385) so that health psychology 'might perhaps be more aptly termed "illness psychology"' (Marks et al 2000: 22). Also, associations are made between well-being and psychosocial resilience (Ryff and Singer 2003: 22). When applied to workplaces in education, this positive, person-centred approach has informed staff well-being programmes from 1999.

Nonetheless, in the social science and psychological literatures, especially health psychology, (hedonic) SWB seems to be the dominant point of reference rather than (eudaimonic) PWB (Nesse 2004: 1334-1335; Keyes and Haidt 2003: 3). Also, in seeking to avoid deficit approaches, the model of well-being used can sometimes be limited to one testable factor, such as 'optimism' (Scheier and Carver 2003). There are paradigmatic differences in that SWB researchers claim to reflect what subjects *say* determines their levels of life satisfaction (self-reports) before these components can be categorised and analysed statistically - increasingly, in different cultural contexts. The goal is to construct an empirically viable model rather than to provide an expert's version of what comprises well-being (Diener et al 1998). By contrast, PWB researchers claim that because hedonic perspectives are insufficiently grounded in theory, the role of emotions and positive functioning is undervalued: SWB is an inaccurate indicator of healthy living. These epistemological differences matter because they influence evidence-based practice in the caring professions, and interpretation of organisational change, behavioural medicine, and development in psychological literature.

Well-being has a long history but is not field-specific. The theoretical standpoint underlying well-being research may not be clarified. Therefore this study must identify its position clearly. The thesis focuses on temporal, transitional process: individual and organisational development, the fluctuating well-being of employees, and changing,

localised perspectives. Consequently the eudaimonic model seems appropriate: a holistic approach, emphasising forward-looking, longer-term factors, and associated with broadening and building meaningful personal resources endogenously (Fredrickson 2004: 1367).

However, that would be to reduce the distinction to a choice-preference between two implicitly valid alternatives. Hedonic accounts of subjective well-being regard a life as satisfying overall if it brings more positive, pleasure-giving, desirable experiences than negative, unfortunate or undesirable ones. Broadly, positive experience is equated with happiness, negative experience and misfortune with unhappiness. In many cases, that must be the simple truth: to feel lost or lonely in a threatening situation cannot be a joyful experience. But by adopting instead the eudaimonic perspective, this thesis could demonstrate theoretically and from fieldwork that experience of significant, unfortunate, and undesired events does not necessarily subvert well-being. Hence the manner in which individuals and groups experience misfortune may influence outcomes at different organisational levels, and how they are later judged.

The argument is important to this thesis, which must answer questions about aspects of well-being programmes in schools facing multiple, co-existent challenges and where developmental paths must be negotiated. If it can be demonstrated that well-being may exist in adversity, then eudaimonic well-being is not merely preferable but the only valid conception for this research.

Well-being in adversity

Some psychological literature equates well-being with happiness by using the terms interchangeably (Sheldon and Lyubomirsky 2006). But philosophically, eudaimonic well-being cannot be identical with simple happiness (Smith 2009: 572; Sumner 2000: 15; Griffin 1986: 19). The philosophical literature includes moral concern: ‘reaching understanding of certain moral and metaphysical matters - for example ... the value represented by other persons’ (Griffin 2007: 146). From a feminist and political perspective, capability theory describes ‘the struggle of each and every individual for flourishing’ in the context of ‘inequalities that are highly relevant to well-being’

(Nussbaum 2001: 69). Also, in claiming the importance of ‘human flourishing’ in education the point is made: ‘Having a good life does not necessarily imply a high(er) level of well-being’ (de Ruyter 2004: 378). Happiness and well-being (also called ‘the good life’ and ‘prudential value’) are distinguished by using the example of a man strongly motivated to learn more about himself (Brülde 2007: 15; 20). Should this man then find discomforting self-knowledge, his life is not thereby prudentially worse – especially as he may prefer ‘unhappy knowing to happy ignorance’ (Brülde 2007: 25-26).

These different perspectives identify a manner of living more concerned with being than with having, in situations requiring active commitment, where eventualities are unpredictable, and where unhappiness, sacrifice or dissatisfaction are faced.

‘Happiness’ seems too static a notion to encompass well-being’s agency. Even from the hedonic (SWB) perspective, when considering happiness in adversity Shmotkin (2005: 315) concludes that subjective well-being should be re-conceptualised, because it is ‘a dynamic process of pursuing happiness rather than a merely static attribute of being happy or unhappy’. To re-conceptualise hedonic SWB as dynamic is to bring it closer to eudaimonic PWB - but not close enough, since a pursuit in any direction cannot be equated with flourishing authentically. An event causing unhappiness does not necessarily thereby destroy that person’s well-being, for it involves resilience. Indeed, Rogers (1959: 235, cited in Joseph and Linley, 2005: 270) describes his conception of a fully-functioning person as ‘a person-in-process, a person who is continually changing’. Thus the challenge for someone in adversity is not: ‘How can I find happiness?’ but rather, one of resourcefulness: ‘How can I negotiate my way through this troubling time?’

Such negotiation demonstrates the strategy of ‘approach rather than avoidance’ mentioned by Huppert and Baylis (2004: 1447) in the well-being literature. Trauma victims benefit if they confront their circumstance authentically and openly; those who seek to suppress memory in order to avoid how they then feel, are using maladaptive health behaviours. One approach strategy for trauma sufferers is to write about the experience, disclosing what might have been impossible to broach orally. It promotes social integration (for example, through regained confidence) and healthier immune

functioning (Pennebaker 2003: 297-308). In cases where feelings have not been discussed through inhibition or suppression, use of narrative writing seems to facilitate a language of feeling which increases capability for emotional awareness, and hence, emotional expressiveness (Pennebaker 2003: 300). Professionally adequate vocabularies of feeling, and contexts where feelings may be expressed or explored supportively, are areas of interest to schools undertaking well-being programmes.

Recovery from trauma involves eudaimonic features such as approach rather than avoidance, disclosure rather than suppression, and movement towards integration rather than isolation, for which the hedonic aspects of pursuing happiness through distraction would prove inappropriate and ultimately self-defeating (Ogden 2004: 268-271). Where individuals have undergone traumatic, grievous events, persistent threat, or extended periods of stress-related illness, eudaimonic factors help recovery; with time, people can come through their ordeal feeling stronger - not necessarily happier (Scheier and Carver 2003: 419-420). A study of stress in primary education cites teachers from schools stigmatised as failing, who speak of re-inventing themselves, and of being strengthened by stressful experiences; but they do not seek such experience out (Troman and Woods 2001: 57-59).

Reports of positive responses to threatening events, including bereavement, spinal cord injury, rape, and military combat, are analysed by Joseph and Linley (2005: 263-264). The authors believe Organismic Valuing Theory (OVT) (Laszlo 1987) in biological science helps to explain these responses. OVT proposes that human beings are oriented naturally and actively towards integrating experience into a holistic sense of self, and towards integrating themselves within social groups. In psychology and psychotherapy, the theory refers to authenticity in making decisions congruent with self-knowledge, and the forward-looking desire for fulfilment. Within the organismic valuing process trauma sufferers initially search for meaning by comprehending what happened, how, and why. Later, however, individuals try to interpret the significance of what occurred, and the implications for the future. Positive accommodation of such questioning brings strength, resilience and sometimes changes of worldview (Joseph and Linley 2005: 273).

However, these outcomes are not guaranteed. Two alternatives to positive accommodation are negative accommodation (a psychopathological condition), and assimilation (reversion to a fragile and vulnerable pre-traumatic schema) (Joseph and Linley 2005: 268). Much depends upon individual personality and life history, but the availability of social support and the circumstances in which recovery is attempted matter also. The authors emphasise that organismic valuing theory is congruent with (eudaimonic) psychological well-being, but not with (hedonic) subjective perspectives. Firstly their findings support the argument that happiness and well-being are different. Secondly, studies of adversity demonstrate the human capability for self-renewal and ‘growth’ out of circumstances directly threatening psychosocial health (Wethington 2003: 50). Thirdly, the qualities needed and developed through adversity are eudaimonic, not hedonic.

From this part of the review eudaimonic well-being helps to explain how even adverse events can bring positive, resourceful responses which strengthen individuals. Well-being is not blissful stasis, but active, authentic flourishing. For the good life ‘is a process, not a state of being’ (Rogers 2004[1961]: 186). Happiness and pleasure are valued, attractive aspects of human existence, but they neither support recovery from adversity, nor account for individuals’ search for meaningful lives. Happiness cannot do the work of eudaimonic well-being. A study of conceptions of happiness observes that this ‘broader domain of inquiry ... concerns matters of value as much as those of mind’ (Haybron 2000: 217). For this research, well-being theory must encompass unhappy situations and responses to duress alongside the more celebratory, comic, or inspiring moments in school and communal life. The well-being literature shows that only the eudaimonic perspective embraces the range of circumstances in which human beings strive to flourish.

So far, this review has tended to discuss the well-being of individuals. Social psychology distinguishes between public and private selves, but ‘the leading conceptions of adult functioning portray well-being as a primarily private phenomenon’ (Keyes 1998: 121). Since this project concerns development in schools, and workplace interactions, well-being will be reviewed from a social perspective.

Well-Being: a social phenomenon

Despite its contested status (McLaughlin 2009: 353), the foundation idea of well-being appears historically and contemporaneously in different cultural contexts. As review shows, various interpretations of well-being, differently labelled, exist within the same (western) culture. Inter-cultural consensus about a precise meaning is unlikely if: ‘...particularly in a field such as education, the meaning of a concept is distinct for every user’ (Eraut 1994: 29). Indeed, a problem for research in psychology is that its quest for universal behavioural principles may ‘obscure how people actually function’ by producing descriptions of average behaviours, not actual human beings (Molden and Dweck 2006: 192). The authors propose combining pursuit of universals with ‘careful consideration of personal meaning’ (p.192).

One way to resolve this dilemma of universality versus particularity is offered when discussing the need for a formal account of well-being and the philosophical project to provide one. Although different *conceptions* are found in various cultures, the same broad *concept* is seen to persist universally (Tiberius 2004: 304, following Rawls 1971: 5). Similarly, Rawls’ (1996) notion of ‘overlapping consensus’ is used by Nussbaum (2001: 5) to describe universality found amongst difference. This position would seem to entail some central core of definitive ‘truth’ amidst a culturally and historically diverse periphery, whereas the concept/conception duality does not presuppose an orthodox view. The concept/conception distinction better supports the possibility that an interpretation is authentically of its context, thus avoiding the awkwardness of determining at which point it becomes ‘true’. However, both accounts accept that cultural traditions, socially constructed, maintained and continuously adapted, influence how socially-available ideas are interpreted, and that certain ideas recur historically and trans-culturally. Like justice or liberty, well-being is an idea interpreted both socially and individually. Debates about eudaimonic and hedonic traditions are possible only because it is accepted that something broadly identifiable as well-being exists - for ‘recognition of difference only makes sense against a background of a shared world’ (Hinchcliffe 2007: 229).

A philosophical list account of well-being may be based on the notion of informed desire (Griffin, 1986), a set of prudentially valuable desires a person holds, informed by reason and knowledge. Philosophical differences about the list's features may simply reflect the fact that 'there are several notions here which our present vocabulary fails to discriminate but that different ones of us think important to elucidate' (Griffin 2000: 285). This pluralist viewpoint may not sufficiently envisage the possibilities of socially participative engagement where more is at stake than the utilitarian satisfaction of desires. The well-being of individuals acquires new dimensions through their social interaction, founded in mutual human concern (McLaughlin 2008: 364). But to equate well-being with 'prudential values', as Griffin (2000) does, is to imply some prior evaluation on the part of the individual, as if standing back. Indeed, Raz (2000: 210) regards 'self-interest' as an adequate synonym for well-being.

It is more useful to accept that flourishing cannot occur independently of an individual, active subject (de Ruyter 2004: 380). To sense intuitively and unreflectively what does one good, what is spiritually beneficial, need not be irrational or imprudent. Yet well-being depends on more than the self and on personal beliefs: one's well-being is linked with others' (Schwartz and Sharpe 2006: 391). Furthermore, to exclude the mutualities of family, friends, colleagues, places, groups, memories and shared experiences would diminish rather than clarify well-being's significance.

Development theory regards meaning as socially constructed (Zimmerman 2006: 477, citing Blumer 1969). One definition of well-being offers two personal dimensions (life satisfaction and self-determining fulfilment) alongside a third, social dimension - positive, pro-social attitudes towards others; a communitarian sense of identity; and faith in the possibility of social development (New Economics Foundation 2004). Thus, research into development and well-being in schools may consider how well-being becomes culturally meaningful through social interaction, and how capability is enhanced and sustained (Angelides and Ainscow 2000: 146). Such projects entail methodological difficulties because of the situated, temporal and intangible nature of the phenomena concerned (Zimmerman 2006: 468-469; 481-482).

A review of well-being traditions considers potential harm to others when individuals pursue their own ends, asking: 'the extent to which factors that foster individual well-

being can be aligned or made congruent with factors that facilitate wellness at collective or global levels' (Ryan and Deci 2001: 161). It is suggested as an area for future research. But the authors accept both forms of well-being as complementary, which is part of the difficulty here. For positive, strong personal relations with others are conditional factors for psychological well-being. One of the features of Psychological Well-Being (PWB) identified by Ryff and Keyes (1995: 724) from psychological research using their eudaimonic model is 'positive relations with others', and in later work such relations are claimed to mark positive health (Ryff et al 2004: 1387). Also, when describing eudaimonic (organismic self-valuing) aspects of post-traumatic recovery, Joseph and Linley (2005: 271-273) identify patients' need for 'relatedness' as a core requirement. Philosophically, 'deep personal relations' are likewise included in a list account of prudential values (Griffin 1986: 67-68). From such perspectives, to exploit or disregard others may sometimes meet individual, short-term desires without offering longer-term fulfilment.

Betrayals of trust potentially threaten individual well-being, but also may have social consequences (mistrust, feuds, or acts of revenge) for organisational well-being (Elangovan and Shapiro 1998: 549; Kiefer 2002: 59). Their resolution requires careful negotiation. By contrast an empirical, cross-level study of shared values amongst team members in seventy-two Taiwanese corporations finds that interpersonal trust (comprising trustfulness and trustworthiness) based on shared values is a mediating factor in organisational efficiency and in increasing team members' positive perceptions at work (Chou et al 2008: 1736). Indeed, an educational argument is that trust between people helps collectively when facing uncertainty and risk (Bottery 2004: 102). Since people 'live their lives in and through others' (Williamson 2006[1998]: 23), self-understanding is inter-subjective in the struggle for personal meaning (Jarvis 2006: 53).

To find meaning may require both social interaction and personal reflection, in moving from part to whole and back again - the interpretative principle of philosophical hermeneutics (Gadamer 2004), which will feature below. Part of the congruence sought between individual and social well-being lies in interpreting one's situation reflectively, and in recognising how others influence one's sense of identity and worth (White 2007: 26). In health psychology, treatment programmes use the understanding that addictions may be socially learned, while counselling - the talking cure - is permeated with its

social nature (McLeod 2003: 35). But self-reflection relative to social learning characterises eudaimonic, not hedonic action.

Aristotle's notion of *phronesis* is glossed variously as 'practical wisdom' (Schwartz and Sharpe, 2006; Smith 2005: 206-218); 'practical reason' (Griffin 1986: 56; Nussbaum 2001: 79); 'practical knowledge' (Eraut 1994: 15); 'moral knowledge' and 'thoughtful reflection' (Gadamer 2004: 312; 319); and 'practical wisdom or reflective decision-making' (de Ruyter 2004: 385). *Phronesis* provides an operational basis for an interactional view of well-being by capturing, for example, aspects of teaching whose knowledge is 'expressed only in practice and learned only through experience with practice' (Eraut 1994: 42). The education literature of narrative inquiry labels teachers' close association of professional identity with experience as 'personal practical knowledge' (Clandinin and Connelly 2000: 3). But the exercise of judgement in workplace practice is sometimes 'taken for granted' – 'banished' as 'educationally uninteresting' (Hager 2004: 245).

In development studies, a version of the pragmatist stance asserts that human capabilities include making plans for one's life, and fundamentally, of having the practical scope to do so (Nussbaum 2001: 82). Paternalistic educational assumptions about development fail because: 'humans only flourish if they can subscribe to the meaning they believe is right' (de Ruyter 2004: 388). Within the 'inescapable' ethical dimension of social relations at work, people accept responsibility in relation to purpose (Hinchcliffe 2004: 536).

Since Aristotle believed human strengths or virtues should be regarded holistically rather than separately, 'practical wisdom' has social relevance in synthesising strengths, and in contributing to human well-being (Schwartz and Sharpe 2006: 380-381). Many practical problems are intractable to 'logical argument and evidence alone' (Eraut 1999: 122). Hence in the social contexts of schools human well-being can prosper through adaptive, purposeful synthesis of Aristotelian virtues, exercised with judgement. It is the natural territory, the developmental ground, of well-being programmes.

From the literature a working definition of well-being now becomes possible:

Well-being is an active, culturally mediated, temporally fluctuating, biopsychosocial state of an individual or group, associated with meaningfulness and purpose in life. It comprises eudaimonic (self-determining), personal resources and capabilities for human flourishing, such as relatedness to others, positive emotions and resilience, and self-acceptance. Practical judgement involving values, experience and intuition guides and synthesises these resources dynamically.

Because well-being emphasises being, it contributes to and draws from existential process. That sense of dynamically changing presence, which Heidegger (2007 [1927]: 28-64) called *Dasein* ('being-there'), is not captured by mental state theory. For the 'being' element in this idea prefigures inevitable transitions with time - from one state of mind or mood to another, but also, from one situated experience to another, from one experiential understanding to another, amid fluctuating fortunes. The nature of human being requires human interpretation. Eudaimonic well-being is thus nourished by becoming - an adaptive search for meaning, seeking to realise potentiality in a world of continuous, inter-subjective presence, journeying between past and future horizons. This conception has affinities with Dewey's (1981[1916]) idea of 'growth', and with processual theories of learning. Moreover the search for meaning is the germ of development theory, associating human well-being with freedom of capability in economic development (Sen 1999: 288), with psychosocial and societal development (Marks and Shah 2005: 503-531), and with physical development (Barker, D.J.P, 2005: 59-73). Therefore the literature on *development* is reviewed below.

Literature Review Section Two: The concept of development and its importance in schools

The previous section of the literature review highlighted divergent but not mutually exclusive perspectives on well-being. Only eudaimonic well-being supports the human search to fulfil potentiality, and to discover meaning in adverse as well as propitious circumstances. However, although eudaimonic well-being is linked with processes of developmental change and learning, it is not synonymous with development since it describes a continuous, fluctuating state of being within personal and social systems, whereas development is a process of becoming.

This section of the review considers development conceptually in various relevant fields of enquiry. Since adults and their workplaces tend to feature prominently as subjects, these offer fresh perspectives.

Difficulties in conceptualising development

Development is a process of ‘gradual unfolding, a bringing into fuller view’ (Oxford English Dictionary (OED) 2008) - the opposite of bundled enveloping. Development also carries a quasi-concrete meaning, referring to the fact or finished state of its outcome. While *a development* may be either welcome or unwelcome (i.e. the term is not unconditionally positive), it is development as *process* which matters substantively here. Processual development is accorded value or sets of values, according to context, but is not of itself value-laden. Other nuances of development’s meaning have arisen (OED 2008): evolutionary latency and the production of a natural force; germination; the bringing out of latent capabilities; putting land and the physical environment to use; and transition from lesser to greater maturity or sophistication of organisms, structures or systems. With the exception of land use, there is a discernible element of endogeneity in these basic meanings of development: a sense of something’s becoming itself, of coherence throughout a recognisable sequence, and of gathering forcefulness or inner power.

Yet root meanings begin losing their distinctiveness when terms are bracketed, as in ‘training and development’ (Hay 2006: 291); ‘development and training’ (Holm 2007: 38); ‘change and development’ (Engeström 2004: 150); ‘development and change’ (Millward 2005: 15; Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 510); ‘expansion and development’ (Jarvis 2006: 79); ‘maintenance and development’ (Clarke 2000: 38); ‘research and development’ (Smith and Spurling 1999: 6-7); ‘learning and development’ (Yandell and Turvey 2007: 533); and ‘growth and development’ (Wethington 2003: 38; Embleton Tudor et al 2004: 243; Fink 2005: 130; Russell 2007: 374). The initial purpose in pairing such ideas may be to suggest a broad territory across kindred terms, but the outcome can sometimes be the opposite: ‘training and development – usually of interest in *its* own right’ (Tharenou 2001: 86 [emphasis added]).

In organisational vocabularies, the terms development and appraisal are ‘often used synonymously’ (Millward 2005: 134). Development seems adhesive - easily associated with other terms as an imprecise extension of their meaning. Yet development is not an extension of education, but its core function (Glatter 2004: 216). ‘The educational enterprise has diverse developmental aims’ (Bandura 2002: 4-5), interweaving cognitive, self-regulatory, valuational, social, affective and performance-related areas. The risk to education is that whatever understanding exists about the nature of development may be decanted selectively into adjacent conceptual territory, for other purposes, leaving its heartland relatively unexplored. Thus when a clear understanding of development would prove contextually useful, its essence escapes.

Examples of this protean quality appear in different fields. Counsellors offering occupational therapy question: ‘how to conceptualise development and how one can tell whether it is really happening’ (Millward 2005: 305). It has become ‘one of the key issues for future work’ (p.305). By contrast, in development studies the term may be a ‘buzzword’ that needs ‘debunking’ because of its mischievous use within ‘a body of beliefs ... difficult to shatter’, thus thwarting the developmental enterprise (Rist 2007: 490). However, the apparent contrast between these two positions is actually rhetorical: debunking development ‘means that we must define it properly - relying on actual social practices, rather than wishful thinking’ (Rist 2007: 490). In education, ‘the socially constructed nature of the concept of development’ has been insufficiently recognized (Matusov et al 2007:420-421). The authors note ironically that:

‘When the concept of development is acknowledged in education, it is often represented as a set of constraints for pedagogical actions.’ (Matusov et al 2007: 406)

Thus from three different fields of study, scholars call for better conceptual analysis of development.

This elusiveness seems attributable to three factors: development’s intangibility as a process of temporal human becoming, which presents empirical difficulties; the semantic dualism of its usage as a term; and consequently, the prevalence of metaphors such as ‘growth’ to represent development despite their limited descriptive capacity. Together, these factors obscure rather than clarify meaning. The first two are considered below. Metaphorical ‘growth’ is explored later (pp.48-50).

Firstly, development is conceptually elusive because it is a process (Schaffer 2006: 6) located intangibly within an individual’s interpretation of experience - perhaps not articulated as an idea, but rather (being grounded experientially) suggesting some further departure or potentiality. Hence it is about becoming. Advertisements such as: ‘Ever thought *There’s more to me?*’ The Open University (2008) appeal to this developmental self-awareness in adults. Individuals, groups, organisations, communities and societies engage in development processes, and can be assisted in doing so (McLeod 2003: 12-13). Unfolding indeterminately from within, development is therefore distinct from instrumental change such as substitution, adjustment, or programmed sequence. Unlike instrumental change, developmental becoming is without end - it ‘has no term’ (Deleuze and Guattari 2004[1987]: 262) - while interacting reciprocally with culture or society (Nelson-Jones 2006[1986]: 8).

In organisation studies, process may involve ‘the progression (i.e. the order and sequence) of events in an organizational entity’s existence over time’ (Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 512), or a ‘connected series of actions attributable to one or more parts of an organizational system, occurring over time’ (Stickland 1998: 77). This raises interpretative questions: how these events are thought to be connected, by whom, in what context and with what attributed significance.

The third section of this literature review will consider school organisations as *complex* adaptive systems (Axelrod and Cohen 1999: 7-8) where actions have unpredictable outcomes, rather than as *complicated* systems that are theoretically capable of ‘exact description’ (Cilliers 1999: 3). To acknowledge that schools have organisational histories partly defining how they develop, and that apparent similarities between schools represent temporary alignments of shifting, multiple processes, exposes the reductiveness of emotive labels such as ‘cruising’ or ‘strolling’ schools (Fink 2005: 154-155; Stoll and Fink 1996) when studying effectiveness and improvement. By contrast an ontology of *becoming* emphasises ‘movement, process and emergence’ because organisation, stability and order are ‘exceptional states’ (Chia 1999: 215; 210).

In developmental psychology, life-span development is ‘not haphazard, not temporary and not easily reversible’ (Schaffer 2006: 5). Neither pre-determined nor random, development escapes simple categorisation. Furthermore, developmental process may unfold at varying rates (Weightman 2004: 7) over long periods, so that in psychosocial terms: ‘Developmental ideas, even more than most, require longitudinal examination’ (Arnold 2001: 45). Process boundaries are rarely distinct, whether beginnings, endings or lateral limits, so that a process of learning has the capacity for ‘expansive boundary-crossing’ (Engeström 2004: 152). Indeed ‘dissolution of the boundaries’ of knowledge (Yandell and Turvey 2007: 548) may occur in pedagogical interactions - the students themselves being agents in a teacher’s development, along with their own. The relationship between learning and development is paradoxically reflexive (Jarvis 2006: 79-81). Indeed, the close processual association between them is asserted from various international perspectives in educational, organisational and international development studies: human life-span (Taylor 2007: 174-175), human development (Vygotsky 1978: 90; Stojanov 2007: 76; Levykh 2008: 83), and feminist political philosophy (Nussbaum 2001: 78-79).

Development is also conceptually difficult because of semantic dualism. In the following passage, for example, Nussbaum seems to objectify the term, development:

‘Development is itself an evaluative concept: it implies a progression from one situation to another that is (allegedly) in some ways better or more complete. Sometimes this issue of evaluation is ignored.’ (Nussbaum 2006[1993]: 232)

Development becomes an external object of contemplation, no longer unfolding but suspended (outside of time) at the perceived completion of a stage or transition. Observation that a process has ended successfully itself constitutes a (double) judgement. The courtroom connotation of ‘allegedly’ suggests that impartial scrutiny of all available evidence is needed, thus reinforcing the externalised perspective. But judgements-between are needed only if development is conceived as staged, instrumental improvement. By observing that evaluation sometimes remains unexplored, Nussbaum suggests further that the concept of development is ill understood rather than unremarkable. This implies that scholars should distinguish whether the subject is ‘a development’, a distanced judgment of outcome, or whether it is ‘development’, an existential, unfolding process which includes oneself reflectively and interpretatively, rather than prudentially. Similarly, the intransitive verb ‘to develop’ (suggesting endogeneity) is distinguishable from the transitive ‘to develop somebody or something’ (suggesting instrumentalism). Such linguistic differences carry major implications for the ethics of development - whether negotiated internationally, in organisations, or individually.

Classically development theory in education defends the state of immaturity (childhood) from adult prejudice, linking development with psychosocial and physical growth (Dewey 1981[1916]: 483-493). From this perspective, the instrumental view of ‘growth as *having* an end, rather than *being* an end,’ is flawed (Dewey 1981[1916]: 492) because it fails to recognise that human beings change constantly, seeking developmental goals throughout their lives. Thus when Dewey (1981[1916]: 494) writes: ‘Education is all one with growing: it has no end beyond itself,’ he puts each individual at its developmental centre: education has useful applications, but essentially it is not ‘for’ something else. His thinking anticipates theorising of human agency, self-education (Gadamer 2001) and self-renewal (Bandura 2002), presaging the continuing struggles within development studies, outlined below. Two further points from Dewey’s analysis are that (biopsychosocial) growth does not end with physical maturity because it is a human need, beyond desires; and that ‘developing, growing, is life’ (1981[1916]:

491). Hence in organisations employees engage actively in their development: leadership is influential rather than dispensatory. Secondly, Dewey implies that development involves personal and social meaning-making.

In contemporary life, significant aspects of this developmental perspective upon education remain contested on behalf of individuals and of entire populations. These widespread debates concern: how to negotiate developmental activity, given the lack of cohesive theory (Esteve 2007[1992]: 6-25); the ethics of authentic action and responsibility for development, especially of capability when power is imbalanced (Ellerman 2006: 100-120); and the nature of adults' learning relative to their own and others' development (Jarvis 2006: 66-67). Although these issues are inter-woven, the next two sub-sections will separate two broad strands - the first concerned with learning and action, the second with the ethics of development, capability and power.

Learning, transformation, and human agency in development

Human psychosocial development is an unfolding process of change in each individual, over time (Merriam 2004: 60): reflection, rather than knowledge acquisition, establishes it through interpreted experience (Schön 2009[1991/1983]: 50; Eraut 1994: 10-11; Hager 2004a: 244-248). However, individual development occurs in multiple social contexts - classically exemplified by observation of children's cognitive learning and linguistic development (Vygotsky 1978). Under guidance, social experiences influence elements of children's learning. Cognition, 'what children can do' (Vygotsky, 1978: 85), is enhanced through guided social interaction relative to their progress when working alone, an area of conceived difference known as the zone of proximal development. Development thus follows from learning, which is socially constructed. In the field of adult education, 'the direction of this change is almost always presented as positive and growth oriented' (Merriam 2004: 60). Zones of proximal development at work are conceived as 'collective, rather than individual, phenomena' (Lave 1996: 13, cited in Avis 2007: 174).

The image of a reachable territory of latent rather than sequenced capability is useful because it suggests developmental potentiality in adult social situations, whether or not within formal educational contexts, and the responsibility of discretionary choice. That learning and development may be temporally separate is significant because it raises questions of individual and collective agency: how to interpret, use, or store what has been learned, how such understanding affects existing beliefs, values and knowledge, and what to do consequently. Thus, learning may guide but not determine future action. Learning facilitates, rather than constitutes, development, for (compared with basic capabilities) ‘Developmental capabilities ... require that some kind of learning process is undertaken, whether individually or collectively’ (Hinchcliffe 2007: 223). Use here of ‘undertaken’ (rather than, say, ‘followed’) indicates active and possibly informal engagement. An active learning process can be ‘transformative’ of an adult’s cognitive frame of reference - the structure of assumptions used to understand experience (Mezirow 1997: 5).

Transformative learning constructs ‘a new meaning and perspective’ (Mezirow 1991: 11) relative to an adult’s existing knowledge and experience, and ‘develops autonomous thinking’ (Mezirow 1997: 5). Transformations are not necessarily dramatic or visionary epiphanies (Moon 1999: 139; Erickson 2007: 66), but offer fresh capability from critical reflection upon previous learning and existing knowledge. That transformative learning is a process, not an event, is emphasised in identifying phases of meaning-making: a disorienting dilemma, self-examination involving feelings, critical assessment of assumptions, recognising that others have such experiences, exploring options for action, planning, preparing, trying out new roles, building self-confidence and competence, and reintegrating the new perspective (Mezirow 2000: 22). Also, transformative learning need not spring from one event, but from cumulative occurrences (Russell 2007: 364).

The active self may engage in various forms of reflection: content reflection (describing the problem), process reflection (concerning ways of solving the problem), and premise reflection (about underlying assumptions) (Mezirow 1991: 117). In adult education three forms of critical reflection have been distinguished: *content* reflection is based on existing knowledge and beliefs, but does not question their validity; *process* reflection considers validity from the evaluative perspective of effectiveness; and *premise*

reflection considers validity by questioning former beliefs (Kreber 2004: 33). Thus a hierarchy of cognitive demand is suggested, within which only premise reflection can transform existing frames of reference. The pragmatic orientation of transformational learning has been emphasised by Mezirow in dialogue with Dirkx, when referring to '*practical reasoning* – reason directed towards action rather than figuring how the facts stand' (Dirkx et al 2006: 125, authors' italics).

Academic interest in transformative learning has grown, according to a survey of forty-one peer-reviewed journal studies excluding conceptual articles (Taylor 2007). Having conducted an initial survey of the literature previously (Taylor 1998), he is able to observe trends. Recent research using the concept of transformative learning has tended to shift focus from identifying occurrences in various settings towards identifying which factors shape it, and ways to nourish them educationally (Taylor 2007: 185).

In some ways, transformative learning is an appropriate epistemological model for development. It refers to adult learning, emphasising individual agency, adaptiveness and process, meaning-making and reflection - all associated with the account of development so far presented. Through its currency and influence in adult education theory (Taylor 2007: 173 and 189; Erickson 2007: 63), transformative learning could add to this thesis a body of knowledge initiated within education, an established core conceptual vocabulary, and fields of study identifiable as 'pure' (adult education) and 'applied' (transformative learning at work, for example). By contrast the locus in *development* is indistinct: diverse traditions embody different conceptions of, and assumptions about, the core idea. Moreover in some fields development discourse is relatively imprecise, partly because it is also an everyday term. Metaphors used commonly to denote development processes reveal variant - indeed contradictory - epistemological assumptions (discussed below). Nonetheless, although transformative learning theory matches some aspects of development, it does not fit others.

If transformative learning is exclusively an adult phenomenon, then it cannot also be 'comprehensive ... and universal' (Mezirow 1994: 222). The argument rests on a conception of human development equating the process with that of learning (Mezirow 1994: 228), which is phased (p.230). It does not explain how this transformative capability is produced, if not from within a person (whether adult or child) who has

essayed it with varying success over time. In other words, how is transformative learning learned? Mezirow's theory seems not to acknowledge sufficiently the role of prior, experiential learning and practised agency. For example, a study of intuitive understanding in nursing finds that its use is not 'related solely to prior practice as a nurse; it is related to prior experiences with intuition as well' (Ruth-Sahd and Tisdell 2007: 134-135).

Thus far, the literature on development indicates a lifespan of continuous, not necessarily beneficial, change and dynamic process. It does not align with a view of learning that excludes childhood and immaturity. Despite promoting the idea that 'perspective transformation [is] the central process of adult development' (Mezirow 1991: 155, my insert), Mezirow's position appears inconsistent when he asserts that transformations need not involve critical reflection, and may occur through 'mindless assimilation' (Mezirow 2000: 21, cited in Merriam 2004: 66). For being-in-the-world is a continuous activity of present mind: the countless, small transformative occurrences to which Mezirow alludes may happen swiftly and unpredictably, in ways beyond rational control, but never mindlessly. If mind is embodied and we are indeed 'condemned to meaning' (Merleau-Ponty 2005[1945]: xxii), then an integrative account of 'knowing, acting and being' is needed which can 'address and encompass the whole person' (Barnacle 2009: 26).

From feminist and emancipatory perspectives, transformative learning theory is criticised because it cannot apply to women in crisis who are in a 'constant state of fragmentation', whereas the pedagogy 'assumes a unified self' (Kilgore and Bloom 2002: 131, cited in Taylor 2007:185). In its relative neglect of selfhood and of the extra-rational, spiritual aspects of human being, Mezirow's 'metacognitive application of critical thinking', as summarised in dialogue with Dirkx (Dirkx et al 2007: 124), seems incomplete. Dirkx, emphasising the relationship between inner worlds of the self and the world of objective experience (pp. 127-128), advocates 'nurturing soul as the aim of education' (p.128), hesitating to apply the term, transformative learning, to what he describes (p.126). Finally, by over-emphasising rationalist autonomy the cognitive account undervalues ways in which new understanding is created between people 'embedded in social and economic relations', and 'how these relations connect the personal and the social' (Lange 2004: 123).

A more socially, culturally and politically inclusive view of learning and development would seek psychological integration and explore developmental continuities and inter-relations, valuing the psychosocial and affective aspects of human functioning (Greene 2005: 166; Erickson 2007) alongside deductive reasoning and analysis throughout life (Kegan 2000: 52). For example, work-related learning involves complex, sometimes contradictory, and often gendered uses of time - especially time management and the emotional effects of conflicting demands between family, work and leisure (Holm 2007: 27-29). Further, work-related learning is both formal and informal. It may happen outside working hours and settings - not just through individuals' activity, but construed between individuals and groups, as in communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Yandell and Turvey 2007). Knowledge is transferred informally between situations at work, facilitating further learning continuously in experience (Hager 2004b: 530-531).

Individuals develop by 'sharing experience and ideas with others involved in the same pursuit' (Newell et al 2002: 119). Because learning is voluntary, it 'takes place without teaching' (Coffield 2000: 2). Transformation of personal lives and organisational practices involves engagement with instability, requiring us 'to learn new forms of activity which are not yet there' and which are 'literally learned as they are created' (Engeström 2004: 151). Accompanying such engagement is an awareness that perceived personal, social and political realities can be changed - a process of 'conscientization' (Freire: 1972). In positive psychology, 'turning-points' in the life-course refer to self-perceptions of adaptive psychological change: 'how people make meaning of their lives through the experience of challenge and stress' (Wethington 2003: 38), whether pleasant or unpleasant experiences.

This dynamic view of self-determining (Ryan and Deci 2001) adult learning, which throughout life 'creates and recreates the self' (Beattie et al 2007: 119), brings a similarly active perspective upon workplace development. From this viewpoint, development becomes 'local qualitative reorganization of activity systems, attempting to resolve their inner contradictions', an unpredictable process where 'the direction of development is an issue of local negotiation and struggle' (Engeström 2004: 156). Such negotiation may be formal (between parties seeking agreement) or informal (processes of transition rather than of transformation). Philosophically, the pathway of new

thinking is ‘traced out by the crossing to the other beginning’ that remains ‘an intimation, though already decisive’ (Heidegger 1999: 3). Transition, even where the outcome is thought worthwhile, ‘starts with an ending’ (Bridges 2003[1995]: 7), a letting-go of the familiar, before crossing a ‘neutral zone’ to an as yet unclear ‘new beginning’ (Bridges 2003[1995]: 5).

A process of transition is experienced emotionally as well as cognitively - for example, negotiating the first full year of teaching having reached qualified status (Yandell and Turvey 2007: 544). Because transitions take time, their ‘phases’ are themselves better regarded as processes that may occur concurrently (Bridges 2003[1995]: 9).

Development - active, non-linear and indeterminate - involves contextual negotiation. Thus the exercise of power in development contexts must be reviewed.

Development ethics: power, capability and autonomy

The perception of others’ presence in our existence, and of our presence in theirs, is a source of ethical self-questioning (Jarvis 2006: 198-199), which ‘addresses each person uniquely’ (Van Manen 2005: 224). It involves judgments and choices about action concerning others, given many valued interests, and recognition that completely independent action harms what protects us (Winch 2005: 65-68). Interdependence implies some form of negotiation, setting aside narrow self-interest in favour of a desired mutuality. The field of development studies frequently considers negotiation on a grand scale - the exercise of power and mediation of change in supra-national arenas - yet, for this thesis, the principles and discourse of development thus conceived may also apply in local, organisational contexts such as schools. This part of the literature review, therefore, examines how development studies may inform study of the phenomenon in educational settings, since ‘educational and developmental organizations face very similar pressures’ (Ellerman 2006: 124). Development features may appear more prominent from less familiar perspectives. Furthermore, it may be possible to learn from others’ mistakes:

‘We have been led astray by economic simplifications, which have shown how to maximize that quantifiable thing - wealth - while ignoring the final goal - well-being - that wealth must serve if it is to have human value.’ (Goodwin 2006: viii)

In contexts of grossly inequitable, relative economic and political power, the desire to help others leads to the ‘classic development dilemma - how can you help people become self-sufficient?’ (Dichter 2003: 271 cited in Ellerman 2006: 4). It is also an educational question, presenting the archetypal paradox of teaching and of education itself. Education and international human development share common interests (for example, education programmes in health, social emancipation, and agriculture). However, the paradox of ‘helping people help themselves’ (Ellerman 2006) emphasises the complexities of development assistance, where increasingly it is recognised that ‘economic growth is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for development’ (Desai and Potter 2002: 2). This viewpoint questions the worth and sustainability of schemes to create wealth without redistribution, and the different conceptions of development underlying the negotiations, for ‘economic growth is not the same as economic development’ (Thirlwall 2002: 44).

Critiques of traditional, economics-based approaches to development use such distinctions, rejecting paternalistic practices that undermine autonomy and preserve inequities *through* the provision itself (Nussbaum 2006: 1314). A fundamental critique of capitalism lies in the claim that economic growth ‘takes place only at the expense of either the environment or human beings’ (Rist 2007: 489), and potentially in questioning: ‘What is taken for granted when the term *development* is used? (Sidaway 2002: 18).

In development studies it has become untenable simply to equate the core concept with ‘growth’; yet in education literature this equivalence has been commonly assumed (Dewey 1981[1916]: 483-493); Dweck 2000: 154; Merriam 2004: 60; Reeves et al 2005: 255; Tsiakkios 2005: 2; Pedder 2006: 186; and Beattie et al 2007: 121; 127; 132). Development in school employees, and in schools themselves, is unlikely to be facilitated when evoked by an untheorised figurative allusion. The lesson from development studies is that time, effort and money are expended wastefully when such

development goals as ‘the real and psychological well-being of people’ are omitted (Thirlwall 2002: 44).

Seeking to redress this conceptual imbalance in development economics, the notion of a *capability space* is proposed (Sen 1999: 74), reminiscent of the *zone of proximal development* (Vygotsky 1978), which is also ‘future-oriented’ (Levykh 2008: 90). The capability space concerns the possibilities for functioning in a ‘fully human’ way (Nussbaum 2001: 71). Within it, people’s quality of life can be compared, and particularly ‘what they are actually able to do or be’ (Nussbaum, 2001: 12), rather than their life satisfaction or their relative wealth, which are more traditionally the focus of utilitarian welfare economics. Indeed Sen’s capability approach examines how communal and national resources are actually distributed amongst individuals, and with what capability of use, instead of calculating average living standards from aggregate figures (Sen 1999: 54-86). Accordingly, development is ‘a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy’ (p.3).

By emphasising freedom of opportunity, the capability approach attends to the possibilities in human agency and to the moral basis for individuals’ having the means to choose: ‘the central feature of well-being is the ability to achieve valuable functionings’ (Sen 1985: 197). If equalities of capability and human development are ‘the very goal of public action’, then the prevailing economic discourse of human capital theory is challenged (Zimmerman 2006: 472). Thus, capability cannot be construed as skills to be ‘developed’ in order to promote economic competitiveness and enable people to obtain jobs (Zimmerman 2006: 472). Sen’s capability approach to human well-being involves multiple functionings rather than a single utility such as happiness (Clark 2005: 1360), shifting the balance of consideration from economic rationalism towards an ethical concern for people in their own right. Thus, poverty signifies deprivation of capability (Sen 1999: 87-110).

However, Sen’s presentation of individual human agency characteristically refers to enlarged opportunities for choice, bringing Gasper (2002: 446) to observe that the capability approach lacks a fully articulated social dimension, that its ‘concept of well-being remains underdeveloped ... because the concept of personhood is underdeveloped too’ (Gasper 2002: 450). Hence capability itself remains a relatively abstract description

of ‘a kind of freedom’ (Sen 1999: 75). From a sociological perspective, ‘interactions in Sen’s framework’ and ‘processes in the sense of temporal dynamics’ are lacking (Zimmerman 2006: 475; 480).

Such conceptual gaps in Sen’s development economics are narrowed by the list of human capabilities offered in Nussbaum’s (2001) feminist, philosophical and political analysis. Human functional capabilities are outlined within broad areas: ‘bodily health’, or ‘senses, imagination and thought’ (p.78). In the latter case, for example, a fully human ability to use the senses would be ‘informed and cultivated by an adequate education’ (p.78). The capabilities are categorised as *basic* (innate but rudimentary), *internal* (states developed satisfactorily to the person concerned) and *combined* (internal capabilities with external facilitating conditions) (Nussbaum 2001: 84-85).

For Nussbaum, capabilities are universal but locally interpreted – for example, where family circumstances, attitudes and values are roundly portrayed and individual voices are heard. The term ‘well-being’ she specifically eschews because its ‘Utilitarian associations’ may suggest to readers that it does ‘not involve active doing and being’ (Nussbaum 2001: 14). However, because each person is an end, human agency is emphasised in ‘the struggle of each and every individual for flourishing’ (Nussbaum 2001: 69), although supported by political action through policy.

The political connotations of *struggle* resonate with similar references in education to the struggle for development (Levykh 2008: 87 and 100) based on Vygotsky’s studies of child development (Vygotsky 1978) and the dialectical process. To focus on ‘capability, not functioning,’ as ‘the appropriate political goal’ (Nussbaum 2001: 87) is significant for this thesis, clarifying that the struggle is to achieve the necessary *facility* for development (within the capability space), whence each person has freedoms, and the scope to accept responsibility for following them through. From a global, feminist perspective Nussbaum (2001: 297) asserts that achieving such facility need not thereby face women with a choice between love of family or enhancement of capability, for ‘people love best when they are in other respects flourishing, not when they are exhausted, or struggling to make ends meet’. However, gendered issues of work/life balance and family life in Europe and America suggest a different conclusion (Bunting 2004: 208-229). In English education, where the workforce consists largely of women,

the demands of 'greedy work' (Gronn 2003: 147-156) have also been elucidated. Thus, in denying that work and family demands are necessarily dichotomous, Nussbaum (2001: 105) also acknowledges that policy and guidance to promote development (maintained through evaluation) must be of the broadest kind: development processes require local negotiation.

In development studies, local negotiation involves participation and autonomy, and means of achieving them, where power is imbalanced: 'Any discussion of participation is discussion of politics and the exercise of power' (Desai 2002: 120). For example, when listing the problems of participatory development, Mohan (2002: 53) emphasises 'tokenism' – initiatives whose participatory rhetoric offers those engaged in them few opportunities for self-determination. Grassroots action which leaves 'important [social and political] structures untouched' (Mohan 2002: 53, my insertion) cannot change the underlying causes of disenfranchisement, and can be dispiriting. These issues within development studies - participation, relative power to effect change, perceptions of injustice, and the drive for greater autonomy - are reflected in organisational studies of the workplace. Here, opportunities for development are characteristically negotiated between individuals across hierarchical levels. In terms of career management, for example: 'Tensions often exist between employee and organizational interests' (Arnold 2001: 36).

Organisationally, establishing the broad conditions for development may be regarded partly as a form of procedural justice, while the particular, relative outcomes perceived by individuals constitute distributive justice (Cropanzano and Greenberg 2001: 245). A study of organisational leadership distinguishes interactional justice as a third form, describing how organisational leadership interacts with employees (for example, using respectful treatment) when following fair procedures before a company takeover) (Flaherty and Moss 2007: 2550). In these circumstances, the leadership is the more active partner. The aim is not to facilitate development of individuals, but to foster compliance with the merger. By contrast, debates within development studies highlight the prospects for those with the least power in a negotiation, and their needs for autonomous development. In that sense, the idea of capability space may discomfort the powerful.

Less discomfort might follow if autonomous development were better understood. For example, well-being scholarship suffers from ‘constant confusion’ of autonomy (self-determining volition) with independence (separate non-reliance) (Ryan and Deci 2001: 160). Paradoxically, a person’s autonomous, agentic and expansive development (Fuller and Unwin 2004: 132-133) across a notional space of capability involves a form of on-going, systemic negotiation. Such space is also socially maintained within larger, more powerful systems having other such notional spaces (Senge 2000: 16-17), and which are themselves capable of adaptive (self-organising) development (Cilliers 1998: 90). Self-determination does not entail isolationist disregard for others (Ryan and Deci 2001: 160). The social negotiation of autonomous development concerns the capability to assume a degree of direction over one’s own life, and purposeful action to realise at least part of its potentiality. At work, this places some moral obligation on members of a community of practice to participate (Lohman 2005: 524), especially in knowledge-intensive organisations where employees expect ‘considerable autonomy’, and where management’s role is to ‘provide conditions that will facilitate knowledge work’ (Newell et al 2002: 27).

Sustainability is a further aspect of development studies relevant to this thesis. Development implies a long-term perspective: a continuously unfolding capability whose present manifestation has no ultimate permanence. People seeking to realise capability anticipate possible futures by negotiating in the present. As the Brundtland Commission recognised, this poses an ethical challenge to facilitative management:

‘Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.’
(World Commission on Economic Development [WCED] 1987: 43, cited in Scoones 2007: 590)

Later debates about sustainable development have involved ‘complex and changing environmental dynamics’ which influence ‘human livelihoods and well-being’ (Scoones 2007: 593) globally and locally. Within and beyond education, critics of sustainable development argue that neo-liberal policies have framed globalisation ‘in terms of markets and opportunities for growth’, so that power is transferred ‘away from citizens to corporate elites’ (Jickling and Wals 2008: 1); the ‘needs’ mentioned by the

Brundtland Commission (WCED 1987: 43) have been interpreted as corporate needs. The Millennium Development Goals (UN 2000) may be ‘an unwarranted and unilateral narrowing down of the development agenda’ (Saith 2006: 1170). A social studies perspective is that development goals have begun determining research agendas (through corporate sponsorship and content specification) and the discourse used to consider human development: ‘what concepts to use, and how to think about and do development’ (Saith 2006: 1183). The neo-liberal project is to privatise further the public sector while presenting the private sector as ‘essential for public well-being’ (Jickling and Wals 2008: 2) in the belief that ‘consumption and market forces can meet human needs of almost every kind’ (James 2008: 120). Indeed, *sustainable development* may represent a rhetorical gloss upon economic growth (Jickling and Wals 2008: 14).

These criticisms contrast sharply with earlier ideas of ‘sustainability being built ... through local initiatives by local governments, community groups, and citizens’ (Scoones, 2007: 591, citing Selman 1998). Yet they demonstrate education’s political importance in providing cultural environments which model precisely those communitarian values whereby societies are sustained (Wooltorton 2004: 599). As an idea, *sustainable development* retains political potency through its broad, symbolic appeal ‘of aspiration, vision, and normative commitment’ (Scoones 2007: 594), but the deeper issue concerns what, precisely, is thus sustained.

From readings in development studies, five aspects of this complex, multi-dimensional concept emerge, having consequences for ethical action. Firstly, conceptual oversimplification and loose metaphorical association have obscured rather than clarified meaning, which has proved costly in both human and economic terms. Secondly, the idea of developing capability within a capability space has shifted political discussion of desired developmental outcomes from decontextualised financial aggregations and analyses more toward the consequences for specific communities and lives, focusing on potentiality and how human development is encouraged. Thirdly, conceptual links and common issues of action exist between development studies and the fields of education, organisation studies, positive psychology and the study of human well-being, about the means of establishing such conditions, and the role of human agency and local negotiation in development. Fourthly, concern for autonomous (volitional and self-determining) aspects of development has begun to illuminate the inter-connected

influence upon larger systems of highly localised processes. Fifthly, the contested notion of sustainable development offers not only a political dimension, but also a focus on responsibility towards people in the future: the personal and social values with which they will grow up, and with what material resources, given the apparent hegemony of 'selfish capitalism' (James 2008). This enriched understanding of development, from a relatively wide conspectus, will inform areas of the research questions and subsequent data analysis.

The third aspect above presents a common issue of action between educational research and development studies: metaphor can limit as well as promote conceptualisation. In education, as in development studies, this is a more significant problem than it may seem.

Metaphors of development: 'growth' in confusion

Two reasons for development's conceptual elusiveness have been advanced so far. Firstly, *as a process* development is only inferentially known, while secondly, *as a term* it suffers from semantic dualism (having both subjective/objective and transitive/intransitive implicit meanings, and thus, different interpretations). Adult learning theory and ideas from development studies help to explain those difficulties – for example, that descriptions of learning processes within development emphasise cognitive frameworks, whereas a holistic conception is more fitting, and that negotiation becomes highly significant in the power relations of development. Therefore it is appropriate now to explore the third reason why development is elusive. Development is an abstract idea, whereas 'The mind is inherently embodied... Abstract concepts are largely metaphorical' (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 3), so that an image representing an idea has evocative power in establishing cultural models (Ignatow 2007: 124). However, conceptions of development historically have been linked almost synonymously with 'growth'. Such identification, especially concerning adults, is more misleading than revealing.

In twentieth century educational and psychological writings, the metaphor of 'growth' has been used commonly to describe human development (for example, Dewey

1981[1916]: 494; Maslow 1968/1998; Erikson 2001[1964]: 195; Rogers 1980: 23; Kolb 1984: 213). Dewey's metaphor of 'growth' for development recalls classical antiquity (Rist 2007: 490); but from his perspective, human 'growth' refers to adults and to children since, unlike physical growth, psychological 'growth' does not cease at a genetically related, biological point. Indeed, stifled 'growth' diminishes selfhood (Rogers 1980: 7).

Studies of adults continue to use 'growth' and development synonymously, almost always with positive connotations (Merriam 2004: 60). The adult education literature offers examples concerning transformative learning and old age (Erickson 2007: 66), and lifelong learning practices amongst experienced educators (Beattie et al 2007: 132). Studies of authentic leadership in business management (Avolio and Gardner 2005: 328; Benefiel 2005: 739), and in educational management (Woods 2007: 312), also make use of the 'growth' metaphor. Questionnaire data from teachers, referring to 'professional growth', are analysed by Pedder (2006: 186), while the 'personal growth' of serving headteachers is the focus for Luckcock (2007: 535). A study of candidates' reflective commentaries on a headship qualification programme mentions 'personal growth' and 'professional growth' (Reeves et al 2005: 255; 260).

But the development studies literature indicates the caution needed in equating development with 'growth'; for pursuit of economic growth has not brought greater well-being. Similarly organisational literature warns against 'the common assumption that all development represents progress from a lower, simpler state to a higher, more complex one' (Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 1994). In education, where human development is central to professional purpose, 'growth' seems especially inadequate. If a person's psychological 'growth', moral 'growth', personal 'growth', or professional 'growth' were indeed to increase with time and incremental experience, then logically people would reach their utmost human capability immediately before fatal collapse.

In exploring the role of metaphor in organisation theory Cornelissen (2005: 752) finds that when a new conceptualisation is sought, 'a metaphor is heuristic and suggestive, and not yet declarative, of a particular organizational phenomenon'. When exploring an unfamiliar idea, a term used figuratively to represent another may capture a revealing connection between otherwise remote domains, but is not definitive. By contrast, a

taken-for-granted or 'performative' use of imprecise metaphor may create 'a misleading polarization of organizational models' (Mutch 2006: 753). Thus, metaphors 'guide our perceptions and interpretations of reality and help us formulate our visions and goals' (Cornelissen et al 2008: 8). Because metaphor becomes elemental within theory it requires precise, parsimonious use.

However, the metaphor of 'growth' cannot carry this weight of symbolic meaning: people do not 'grow' evenly in all directions at once, but have interests, limitations, constraints, beliefs, values and goals that establish meaning systems 'within which they define themselves and operate' (Dweck 2000: 139). To assert the continuous human need for 'growth', following humanistic thought, is not to guarantee continuous, unambiguous and beneficial development, since development processes may also 'stagnate and die away' (Engeström 2004: 156). Indicators of development are not necessarily measures of increase or acquisition (Schaffer 2006: 6), as the term 'growth' would imply: they also refer to affective areas such as emotional self-management, purposeful commitment, relations with others, the negotiation of challenging or intense experience, and transitional periods or traumatic episodes. Transitions towards desired states may entail a sense of loss regarding what is left behind (Bridges 2003 [1991]: 8; 28-29). From a cognitive perspective, a developmental aim of education is 'self-renewal' (Bandura 2002: 4), involving reflection upon the known and a partially destructive but entirely deliberate re-formulation of it, rather than increased knowledge.

By recognising metaphor's limitations we prepare for new possibilities (Hager 2004a: 252). Metaphorical language permits powerful yet distorting insights, 'as the way of seeing created through a metaphor becomes a way of *not* seeing' (Morgan 1997: 5, original italics). 'Growth' is a dead metaphor. The figure seems now to be equated with development, whereas it alludes to limited aspects of a concept it no longer illuminates. In education, whatever heuristic purpose the metaphor of 'growth' may once have served, it is time to search further.

In organisation studies, a review of some two hundred articles explores conceptions of development and change (Van de Ven and Poole 1995). The authors find contrasting, implicit assumptions about development and change, having various metaphorical associations. Four principle discursive standpoints are identified: 'life-cycle, teleology,

dialectics, and evolution theories' (Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 513). The different interpretations have different implicit metaphorical bases (Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 514). For example, dialectical process theory assumes competing forces in a pluralistic world within and beyond organisations, thus emphasising the role of negotiation and of social or environmental factors within development: even an achieved synthesis of opposing ideas or commitments 'is a novel construction' (p.517), rather than maintenance. Teleological theory, by contrast, 'explains development' (p.515) through a philosophical perspective on ultimate goals and on the process by which these may be attained, without pre-determined sequential stages or particular paths to be followed.

In the organisational literature which the authors review, organisational goals are sought through iterative processes of planning, implementation and evaluation. Thus 'development is something that moves the entity toward its final state' (Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 516) whether the entity is a person, a group, or an organisation. Such movement is adaptive and socially constructed. Teleological theory describes development as non-linear yet goal-oriented; dialectical theory emphasises conflict, negotiation and synthesis. Neither of these is staged, linear, or deterministic.

From an educational perspective, it is significant that 'the metaphor of organic growth to explain development' is located within life-cycle theory in the biological sciences (Van de Ven and Poole 1995: 513). From this disciplinary perspective, 'growth' literally means identifiable, deterministic patterns of species-specific, progressive cell differentiation, birth, life, death and decay within a greater ecological system: life progress involves an invariant and predictable sequence of stages. In biology, 'growth' is empirically available and measurable. Once transferred figuratively to the psychosocial development of people, especially physically mature adults, or used of organisations, 'growth' no longer describes (non-linear, multi-dimensional and indeterminate) development, as indicated by this review, because it operates 'in a prescribed modality' (p.522). The stage theory implicit within 'growth' cannot illuminate how trauma victims recover themselves as persons, or how a seemingly chance conversation may spark fresh creative endeavour, or how team processes can renew organisational confidence. Again, the 'growth' metaphor misleads: by suggesting continuous increase it over-simplifies the subject-matter while imbuing it with uniquely positive, comparative value; by suggesting a staged, invariant process, 'growth' presents

a distorted yet potentially measurable schema of human psychosocial development in which social factors, context, history, agency, capability, perception, and negotiation remain blurred.

For this thesis, lack of a coherent conceptualisation of development across educational studies has required a fundamental review of the concept in various contexts. Firstly development is conceptually problematic, although the matter is rarely faced because of frequent bracketing with other terms. Secondly (psychosocial) development is commonly associated with ‘growth’ and increase - especially in education - despite the presence in other literatures of alternative perspectives. The significance for education of this inadequate metaphor is that ‘growth’ fits the prevailing discourse of school improvement and effectiveness endorsed by successive governments in Britain, Europe, and North America, while imagery of participative, negotiated but indeterminate unfolding does not. Casual use of ‘growth’ encourages elisions of meaning between improvement and development in educational rhetoric, and possibly in practice. Therefore the review must enter this politically charged arena to consider the implications for schools.

Development, values, and school improvement

When contemplating the future of education beyond the millennium, UNESCO’s International Commission declared:

‘Education has other purposes than to provide a skilled workforce for the economy: it should serve to make human beings not the means but the justification of development.’ (Delors 1996: 80)

It is a strong position: persons matter in their own right, rather than for what they offer collectively to development. However, ‘development’ here signifies economic growth.

Philosophers of education criticise the rhetoric of politicians and policy-makers for frequently assuming ‘that producing a skilled workforce is the primary point of

education' (Haydon 2007: 30). Rather, the (British) education system should be disentangled from the market's 'meta-ethic', which encourages people to accept 'that flourishing consists in the satisfaction of their major desires, whatever these may be' (White 2005: 107). Education's greater purpose must be founded ethically on a 'web of values' (Haydon 2007: 32) sufficiently explicit, broad and inclusive to encompass 'the same fundamental aims for everyone's education' (Haydon 2007: 33) without expecting the same outcomes, while respecting diversity. Within these philosophical perspectives, self-determination is a legitimate developmental goal achieved through communitarian negotiation, which does not oppose autonomy with community (Walker 2005: 79). For individuals, 'knowledge and our experience of the world are socially constructed' (Pendlebury 2005: 59), which involves actively searching for 'the authentic self and ... for meaning in being' (Russell 2007: 382).

Education theory emphasises facilitative dialogue in development: 'the opening out of possibilities' (Bottery 2004: 130); 'opening ways for people to become members of epistemic communities' (Pendlebury 2005: 58); in conversation where 'the end is but the starting point for further conversations', whose educational consequences are 'diverse, unpredictable and sometimes slow to mature' (Pring 2005: 202). Furthermore, authentic educative purpose issues from theories of teaching and learning consistent with explicit values (Jarvis 2006: 95-96; McLeod 2003: 12-13) and with 'contemporary theory of human development' (Walker 2005: 75). Education Studies is essentially concerned with 'understanding how people develop and learn throughout their lives' (British Educational Studies Association [BESA] 2009: 1). The idea of development pervades all these perspectives on education. Hence, for clarity of educational purpose, clarity about what development means would seem an obvious requirement.

From this review, contemporary theory of human development describes a diachronic, endogenous, non-linear and indeterminate process of becoming that requires local, context-specific interpretation and negotiation. Some of these elements appear in research concerning a single case:

'The school is at a particular stage in an unfolding process of development, and learning about that development ... handling complex issues regarding the purposes of education.' (Hollins, Gunter and Thomson 2006: 147-148).

However, the ‘growth’ metaphor and linear, instrumental improvements are inconsistent with those elements. They encourage a discourse of productivity where leadership must meet ‘nationally defined design specifications’ (Gronn 2003: 3), and where educational outcomes are ‘generally defined by someone external’ then ‘tested against specification’ (Pring 2005: 201). In the context of *Developing Sustainable Leadership* (Davies 2008), the unintended irony of the book’s instrumentalist title enables the Deputy Chief Executive of the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) to write of ‘growing tomorrow’s leaders’ (Southworth 2007: 177) as if they were a crop rotation. Business terms are appropriated to redefine education, emphasising functionality, productivity, and external control. Ultimately, the predominant economic agenda:

‘...attacks the value of all the other educational aims and endangers their realisation by... reducing them to second-order activities’ (Bottery 2004: 10).

The developmental search for meaning, characteristic of ‘the learning of what is valuable’ (Pring 2005: 201), is misprised in environments where value is externally determined and ‘financial values predominate over human or religious ones’ (Wrigley 2004: 240). Rather, individual judgements of the value of effectiveness ‘must depend on the value of the ends’ (Haydon 2007: 24). The difficulty for education is that ‘school success is mostly state defined, and as such, the state holds all the keys to what is regarded as having value’ (Clarke 2006: 188), while only clearer, better-balanced government policies for schools are likely to promote lasting development in their communities (Cummings and Dyson 2007: 17). A ‘simplistic’, cognitive view of development currently dominates the theory of learning and pedagogy being encouraged by government (Starratt 2007: 173).

In these circumstances, research has significant potential influence on education policy. Unfortunately, contested paradigmatic differences between school effectiveness (SE) and school improvement (SI) research have generated more heat than light: policy-makers have adopted the objectivist epistemology, quantitative methodology and concern for generalisability of SE, accompanied by the rhetoric of SI’s interests in emancipation and contextualised change management.

The aims of SE are ‘to distinguish factors that are characteristic of effective schools and to identify differences between school outcomes’ (Sun et al 2007: 94). Evaluation, feedback and reinforcement are emphasised with reference to national goal-setting, ‘strong central control’ (Sun et al 2007: 95), and lists of practices judged successful. These activities accord with modernist models of planned change and large-scale organisational transformation (Burnes 2000: 264-277). In order to identify ‘elements that make some schools achieve their goals’ (Wikeley and Murillo 2005: 255), SE’s increasingly sophisticated analyses refer to categorical populations such as types of school, sets of examination outcomes and styles of leadership, where large sample sizes offer greater chance of statistical validity and deducible trends.

By contrast, SI has emancipatory interests in organisational processes rather than school outcomes, and in promoting employees’ autonomy (Wrigley 2006: 276 citing Hopkins 2001). This reflects SI’s action research origins in the work of Kurt Lewin (Hopkins and Reynolds 2001: 459). Characteristically SI is inductive, recognising the complexity of schools as organisations where ‘change cannot be brought about by the mechanistic application of discrete measures’ (Wrigley 2006: 276). SI studies of specific contexts such as individual schools (for example, Hollins et al 2006: 141) are non-generalisable, whereas SE has been criticised as ‘largely context-blind’ (Lupton 2005: 591).

A hybrid approach, *effective school improvement* (Wikeley and Murillo 2005), emphasises factors such as strong leadership (Sun et al 2007). A comparative international study finds that in England, especially, ‘strong leadership’ within a ‘superstar ... appointment system’ is thought helpful in rendering schools effective (Sun et al 2007: 112-113). In one such study of English schools the headteacher is found to be the ‘key instigator of change’ in every case, while no other member of staff is identified as a principal agent of change (Wikeley et al 2000: 175). The personnel responsibilities of these strong leaders involve ‘hiring, firing and promoting’ (Sun et al 2005: 112).

Contrastingly, development becomes meaningful in context because the experience requires interpretation; development happens socially, sometimes in teams, involving authentic agency; and the intangibilities of development are not easily measured as

variables. Study of development appears more closely aligned with SI than SE practices, because Improvement focuses on organisational change rather than stability.

However, SI research perspectives on improvement do not match political perspectives based on distrust of education professionals and their unions (Fink 2005: 6). For improvement is also measurable: policy-makers have assumed the discourse of improvement without necessarily espousing SI's values and methodology. Where sustainable economic development ('growth') and improved competitive performance are national priorities, measurably improved educational performance rapidly falls within the frame of reference, and may even be regarded as joined-up thinking. The regulations still apply, but refer to inspection (for improvement), planning (for improvement), policy (for improvement) and targets (for improvement).

Where the literature on School Improvement accepts changes of discourse uncritically, misrecognising its politicised nature (Bourdieu 1977[1972]: 172-183), naïve commentary ensues: 'Development planning, or improvement planning as it is sometimes called...' (MacGilchrist et al 2004: 128). Ironically, a section on complex change approves of schools' plans having 'teacher development built in' (MacGilchrist et al 2004: 41). Thus teachers are positioned as a collective requiring instrumental action. Elsewhere, development studies imagery (but not its political analysis) is used to suggest that headteachers need 'sustaining and further developing' because 'we cannot afford to have them stay while feeling burned out' - which chiefly involves 'resistance to change' (Leithwood et al 2007: 97-98).

An adjudged need for improvement follows from perceiving flaws. Although 'improvement' has positive associations, SI discourse implicitly uses deficit models towards 'greater productivity' (Hopkins 2007: 173), which can be read as: 'all schools need improving' (Ouston 1999: 175). It has been observed self-critically that SI assumes 'inadvertently' the existence of 'solutions ... in the wider, more successful environment' (Clarke 2006: 187). Thus, SI has 'too instrumental a view of ethos and the wider community' (Wrigley 2006: 285), based on the perfectionist idea that risk can be progressively minimised or avoided (Hammersley 2004: 145). Continuous improvement (Harris and Hopkins 2000: 13; Gray et al 2001: 404) is a powerful managerial slogan but a dubious concept in human relations, implying that whatever employees achieve

will never prove quite good enough. When ‘the best schools’ merit praise for their ‘relentless’ approach to children’s progress (Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) 2006: 10), and regulations and guidance consistently call for improvement, education will always appear deficient. Ironically, pursuit of continuous improvement ensures continuous failure (Children, Schools and Families Committee 2008: 93). Improvement cannot do any better. This problem ‘is one *of* education, not merely what lies *within* education’ (Clarke 2006: 191). The life course of human beings is not a process of improvement, but of development: education begins there.

So far this literature review has discussed development and well-being broadly, but their chief significance is to individual lives and to social inter-action. The literature indicates that development and well-being are associated, being continuously negotiated and re-negotiated in organisational contexts. Indeed, ideas of well-being and of development are associated in schools through Well-Being Programmes seeking to operate systemically. Seen through the lens of development, and with an inward, well-being focus rather than through Improvement and Effectiveness discourses, new light falls on contextual factors such as leadership, change, and learning. Therefore, to shape this research further, the third section of the review considers schools as organisations of moral purpose having multiple, developmental concerns.

Literature Review Section Three: The organisational development of schools

Three essential aspects and a problem

For this thesis, *organisational development* means ‘development in and of an organisation’; it does not signify those consultancy-based models and strategies of corporate intervention known as ‘OD’ (Burnes 2000: 264-265; Senior 2002: 333-338).

From organisational perspectives development and well-being in schools deserve detailed theoretical exploration: stress receives more academic attention than well-being; policy features improvement rather than development; and schools are rarely studied as organisations. Yet synthesis of ideas and understanding from the literatures on well-being, development and organisations can offer a unifying, communitarian and philosophically coherent ethic of education - capable of informing the prevailing ‘improvement’ discourse whose philosophical grounding is weak. The practical utility of this approach is appealing, as it records longitudinally how school employees describe their work. From a developmental perspective it studies those mundane preoccupations of employees which barely register in the current climate.

Because organisation is such an extensive field, certain essential aspects are reviewed here, able to inform the gathering and interpretation of research data. The first concerns schools as organisations and the implications for their development. The second aspect is organisational change and development - terms rarely distinguished in the organisational literature. Thus, OD is ‘a unique organizational improvement strategy’ (French and Bell 1995: 1-2), concerned more to elucidate its methodology and values than the nature of development. Nonetheless, the change management literature offers a substantial body of work for interpreting development in schools and their environment. The third essential aspect concerns workplace learning and organisational learning. Here, elements of adult learning theory mentioned earlier (for example, Hager 2004a and 2004b; Coffield 2000; Engeström 2004) can be related, through the workplace, to organisational development.

Underlying all three aspects (schools as organisations; change and development; and learning) is the problem of transferring a concept convincingly from one context to another. The review has emphasised the well-being and development of individuals or social interaction within groups; it would be unwarranted to transfer such principles and theory unexamined to organisations. Development in one person may not ‘therefore’ entail development in the organisation as a whole, or even at all; any claimed inter-relationship between individual and organisational development requires a more substantial social theory to support the case. Once the three essential aspects have been considered, this underlying perplexity can be examined.

Schools are organisations first

Organisations share common features. As human artefacts, they are social entities having nominal boundaries, where people are formally associated (Dawson 1996 xxii) in serving a shared purpose that generally requires some structured or co-ordinated activity (Rollinson 2005: 3-4). Thereafter, differing ontological assumptions bring contrasting conceptions of organisation. Interpretatively, organisational boundaries are nominal - defining membership only at a given time - and permeably influenced. Organisations are essentially abstract systems ‘connected to wider systems which form part of the environment’ (Senior 2002: 4-5). An organisation is ‘embedded in and contributing to an environment’ through ‘interplay of technology, social structure, culture, and physical structure’ (Hatch 1997: 15). Continuity and contingent interaction are also implied when an organisational unit is defined as ‘the role rather than the person in it’, thus sustaining an organisation’s existence ‘despite many changes of members’ (Statt 1991: 102). By contrast, a more behaviourally objectivist definition eschews systemic processes, introducing ‘controlled performance’ in pursuit of ‘collective goals’ (Buchanan and Huczynski 1997: 9) rather than shared purpose. Such differences arise whether a school organisation *has* a culture (an objective, measurable feature), or *is* a culture, requiring ethnographic methods (Van Houtte 2005: 82-83). The notion of organisational culture offers opportunities to explore ‘phenomena which are often blanketed by surface similarities’ (Dimmock 2000: 48), but which ‘bear on matters of well-being and their significance in our political life’ (White 2007: 26).

Organisations may also be categorised according to public or private funding sources, or principle function (such as manufacturing, commerce, or charity). Thus human service organizations, including schools, have a primary function 'to protect, maintain or enhance the well-being of individuals' (Hasenfield 1983, quoted in Johnson 2004: 20).

Organisations are located theoretically in cultural-historical categories illustrating epistemic views of organisations, of human motivation and psychology, and of collective capacities. For example, the Classical or Taylorist view of organisations emphasises a highly differentiated hierarchy, understands change as dictated from the top, and regards workers as motivated by extrinsic rewards (Dawson 1996: 9-10, citing Taylor 1911). Eighteenth Century Enlightenment thinking informs the modernist view of rationalist individualism and the idea of incremental, historical progress (Burnes 2000: 152-153). This conception values objective measures and general laws of organisational performance: empirically verified phenomena are thought to exist independently of our perception of them (Hatch 1997: 48-49).

A more organic, post-modern conception rejects static organisational entity, envisaging 'a generic process' (Spoelstra 2005: 113) changing temporally, whose boundaries paradoxically both connect and divide. Interest in organisations as systems has highlighted social and inter-subjective aspects of organisations such as power-relations (Knights and Willmott 2005: 154-155). Organisational charts and measurement procedures are rejected because organisations are 'emotional arenas' (Fineman 2003: 1) requiring interpreted experience. From this perspective, 'emotion occurs in ongoing processes... in the context of a personal narrative' (Briner 1999: 337). These accounts highlight employees' diversity, for interpretative acts of meaning - sense-making - occur socially in complex, inter-subjective ways throughout an organisation (Maitlis 2005: 21; Anderson 2003: 11). Thus the modernist idea of 'a leading and dominant rationality' is weakened, inviting the paradoxical conclusion that 'organizations produce themselves in a co-construction of interpretations' (Viteritti 2004: 165-166). Given such complexity, the leadership, direction, integrity and mutability of organisational development become areas of debate (Dempster and Berry 2003: 461).

Theory may be ‘always a creation and a production’ (Jones and Munro 2005: 2), or process more than product (Nayak 2008: 173), but not given. Organisation theory especially is not an invariant, over-arching explanation or truth, but ‘multiplicitous’ because of its contributory fields and disciplines, and because ‘organisations cannot be explained by any single theory’ (Hatch 1997: 4). In time, theories of organisational change are modified, being wholly or partly superseded. Theory differs considerably between contemporaneous cultures relative to knowledge-creation (Nonaka 1991: 96-104), social practices (Morgan 1997: 119-129) and values (Hofstede 2003 [1991]: 160-164).

Organisation Studies is a rich and diverse field. However, as a site of study it needs an archaeologist’s care, of the sort easily dismissed politically when swift answers are sought to public sector improvement. The origination of ‘finds’ deserves scrutiny since there are implications for organisational leadership, management and development in education. For this review three broad, inter-related topics are distinguished: organisational boundaries, environment, and shared purpose. These are discussed below.

¶ Boundary matters

The notion of boundaries includes organisational membership and permeability to influence. It associates factors routine in schools but whose relatedness receives little attention in educational literature. School Improvement advocates emphasise the centrality of pedagogy to its goals, fostering a discourse in which ‘staff members’ frequently signifies teachers. Thus, academic discussion of distributed forms of education leadership (Gronn 2003: 27-51) often implies leadership by teachers (Harris 2003: 72- 83; Yorke-Barr and Duke 2004; Anderson 2004).

However, schools are places of work where a widening variety of roles and of contractual arrangements is found. Over the seven years to 2003, when the first of the articles on teacher leadership appeared, the numbers of learning support assistants almost doubled [+91%] (HMSO 2004) as part of the British government’s plans for workforce reform. Roles and responsibilities have been revised in English schools to

reflect new staffing patterns whose practical significance is still being explored. Bursars, librarians, mid-day supervisory assistants, personal assistants (PAs), administrative and clerical assistants, care staff, cleaners, caretakers and caterers work in English schools, besides teachers and teaching assistants. Collectively they embody a wide range of knowledge, qualifications, expertise, and background experience invaluable to education.

School governors also bring personal qualities, values, knowledge and experience to an organisation. The boundary status of most governors is 'external' to the school they serve, but their roles and legal responsibilities are key to its strategic development, and thus, (as inspection processes recognise) to its leadership.

Within organisations, the boundaries of leadership have been questioned, reflecting different views of leadership roles, leadership attributes, and the relationship between leaders and other organisational members. One interpretation is that leadership is 'a quality of organisations – a systemic characteristic' (Ogawa and Bossert 2000: 39). Leadership is not located in particular roles, 'but in the relationships that exist between the incumbents of roles' (p.49). Its currency 'lies in the resources possessed by individuals' (p.53), having multiplicitous influence (p.50). From these perspectives it is surprising that a conception of schools as inclusive organisations, reliant on all their employees and on leadership in all sectors, has not been more central to academic debate in education.

¶ Organisational environment

An organisation's changing environment requires adaptive responses, while every organisation has some reciprocal capacity for outward influence. Yet the ways in which schools engage with their communities have been given little attention in school improvement literature (Wrigley 2006: 277). More widely, a school's environment is subject to deliberate, powerful, and sometimes swift government intervention, whose contradictions cause more difficulty than its volatility (Davies and Coates 2005: 116). As human service organisations schools have moral purpose, but the organisational environment of schools is not a morally neutral set of forces; it is inconstant, highly

charged ideologically, and value-laden (Clarke 2006: 189; Gunter 2008: 254). The relations between the state and local governance have been altered to re-align 'professional and managerial cultures around private rather than public ethics' (Gleeson and Knights 2006: 281). Hence, workers in education recursively negotiate that 'space of cultural and interpretative undecidability' between the more and the less powerful (Bhabha 1994: 206).

To reach specified goals, education workers have to accept the worth of the changes involved - entailing negotiation of the ethics, the procedural practices and the governance of school organisations. Imposed constraints may also provide their own opportunities for creative re-interpretation, in 'the ecology of leadership' (Gronn 2003: 3), since 'Power is a relationship: it is two-way' (Cole 1999: 203). For example, ethnographic study in one secondary school indicates that such negotiation is enacted repeatedly within the organisation as members of staff seek for and fashion 'spaces to enable *their* approach to improvement to be successful and undamaged but at the same time remain within the law' (Hollins et al 2006: 150, original italics). Thus, 'teachers ... have been identified as a policy hazard' (Gunter 2008: 254).

Another perspective on environment is that an organisation is both a physical and a psychosocial working environment:

'Individuals flourish and develop in environments where they can satisfy important needs but become psychologically undernourished in situations where major needs are consistently thwarted.' (Bolman and Deal 2000: 63)

This matters especially in schools, where employees work to promote others' development and well-being. Schools as organisations are subject to European and national legislation and regulation concerning employment and other human rights, including (in English law) the employer's *duty of care* towards staff (HMSO 1974; HMSO 1999). Since the Education Reform Act (HMSO 1988), whose 'emphasis ... is state-centred' (Ball 2008: 186), governmental powers in England have been increasingly centralised while responsibilities relating to those powers have been devolved (Hopkins 1990: 192; Morley and Rassool 1999: 134-135). It is 'a necessary step towards greater government control of schools' (Davies and Coates 2005: 114),

since centralisation and decentralisation concern 'power and its distribution' (Sun et al 2007: 96). The employer's duty of care is a delegated responsibility extending to a major occupational hazard facing education staff: psychosocial stress (Smith et al 2000). All employers bear responsibilities toward employees in this, but the 'shift from government to governance' (Newman 2007: 29) has re-distributed accountabilities in the public sector toward localised responsibility. Emphasis on 'leaders' has been misplaced, whereas theory-building in education should engage with 'contextually broader, deeper and more democratic conceptions of administration and governance' (Allix and Gronn 2005: 192).

In public education the state as an institution is 'not only responsible to the public for the service but also ... the employer of the service provided' (Gleeson and Knights 2006: 280), and thus is the court of its own appeals. Employees in state schools are part of a larger employment framework of governing bodies, local, and national government - made more complex by the Academies programme (Ball 2008: 190) - in which the boundaries of devolved responsibility for action and accountability are sometimes a matter of legal precedent and judgement. Health and safety law places responsibility for managing workplace risks on those who create the hazards: 'employers and other duty holders' (Podger 2008). Although stress-related behaviours and illness are suffered by individuals, and the effects are felt as strain within their families and by colleagues, 'the inculcation of systemic stress' (Gewirtz 2002: 130) results from work intensification and competitive pressures to perform, established at various levels of policy by 'the lived post-welfarist settlement in education' (Gewirtz 2002: 131). Post-welfarism refers to a complex of policies promoting competitive individualism and market forces, cumulatively exerting 'a greater degree of state control over schools, colleges, universities, teachers and lecturers, within a context of devolved management' (Gewirtz 2002: 3). Within this complex, the leadership and management burden has been 'greatly expanded' through government reforms, causing headteachers increasingly to depend on colleagues' support (Wallace 2002: 167).

The organisational difficulty is that mandated changes may lack coherence overall, requiring re-interpretation and renegotiation while creating value-conflicts and dilemmas for employees. The pressure upon schools for pupils to achieve highly maintains 'the existential tension between what professionals believe in and what they

have to do to get by' (Gleeson and Knights 2006: 284, citing Elliott 2001). The emotional labour (Hochschild 1983; Zapf and Holtz 2006; Hebson et al 2007) of education arises not only from pedagogic interactions with pupils, but also from the strain of working inauthentically on tasks or arrangements whose assumptions fundamentally deny the public sector's unique value system of 'civic quality' (Bottery 2003: 70).

¶ Purpose and perspective

Aims, direction, and clarity of purpose feature prominently in the organisational and educational literatures on effectiveness and improvement. For example, a study of employees' burnout related to leadership behaviours in a Norwegian information technology company finds that transformational leadership can empower 'followers who are aligned with the values of the organization' and 'committed to a vision' (Hetland et al 2007: 60). In England, the principle of 'clear artistic vision' is an organisational funding criterion of the Arts Council (Maitlis and Lawrence 2003: 116). Within English education, 'a shared vision and goals' are characteristic of 'effective schools' (Lupton 2005: 594, citing Sammons 1999), while Pupil Referral Units having 'a clear vision for their work' (OFSTED 2006: 17) are praised. Having 'a clear view of what the school stood for' is identified as a positive feature of a London secondary school by Gewirtz (2002: 98). A study of four 'failing schools' and of ways to support them finds that adopted strategies must 'unite the staff around a common purpose, that of improvement and development' (Nicolaidou and Ainscow 2005: 241).

However, purposes of human service in education have been subjugated politically to the instrumental ends of current economic requirements. The state retains control of educational goals (Sun et al 2007: 96), reductively defined. Thus headteachers are 'able to choose how to carry out a new policy but not *whether* to do so' (Bush 2008: 284, original emphasis), while schools' deeper, educational purposes are discursively marginalised. 'Technicist recommendations' for 'delivery' replace larger questions of purpose (Wrigley 2004: 239). Yet a qualitative study of social justice involving four schools finds that if 'a broader notion of educational success than raw test scores' were emphasised, schools in the poorest neighbourhoods would 'face fewer organisational

pressures' (Lupton 2005: 602). These organisational perspectives upon values, purpose, achievement, and rich knowledge and practice are especially important in poor community environments, since 'professionals and others work towards a greater public good, and a more tolerant and caring society' (Bottery 2004: 124).

School improvement literature may reify organisations as separate from their membership. For example, transformational leadership is described as 'people rather than organisation-orientated' (Harris 2003: 73). As with development and well-being, the idea of organisation seems under-valued (Glatter 2006: 71; 69), and its practical implications little explored. For education, deficit models and the resulting, endless need for 'improvement' prevail; but schools are organisations first.

Organisational change and development

As with the concepts of development and improvement in education, in organisation and management studies development and change are rarely differentiated, except in the context of OD as a community of practice, and in activity such as professional development. Similarly to education, a 'discourse of instrumental rationality' predominates, based on 'a concept of change as a quasi-natural force' (Hotho and Pollard 2007: 587) which organisation members may resist, but to which nonetheless they must respond. Within this discourse, for example, a key quality of transformational leadership is '*the ability to deliver change*' (Storey 2004: 25, original emphases), the 'overblown claims' about which the author criticises (p.34).

The classical OD approach acknowledges organisational complexity, but assumes unquestioningly 'that a system can be moved from one dynamic equilibrium to another, by the prior intention of the legitimate system' (Shaw 1997: 237). Use of the term 'legitimate' here implies that alternative sources of self-organising change co-exist in the 'shadow-system' of organizations (Shaw 1997: 235). The classical, cognitive model of planned change employs 'often prescriptive' and reductive discourse, emphasising 'state-change, transformation and replacement of old by new' (Hotho and Pollard 2007: 589).

But increasingly organisation theory describes change as a complex process rather than instrumental alteration (Senior 2002: 35); as systemic and adaptive, and therefore incapable of being directed along linear paths (Pascale et al 2004: 6); as a process subject to sudden, unpredictable variations in the organisational environment (Latchem and Hanna 2001: 46); and as activity whose consequences cannot be fully anticipated (Carter and Jackson 2004: 123). Experiences of change are 'characterized by ambivalence and uncertainty' (Fullan 2001: 32). Because it is a process, organisational change requires longitudinal study (Armenakis and Bedeian 1999: 311-312; Amis, Slack and Hinings 2004: 36), including an understanding of the 'wider theoretical and historical context... and the pressures and options... for change' (Burnes 2000: 2). Yet longitudinal studies of school development are rare (Barker, B, 2005: 26). Characteristically of process, a challenge for researchers is 'to become capable of discerning when ... [organisational] change has started and when it has ended' (Stickland 1998: 61).

Processual views of change influence conceptions of organisations as 'complex systems' (Cilliers 2002 [1998]: 2-7) and as 'complex adaptive systems' (Axelrod and Cohen 1999). Complex systems, having many elements, interact simultaneously with their environments (also systemic), continuously responding to and generating change in different network areas. Systemic complexity derives from non-linear 'patterns of interaction between the elements', where no individual element has knowledge of the behaviour of the whole, and also from systems having histories (Cilliers 2002 [1998]: 4-5) which have partly occasioned their present circumstances. From these common principles, arguments with different emphases and purposes are developed.

Cilliers' (2002) philosophic purpose is to illustrate what complex systems are, their relationship to the history of ideas and to post-modern society, and their organisational significance. Complex systems may show the capacity to self-organise, enabling them 'to develop or change internal structure spontaneously and adaptively in order to cope with, or manipulate, their environment' (Cilliers 2002: 90) and thus to sustain themselves. Implicitly, the terms 'change' and 'develop' in this definition have distinct meanings. Self-organising systems increase in complexity, but require some form of organisational memory (p.92), of collective knowledge-in-use: unused information

becomes lost to systemic memory. Therefore what an organisation 'knows' is significant to its capability, being mediated by each member's presence.

Conceptually, complex adaptive systems have multi-disciplinary roots in evolutionary biology, computer science, and social design (Axelrod and Cohen 1999). Terms from these sources form part of the discourse, such as 'a population of agents' (p.5), 'local failures' (p.107), and bizarrely, 'culling the less effective members of the population' (p. 7) - where an agent is a collection of properties, strategies and capabilities (p.153) such as a person, a family, a business, or a country (p.4). Such depersonalised language somewhat counteracts the expressed humanistic concern for 'people or organizations rather than pieces of software' (p.xiv). The value of complex adaptive systems theory to organisations is emphasised in instrumentalist discourse: performance improvement (pp.xv; xvii; 8-9; 18-19; 42-43; 51), effectiveness (p.46), cost efficiency (p.110), effects on 'the averages of what happens' (p.114), and definition of success criteria (p.118). How these contribute to development is thinly described. Nonetheless, this pragmatic empiricism rejects simplistic lists of principles, 'unqualified nostrums' (p.22), as inappropriate to scientific work on complex change.

Complex adaptive systems theory, largely consistent with Cilliers' (2002) theorisation, amplifies some features of organisational development discussed here. For example, complex adaptive systems theory highlights volitional agency: the term 'adaptive' applies strictly to 'agents or populations that *seek* to adapt' (Axelrod and Cohen 1999: 7, original emphasis), whether or not successfully. The terms of the framework offered (pp.152-160) emphasise agency and strategy in patterned interaction between agents, and with artefacts. But the image of 'harnessing complexity' (p.148) predominates. There is agreement with Cilliers' (2002) position, in that: complexity theory is thought relevant to social systems; the whole is more than the sum of the parts; complex systems have history; they are dynamic, not static; *complex* and *complicated* are differentiated; interactions within systems are non-linear, so small changes can have large effects, and vice-versa; complexity signifies that change is indeterminate, not random.

The difference between the two positions lies in Axelrod and Cohen's (1999) pragmatic application of theory for instrumental ends, as a tool of management, relative to Cilliers'

(2002) concern to explain how aspects of post-modernist philosophy apply in complexity theory, as a tool of thought.

Little is known about ‘ways in which change unfurls among different elements within an organization’ (Amis et al 2004: 16) and how effects spread. The word ‘unfurls’ suggests a processual view of change occurring unevenly but continuously within and between groups. This description resonates with the post-modern philosophical proposal of ‘an ontology of movement, emergence and *becoming*’ which emphasises ‘micro-practices’ (Chia 1995: 581-582, original italics), rather than with an orientation toward stasis. Processual becoming is metaphorically embodied in the idea of ‘reality as movement’ (Nayak 2008: 174). For example, companies journey ‘from peak to peak’ (thus implying negotiation of troughs) in environments where development involves risk-taking, outcomes are uncertain, and ‘the pilgrimage is figured out as it unfolds’ (Pascale et al 2000: 103-104). The value-laden references to ‘pilgrimage’ and challenges along the way, and the indeterminate nature of a route which must be ‘figured out’, all suggest a developmental path consistent with the post-modernist ontologies of Chia (1995; 1999; 2000), Chia and Holt (2006), and Nayak (2008).

Organisation theory itself is a political process, ‘rather than merely a neutral, truth-seeking operation’ (Calas and Smircich 1999: 652, quoted in Nayak 2008: 175). Development studies concerning power, capabilities and negotiation (Cole 1999: 203), and critiques of ‘effectiveness and improvement’ discourse in education (Wrigley 2006; Clarke 2006) also have political dimensions.

Nonetheless, within organisation studies debate concerning ontology, change, systems, and complexity seems to lack a cohesive psychosocial theory of development: an understanding that values-laden *becoming* has meaning and purpose accompanying its heterogeneity, localised significances, ‘micro-practices’ (Chia and Holt 2006: 536), and sometimes fragmentary nature. Subtleties of inter-group boundary-crossing and ‘knot-working’ in a school and other workplaces (see pp.75-76, below) have been analysed (Engeström and Kärkkäinen 1995: 320-322; 2004: 152-155); an organisation’s knowledge is ‘necessarily indeterminate and emergent’ (Blackler et al 2000: 279); and in medical literature, the value of Lamarckian (volitional process) rather than Darwinian (random process) evolutionary theory is argued regarding organisational change,

knowledge and beliefs (Hussey 2002: 111-112). Amidst these proliferating ideas about processual change, lack of a consistent epistemological theory and terminology of development weakens the collective position relative to the prevailing instrumentalism criticised by Hotho and Pollard (2007), Shaw (1997), and Storey (2004).

In this context, *The Little Book of Change* (Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) 2008) exemplifies why a coherent epistemological alternative is needed. It presents change in English schools both as a reaction to external events and as a proactive engagement in 'leading and managing it' (TDA 2008: 2). External factors such as new regulatory requirements are portrayed as a contingent force without ideological purpose, which 'happens whether we welcome it or not' (p.9), but which nonetheless impels organisational adaptation in schools. The 'proactive' part in schools signifies their not waiting to be told to frame a response. In this model of change, 'effective leadership' secures organisational compliance by finding 'individual local solutions', while using 'a proven change process' resembling the TDA's (p.4).

Significantly in this 'five-stage change process' (p.9) of rational planning, to establish an organisation's 'vision for the future' does not precede identifying the changes needed to achieve it, as logic would suggest, but follows after. The process is a re-alignment with prescriptive orthodoxy: 'any vision you like so long as it fits with ours' (Glatter 2006: 79). The TDA's document reifies culture as an organisational feature needing either repair or complete product replacement, so that leadership installs 'a culture of continual progress' (p.10). In this guidance organisational culture becomes 'something to be managed' (Wrigley 2006: 283). Headteachers' function is to implement external policy requirements (being creative in securing organisational changes), rather than themselves to be strategic innovators. They are asked to model instrumental change in schools, rather than inclusive practices of organisational development.

Facing such political realities, system theory needs an epistemology to accompany its ontology. Consideration of organisational learning and knowledge from developmental and well-being perspectives may demonstrate not only their relevance, but also the indivisibility of theory from practice: 'Organization must necessarily be translated back into a workplace inhabited by human beings' (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 340).

Learning in the workplace

Studies of workplace learning and of organisational learning stem from different disciplinary backgrounds (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 336). The former begins from education research, particularly concerning adult learning, while the latter - focused on management, 'whether utilitarian or critical' (p.336) - originates in organisation studies. A related area is knowledge management, where different agendas reflect contested conceptions of organisation and knowledge (Spender and Scherer 2007: 7-12).

Increased interest in learning and knowledge outside formal programmes (Coffield 2000: 8) is grounded in studies of workplaces - for example, situated learning in workplace apprenticeships and the notion of social learning within communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), which unites knowledge with and in practice. This conception echoes early pragmatist philosophy in education: 'the school as a mode of social life' in which one has 'to enter into proper relations with others in a unity of work and thought' (Dewey 1981 [1897]: 447). Learning may occur as social sense-making, when constructing explanatory accounts of some perturbation within the organisation and beyond (Maitlis 2005: 21). Situated learning extends the notion of personal knowledge (Polanyi 1962) where knowing is embodied experience and capability. Accordingly, learning is defined as 'interplay between social competence and personal experience' (Wenger 2000: 227), and knowledge 'is a tool of knowing' (Cook and Brown 1999: 381).

One implication, that research must 'focus on the formation and change of the communities in which work takes place' (Brown and Duguid 1991: 41), is supported by large-scale research: 'changes in the work group, the way work is organized and the way jobs are designed can shed light on how learning occurs' (Fuller et al 2004: 4). Endorsing the source observation that learning occurs socially in workplaces, it is claimed that situated learning theory lacks a political perspective on how learning conditions are established, while undervaluing the contribution of formal learning opportunities (Rainbird et al 2004: 48-52). For example, in the English public sector, changes to workers' hours and conditions in newly privatised cleaning services have reduced employees' access, not only to training for further qualifications, but also to the

very workgroups which promote learning (Rainbird et al 2004: 49-50).

Adult education and management studies perspectives on learning in the workplace and on organisational learning use the concept of personal knowledge (Polanyi 1962; 1975, cited in Tsoukas and Vladimirou 2001: 975). Personal knowledge describes assimilation: a person's task knowledge is so practised or instrumentalised that an action is accomplished without requiring conscious, directive attention. The basis of organisational learning theory is that the more explicit workers' tacit knowledge becomes, the greater the organisation's capacity to improve - for example, by transferring skills and insights across workgroups. A ceaseless spiral of knowledge creation renders personal knowledge-in-practice explicit (Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995). It is organisationally encouraged through processes of socialisation (sharing experiences and mental models), externalisation (group reflection, problem-solving and networking), combination (bringing ideas together in new, contextualised forms) and internalisation (incorporating the new knowledge and ways of thinking) (Brown et al 2004: 176-177).

The view that Western society is post-industrial has promoted interest in knowledge management. Increasingly, market-oriented competitive practices and the 'technicization of work' diminish professional autonomy (Newell et al 2002: x-xi). One focus of academic interest is an organisation's 'developing or evolving corpus of knowledge' (Spender and Scherer 2007: 9) rather than its learning processes. Knowledge management, a source of competitive advantage, involves 'connecting individual inventiveness to the firm's strategic dynamic' (Spender and Scherer 2007: 8), but the means are unclear since interaction between individual and organisation cannot be assumed (p.9). To facilitate interaction, an organisation needs a discourse 'uniquely attuned to ... its own life-world as distinct from all others' (p.24), whose distinctions are externally as well as self-referenced. In education studies, this conclusion resonates with that of an ethnographic case study of a secondary school where 'a strong narrative' is 'pushing at the boundaries of schooling'; employees recognise that what occurs in school 'is not only of significance to the staff, students and school community, but has potential impact beyond' (Hollins et al 2005: 149).

This overview of organisational development and schools reveals important discontinuities. Firstly, since organisations do not exist independently of people, systemic complexity within and between organisations (involving social learning and knowledge transference across permeable boundaries) makes problematic the relation between individual agency and organisational structure. Secondly, the outline of purpose or object lacks an epistemology of practice. In terms of organisational learning, cyclical processes to elicit tacit knowledge for problem-solving are potentially exploitative, being ultimately for corporate economic advantage. Individual or group development is not the objective, even if distributed explicit knowledge brings gains. The tacit-explicit interplay regards knowledge from managerial rather than educational perspectives: ‘the assignment for knowledge creation is depicted as a management decision ... outside the bounds of the local process’ (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 151). Thirdly, lack of a political dimension in otherwise rich educational theorising of learning in the workplace, such as situated learning, may mask the consequences for workers of socio-historical change and large-scale structural practices within organisations. *Activity theory* and *expansive learning theory* (Engeström et al 1995; Engeström 2001; Engeström 2004; Engeström and Blackler 2005; Engeström and Kerosuo 2007) may offer ways to negotiate these challenges.

Activity theory seeks to connect individuals as agents with the structures of their work. Two major sources for activity theory are cultural-historical activity theory (Vygotsky 1978), and the emphasis placed by Leont’ev (1978) on the long-term, goal-oriented nature of activity itself. Whereas Vygotsky (1978) demonstrated how the actions and understanding of a subject (the thinking, active self) relative to an object are culturally mediated through language, Leont’ev (1978) theorised that such influences and interpretations also occur within and between communities, amidst different activities. Object is the meaningful ‘raw material’ of activity (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 337).

Engagement with these ideas in activity theory has encouraged a focus on activity systems such as organisations and groups, while adding the concepts of rules, community, and division of labour to Vygotsky’s (1978) triangular relationship between subject, object and mediating artefact (Engeström 2001: 134). Thus the unit of analysis of organisational learning is no longer an individual or small group, but the collective activity system itself (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 336-337) in changing historically

(p.338), relative to other activity systems (Engeström 2004: 149). Activity theory acknowledges the active presence of multiple voices and the need for ‘translation and negotiation’ (Engeström 2004: 149). Activity systems may only be understood in the context of their own histories as ‘complex and relatively enduring’ communities of practice, enacted through ‘individual, goal-directed actions’ (Engeström et al 1995: 320). The premise is that ‘human capacities develop’ when people act collaboratively ‘upon their immediate surroundings’ (Blackler et al 2000: 279).

Expansive learning theory provides the epistemological basis for activity theory. As in the processes of organisational sense-making (Maitlis 2005: 21), activity systems manifest significant contradictions which individuals may find impossible to negotiate (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 339). Yet:

‘...most of these situations are somehow resolved and the work goes on... people at work somehow go beyond their own limitations all the time. What makes this possible?’ (Engeström 2004: 146)

His explanation uses ‘negotiated knotworking’, a subtle variation on the gestalt holism of collaboration (Engeström 2004: 152-155). It involves temporary, ‘partially improvised’ work alliances, tied for specific purposes and then dissolved, but which are ‘not reducible to any specific individual or fixed organizational entity as the centre of control’ (p.153). Hence, knotworking describes how agency in complex, post-modern systems creates new structures for organisational purposes. Within activity systems, perturbation provokes innovation, requiring new collective concepts (Engeström et al 1995: 321): organisational learning becomes collective cognitive re-structuring. The contradictions within activity systems are distinguished from conflicts or problems, being ‘structural tensions’ (Engeström 2001: 137) closer to paradox.

Engeström’s term *expansive learning* is distinct from the metaphor of ‘growth’, and from the ‘expansive-restrictive’ continuum of organisational learning presented by Fuller and Unwin (2004: 130-131). Within Activity Theory, expansive learning refers to ‘expansive transformations in activity systems’, affording a ‘wider horizon of possibilities than in the previous mode of activity’ (Engeström 2001: 137). Expansive learning describes what may become, rather than what is: a qualitative expansion in

potentiality of the system itself, involving prospective development rather than ‘growth’ in knowledge or practice. This contrasts further with study of expansive-restrictive environmental conditions for workplace learning, emphasising workforce development (Fuller and Unwin 2004: 131).

In activity theory, an object of transformation is both ‘a unified whole’ and ‘multi-faceted and open to innumerable partial interpretations’ (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 338). An object of activity embodies ‘the meaning, the motive and the purpose’ of a collective activity system (p.337), becoming increasingly complex through dialectical practice (Engeström 2004: 151). Medical practice concerning diabetes is used to exemplify an object’s ‘life of value’ (Engeström and Blackler 2005: 322), how actions shape it (p.313), and the interdependence of materiality and humanity (p.310). Indeed, the objects of working practice are subjectivised in activity theory: the outcomes of expansive learning are ‘expanded objects and new collective work practices, including practices of thinking and discourse’ (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 339).

Boundary-crossing in activity systems becomes significant when practice is studied in plural contexts (Engeström et al 1995: 333). In case studies involving a health centre, two groups of teachers in a primary school, and an industrial production plant, the organisations’ employees work experimentally when faced with ‘a poorly understood problem situation’ (p.332). There is no vertical master-novice expertise to call upon, so the problem is explored horizontally, combining varieties of expertise towards ‘hybrid solutions’ (p.319). This resembles the ‘cultural hybridity’ of overlapping and displaced ‘domains of difference’ in intersubjective relations (Bhabha 1994: 4).

Earlier, this review identified three ‘discontinuities’ associated with learning in the workplace and organisational learning: a missing account of the relationship between individuals and their organisations, a missing epistemology of practice, and a missing political dimension. It is possible now to consider how activity theory and expansive learning theory apply to them.

The relationship between individuals and organisations can be more clearly drawn by situating individual agency within the complexity of systemic activity - especially, by observing how collaborative working in un-prescribed arrangements can resolve

structural contradictions. Activity theory embraces the developmental possibilities of permeable boundaries within and between systems, and within and between organisational groups. Its emphasis on negotiation resonates with work in development studies (Desai 2002; Nussbaum 2006); in organisation studies (Cropanzano and Greenberg 2001; Ogawa and Bossert 2000; Hotho and Pollard 2007); and in education (Gronn 2003; Hollins et al 2006). ‘Knotworking’ may be interpreted as a form of distributed authority rather than distributed leadership, demonstrating the potentiality of collective agency toward a common purpose. Activity theory emphasises ‘horizontal’ relationships across activity systems, and ‘horizontal’ aspects of expertise; ‘vertical’ relationships and learning, especially within organisations, are less explored. The organisational culture which *facilitates* boundary-crossing in the three case studies (Engeström et al 1995), and the leadership which *maintains* such circumstances, do not feature. In the detailed exemplar of diabetes-as-object (Engeström and Blackler 2005), the multiplex activity system of health agencies, the diabetes patients, and the co-creation of the object are at issue: local management practices and environment are not.

In terms of the second discontinuity, expansive learning theory offers an epistemology of practice useful to this thesis. Firstly, it concerns the collective agency of adult workers in learning new forms of activity. Secondly, it is developmental in that it describes self-organising within activity systems whereby inner contradictions are collaboratively resolved: ‘a collective journey through the *zone of proximal development* of the activity’ (Engeström 2001: 137, original emphases). Thirdly, the theory is epistemologically sophisticated, emphasising contextual factors while perceiving learning goals as neither stable nor reasonably well defined (Engeström 2004: 150-151). Yet emotions feature little in expansive learning theory, indicating a cognitive epistemological emphasis. Case studies of boundary-crossing show how creative endeavour ‘requires new conceptual resources’ (Engeström et al 1995: 333), but the emotional and experiential resources (Fredrickson 1998) needed for ‘that sudden disjunction of the present’ (Bhabha 1994: 217) are unexplored. Expansive learning theory applies more to structural contradictions than to the value conflicts in education described by Gewirtz (2002), Bottery (2003), and Davies and Coates (2005).

Activity theory’s political dimension avoids the third discontinuity. It gives inclusive importance to roles and varieties of expertise, demonstrating how workers participate

voluntarily, can face important challenges together, and transform their local situations. Organisational knowledge and means of generating it do not reside exclusively with leadership. Secondly, activity theory uses Marxist terminology ('contradictions', 'use value' and 'exchange value') in constructing its argument (Engeström 2001: 137), while emphasising the importance of workplace negotiation. However, unlike development theory (above, pp.52-54), activity theory does not examine the affording circumstances, power relations, and strategic consequences of negotiation - even in localised workplace situations. The object of activity has crucial theoretical importance, though 'horizontal' expansive learning at work may alter its long-term meaning (Engeström and Kerosuo 2007: 337). However, the object of English education is largely governed through structural channels of regulatory power and discourse (Ball 2008: 186; Bush 2008: 264; Lupton 2005: 602) - 'vertical' forces which activity theory undervalues. From a Marxist perspective, it gives some limited power to collective, negotiated action; by not extending its radical possibilities to transform societal structures, activity theory remains vulnerable to assimilation within the larger system (Avis 2007: 175).

Activity theory can contribute much to the study of organisational development in schools as complex systems. However, government policy influences the climate in which state schools operate. The connection between individuals, their organisations, and the larger socio-political and cultural systems of society needs exploration.

The relationship between individual, organisational and societal development

This literature review finds persistent strands of academic theory concerned with human agency: people are not helpless victims of abstract, unchangeable social structures, and development from learning is associated with well-being. However, social structures, systems and rules change chronically. Human service organisations such as schools, facilitating others' development, are complex activity systems whose ceaseless changing has shorter time scales. The organisational contexts for negotiating practice - and particularly, for negotiating the objects of practice - are also created and re-created, not given, along with their operational structures. Activity theory offers a partial description of the relationship between individuals and their organisations. However,

the relationship of agency with structure needs setting in the wider societal context that co-creates them. For that purpose, *structuration theory* (Giddens 1984) seems appropriate.

Structuration theory describes social change using a duality of agency and structure, rather than a dualism of independent but associated concepts that could be studied separately. Structuration is the structuring of relations within this duality across time and space (Giddens 1984: p.376): context and historicity vitally influence interpretation. Social structures and their properties render agency meaningful, while human agency recursively re-creates and transforms social structures ‘out of the very resources which constitute them’ (p.xxiii). Dualistic agency and structure draw upon rules and resources in routinised practices which help ‘to sustain a sense of ontological security’ (p.282), or ‘a sense of trust’ (p.xxiii). Giddens’ theory emphasises the knowledgeable ability of human beings in their actions, bounded by the unconscious and by ‘unacknowledged conditions’ of action or their ‘unintended consequences’ (p.282). Structure, a solid-seeming metaphor, only exists in agents’ knowledge about what they do routinely (p.26), and is not external to them (p.25). Therefore the rules and resources comprising structure, always both constraining and enabling (p.169), are mutable (p.17).

Several resonances exist between structuration theory and theory of well-being, development and organisation reviewed here. Firstly, for Giddens, the power of individual agency lies in ‘the capability to make a difference’ (p.14). This capability recalls self-determining processes within humanistic positive psychology (Ryan and Deci 2001; Joseph and Linley 2005); resourcefulness in recovering health (Gidron et al 2001; Ogden 2004), and international development theory concerning human capabilities (Nussbaum 2001).

Secondly, in conceptualising change Giddens is critical of ‘evolutionism’ - schematic explanation of social change in sequenced irreversible stages, conceptual affinities with biological evolution, and a directional quality evidenced by ‘increasing complexity or expansion of the forces of production’ (xxviii-xxvix). Although process philosophy holds to a ‘principle of immanence’ (Chia 1999: 220), whereby development cannot unfold by chance, a rhizomic metaphor is used to describe becoming, thus deriving principles of ‘connection and heterogeneity’ and of ‘multiplicity’ (Deleuze 1993 [1987]):

29-30). These conceptions are consistent with the view that human knowledgeability is characteristically indeterminate (having unintended consequences). Giddens' rejection of deterministic stages towards progressive enlightenment recalls discussion of 'growth' metaphors (Van de Ven and Poole 1995), and of schematic improvement discourse (TDA 2008). Structuration theory affirms that development cannot follow the path of externally determined functional needs (Giddens 1984: 322).

Thirdly, structuration theory and activity theory (Engeström et al 1999; Engeström and Blackler 2005) use terms from a common, Marxist frame of reference: contradiction, division of labour, exchange value and use value. Both theories seek to explain how social systems are transformed through human agency. Reference to 'routinized intersections of practices' (Giddens 1984: xxxi) as points of transformation in structural relations resembles descriptions of boundary-crossing in activity theory, except that Engeström considers *novel* situations as sites of learning. (Indeed, the epistemological aspects of Giddens' work seem relatively undeveloped.)

Structuration theory offers advantages to this review. Firstly, whereas activity theory does not confront issues of power relations (employer/employee, or schools/government), Giddens' work does:

‘The existence of power presumes structures of domination whereby power that ‘flows smoothly’ in processes of social reproduction (and is, as it were, ‘unseen’) operates. The development of force or its threat is thus not the type case of the use of power.’ (Giddens 1984: 257)

This analysis focuses upon negotiation, development capabilities, and the shaping circumstances of a particular organisational setting such as a school.

Secondly, structuration theory's central insight, that agency and structure are an inseparable duality only comprehensible in terms of each other, embraces principles from European existentialist philosophy combined with an overt commitment to shift social science methodology from preoccupation with *science* toward the implications of *social* interpretation. These principles and commitment align with findings from the

present review concerning human well-being and development, and their relation to schools as sites of adult learning and practice.

Thirdly, the reflexive aspects of Giddens' work have methodological implications for this research - especially in terms of the 'double hermeneutic' (Giddens 1984: 284), describing the initial task of interpreting the frames of reference within which research participants operate, and then the second-order task of interpreting these findings according to theory.

Fourthly, structuration theory complements other relevant theory such as activity theory, complexity theory, and development theory. There can be no complete theory of everything.

From the above review, the relationship between individuals and their organisations is complex, unfixed, and reciprocally (but not necessarily equally) influenced. There are significant correspondences: organisations and individuals are in continuous process; individual agency within organisations can be understood only relative to organisations' histories and their structural properties; organisations, like individuals, learn, manage knowledge, and develop through social interaction. Also, organisations have no existence without their memberships.

Significant differences appear, also. A worker is not simply an employee: a person's presence is physical and psychosocial, moving consciously between systems of work and other social roles. People working together, whether formally or informally, are not solely employees or even teams, but have multiplicitous potentiality and history available. By contrast an organisational presence, including its buildings, is always symbolic. Therefore an organisation's learning, knowledge and development are also symbolic. These phenomena - created socially, historically, politically and ideologically - are situated in ever-changing present circumstance, and embodied in the membership.

Structuration theory and activity theory suggest that symbolic meanings are re-interpreted recursively by individuals and groups, even or especially when those present include a school's pupils and parents. An organisation's history is not the sum of its members' histories, now or previously. Thus, from this review, an individual

employee's development does not entail development of the organisation in a straightforward, like-for-like fashion; yet each person's organisational actions have consequence, depending on circumstantial capability. The agency of individual members influences their own and organisational development; an organisation's collective agency in development has consequences for individuals through its enactment (Giddens 1984: xxii-xxiii; 297). Similarly, Bourdieu's sociological theory conceptualises a person's constantly changing *habitus* - 'a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' (Bourdieu 1977[1972]: 82-83) - as sharing generative principles with the *fields* (meaningful networks, power relations and social configurations) that shape it, and which it shapes (Grenfell 2004: 27-28). Also, in counselling theory life events: 'are not necessarily independent of the personal style of engaging in the world' (Gilbert 2007: 18). In process philosophy: 'the line of flight is part of the rhizome' and 'these lines tie back to one another' (Deleuze 1993[1987]: 32). The double hermeneutic applies to practice.

Literature Review Section Four: Overview and key questions

Overview

The main research question guiding this review of the literature is:

How do employees in schools within Well-Being Programmes perceive and negotiate organisational and individual development?

From an educational perspective on well-being, development, and organisation, the review finds a pattern of relative neglect, but for different reasons.

Well-being features in psychology (Keyes and Haidt 2003; Ryan and Deci 2001), development theory (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2001), philosophical theory (Griffin 1986; Lakoff and Johnson 1999), and scientific theory (Huppert et al 2005). However, in education studies well-being's wider connection with theory (Smith 2009; White 2007; Hinchcliffe 2004) is infrequently explored. Also, it is necessary to distinguish between eudaimonic well-being, involving self-determination and self-acceptance, and hedonic well-being, associated with pursuit of pleasure (Ryan and Deci 2001). If schools' purpose as human service organisations is indeed to promote human well-being (Johnson 2004: 20, quoting Hasenfield 1983; White 2007: 25), while conceptions of well-being are found across cultures (Tiberius 2004), then the topic is significantly under-theorised relative to 'stress literature' and its pathologies.

By contrast development is used widely but loosely in education, as synonymous with 'growth', and as an ill-defined adjunct to other terms (above, p.32). Development is used to refer to children and adults (cognitive development in childhood; lifelong learning), schools and other organisations (curriculum development; staff development), and whole societies or global systems (policy development; economic development). Yet compared with scholarship in development studies and in strands of adult and further education, debate about the significance of development for autonomy, capability, power relations, and practice seldom appears in contemporary literature on

schools. Ironically, given schools' developmental role, their deeper, social purposes have been neglected in pursuit of 'improvement' and its deficit models (Bottery 2004; Gunter 2003 and 2008; Wrigley 2006).

Finally, recent education literature has largely overlooked organisational study, partly because 'improvement' emphasises pedagogy, but also because of the preoccupation with leadership (Glatter 2006). When schools as organisations are marginalized or selectively regarded, their purpose, historicity, negotiation of capabilities, aims, values, inclusiveness, potentiality, environment, and educational climate - that is to say, those factors routinely requiring the *attention* of leadership - are diminished. Traditionally research is thought to contribute new knowledge toward some cumulative, historically explicable, and relatively coherent unity where 'gaps' are identified and filled (Coolican 1999: 10-11). This viewpoint seems inadequate before the intellectual wasteland contemplated here: territory known but neglected, whose features and meanings are becoming mysteries.

A schools-focused study seeking to answer the main research question must take account of the findings from literature review. Progress has been made in clarifying major concepts, in defining terms, in appraising possible theory, in identifying the contextual and social nature of process, and in more closely associating well-being, development, and organisation.

Yet the literature does not reveal what employees themselves understand development to be, or how they perceive 'well-being practices' relative to it. Experiences of development may differ substantially from the theoretical position so far adopted. Similarly, power relations, facilitative leadership and autonomy are found important in negotiating development, yet little evidence indicates how these processes unfold in different settings. Finally, study of how correspondent development and well-being are achieved requires the structural relationships between individuals and organisations to be explored. Thus the literature review provides a basis for the following key and subsidiary questions.

The Key Questions

The key questions are related to the above five paragraphs (shown in brackets):

- A How do employees in staff Well-Being Programmes perceive development?
[Paragraphs 1; 2; 5]
- B How is development negotiated? [Paragraphs 3; 4; 5]
- C What is ‘organisational’ about organisational development? [Paragraphs 2; 3; 5]

Subsidiary questions:

- A1 What commentary does the discourse of employees give to development?
- A2 How do employees describe their own experiences of development?
- A3 How do learning experiences influence development over time?

- B1 What does negotiation involve in different organisational contexts?
- B2 How do roles influence the negotiation of development?
- B3 How does leadership negotiate development?

- C1 Where are organisational sites of development?
- C2 What is the relationship between individual and organisational development?
- C3 How is the well-being of employees related to organisational development?

The next chapter considers a suitable research design to answer these questions.

Seeking answers by exploring questions

In social science, ‘methodology’ applies ontology (understanding of being-in-the-world), and epistemology (theory of knowledge) to the design and conduct of research (Hatch and Yanow 2008: 24). As general approaches to study methodologies: ‘cannot be true or false, only more or less useful’ (Silverman 2005: 2). The intention is to obtain and interpret data using methods and techniques appropriate to the task but consistent with the researcher’s core beliefs and assumptions, since presuppositions are ‘embedded in research methods’ (Hatch and Yanow 2008: 24). Good faith and good communication require that views and procedures be explained: obscurity about means renders findings untrustworthy (Creswell 2003: 182; 195-196), whereas transparency may help future research (Janesick 2003: 60). A researcher holds beliefs about ‘the nature of society, the nature of human beings, the relationship between the two and how they may be known’ (Hughes 1993: 11, cited in Burton 2000: 1). Outward presentational clarity matters, but inward rigour must ensure that the rationale is authentically worked out, fully linked with interpretative principles, and thus, ‘primordially... rooted in the way we come to terms with the things themselves’ (Heidegger 2007a[1927]: §7, 50:28).

An appropriate methodology for studying well-being and development in organisations cannot be a dispassionate exercise in selecting methods. The main research question was reached after several revisions (above, p.13):

How do employees in schools within Well-Being Programmes perceive and negotiate organisational and individual development?

The analytical methods used could not have been determined earlier, because the research problem and the concepts themselves were less clear. Hence the methodology has become part of the developmental meaning of the research, as well as the means of its achievement.

The research question is not grammatically complex (essentially, ‘How do these people in these situations see and do such-and-such?’). However, it identifies a double object, *organisational and individual development*, while delimiting the settings to *schools within well-being programmes* and the participants to *employees*, thus introducing conditional elements. Also, two main verbs concerning phenomena, *perceive and negotiate*, are used. In organisational contexts, ‘the actions are frequently much easier to observe than the conditions’ (Axelrod and Cohen 1999: 141). Finally, as the literature review indicates, well-being, development and organisation are everyday terms masking significant, complex, but under-theorised ideas in education. The assertion, ‘doing research necessarily involves assumptions that sometimes require philosophical attention’ (Hammersley 2006: 274) understates the case. The burdened formulation of this research question reflects its experiential origins, but also, a concern for meaning.

Methodologies carry claims about ‘whether researchers can stand outside that which they are studying’ so as to learn about phenomena, about ‘what can be known concerning that research subject’, and ‘provide reasons for choosing procedures of inquiry’ (Hatch and Yanow 2008: 24). The methodology here has originated in reviewing the relevant literature on these topics - the second feature described by Hatch and Yanow (2008). The understanding gained informs the research methods concerning (for example) eudaimonic well-being, non-linear processes of development, and agency/structure relations within organisations. To establish methods consonant with the review findings requires a rationale - the third methodological feature mentioned by Hatch and Yanow (2008). However, the authors’ first point of description is observed: the reasoning for these methods relative to the topic remains consistent with the researcher’s world-view.

Below, the cumulative rationale for this study progresses from ontological to epistemological considerations, then to the methods. Reflections on the experience of conducting these procedures follow.

‘A view from somewhere’

The phrase alludes to attempts at creating an entirely neutral description of objective reality, summarised ironically as ‘the view from nowhere’ (Nagel 1986, cited in Alexander 2006: 206). The logical conclusion, that every perspective is a ‘view from somewhere’, captures a subjectivist and potentially inter-subjectivist principle, despite any disagreement about ‘where that view is from or what vantage point it allows’ (Alexander 2006: 206). To adopt a vantage point concerning the world is already an epistemological act (Alexander 2006). The landscape metaphor of ‘a view’ emphasises that any interpretation or judgement is from a certain perspective, involving at least one person - even a landscape perceived as deserted nonetheless includes the perceiver. Because views are situated temporally and spatially, involving change to the percept as well as to the perceivers, multiple views upon the ‘same’ landscape are a logical consequence. Others’ perspectives become an inter-subjective resource rather than an obtrusion, requiring some self-transcendence in approaching understanding.

Thus ontologically this research begins from the existential awareness of oneself as a human presence in a landscape - the *Dasein* or ‘being-there’ of Heidegger (2007 [1927]: 27) – which can be understood in terms of continuity and flux, and by acts of transcendent self-perception. Equally, others’ presence is a source of comfort and of moral perplexity. The fact of our being-in-the-world condemns us to meaning (Merleau-Ponty 2005 [1945]: xxii), in that we find ourselves recursively having to re-engage with the significance of our own and others’ presence in contexts requiring that we make sense of them. Instead of the central, cognitive ‘I’ of Cartesian thought, the phenomenological stance is that: ‘The world is not what I think, but what I live through ... it is inexhaustible’ (Merleau-Ponty 2005 [1945]: xviii-xix). Phenomenologically, ‘I’ and ‘world’ are inseparable: we know our world ‘because we give meaning to it’ (Levering 2006: 452).

To be conscious in the world is to be present in time and place, bodily unifying present with past, and with unfolding future (Levering 2006: 453). But because our existential experience is a continuous movement through time, the phenomena we experience are likewise situated, requiring us to reflect upon non-reflective experience, and thus, to bring ‘a change in structure of our existence’ (Merleau-Ponty 2005[1945]: 72). Primally

reflection recognises otherness because consciousness is always ‘consciousness of something’ (Levinas 1996[1989]: 126). In particular, *being* conceives possibilities and responsibilities in that situation:

‘... the perception of the other founds morality by realising the paradox of an alter ego, of a common situation, by placing my perspectives and my incommunicable solitude in the visual field of another and of all others.’
(Merleau-Ponty 1964: 26)

Adult awareness of this moral responsibility permeates the literature of lifelong learning - for example, in terms of ‘personal commitment, social commitment, respect for others’ learning, and respect for truth’ (Smith and Spurling 1999: 43). Works in adult education affirm how self-understanding derives from social interaction (Williamson 2006[1998]; Jarvis 2006). Similarly, well-being programmes for employees emphasise commitment and moral responsibility towards self and others in organisational life. Hence social interaction at work constitutes both a means of learning and an interpretative requirement. The research problem broadly occupies this area.

The thesis focuses upon *being* and *becoming* in organisations, particularly perceived meanings and processes, and the inter-relationship of individual and organisational circumstances. Thus, the natural philosophic territory of the present research is existentialism, process philosophy, and phenomenological interpretation. Although these are not unified, self-contained schools of thought, philosophers such as Heidegger (2007[1927]), Merleau-Ponty (2005[1945]), Gadamer (1977[1962]) and Sartre (1973[1946]) and more recent scholarship (Dall’Alba 2009; Nayak 2008; Gillett and McMillan 2001; Chia 1995 and 1999) emphasise process, movement, continuity, the intentionality of consciousness, and the need to achieve authenticity of thought and action by interpreting one’s history and situation relative to others. Affinities between particular philosophical ideas and ways of approach to understanding on the one hand, and the research problem on the other, are unified and re-interpreted in the research, since ‘interpretation is the explicit form of understanding’ (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 306). They are meaningful aspects of identity and of understanding tasks.

The research question asks how certain phenomena are perceived and negotiated by others: a question about interpretative meaning. Hence a qualitative approach using a form of ethnography is needed, since fieldwork studies how people ‘make sense of their lives and their world’ (Robson 2004: 89).

However, this initial coherence does not determine which ethnographic methods fit the task in hand. Process as the mode of reality and a theme of perceived development within organisations are crude bases for eliciting data. The phenomenon of development is not available to ethnographic observation in any straightforward sense, but is brought to consciousness reflectively by individuals and groups when interpreting experience retrospectively and in looking ahead (Weick 2001: 6). Language is an important means of conceiving, realising and sharing these perceptions inter-subjectively in discourse (Heracleous 2006: 20). Yet language is not a purely transparent medium - it also mediates thought (Chia 2000: 514).

Three methodological points came from these considerations. Firstly, the study is longitudinal in order to track non-linear, indeterminate processes. Secondly, a descriptive and interpretative approach helps to explore the contextual grounds of participants’ views, rather than simply what views are found. Thirdly, the study employs methods that value discourse as a modality of understanding, through which *views from somewhere* might be communicated to someone standing alongside.

Another methodological challenge is the critique that ‘process philosophies of organization seem ill-equipped to analyze those structural forces that form social reality on a universal level’ (Böhm 2006: 110). This is a critical assault in an ‘ideology war’ between management studies and critical management studies (Rehn 2008: 598).

Weighing strengths and weaknesses in research concerning organisational process, Böhm concludes that such work illustrates well the flow of organisational life and the minutiae of individual accounts. Post-modernist approaches that deconstruction (deconstruct) organisations expose how knowledge is given an over-simplified, ‘formal, hierarchical and well-bounded location’ (Böhm 2006: 6). However, Böhm argues, in studies of process such analysis is tenuously related to the predominant social and political structures constraining organisations. Accordingly, processual approaches do not perceive the enduring historical forces of state capitalism, managerialism and their

associated means of bureaucratic control within localised circumstances and discourse. Hence these accounts - for example, he cites Weick (1995) on organisational sense-making - offer 'an idealized notion of social reality' (Böhm 2006: 111), obscuring the political element. Post-modern deconstructions provide valuable insight into organisational frailties and indeterminacy, but their ontological stance prevents the repositioning of discourse to create new social realities (Böhm 2006: 120-121).

The problem is partly one of scale: Böhm (2006: 113-119) regards the emphasis of 'social constructionism' on localised meanings as naïve relativism, preferring to suggest, somewhat indirectly, that a larger, meaningful, structural reality pre-exists human being, to which one must have regard. Rather than conceiving of multiple realities that change and intermingle (including in their power relations) Böhm (2006: 3-7) accepts implicit hierarchies and hegemonic control as givens.

Besides scale, the problem involves ethical choices. Böhm's (2006) argument resembles earlier criticism of 'the lack of a sustained and explicit reflection on the ethical/political commitments ... involved in writing about organizations' (Parker 2000: 521). Failure to face 'competing definitions of ethics and politics' brings 'concealment, confusion and avoidance' (p.523), thus marginalising questions of value and of how change may be achieved (p.519). Such a critique further resembles findings from the literature review, (above pp.53-54), that improvement is assumed to be its own justification while educational purpose is marginalised.

The criticism must be faced: process-oriented approaches risk politically naïve or disingenuous conclusions. There are implications for the design and analysis of the present research, whose perspective is social-constructivist, organisation-focused and process-oriented. Yet it must be noted, firstly, that a study of indeterminacy need not be haphazard. Secondly, all discourse (especially 'depoliticised' discourse) is capable of political interpretation, and may have political effects, while 'the people calling management ideological are just as ideological themselves' (Rehn 2008: 600). Thirdly, broader social and political issues may arise irrespective of method. For example, an initial, methodological interest in narrative inquiry approaches has shifted focus from 'teachers' personal construction of knowledge' to 'the educational landscape' in which

they work (Clandinin and Connelly 2000: 126). Process-oriented research methodology is itself in process.

By their nature and function, schools are political organisations (Busher 2006: 7-11; Wrigley 2006:287), subject to constraints (Gleeson and Knights 2006: 282) and to political intervention (Newman 2007: 28-29). Education is not an apolitical activity (James et al 2006: 172; Hollins et al 2006: 150-151). Therefore, development in education employees has political significance. The literature review has featured schools-focused ethnographies of process and change laden with political commentary (for example, Gewirtz 2002; Davies and Coates: 2005; Barker, B, 2005). For this research, employees' perceptions of development, well-being and organisation indicate various governmental and societal influences upon the work of schools. Political and perhaps 'politicised' material may be anticipated in the raw data.

One element of the research question links individual with organisational development in plural settings (p.84): a focus evoking structuration theory and its broader social perspective (Giddens 1984). The work of well-being programmes focuses on such issues specifically, seeking to influence social relations through a 'positive' discourse rather than pathologies of stress management. This perspective regards deficit models of organisational performance as flawed, and co-operative, positive approaches to human well-being as potentially valuable. Thus well-being activity in schools, free of government control yet within regulatory requirement, has a distinct, agentic stance that may feature culturally in the settings studied.

The research seeks to interpret accounts of development - a political role which can highlight approaches contrasting with the instrumentalism of improvement. Therefore this particular process-oriented research methodology is grounded in political consciousness associated with explicit views of social reality. Should the research then lead to 'depoliticised' findings or an idealised view of organisation, Böhm's critique would be more likely to apply to process methodologies themselves. Equally, it is important that data analysis in the research remain unbiased by these considerations. The complex links between the state of knowledge and its originating social conditions reflect power relations, yet:

‘...it does not follow that what constitutes knowledge at any given time is but the creation of those who are in positions of power and control. That is not the whole story.’ (Pring 2000: 257)

Exploring and re-visiting

To present beliefs coherently benefits research: the beliefs themselves are explored critically, sometimes revealing fresh possibilities or doubts. Reconsideration is figuratively a second, dialectical voice, always presenting alternatives. But new possibilities arise in communicating the outcomes, since writing is a method of inquiry (Richardson 2003: 499; Hatch and Yanow 2008: 38). The act of clarifying becomes the projection of a work in progress.

One argument for methodical clarity suggests that ‘the distinctions and categories we use largely dictate our thinking, and our thinking largely dictates our practice’ (Wilson 2003: 289). Yet the importance of clear distinctions and careful categorisation may be accepted without entailing a dualism of mental and physical activities (theory versus practice) in this way, and without ceding authority to rationality as dictating behaviour (intellect versus feeling). Mind is embodied (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), while human well-being is related to health psychosocially, physiologically and emotionally. The *being* in well-being is a commitment of the whole person in a social context rather than a prudential, utilitarian evaluation (Ignatow 2007: 123-129). These perspectives challenge theories accepting mind/body dualism. Furthermore, the logic of embodied movement and process, as indicated by *the view from somewhere*, is that knowledge, self-knowledge and personality are not static and placeless, but changing and highly contextualised (Molden and Dweck 2006: 198); that the way we interpret what we know changes temporally; and that theory and practice constitute an inseparable duality of mutual influence, co-present in action.

Indeed, ‘there is no simple correspondence between a general structure of thought and specific beliefs and actions’ (Gutting 2005: 40). Mediating influences such as emotion, intuition, dialogue and social context suffuse self-critical processes (of exploring

preconceptions and of writing). Therefore appeals to an objectified tradition of knowledge as the sole ground for action are insufficient (Heidegger 2007a[1927]: §2, 25: 6). The importance of human agency in meaning-making signifies the ‘impossibility of finding the true philosophy, ready-made in the past’ (Jaspers 1996 [1937]: 60). A body of philosophical work is but one mediating influence upon the process of deciding what and how to study. Forceful ideas require forceful exploration and re-visiting, however imperfectly, within the fullness of the person.

The great resource of learning for any individual is the social awareness of multiple sources of inexhaustible knowledge. Aspects of adult, social learning feature in various academic fields - for example, counselling is explicitly a means of social learning (McLeod 2003: 35); development as a field considers negotiated access to learning (Nussbaum 2001); organisation studies considers the nature of informal workplace learning (Engeström 1999). As the research question concerns development, human well-being, negotiation and organisation, the methodology similarly values social perspectives on learning.

The literature review has shown how development and well-being are complex and conceptually elusive, while organisation theory receives little attention in current educational literature. The diffusiveness of these topics (despite their educational importance) has required an explorative, cross-disciplinary literature review to search for cohesive meaning. Hence, a similarly explorative, descriptive and interpretative research methodology seems appropriate. Ethnography is ‘a method of discovery’ when confronting ‘something new, different or unknown’ (Punch 2005: 154). These phenomena are not readily disclosed: the immediate task has been to represent them as a problem of knowledge in order then to apply appropriate research methods.

The academic context is described (above, p.83) as a neglected territory of lost meanings, perhaps suggesting a quasi-archaeological research process. Figuratively the site is marked, mapped, and measured; historical layers are painstakingly revealed; ‘finds’ are located then removed for analysis. The literature review recommends quasi-archaeological fastidiousness in organisational study because of competing theories and cultural differences (p.61). Indeed, the ‘archaeology of knowledge’ is used figuratively by Foucault 2004 [1969]) in asserting that the problem of knowledge:

‘...is no longer one of tradition, of tracing a line, but one of division, of limits; it is no longer one of lasting foundations, but one of transformations that serve as new foundations, the rebuilding of foundations.’ (Foucault 2004 [1969]: 6)

However, this research does not seek to rebuild foundations - which, following the archaeological metaphor, would in any case destroy primary data. The epistemological and social site of study is not preserved, but a living, changing, populated and socially organised landscape that includes oneself (Hammersley 1995: 18; Clandinin and Connelly 2000: 61; Prasad 2002: 19; Gadamer 2004[1975]: 237-238).

Characteristically, archaeology seeks meaning in a past no longer addressing us directly. By contrast, this research is essentially ethnographic in that present meanings and discourse of educational, social and political significance are being neglected or overlooked because of their contemporaneous familiarity.

Such perplexing inobservance in the state of knowledge is not random (Gewirtz 2002; Gunter 2003; Bottery 2004; Rainbird et al 2004; Wrigley 2004; Glatter 2006; Starratt 2007). Moreover, deconstruction of a government agency’s document for schools (p.70, above) shows how change is presented as something external, arbitrary, and without political significance, but which nevertheless must be accomplished. By contrast, the phenomena of this field of inquiry become apparent only upon reflection, in particular personal and social circumstances having past and future horizons. Fittingly, therefore, a concern for the moving present informs the methodology of this research. In order to understand how this ‘present’ is becoming, the research also considers how the ‘now’ became, inviting an element of narrative. It is important to retain this perspective in the settings (through dialogue) and in the course of hermeneutic interpretation (for example, of the organisational consequences of individual agency).

Following-through

The research question has methodological implications. Methods should ‘grow naturally from the research question and ... from the nature of the social setting in which the research is to be carried out’ (Holliday 2002: 21). By referring to people’s perceptions,

the question asks about meanings and situated understanding. To elicit employees' perceptions, rather than to observe their actions, requires a methodology attentive to people's ideas and values, to the terms they use, and to their accounts. Mention of well-being programmes highlights the conditional importance of local context, and of individual and organisational culture and history. In seeking answers to aspects of this question, the approach is exploratory rather than experimental, since schools are real-life social settings. Also, inductive rather than deductive analysis is needed when interpreting reported experiences.

Together, these elements match a description of five characteristics of qualitative approaches: a naturalistic, descriptive, process-related, and inductive inquiry concerned with meaning from the participants' perspectives (Bogdan and Biklen 2003: 4-7). A framework for assessing qualitative research evidence concerned with evaluation, and produced for the Cabinet Office, offers a much longer list, but includes these five features (Spencer et al 2003: 32).

The decision to adopt a naturalistic paradigm has been for reasons of personal authenticity (above, p.13). In terms of methods, it also entails *fidelity* to the ethic of well-being programmes and to the wider code of research (British Educational Research Association 2004). The principles and procedures of well-being programmes are part of the grounding of the research problem itself (Health Development Agency 2002: 18-23). Below, Table 3.1 demonstrates how fidelity to well-being programmes applies. The left column presents the programmes' operational principles; procedural actions are shown centrally; the column on the right shows the corresponding research procedures. The lines of fidelity read from left to right.

Table 3.1: FIDELITY TO WELL-BEING PROGRAMMES		
Principles of WBPs	WBP procedures	Research procedures
Voluntary participation: WB facilitators from different staff sectors	Facilitators negotiate well-being issues with colleagues; advocate WBP	WB facilitators negotiate schedules, advocate the research, and participate
Trust; confidentiality and anonymity protected	Conduct of and feedback from self-review	Ethical fieldwork and feedback
Inclusive values in taking some control of change	All staff, not just teachers; all types of establishment; everyone contributes.	Valuing voice: listen to concerns; wide range of employees and schools
Small changes can make a big difference	Accentuating the positive; noting the 'small steps'	Development and WB themes; focus on agency
Strategic: not a 'quick fix'	Leadership commitment	Leadership involvement
Employer (LA) engagement and support	WB co-ordinators work with the LA; links with other services; networking	Involvement of and feedback to WB co-ordinators; networking
Complementary and systemic: not an 'add-on'	A way of being, not a set of tasks; integrative with school processes and procedures	Focus on issues schools find relevant; use of researcher's knowledge of WBPs
Respect for diversity and uniqueness	Responsiveness to factors in the setting and locality; building on strengths	Emphasises context of individuals' discourse

The argument thus far can now be summarised. A situated view of reality, 'a view from somewhere', acknowledges diverse perspectives while emphasising the human need to find meaning in experience, and the importance of context to that process. Our sense of existence is not static, but changes continuously through time and place. Inevitably individuals' perceptions change, although how they change is not predetermined, because experience is problematically unique. Each human being has some power of agency in the world, since acts have consequences. This realisation is tied to awareness of others, transcending selfhood, and to inter-subjectivity as a source of meaning, responsibility and moral understanding. We need to understand ourselves and to realise our capabilities through others, whose individuality, circumstance and voice we appreciate through social interaction. Systems of meaning are socially created and

sustained between people, and therefore social structures can be changed through engagement.

Ethnography is suitable for studying people in workplace settings (Silverman 2005: 53), but a person's working life is more holistic than a career or job. A focus on employees' perceptions of development explores the intangible qualities of experience reported by people in naturalistic situations, and also processes across time. Inevitably, participants draw upon other experience. The research design and later analysis have taken account of this permeability, without exploiting the material's privileged nature in recorded conversations.

Two further aspects of method, founded in the relationship between thought and language, apply to this rationale. The first is an adaptation of traditional ethnography; the second is a form of hermeneutics.

Valuing voice: discursive ethnography

The proper concern of education is development in people, and the articulation of that understanding in professional discourse (Peters 2009: 2-3) by focusing on capabilities (Hinchcliffe 2007: 224). However, development in the employees themselves, negotiating their working lives within organisations, involves reflection over time. Ideas of self and others, experiences of working, organisation, and personal capabilities all contribute to wider understanding. Traditional ethnographic methods such as participant observation need adaptation when development is studied.

Context, circumstance and language shape meaning. Literature review indicates that development and well-being are associated with personal history, sentient experience and learning, and with psychosocial conditions, values, and power relations in workplaces and elsewhere. By referring to *perceive and negotiate*, the main question values the employees' own descriptions of lived experience (Spandler 2001[1996]: 16-18) concerning development and well-being. The approach implies that in conversations the researcher should invite participants to relate how events came to happen. The

relationship between researcher and participant needs to encourage mutual trust, affording time to reflect. Such trustfulness allows the researcher briefly to stand alongside another's situated experience.

Development in multiple contexts incorporates historical experiences unavailable to empiricism. Its presence is realised in reflexive, synthesising discourse: 'every temporal process is recognized as such only to the extent that it can, in one way or another, be recounted' (Ricoeur 1996[1983]: 139). To capture this feature requires what may be termed *discursive ethnography*: a methodological approach to the study of those intangible and indeterminate processes of human experience whose meaning and significance are made explicit only in the telling, and in the discursive contexts of that telling, to the researcher in conversation.

The participants have used story when describing their experiences, because 'Narratives present events developing in time according to causes or human intentions' (Bowman 2006: 7). They represent ways of giving meaning to events in our lives, acquiring special significance 'during times of strategic change' (Dunford and Jones 2000: 1209). Narrative has become a focus within organisation studies (Weick 2001; Carroll and Levy 2008); organisation theory (Heracleous and Jacobs 2008); education (Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Clandinin 2006); psychotherapy and counselling (Gilbert 2007: 118-119); and health psychology (Pennebaker 2003). It is part of extensive academic study of discourse and its influence on views of reality.

Narrative inquiry, an ethnographic strategy used with individuals and organisations, regards narrative as both phenomenon and method of study (Connelly and Clandinin 2000: 2). A *three-dimensional narrative inquiry space* is conceptualised, embracing: personal and social interaction, past, present and future continuity, and place or situation (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000: 49-51). Such a space includes the inquirer in the landscape (Clandinin 2006: 47), where 'field texts' are produced (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000: 110-112).

Story is distinct from narrative, since stories are on-going as field inquiries begin, and 'engaging with participants is walking into the midst of stories' (Clandinin 2006: 47). Here, 'story' resembles the meaning-making in unfolding development - a cultural

process largely expressed informally, since ‘in the stories people tell about themselves they make sense of their world’ (Williamson 2006[1998]: 24). Narrative is ‘a textual form in which a story is told’ (Dunford and Jones 2000: 1208) - already a ‘fragment of history’ in terms of discourse (Foucault 2004[1969]: 131). Implicitly, in organisational life many stories remain untold. The interpretation presented by narrative inquiry is itself a narrative construct, a focal point between researcher and participant: ‘The story is up to the research subject; the analysis and theorizing is up to the researcher’ (Levering 2006: 460). For this thesis, selected narratives have been analysed in order to complement, extend, or contrast with thematic data analysis (see p.206).

When transferring discursive ethnographic material from electronic recording to transcription, recorded speech becomes ‘text’ - the evidential basis. However, in valuing individual voices, it seems important to remember that two texts now represent what was said - the written version being the greater approximation. Readers rarely have privileged access to recordings, whereas the researcher can remember conversations with participants (Walford 2001: 95). Therefore the recording is the primary text, used interpretatively to recall how something was said (Walford 2001: 95). A fruitful way of interpreting meaning is to follow conversational process by replaying recordings. Had recordings been transcribed by others, the spirit of ‘valuing voice’ would have been undermined; the interposed printed word would have become the effective text.

The second further aspect of the rationale is interpretation, which must be considered before the means of validation.

Philosophical hermeneutics and voices of development

A further implication of the rationale is philosophically hermeneutic. Such interpretation is ‘unique to the human sciences’, involving conceptual journeying between fixed points in ‘the familiar notion of the hermeneutic circle’ (Schwandt 2003: 299). Indeed, ‘this circular relationship between the whole and the parts’ began with scriptural exegesis (Gadamer 2004[1975]:176). It involves exploration of the gestalt where, to comprehend the whole, one must understand each part, and vice versa. Since

the interpretative aim is to clarify, the topic is introduced as ‘...a rather mundane and practical activity. We all do hermeneutics’ (Stevenson 2000: 22). An ‘oft-cited description’ (Schwandt 2003: 299) refers to:

‘Hopping back and forth between the whole conceived through the parts that actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole which motivates them’
(Geertz 1979: 239)

Interpretation begins with the perturbation of not understanding. Hence, elements of the part/whole duality explicate one another interdependently.

‘Weak’ versions of hermeneutics are ‘somewhat nebulous’, embracing various interpretative approaches to qualitative inquiry; ‘strong’ versions are more precise, being epistemologically and ontologically grounded (Prasad 2002:13). From the philosophical perspective of the embodied mind, the hermeneutic circle is not two-dimensional, but a surrounding landscape: an horizon of consciousness without formal boundaries, which ‘moves with one and invites one to advance further’ (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 238). Similarly, temporal distance between past and present horizons is not void, but ‘a positive and productive condition enabling understanding’ (p.297). Interpretation is temporally and spatially located in a changing landscape because we move between past and future horizons, never ‘bound to any one standpoint’ (p.303). Coming to understanding involves fusing horizons through language (Prasad 2002: 20), signifying that ‘as the historical horizon is projected, it is simultaneously superseded’ (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 306) in the present. Also, others with their own horizons of intentionality populate this changing landscape. Self-understanding involves a dialogic process in ‘an incomplete, dynamic, ongoing and developing communicational experience’ (Levering 2006: 459). This view of hermeneutics, acknowledging that our past and future horizons move with us, accords with development theory previously reviewed (pp.40-41).

Hermeneutic interpretation is highly reflexive. Its historical awareness ‘will make conscious the prejudices governing our own understanding’ (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 298). *Prejudices* here are one’s fore-conceptions - beliefs about phenomena before seeking to interpret them, being ‘guided by the things themselves’ (p.269) rather than

foreclosed thinking. However, critical hermeneutic theory holds that some prejudices thus identified may not be legitimate, and that a preoccupation with language should recognise how prevailing ideology distorts understanding (Habermas 1990: 239, cited in Prasad 2000: 22). This position anticipates that of Böhm (2006), discussed earlier (above, pp.89-92). Yet hermeneutics need not legitimise an ideological ‘tyranny of hidden prejudices’ (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 269) within discourse, since interpretation involves criticism. Critique is ‘the necessary detour that self-understanding must take’ (Ricoeur 1981: 144, cited in Prasad 2002: 23). Indeed, ‘hermeneutic approaches assume that some meanings are more valid than others’ (Heracleous 2006: 39). Thus any weakness of ideological critique within hermeneutic interpretation is not a limitation of method, but of understanding.

Textual meaning reaches beyond the author(s). To find meaning ‘is not merely a reproductive but always a productive activity as well’, so that if one comes to understand a text at all, it is not a better but a different understanding (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 296), conscious of its historical horizon. To have this sense of horizon involves learning to look beyond the immediate, and thus to see the close-at-hand in truer proportion (p.304). Hermeneutics clarifies understanding and prevents misunderstanding, using methods discriminatingly. Thus it is ‘a protection against the abuse of method’ (Gadamer in Misgeld and Nicholson 1992: 70).

Horizons unifying past, present and future offer a sense of proportion and origination, being continually re-constituted through transcendent human agency. This dynamic view of interpretation, emphasising a dialogic relationship with text, broadly defined (Prasad 2002: 23), is especially relevant to the present task. Firstly, it offers a means of considering the relationship between individuals and organisations, by accepting indeterminacy, by encouraging emancipatory perspectives, and by setting individual and organisational development in the context of government agendas for schools. Secondly, it emphasises the broader context and history of these phenomena, as the research question requires. Thirdly, its orientation to dialogue resonates with earlier sections of this chapter and with qualitative inquiry. Fourthly, given the thrust of the present study, philosophical hermeneutics accommodates potentially developmental aspects of learning and self-critical process. Its reality encompasses ‘the self-understanding of the interpreter as well as what is interpreted’ (Gadamer 1977[1962]:

58). Fifthly, the research design requires both thematic and narrative data analysis: synthesis of these bodies of material invites a careful hermeneutic exercise.

Validity versus validation

Validity in research has strong positivist and normative connotations. Rational analysis specifies the procedures so that others following the methodology would reach very similar or identical results. Thus, scientific knowledge has predictive power. One reason for such procedures is to exclude chance results. Also, the test of a hypothesis is falsifiability: can an alternative or contradictory result be demonstrated with as much rigour from the same premise? If not, then the hypothesis is 'true for now'. Scientific positivism as a tradition presupposes doubt.

But this thesis cannot demonstrate validity in such terms: the attempt would be a category mistake (Alexander 2006: 216). The naturalistic and interpretative paradigm begins from a constructivist position concerning social reality. Naturalistic studies do not test hypotheses, but build theory, having descriptive and explanatory rather than predictive power. Qualitative approaches describe transient situations, so that a research report and bodies of data may be all that remain tangibly of what occurred. However, all research requires a critical readership - including the self-criticism of reflexivity. The challenge for this study is to demonstrate to such an audience its rigour and trustworthiness, and to present findings useful to the education community. Thus it becomes an iterative process of validation, rather than a construct of external/internal validity.

The research design presents criteria (pp.103-106), including *variety*, for a purposive sample of schools. Although the small sample has no statistical validity, use of plural settings for the study has involved choices which can contribute to validation. A sample of various types of school is better used than perversely ignored when studying ill-defined, intangible phenomena such as development. Similarly, visits to schools in different Local Authorities, in different parts of England, are more likely to reveal structural aspects of development and the pressure nationally for improvement than

visits in one area only. The same argument applies to the study of perceptions in schools within (plural) well-being programmes.

In the schools, a sampling criterion of *representation* enables a wide range of voices to be heard, while focusing attention on the phenomenon of development itself more than on its manifestation within a specific organisational role, group, or function. Any commonalities across schools are less likely to suggest the conditional circumstances of the phenomenon, than to illuminate the phenomenon itself in various circumstances. Also, negative instances may be anticipated. Accounts of thwarted initiative or of feelings of alienation from the workplace contribute to a more rounded, unsentimental portrait of development. Indeed, ‘the logic of illustration in educational research precedes the logic of generalisation’ (Alexander 2006:216).

Analytic generalisations are possible from the findings of this research, but they are not generalisable to populations (Miles and Huberman 1994: 27-28). By using variety and representation as sampling criteria, claims become more ‘transferable to other settings and contexts’, in terms of theoretical diversity (Punch 2005: 255-256) and of theoretical propositions (Silverman 2005: 251). However, transference implies that people convey ideas without mediating effects: here, *applicability* is more precise. For conclusions to be applicable they must follow plausibly, comprehensively, clearly, and scrupulously from findings grounded in evidence. The process of validation must show that this study is ethically achieved, coherent, thorough and worthwhile.

Designing and conducting the research

Structure, sampling and timing

Following this rationale, a discursive ethnography (above, pp.97-99) was conducted of employees’ perceptions of negotiating development in schools committed to well-being programmes. Thus, ‘the case’ was the phenomenon in different organisational contexts. As sites of the phenomenon, the participant schools were few because contextual

richness, not statistical significance, was sought (Miles and Huberman 1994: 25-27). Pragmatically, the maximum number of sites for such work was from three to five.

A variety of organisational circumstances, involving participants from a range of school roles, seemed likely to provide rich data for the study of complex phenomena. Therefore the design framework involved a version of purposive sampling – that is, ‘sampling in a deliberate way, with some purpose or focus in mind’ (Punch 2005: 187). Purposive sampling is associated with qualitative approaches seeking either to minimise or, as in this study, to maximise variation. Criterion-based purposive sampling in a selected setting ‘illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested’ (Silverman 2005: 250). Because the well-being ethos values collaboration and networking, this study consulted well-being co-ordinators in geographically-widespread Local Authorities having relatively long-running well-being programmes. Co-ordinators, as appointed employees in the service of well-being, have transferred from numerous professional roles as headteachers, teachers, lecturers, occupational health workers, and counsellors. Similarly committed headteachers and (voluntary) well-being facilitators in schools were also consulted in order to achieve what had been proposed. This advice was particularly helpful in ‘gaining entry’ and in structuring schedules (see below).

An element of ‘theory-driven’ sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994: 27) was also necessary, to encompass the common factor of schools’ formal and strategic commitment to well-being programmes. Thus, there would be some common frame of reference (*facilitator, co-ordinator, self-review*), not only within the schools but within the participating Local Authorities, which shared the desire to influence well-being through varieties of localised yet co-ordinated action. This factor was included for three reasons. Interest in the research topic began from personal experience of promoting staff well-being in education; development, learning, well-being and health are associated theoretically (pp.19-21; 36-41; 41-43, above), although these inter-relationships are under-theorised; finally, they are associated in well-being programmes.

The sampling operated essentially as a funnelling process. The well-being co-ordinator in each of three Local Authorities was provided with guidance and briefings towards nominating two or three ‘suitable’ schools engaged in well-being programmes. These schools had not been judged by external inspection as either outstanding or in a

category of special measures. Discussion with the co-ordinators, all of whom were known personally to the researcher, helped everyone to clarify what the research was about, precisely the help that was sought, and the nature of the expected contribution of participants in the schools. The co-ordinators, being familiar with the school establishments in their own area, could make well-founded judgements about which local schools might be asked. Finally a long-list of seven 'suitable' schools was established, for the following reasons: firstly, they were likely to remain committed to their well-being programmes for the duration of the research; secondly, they contributed overall to a representative spread of types of school; and thirdly, the relevant headteachers were interested enough in the study potentially to permit some employees to give time to it across three phases of research visits. This funnelling process gave greater confidence that employees in these schools (especially those in roles less frequently associated with educational research, yet essential to this study) would be likely at least to consider participation.

Sampling according to these principles, which used local knowledge and contextual familiarity within the national well-being programme, helped to ensure:

□ Elective participation

Local Authority co-ordinators approached the headteachers initially, to explain the project and to discover their willingness to discuss it with the researcher, who contacted each headteacher (Appendix A) to arrange a briefing meeting on-site. Specifically the study did not evaluate 'well-being performance'. A headteacher's formal agreement committed the school, not particular members of staff, to participate.

□ Feasibility

The participant schools and their LAs were all likely to retain well-being programmes for the duration of the research, so that some reliability of data-gathering was assured.

□ Commitment

At least one of the trained well-being facilitators in each setting consented to participate in the study along with other employees, offering an institutional point of contact concerning the well-being programme in that setting. No participant or school withdrew.

□ Variety

The final sample represented primary, secondary and special education, comprising five schools of different sizes, with lengths of involvement in well-being programmes varying between one and five years. This helped to secure a broad span of experiences in educational settings upon which to draw when exploring the nature of development.

□ Representation

The (voluntary) well-being facilitation team in each school, by consulting the headteacher and following the guidance provided, identified colleagues whom they invited to take part. In each school the participants represented a wide range of organisational roles, including that of headteacher.

Guidance materials for headteachers, for school-based facilitators, and for school 'Recorders' (see below, p.108), were provided at on-site briefing meetings (Appendix A). For ethical reasons, a standard introductory letter from Worklife Support Ltd (WLS) formed part of this documentation. Table 3.2 (below, p.108) shows the distribution of such materials to the participants and to the well-being co-ordinators in three Local Authorities. 'Informed consent' documents were signed at these meetings and were collected. Following consultation with the headteacher, the well-being facilitators briefed a small number of employees individually, according to the guidance, and requested their participation. Those taking part signed 'informed consent' forms before the research conversations were held.

Thus liaison between the researcher and individual Local Authority well-being co-ordinators established the final sample of schools. The final samples of participants within each school involved liaison between the researcher, the facilitators, and the headteacher. These negotiations involved discussion about the overall balance of roles and responsibilities, and of the sexes, within the participant group.

Collecting the data

A person's perception of development may be expected to change temporally as development unfolds amidst other life-events. Also, the social research literature on process, change, and development (Armenakis and Bedeian 1999; Arnold 2001; Amis et al 2004) emphasises the importance of a longitudinal study. Therefore in this study the schedule of research visits allowed time for these contemporaneous processes to occur. Account was taken of on-going organisational process over a period of time (Wright 2002: 344). Emerging threads in participants' narratives, and their developmental interests, could be followed consistently. Hence the perceptions of the same group of participants during each visit were recorded, rather than a spread of contributions (Miles and Huberman 1994: 29).

Researchers may use different time modes when visiting sites (Jeffrey and Troman 2004: 542): 'compacted' (intensive visits over a short period); 'selective intermittent' (frequency not determined by the design); and 'recurrent' (a documentary approach to monitoring change). For research into long-term processual phenomena, the recurrent mode illuminates 'a wide range of perspectives and experiences' and 'the complexity of situational life' (Jeffrey and Troman 2004: 544). As the research question is about a phenomenon's meaning across different, widespread settings, the phased approach in gathering data was used: it was capable of identifying and respecting the changing circumstances of schools and individuals.

The design sought structurally to accommodate major changes in the educational environment, such as new regulations, by ensuring that phases of visiting across all sites did not overlap. Although time intervals between recurrent visits allowed for events to unfold, nonetheless such events had to remain relevant and interesting to participants. Therefore a notional time interval of from twelve to fifteen weeks (excepting school holidays) seemed fitting. A series of three digitally-recorded conversations was held with the same sample of employees in each of five schools across three Local Authorities, over a period of fifteen-eighteen months for each setting. Between four and six recorded conversations with participants were scheduled for each site visit.

Table 3.2: DISTRIBUTION OF BRIEFING MATERIALS						
Doc	Generic title	Audience				
		Co-ord	WB Fac	Head	Recorder	Employee
1	List of schls + facilitators	Yes				
2	Intro letter to WBCs	Yes				
3	General research statement	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3a	Research programme plan	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
4	Headteachers' intro letter	Yes		Yes		
5a	Recorders' notification	Yes	Yes			
5b	Recorders' topic list					
6a	Recorder's guidelines	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
6c-f	Recorder's topic sheets	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
7	Facilitator's briefing	Yes	Yes	Yes		
8	WLS standard letter	Schl	Schl	Schl	Schl	Schl
9	Headteacher's consent	Yes		Yes		
10 a-c	Participant's consent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

The next chapter provides information about the participating schools.

Also, each school's well-being facilitators were asked to negotiate participation from a suitable colleague in providing a sequence of three short individual recordings on cassette tape. The purpose of these 'home-made tapes' was to provide a different perspective from face-to-face meetings. This person (the '[School] Recorder') was not a participant in research conversations. Although the Recorder's material was posted to the researcher confidentially, it was with the headteacher's prior consent. These contributions responded to written briefings from the researcher and, for example, could be recorded at home. The topics included 'a particular experience you have had at work which has taught you something valuable and which you now apply in other situations'.

Thus the design proposed five visits each to a maximum of five schools: (a) a preliminary visit to explain the purposes of the research, answer questions, and distribute documents; (b) three field visits to record between four and six conversations with participants on each occasion; and (c) a follow-up visit to report some general findings, and to clarify or confirm certain issues. Following the guidance provided, the

School Recorders supplemented the data from visits with unscripted audiocassette material recorded separately and confidentially. Documentation - prospectuses, newsletters, well-being data and inspection reports - provided other information, but the principal *texts* of this research were recorded speech and transcriptions.

Conducting the conversations

Since the aims of the research involve exploring and describing (p.9), the design facilitated discussion of relevant topics that participants were currently negotiating or found important. The broad topics were mailed to facilitators before the visit – for example, ‘Development: what it means to you’. This topic was deliberately held back until the third research conversation, so that mutual trust and confidence could be established within the research relationship. In other respects, participants had scope to introduce their own references, experiences and interests.

Though guided topically, and led by the researcher, ‘responsive interviewing’ should be a purposeful, extended conversation with a ‘conversational partner’ (Rubin and Rubin 2005: 14-15) rather than ‘a series of questions’ (Stroh 2000: 203). Thus the questions asked during visits were more thematic than semi-structured, and ‘non-directive’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 129). Given this informality, and the commitment to understanding personal perspectives and settings non-judgmentally (Bogdan and Biklen 2003: 33), the questions were not standardised but varied with circumstance. Thus one question invited participants to talk about the school’s well-being programme (Key Question A, p.83). However, a facilitator might also be asked whether his/her experience in the role had brought a deepened understanding of well-being itself. Organisational questions explored how a given school had changed in the recent past, and from there, sought views on how it might develop over the next few years (Key Question C, p.83).

Meetings needed to fit into school schedules, individual timetables and commitments, permitting a predicted average duration of about forty minutes, with brief intervals between. These arrangements enabled each participant to express views confidentially, to discuss workplace practices, and to engage in some depth with pre-identified topics.

Ethics and the researcher's role

Fidelity to research ethics and to well-being programmes requires data-gathering to engender and maintain trust by respecting all participants, showing responsibility towards them, and protecting confidentiality (British Educational Research Association (BERA) 2004: 5). Therefore when negotiating entry to the school settings, it was essential to reassert face-to-face what the research was about and what it involved. It was vital to protect anonymity and confidentiality during and after the research visits: participants needed to feel able to trust the process. If trust were undermined in a given circumstance, an organization could be damaged while bringing 'damage to its individual members' (Burton 2000: 100).

Any misinterpretation of the School Recorder's role, especially, could threaten trustworthiness. Colleagues might feel they were being watched; a headteacher might feel uncomfortable that injurious or prejudicial material would be mailed as 'evidence', without permitting alternative perspectives. Three measures helped to prevent such misunderstandings. Firstly, full and open discussion about participation in the research was encouraged, so that questions could be raised before the field visits began. Secondly, early support for the research was sought from the well-being facilitators and from the headteacher, so that 'Who might become the Recorder?' was negotiated. Thirdly, the topics for the Recorder were made public at preliminary meetings. The Recorder's role was not secret: it was reflection rather than observation that mattered.

The ethical basis of the relationship between the researcher and those supporting the project needed to be clear to participants, as to readers of this thesis, for its contribution to overall trustworthiness. Therefore the financial contributions to this research from Teacher Support Network, a registered charity, and the technical help (information and communications technology) from Worklife Support Limited, a social enterprise organisation, are acknowledged. Potentially these elements could have biased the nature of the inquiry (its framing, purpose and methodology), the conduct of the research (for example, the questions asked or not asked), and the findings (for example, particular emphases). However, the ethical basis of this research relationship was as follows:

1. The focus of the research was neither commissioned nor invited, but freely and unconditionally undertaken by the researcher, who was not an employee of either supporting organisation.
2. The main research question, key questions, and sub-questions were reached independently and progressively, as described above: they were not prescribed. The research did not evaluate the conduct or efficacy of well-being programmes, either as a whole or in a given locale.
3. The supporting organisations played no part in the sampling process, while the confidentiality and anonymity of participant Local Authorities, schools and employees were maintained.
4. A research agreement was signed between the researcher and Worklife Support Limited concerning access to data from well-being programmes, and the levels of technical support offered.
5. Periodically the researcher reported progress to representatives of the supporting organisations, subject always to protecting confidentiality and anonymity, and without prejudice to the University of Leicester's rights.

The researcher's professional background in education and in well-being programmes was mostly an asset. Knowledge of well-being programmes and of issues facing education workers generally assisted interpretation of the data. Yet the researcher might have assumed that a given situation fitted a certain pattern of well-being practice, when a request for explanation could have proved 'discrepant' (Miles and Huberman 1994:34). Hence, readiness to explore discrepancy combined procedural rigour with ethics, valuing the uniqueness of what each participant offered. Indeed, the whole conduct of conversations sought to engage with employees as people, rather than as 'subjects'.

Analysing the data

The research task was the more complex for exploring everyday concepts used in educational and organisational discourse, and in other academic fields. Moreover longitudinal, qualitative study emphasises complex change. Finally, the perceptions of participants across many organisational roles, and the common factor of the schools'

participation in well-being programmes, were not directly observable. Therefore it was important to sustain theoretical coherence in fieldwork analysis, since theory contributes to the structure of any account (Walford 2001: 159). Recordings were transcribed in order to ‘stay close to the experience’ of the research conversations and to assist interpretation (see Appendix B, p.264). This discursive ethnography of oral texts and their written transcriptions analysed thematic data (Holliday 2002: 103-109; 115; 184-185); narrative data (Clandinin 2006; Bowman 2006); and used hermeneutic interpretation (Schwandt 2003: 292-331) (See Appendix C, p.266).

Originally, transcribed textual items had been pasted into an electronic storage system for qualitative data analysis, under coded headings which could be printed as sets of topic-related raw data. However, this process proved cumbersome: the technological apparatus tended to require a disproportionate degree of attention relative to the data for analysis. It became a time-consuming distraction rather than an aid, being finally abandoned in favour of homely cut-and-paste techniques more congenial to creative, somewhat intuitive, labelling (*Sophie’s choice; Every which way you lose*). Overall, an approach less technically formalised was found to benefit interpretation.

Interesting, problematic or simply relevant clips of text from the transcriptions were assembled in a large electronic file labelled *First Thoughts*. Most of the codings in this document reflected aspects of the research problem - for example, ‘Perceptions of development’ and ‘Process’. Sub-codings such as *Process beginnings* and *Concept of development* followed. Further codes and sub-codes were created as data items were found which required more subtle delineation (for example, ‘Feeling valued’).

Another means of analysis involved ‘discourse analysis sheets’ (Appendix C), tabling snippets of data from specified participants in columns with consistent topical headings such as *Images* or *Positive association*. These charts were valued for their cumulative nature: one per visit for each school. Thus, altogether fifteen sheets contained entries referring to the field visits and to all the participants encountered during them. The data could be laid out physically in order to compare the differences or similarities in discourse between schools, between visits to the same school, or between participants.

Once the structure and order of the research questions had been formulated, the *First Thoughts* document became the basis for copying the data into a new file where information was arranged under the questions as headings. Hence the second document comprised three sections matching the focus on perceptions of development, negotiation, and organisation. Similarly, the subsidiary questions of the research became sub-headings in the new document. This arrangement showed immediately where the data seemed profuse, and where it seemed relatively sparse, and thus either guided the search for new material or for new interpretations. Equally, however, the fresh document inherited the less formal yet relatively creative sub-headings of *First Thoughts*, which stimulated further thought about their potential significance and relationship to the questions.

Other means of analysis included mind-maps (drawn on a notepad) visualising how certain ideas might be related to one another. Mostly they were connected with the three major themes of well-being, development and organisation, but also with sources in the literature, and served to highlight strong or weak linkages. An analysis chart of development from narrative perspectives (Appendix C) was used to identify common features of the development process, which came to be tested hermeneutically against thematic data. A third additional means questioned data items under a set of headings: *What is happening?*; *Who does it involve?*; *Who is the source?*; *What does this signify?*; and *Summary*. A final example of method is that elements of participants' discourse were put into a table listing all participants on the left, and with three columns of conceptual headings (Endogenous/Altruistic/Exogenous) laterally. This technique helped to reveal visually participants' patterns of thought in speech.

In gathering these ideas coherently for readers of the thesis, four procedures were used. The next two Chapters present descriptions of the schools; thematic data analysis regarding the key questions; narrative data analysis using employees' experiential accounts; and a synthesis of findings relative to the literature review. The conclusions from these findings and their implications for research complete the thesis.

In presenting context, the research has not described people or places physically. The intention was to allow the participants to reveal information through what was said in recorded conversation, valuing 'voice'. Detailed prefatory descriptions would have been

inconsistent, since the schools were not isomorphic with the case - that is, the phenomenon, studied 'from one particular angle' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 41). Therefore, after a brief technical introduction, each school has been presented by means of a composite of participants' statements about their workplace, spoken 'on the record'. Each person has contributed at least two items to a 'voice composite' from all the participants in a given school. Although the researcher selected and organised the items for inclusion, each organisation has been presented entirely in the employees' words. Whether or not the composite adequately represented the organisation was checked with participants at subsequent feedback meetings.

In answering the key and sub-questions, thematic data analysis was used first. As the study concerns perceptions of development across different settings, two ways of organising the data analysis were possible: (a) to focus on each questioned aspect across all institutions, and then to explore contextual detail, or (b) to focus on all questioned aspects within each institution, and then to look for similarities across contexts. Option (a) risked overlooking localised knowledge and community features. Option (b) risked over-emphasising cultural rather than discursive or conceptual features, thus losing focus on the phenomena. Overall, option (a), referring directly to the research questions across different locales with moderate contextual detail, seemed preferable to the richly contextualised but somewhat mechanistic sequential analysis offered by option (b). The analytical procedure described below provides another reason for this decision.

Narrative material found in the data was analysed similarly to narrative inquiry (Connelly and Clandinin 1990). The data from all five schools might be seen as a landscape inviting exploration, traversed when answering the research questions. Metaphorically, data appeared from a grounded viewpoint as topical landscape features, occurring in particular sites of study. However, another analytic perspective was to conceive the field of study temporally, thus showing the course of informal narratives as they enriched collective memory (Tsoukas and Vladimirou 2001: 986), possibly noting other such narrative courses, or that underlying stories recurred periodically (Brown, A.D, et al 2009: 325). Ultimately, the simplest narrative course proved the most fruitful: a participant related some personal experience to illustrate a particular perception or circumstance, or for self-clarification (Dunford and Jones 2000: 1223).

Methodologically, narrative analysis complements thematic analysis - a further reason for regarding the field holistically, rather than each organisation as a unit. Narrative events assist participants' recall (Weick 2001: 269). The strength of a well-chosen narrative might be its uniqueness: its particular, situated nature (Clandinin and Connelly 2000: 2); discursively, the detailed, personal and warranted manner and perspective of its telling (Bowman 2006: 9); and symbolically, its capacity to transcend circumstance, linking events across time by its journey (Le Guin 1989: 38, cited in Dunford and Jones 2000: 1209). For this research, recurrent visits afforded a longitudinal perspective able to trace narrative courses through the topical landscape. Narratives might reveal contextual detail or rich descriptive features whose 'power to clarify' did not begin from argued belief (Weick 1995:140), and whose significance was less apparent to thematic analysis. The highly particularised, personal and contextual meanings afforded by narrative could compensate for any loss of localised detail relative to thematic analysis. Narrative offered a different way of listening for what might be there.

A synthesis was made of the thematic and narrative findings. The hermeneutic approach involves deliberate conceptual movement to compare perspectives, negotiating meaning (Schwandt 2003: 300-304) between positions of detailed immediacy and distant generality, within horizons of past and future and of self and others, in order to interpret text. This proved useful, for example, in examining structural aspects of organisational and individual development. As the study is of development and human well-being, having a strong process orientation, its subject matter occupies ontological and epistemological territory familiar in philosophical hermeneutics. But the hermeneutic principle remained a way of engaging 'dialectically' with text over periods of time, and was not necessarily confined to a single analytic procedure.

It is worth emphasising that the process of writing the thesis was itself analytical - not a merely technical matter of 'writing-up' a body of completed analysis. The process reported in the following three chapters was hermeneutically interesting, firstly because of the iterative movement when comparing one passage of writing or dialogue with another. Secondly, perturbing collisions of ideas sometimes occurred when, in the course of reviewing the material comparatively, the perspective shifted. Sometimes these shifts were cued by or imbued with affective responses demanding interpretative attention.

Reflections on the procedures

The research design proved largely successful in obtaining the required sample of schools and participants (see Table 3.3, below), and a viable data set of recorded material. One aspect of method experienced mixed fortunes. This chapter ends by reflecting upon the design's implementation.

Firstly, the well-being co-ordinators of three English Local Authorities used the briefing framework to identify an initial sample of seven schools. Following consultation, two primary schools, two secondary schools, and one special school joined the research. The recordings demonstrate the Local Authorities' geographical spread - each area being well represented by its distinctive regional accent and, occasionally, by dialectal formulations or vocabulary. But accent 'does not transcribe' - one of the losses when transferring to script.

Secondly, the guidance documents used by well-being facilitators in the schools proved effective, showing the value of thorough preparation. The briefings on the research were valuable in 'breaking the ice', and in encouraging questions to be raised. From these meetings, agreement to participate followed immediately.

Thirdly, the researcher's experience of well-being programmes helped significantly in reassuring employees. The presence of well-being co-ordinators locally enabled headteachers and facilitators in the schools to discuss with these trusted Local Authority representatives the relative merits of giving time to this research.

Fourthly, the well-being facilitators and others performed a vital role in negotiating individuals' participation, and in establishing meeting schedules and room bookings for three research visits.

Fifthly, the well-being facilitators secured a varied sample of employees representing a wide range of school roles (Table 3.3 below).

Sixthly, the design was less successful in obtaining data from the schools' Recorders – those asked to mail cassette tapes or other forms of recording. Of the five Recorders,

one sent all three tapes; another sent an unusable batch of poor sound quality; a third sent one cassette. The remaining schools were unrepresented. The material from two Recorders (thirty-seven minutes of monologue data) was re-recorded digitally before transcription. The procedure for obtaining data was undermined because the researcher did not seek to hold face-to-face briefing meetings with each Recorder. The feedback was that those invited showed reluctance to use this method of recording. Nonetheless, their contributions proved useful - revealing the forcefulness of people talking from experience, having gathered and ordered their thoughts (though unscripted), and with time to reflect. It seems significant that the Recorder who produced a full set of recordings came to meet the researcher in school beforehand, and asked questions.

In the following Chapters pseudonyms for Local Authorities, schools, people and places in the data are used to protect confidentiality and anonymity. The three Local Authorities with established well-being programmes and co-ordinators are:

Greenhills: Foresters High School and Gorsemoor Primary School

Ridgemont: Martinswood College and Rowan Diocesan Primary School

Shippenfield: Tredgold Special School.

Greenhills is a metropolitan borough established as a unitary authority. Ridgemont is a large county: most pupils attend schools in major urban centres and conurbations, but the LA also has many rural schools. Both Greenhills and Ridgemont maintain grammar schools within the overall provision of secondary comprehensive schools. Shippenfield is a large, mostly rural authority with a few urban centres and one large city, where Tredgold School is located.

Table 3.3 shows the spread and multiplicity of roles (more roles than people) in the sample, emphasising the value of recurrent visits, and of maintaining confidentiality and anonymity.

The research visits and schedules generally ran smoothly. Where illness or other incidental factors disrupted the plan, alternative arrangements were made. Twenty-nine people (twenty-two women and seven men) participated in scheduled conversations totalling fifty-eight recorded hours. Two 'Recorders', both women employees, provided

additional material (thirty-seven minutes). Each phase of visits to the schools included meetings with the same employees, whether singly or in the same five pairs. Of the seventy-two recorded conversations scheduled, one was cancelled on the day when a participant withdrew because of a close relative's sudden death. Thus seventy-one recorded conversations, lasting forty-nine minutes on average, form most of the research data. A ten-minute section of one conversation failed irrecoverably to upload.

**TABLE 3.3:
ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARTICIPANTS**

	Foresters High Schl	Gorsemoor Pri Schl	Martinswood College	Rowan Dioc Pri Schl	Tredgold Sp. Schl
Headteacher	•	•	•	•	•
deputy head					•
other ldrshp tm		•	•	•	•
teacher	•	•	•	•	•
subject leader		•		•	•
pastoral care	•		•		•
head of dept			•		
cross-curricular			•		
adv skills tchr				•	
rdg recovery		•			
librarian	•				
teaching asst		•	•	•	
sr care manager					•
IT co-ordinator			•		
school secretary		•			
nursery asst				•	
head's PA	•				
administrator	•			•	
mid-day suprvsr		•			
cleaner		•			
welfare asst	•			•	
prfrmnce mgmt					•
clerk to govs	•	•			
VOLUNTARY					
union rep			•		
governor	•				
WB facilitation	•	•	•	•	•

The average duration of recordings was greater than anticipated, often showing the participants' commitment to the topics and to assisting the research. Also, this reflects the deliberately conversational style of the meetings: occasionally, exchanges

(especially where two participants were involved) would become repetitive or irrelevant, creating for the researcher an alarming sense of 'drift'. Sometimes the recordings show flaws in the researcher's questioning technique - asking over-long questions, perhaps, or pursuing unproductive topics needlessly. However, the merit of this approach lay in its very naturalness and sociability (able to elicit surprising comments, glimpses into people's thought processes, or reflections on experience), through participants' being encouraged to talk about their own working lives.

CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS FROM THEMATIC DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The main research question asks: *How do employees in schools within well-being programmes perceive and negotiate organisational and individual development?* This chapter analyses thematically three key aspects:

- A How do employees in staff well-being programmes perceive development?
- B How is development negotiated?
- C What is ‘organisational’ about organisational development?

These questions shape the presentation of findings from thematic analysis. Initially, the five participant schools are introduced: summary information about each setting is followed by a composite of statements from the participants. Three sections of analytical findings (A/B/C) follow. Each focuses on a group of subsidiary questions (A1-A3, B1-B3, and C1-C3, sub-headed in italics), which contribute cumulatively to answering the relevant key questions. Finally the chapter offers an initial synthesis of the findings, related to points from the literature review. The next chapter will analyse narrative data from the research, which will require further synthesis. Then the thematic and narrative threads of analysis may be drawn together.

Perceptions of the phenomenon of development are analysed across the five sites. Case-by-case analysis procedures would assume that the phenomenon is known but that school cultures are not. But development and well-being are not tightly defined. Therefore the immediate concern is to identify ‘what presents itself’, rather than inter-cultural comparison of givens. Also, development, well-being, and organisation phenomena are unavailable to empirical enquiry, being mediated and disclosed in thought, experience and discourse. Hence, this analytic process involves locating, sifting and identifying data inferentially within streams of discursive material, rather than surveying self-declarative, static and formally comparable evidence.

Referencing the recorded data

The following example shows how data items from the research are referenced:

(F_2.4b_06:32-07:01_Faith)

The prefix 'F' is the initial letter of the school's name: Foresters. The initial number (2.4b) represents the second research visit (2), followed by the number of the conversation (4) in the sequence recorded. Recordings are divided into ten-minute sections, shown by a lower case letter (b). The timing of the data item in minutes and seconds within the section is next shown (06:32-07:01). Finally, the participant is identified (Faith). If a string of quotations is used from the same person, the name is added only to the first item. Where references are brief (usually one word), or made without quotation, the sectional location (F_2.4b_Faith) is given.

The participants and the schools

Thirty-one employees (twenty-four women and seven men) have participated from five schools in three Local Authorities, as described above (pp.106; 117). Of the men, five are employed in secondary education (two as headteachers), and two in special education. The twelve primary education employees in the sample are women. The employees may be grouped broadly as teaching, administration and support. They have no statistical validity, but the wide variety of roles serves to represent schools' organisational character. The eighteen *teachers* are five headteachers, a deputy headteacher, and ten schoolteachers. The five *administrators* are a librarian, a school business manager, a headteacher's personal assistant (PA), an administrative assistant, and an information and communications technology (ICT) manager. The eight *support* workers are two senior care managers, a mid-day supervisory assistant and school cleaner, three teaching assistants, a nursery assistant, and a welfare assistant. Many of these employees have multiple roles - some voluntary (Table 3.3, p.118). To protect anonymity and confidentiality, the individual participants, schools and Local Authorities are given pseudonyms (p.117).

The research involves recording and interpreting employees' perspectives on aspects of their work. The schools are in Local Authorities that co-ordinate well-being programmes; none is in a 'special category' under OFSTED inspection criteria (OFSTED 2008). The sampling is based on elective participation, feasibility, commitment, variety and representation (above, pp.105-106).

Ethnographic study emphasises how context influences meaning-making. This *discursive ethnography* emphasises voice, and analytic features of the spoken word such as theme and narrative, as means of recovering something of that changing context. Therefore brief information about each setting precedes a composite of speech items – a 'representative collective voice' of the employees recorded there. It is representative firstly because each composite includes quotation from every participant in that setting. Secondly, each composite seeks to convey a sense of place. The characteristic tone is optimistic and cheerful, echoing that of the recordings. However, each composite includes a substantial contextual challenge or underlying anxiety.

Foresters High School (11-16 age-range)

Staff headcount =128 (71 teachers).

Student numbers on roll 9th April 2008 =1050

Foresters is a specialist sports college in an urban location within the large metropolitan borough of Greenhills. It is close to leisure facilities and a commercial centre, on the fringes of docklands and a traditional industrial area. Specialist facilities, classrooms, reception and library are recent additions to the school's original main building, which has been partly refurbished.

[School newsletters/communications/inspection report; research observation; recorded conversations 2.4a_Jess, 2.1c_Tom, 2.5a-b_Sally]

“I love it. I just love working here. I must be mad. ...I love the noise. I love the hassle. I love the buzz of the kids... No day is ever the same... The staff are great. The kids are great (F_1.4b_04:28-05:27_Faith). We are in the top one per cent of the country for social deprivation, and... we have a ward that is the number one ward in the country for social deprivation for children, and... we’re in the top two per cent in the country for free school meals... Our attendance reflects that (F_2.1c_03:21-03:52_Tom). I look at some of these children, and some of the problems they have outside of school, and... wonder how they ever got themselves here in the first place... how they managed to get dressed... They may not have any breakfast, and they’ve had no parental control, and yet they get here. And that’s almost a miracle in itself (F_1.2e_02:14-02:32_Sally). Those who have least, who’ve been dealt the worst hands ... deserve the very best teachers and the very best efforts. And it’s that that inspires me. It’s incredibly frustrating: there’s no... do-goody, well-meaning-ness about it... In almost any position in the school, you’re ...confronted with wave after wave of emotion - not just from the pupils; often from the staff as well (F_1.1a_04:38-04:48_Tom). By virtue of what we do, we tend to come across the children who have problems, ...and you sometimes forget just how many... kids there are in this school who just get on day after day... and... come out... having achieved what they needed to achieve (F_1.2a_03:42-03:51_Sally).

Because there’s a team spirit here, you sort of think that you can go to somebody with a problem, whatever that might be ...that there’s somebody here that can help you, ...you know: management right down (F_1.5c_08:23-08:48_Elena). I mean, we passed our *Investors in People*, and I think we’ve got that for another three or four years, so it was really good. I was surprised by how many people, actually, when they were asked a certain question, thought: *That’s Well-Being! That’s what we do* (F_1.2d_05:15-05:23_Sally). In the department sometimes ...someone will say: ‘Could you raise that at the next Well-Being Committee?’ ...You know ...it all helps to make it a better workplace (F_3.1c_06:55-07:07_Elena).

Things change all the time here (F_1.2d_07:31-07:33_Faith). One of the major changes is this PFI funding... to bring the whole school on... one site. And I like that: you’ve got the mix of the old school, and we’ve got this modern side of it (F_1.2a_05:11-05:20_Sally). Things have changed drastically since I first started, because it was very traditional and ‘old school’... And they’d shout at people, and you could hear it all

round the school (F_1.3a_01:21-01:53_Jess). Lots of people used to be off with stress for ... very long periods of time (F_1.5d_07:28_Elena). Also we had the change last year where ... we got a new Headteacher... and two new Deputies ... (F_1.2a_06:04-06:08_Sally). It's just a lot more... coherent than it was, if you know what I mean (F_1.5c_00:07-00:11_Elena). We changed to a Year system. Well I think that's been a really positive change (F_1.5d_09:37-09:45_Elena). From a staff point of view, and something they feel quite strongly about, is that they changed the school day ... and the staff are not happy with it. They don't like it (F_1.2a_06:13-06:39_Sally). The governors? ...I didn't know they had links with departments, to be honest (F_2.3b_04:24-04:36_Elena).

The actual OFSTED inspection: I think everybody just breathed a sigh of relief... it was over quite quickly, and we got a 'Satisfactory', which, judging on our Panda report, we should have been placed in special measures. And I think... they liked what they saw (F_2.3b_06:55-08:00_Elena). I don't think we were mentioned, which was very disappointing. But looking on the positive side... if you're not mentioned, you're obviously doing it right, because you would be mentioned if you weren't, you know? But... they, I think, made more of the Sports College status and went through ... that path. I think they got a very good feedback (F_2.4a_07:15-07:50_Jess). I think the staff do work really hard, and everybody did go that ...extra mile for OFSTED, because you have to. But you couldn't... keep that up, day in day out. It's impossible (F_2.3b_00:46-00:58_Elena).

I like to think that when parents come in ... we look as if we know what we're doing... I... think that we should all look professional, and act it, and... uphold Foresters High... at school. Because I'll tell anybody where I work (F_1.4e_08:00-08:48_Faith)."

Gorsemoor Primary School (4 – 11 age-range)

Staff headcount = 38 (9 teachers).

Pupil numbers on roll 14th April 2008 = 210

Gorsemoor is a medium-sized community primary school and nursery serving an urban neighbourhood of nineteenth-century terraced housing within the metropolitan borough of Greenhills.

The school's infant and junior departments, formerly located separately, are now accommodated in a single, two-storey building, which has undergone further remodelling.

[School newsletters/communications; research observation; recorded conversations 3.3b_Kim; 2.4d_Josie; 1.2a_Gail]

“It’s not just a school; it’s part of this community (G_3.3d_09:42_Kim). There’s not a lot of money around (G_3.3b_07:13_Kim). From my point of view, the people themselves are... you shouldn’t judge a book by its cover... They can come across quite aggressive sometimes, but they’re not, deep down, really. Once you get on the right side of them. Once you talk to them like a human being (G_3.4a_01:52-02:12_Marisa). Children talking ... quite openly about drugs, and they know things at a very young age. I find that they know more than they should know at the age they are here. Deprivation: I think we’re about third in the country, fourth in the country. But, after saying that, we’ve got good parents on board (G_3.3b_05:45-06:25_Kim). We haven’t changed the big community out there. What we’ve done is perhaps developed a better sense of trust between ourselves and the children, and the parents, and between each other, and between the staff and the leadership team. So there’s more confidence about ... I think we’re all better ... at responding appropriately. So that’s ... helping our well-being (G_1.2a_09:00-09:45_Gail). Parents ...do take on board what you say, and they do appreciate... At the end of the day they will say: *Well I know you’ve only got the child’s interests at heart*. You know, we’ve got lovely letters in (G_3.3b_07:25-07:45_Kim).

I love working. I love me job. It sounds mad, but I do (G_2.2e_07:27_Parminder). We’ve had our rough times (G_3.3d_08:10_Parminder). I think it’s through the Well-Being that ... it’s been opened up to everybody. And other people have come, and it’s sort of breaking down those barriers, so I do think it has done us good... with things

that have happened over the last few years (G_1.4b/c_09:56-00:09_Josie). A feeling of success is what promotes staff well-being. There is tremendous support between the staff. If anybody has a difficulty, people are prepared to support (G_1Recorder_02:22-02:32_Rhianon). People have got personal lives, and although you don't bring your home life into work, you do have your feelings, and you can't just switch 'em off, which is taken on board here (G_2.2c_00:29-00:48_Marisa).

Our meetings are good (G_2.2c 03:32_Parminder). Most people give equally in a team, and that ... promotes ... your own self-esteem, and therefore staff well-being (G_1Recorder_03:04-03:20_Rhianon). Things were very different: *They're over in their building and they can stay over there, and we're over in here, and we'll meet for a staff meeting...* You used to know people by name, and that's all you really knew. I mean it is totally different now. We ... completed our second Well-Being questionnaire last year, and ... it was extremely favourable, the report, so we are making strides (G_2.4d_05:05-05:58_Josie).

The whole structure of ... the teaching staff has changed quite dramatically (G_2.4d_02:29_Josie). I think because of these inspections that are taking place there's a lot of changes gonna happen – just like tightening up, really (G_2.2f 07:04-07:16_Marisa). Ironically, time to think is something teachers do not really have (G_3R_00:43-00:47_Rhianon). We're in a slightly difficult position because of falling rolls (G_2.1a_05:50_Gail). There's been a lot of changes. Governors have to be more proactive now... So... they're being seen in school a lot more often and they've become a lot stricter as well, with the law (G_2.2b_04:23-05:31_Marisa).

And I think we have to embrace the national agenda ...and just make it fit as best we can to Gorsemoor. That's how I perceive development - and it might come in different ways. We've embraced ... more in terms of after-school activities ... and bringing other people in... It's not about taking every single initiative on, and drowning in it. But it is about making intelligent decisions... what ...really needs some recognition - and adapting it to suit the needs of the children here (G_3.1c_05:13-06:58_Gail).

You just don't ... realise the impact of everything till you actually look back sometimes and think: *Is this still the same school?* (G_2.4d_03:12-03:21_Josie)"

Martinswood College (11-16 age-range)

Staff (headcount) = 98 (58 teachers).

Student numbers on roll 7th April 2008 = 891

Martinswood is a specialist business and enterprise college which has acquired a second specialism in modern foreign languages during the period of the field visits. The College has a village location, separated by a motorway from the outskirts of a large city in Ridgemont Local Authority. New school accommodation has been erected alongside the existing building, where refurbishment and remodelling continue.

[School prospectus/school communications/inspection report; research observation; recorded conversations 1.6a/b_Will; 3.3c_Will; 2.4a/c/d_Jane; 1.3a_Ghita; 2.1d_Irene; 2.5a_Una]

“We draw from a very large and diverse catchment area. Because of the popularity of the school, (and we’re heavily over-subscribed) we actually take pupils from about thirty feeder primary schools (M_3.3c_07:27_Will). We shouldn’t... forget the good work that goes on in the primaries; that when they come to us in Year Seven; don’t... lose that... keep it on-going ...because we can build upon it here (M_2.4d_03:32-03:55_Jane).

It’s... continuity ...People are not coming and going and sort of doing twelve months and then moving on (M_1.5c_05:31-05:52_Fran). It’s moving forward, becoming more open to change (M_3.2c_07:08-07:12_Jane). The biggest change in the school’s recent history is ...the bid, and becoming a Business and Enterprise College... And with that ...changes to curriculum, and... to buildings. ...The new building: ...that’s probably the biggest, obvious change in the school (M_1.3a_00:29-00:41_Ghita).

There’s always new initiatives, but there seem to have been a lot of new initiatives over the last two years... and it’s trying to... take those on, and be enthusiastic, but, you know, treble the workload as well (M_1.1b_01:50-02:02_Una). I love what I do ...but there comes a point where you think... *I should have done this, and I haven’t been able to do it.* And that’s what... causes me worry... I’ve not done something ... because I ...

simply have not had the time (M_2.4b_00:24-00:42_Jane). The majority of teachers are great. They thank you at the end of the lesson... It's just saying... 'Thanks a lot for that. You've been a great help.' And that to me means more than anything else. You know, rather than them just... saying nothing. ...It does make you feel that you've actually done a good job (M_1.5b_08:33-09:06_Fran).

INSET days are the time that people seem to do most thinking... You can just be together and have time to spark off each other, and make comments, and discuss issues (M_3.4b_03:21-03:37_Lev). The incentive to change is really within you (M_3.6c_00:55_Sean). You've got scope to move things on... I didn't feel as part of the whole scheme of things as I do now... actually being able to change things in the department and in the school as well - and have an influence... I think it's good to have that. I missed that, and now I know why I missed it (M_2.5c_06:47-07:52_Una). I'm very suspicious of all these statistics, but ...even so I want to do my part and... do well (M_3.6c_01:27_Sean). The pressure comes from the publication of the results (M_2.1a_05:56_Lev). I suppose in a sense it's a 'covering-back' culture... It is not just a within-school thing: it is part of society as well (M_3.6d_07:55-09:28_Ghita). This half-term especially it's constant reminders of OFSTED, isn't it? So we've all got that as a high priority, unfortunately (M_2.5a_04:55-05:10_Una). We took on a cover supervisor, and that's ...made a difference... It's a cost benefit, but that wasn't the only reason... A big reason for doing it was Well-Being and reducing the cover-load of staff (M_1.1c_08:55-09:45_Dan).

There is ... still a strong feeling that although we're a Business College ...we are also a very good school in lots of other areas. And we don't want to lose that... Obviously we're doing our... best to meet the requirements of the business and language status bids, but also to maintain all the other things which make Martinswood what it is: a very good all-round school... What we want at the end is what's best for our pupils. So I think ... there are people who may feel a little bit... pushed out, but we are trying, we are doing our very best to... not marginalize... departments... From that perspective ... the *stability* ... we're doing our utmost. And we give a very... wide curriculum... Some schools have just 'lost' subject areas ... and we don't (M_2.1d_00:19-01:30_Irene). What we've been doing, we've been doing because we've wanted to do it anyway, because we've thought it's the right thing to do (M_3.3b_04:36-04:44_Will). But

there's so much that needs to be done that the day goes past like an express train!
(M_2.5a_04:42_Dan)''

Rowan (Diocesan) Primary School (4 - 11 age-range)

Staff headcount = 28 (10 teachers).

Pupil numbers on roll 8th April 2008 = 168.

Rowan is a small/medium-sized faith school for primary and nursery aged pupils. Recently established through an amalgamation of the governing bodies of two previously separate schools of different Christian denominations, it is situated in a small township of industrial origins, adjoining a major city in Ridgemont Local Authority. During the course of the study the school transferred to purpose-built accommodation on a different site.

[School prospectus/school website/school communications; research observation; recorded conversations 1.1a/b_Paula, 3.3a/c_Nadine, 2.3b_Belle, 2.2a_Nadine, 3.1d_Mei]

“The school was a new school... It was an amalgamation of two previous schools, so the staff we have here at the moment used to work for two different governing bodies ...in different buildings. So ...it's been three and a half years ...of putting two sets of staff together and separating them out again (R_1.1a_00:50-01:15_Paula). We got really ground down by the amalgamation (R_3.4d_06:05_Paula).

We've got a lot of families that are... quite low socio-economically. We've got quite a lot of parents who aren't working ...and there are a lot of big families round here. ...There are also some quite affluent families, and I think that the children that have come into the school seem to be at either end of the scale! So it's quite a mixed catchment, really (R_3.3a_00:39-01:04_Nadine). Education isn't seen as important by all parents (Anita 3.1a_05:05). They don't seem to be willing to come to things after school. We'll have to work on that (R_2.3c_04:42_Belle).

It was a hard couple of weeks while we've been moving, but it's been worth it, when you look at this lovely new building now... It was real mixed emotions. Everything was very heightened and intense ...and ...we just felt like: *We're never gonna be ready!* (R_2.4b_02:00_Nadine) It wasn't as bad as any of the other moves we've done (R_2.2a_06:54_Anita). Before, we'd never even found space: we'd have been squashed in a corridor somewhere, or in the cloakroom, because, you know, space was so limited. And now there's an abundance of rooms (R_2.3b_05:00_Belle). I think people are... much happier to be here. It surprised me. One of the first things that people were saying when we did move was: *When you're walking round, it feels like a proper school* (R_2.4b_09:15_Nadine). I think the children are calmer (R_2.2b_09:45_Anita). I feel more settled, really (R_2.4c_00:00_Nadine). We've brought our routines with us and just changed them to fit the building (R_2.2e_02:10_Anita).

We've not just moved to a new building, we've also replaced... nearly half the teaching staff (R_2.3b_01:22_Belle). In a way, with moving in the new building, we were all in a new situation; so it wasn't like the new staff were coming into an established school (R_2.2b_02:50_Anita). We've got younger staff ...that have got new ideas. You sometimes get a bit stale, don't you? (R_2.2c_04:37_Mei) If you wanted to go down one particular route ...I'm sure [the Headteacher] would not hesitate. Lots of support - not just from the Head. I think all the way through the staff. ...Even if you're not teaching staff, they will support you (R_3.1b_06:24-06:40_Mei). Anything that affects everybody, everyone will be consulted about it (R_2.3d_09:45_Belle). Our teaching assistants are very important to us achieving the vision... and the members of staff do not treat them as their helpers, they... treat them as their equals ...What they do with that class is very much a shared relationship (R_2.1f_01:14-01:37_Paula). I think, er, when you are new, I think more people should help, to make you feel better. Then you can do your job properly (R_Recorder_1_04:03-04:10_Clerys). I tell you what I thought went really well: when we had the dinner ladies in to do the questionnaire, they were so pleased to be asked! (R_1.2c_03:17_Mei)

All my time is taken up with what I have to do in class, and you need time to think things through, if you're going to develop and change. Just going out on a course isn't enough (R_3.1b_07:50_Anita). You're ...on a treadmill... So many things get pushed

to one side and not done properly, because you've not got the time. It's not the school: it's just the whole culture of it, isn't it? (R_3.1b_09:09-09:21_Mei)

We'd realised this: there are a lot of undercurrents. But you're going to have to confront people about that, or else... it's just gonna keep eating away at them, isn't it? (R_1.2b_08:07_Mei) We've all got... to pull together, really (R_2.2d_05:32_Mei). It's people [not] taking responsibility for their own actions (R_2.1d_05:08_Paula). When there are things that aren't perfect, it does pull people together, and we try and fight the corner together... So at least, although it's not perfect here, I think there are a lot of people that try very hard to make it better. And that's probably one of the most important things (R_2.4c_08:43-09:01_Nadine)."

Tredgold Special School (7 - 16 age-range)

Staff headcount = 56 (10 teachers).

Pupil numbers on roll 14th April 2008 = 37.

Serving the population of a large (mostly rural) area, the school has a suburban location. It receives pupils experiencing emotional and behavioural difficulties, some of whom are resident during the school week. The school's staffing structure and organisation reflect these care responsibilities. During the course of the study, a review by Shippenfield Local Authority included discussions about the school's role within the spectrum of special education provision.

[School website/media/communications; inspection report; research observation; recorded conversations 3.1b_James, 2.4a/e_Amy, 3.3b_Amy, 3.4a_Ellen]

"This school takes pupils from all over Shippenfield, so our 'community', that we had to define in our specialist status bid, is Shippenfield. That is our community. It's not just the people who live on Jubilee Road, or just ... you know, round the corner (T_3.1b_06:26_James). Their dynamics are always up in the air because they're all new kids in together, from all different schools (T_2.4e_00:11_Amy). These children have

got low self-esteem. They haven't had success, and as soon as they start to feel successful, then they start to blossom (T_3.4b_07:55-08:02_Ellen). It's almost like they needed to be catered for, rather than just to be educated (T_1.2a_03:00_James). And last year we didn't have a child that failed the GCSE! That's a heck of an achievement for any EBD school! (T_3.4a_07:42_Ellen). Our attendance ... was very poor. We've moved our attendance on astronomically (T_3.4a_08:24_Ellen). We do a lot of outreach. We do go to other schools, etcetera, etcetera, but we also will have the chance to take on more individuals into school to try and help them... as well as the ones that are on roll (T_3.1b_05:30-05:41_James).

I think people within this school do have freedom, you know, to explore their own interests and to get qualified... That's actually always been a feature of the school and it's been a real strength for it (T_3.2b_03:26_Donna). The good thing about working here is that because we are an open team, like an open book, we do have a lot of chances to air our views (T_3.1b_00:41_James). And you can become part of the culture but also adapt the culture ... (T_1.2a_06:30-06:32_James). Nobody gets into trouble here (T_3.2d_03:38_Donna). We are so concerned with the well-being of the children here, and the children's families, that it is more important than ever that we show concern for one another, and our own well-being (T_1.3c_09:10_Ellen). You know, if the caretaker's off sick then we'll do aspects of his job. If the cleaner's off, I'll get the Hoover out for certain, and so will other people, you know. And that's just how it is (T_2.2b_04:32_Donna).

We did a Well-Being exercise for ourselves as individuals - so I thought: *It's not just about the organisation; it's about you as well* (T_2.4d_08:24_Amy). [Attending a course] The main thing for me is it's opened up looking at from when- from a child's perspective, and actually ... when you look at things of these difficulties and when you actually understand them, it makes so much more sense in what you do, and it makes you really reflect on real practice (T_1.5a_06:45-06:55_Bob). It doesn't matter what you're passionate about, but I think you need to have a passion in what you do, and a belief in what you do, and a drive to do what you're doing. And I think that, without that, you're not going to... get the respect from people, you're not going to get the following drive from it, and you're not going to put things across, what you're asking people to do, in a way that will make them want to do it (T_3.5c_08:01-08:30_Bob).

There is talk... And we're not fed that much information about it... but we have been imparted with some knowledge that makes you think, you know: *It's a little bit unsettling. What will happen? What is my place within that?* You know: *What other wholesale changes will be made?* (T_2.4a_02:20-02:40_Amy)"

Thematic data analysis (A): How employees perceive development

A1 The idea of development: metaphorical considerations

This section reports how employees from five schools variously conceptualise development, based on all available views. Participants' opinions are grouped according to metaphorical and syntactical meaning. Occasionally individuals use different conceptual metaphors for development in the same conversation, with inconsistent if not contradictory implications for practice. Also, different expressions of development (sometimes implying different meanings), are used within a given school. At Tredgold School Amy's metaphor of an inclusive journey is a different conception from James' of progressive improvement. Similarly, at Martinswood College Dan speaks of better ways of doing things, Fran mentions avenues of possibility, while Jane envisages the need for social encouragement. Further analysis may show whether such differences merely reflect the struggles of impromptu speech in exploring ideas, or whether they represent some greater perplexity.

One group of development metaphors describes *subjective* (individual or collective), *embodied movement* – for example, an organisational journey: 'the way the school's moving' (G_3.3a_Rhianon); 'we're moving forward with that one' (G_2.1g_Gail) and 'we're all moving in the same direction' (G_3.3f_Kim). For her school, Amy believes in asking 'How can we move forward?' (T_3.3b_Amy) while 'making sure that everybody feels included in that development... but if you haven't got the goal, you don't have the journey, so you're not developing...' (T_3.3d_06:03-06:35). Imagery of personal development associated with movement is prospective and purposeful: moving forward' (R_3.1b_Mei and R_3.2b_Belle); 'pushing forward', and 'I've moved forward a lot' (M_3.2b_Jane); 'I've moved on a lot' (G_3.1e_Gail); 'to move on from where you are' (M_3.1b_Una); 'to follow your own path' in 'big or small steps' (T_3.2a/3.2b_Donna); and 'for many years... I didn't move on very much at all' (M_3.4a_Lev). It is 'to move on and progress yourself' (T_3.3c_Amy). Movement represents 'a progression on what you're capable of' (G_3.4c_Marisa), for which 'you've got to have a vision, I think; you've got to have a goal' (G_3.4d_Marisa); 'some goal, some motivation personally' (T_3.5c_Bob); being 'proactive and forward-facing, and always having a goal to aspire to' (T_3.3d_Amy); and 'to see where you've

come from... to see where you should be going' (G_3_Rhianon). Hence the metaphor of journeying, of considering 'different avenues' (T_2.4b_Amy) - or of realising that 'there aren't many avenues' (M_3.5a_Fran) - raises questions of individual freedom of opportunity, purpose, value, and responsibility.

Other metaphors of development suggest a more *distanced, altruistic and non-directive purview*: 'creating a nurturing environment' in which pupils are 'blossoming' (R_3.3b/c_Nadine); 'how they have blossomed and flourished! ... You don't always see them come to fruition' (M_2.1b_Irene); 'to see them actually thrive' (M_2.2b_Fran); 'You're looking at the child as a person... saying that they've come along' (G_3.2a_Josie); noticing children 'progress and develop' (G_R_2.3a_Rhianon); 'you've got to see something from within them, haven't you, something that's going to motivate and energise them' while affording staff 'the space in which to express themselves, and blossom, and make mistakes, and learn' (F_3.2f/d_Tom); and 'you want [the staff] to blossom' (T_1.3c_Ellen). From this distanced, altruistic perspective, development requires sensitive interaction with others: 'for you to develop and to enable others to develop as well' (M_3.4c_Irene). Jane, a teacher, recognises that intrinsic motivation is important for adults as for students. Also, she places herself as an object of that concern: 'people have got to give you the opportunities and the encouragement to do it' (M_3.2b_08:00_Jane). Implicitly in altruistic perspectives, development is negotiated socially.

A third discursive group conceives development as *progressive improvement*, whether transitively or intransitively. As a witnessed phenomenon, development is 'changing for the better' (M_3.6a_09:35_Seán); 'change for the better, improvement, etcetera' (M_3.6a_09:55_Ghita); 'it's improved, got better' (M_3.4b_Irene). As intransitive purposeful activity (a lived phenomenon), development is 'progression' and 'getting better' (T_3.1c_James); and working towards 'getting better' (R_3.4c_Paula; F_3.4b_07:11_Faith). From this perspective, longer-term development involves planned, sustained ameliorative progress: 'the next phase for the development of this school' (M_3.3a_02:06_Will); 'the plan of where we want the school to go' (T_2.3a_Ellen) and 'the moving-on' of curricular provision (T_2.3c_Ellen); 'our future development of the school' (G_1.1e_Kim). The discourse implies that action is necessary because the situation lacks natural movement, constituting a burden.

This ameliorative perspective also uses *to develop* transitively, objectifying purpose: ‘take it forward’ (F_3.2c_Tom); ‘improving things’ (R_3.2b_Belle); finding ‘better ways of doing things’ (M_3.1b_Dan); ‘to make something better’ (M_3.1b_Una); ‘being able to move people on’ (M_3.4c_Irene); and ‘to move the school on’ (M_1.2e_01:40_Lev). Development-as-improvement on behalf of pupils identifies ‘*What is it that they need?*’ (G_3.1c_Gail): fulfilment is that of purpose. Indeed, Anita regards her perspective as professionally determined: ‘I only think of [development] like a teacher - so, developing the curriculum...developing my lessons’ (R_3.1b_Anita). As a deputy headteacher, James applies this perspective to Tredgold School: ‘I don’t see the point of developing something that’s not gonna improve on what’s already there’ (T_3.1c_06:07_James). For him, development is a rational choice from prior evaluation about externalised action where gains are intended.

Some participants amplify development’s meaning, thus offering further insight into their views. Tom, a headteacher, mentions ‘where you’re going-ish, insofar as you can identify where you’re going’ and its implication: ‘Well, where are you?’ (F_3.2c_03:28-03:36_Tom). Hence interpretation of circumstance is conceived alongside purposeful movement. Tom believes that ‘realising - in both senses of the word - potential’ is ‘what leadership’s about’ (F_3.2c_03:52-04:26). Referring metaphorically to ‘growth’, Tom self-corrects because: ‘...growth can be a tumour, can’t it? But development is directed towards something; it’s structured, it’s purposeful’ (F_3.2c_06:42-06:50). Observing that ‘the mere word suggests movement’, he asserts: ‘life is development,’ (F_3.2c_03:07). Thus the school organisation is ‘like a beehive or something: overall there’s lots of activity, but it makes sense’ (F_3.2d_02:01). As headteacher, Tom believes that: ‘[development] defines what I’m trying to do’ (F_3.2c_03:06).

Several participants in different schools (including Tom and James, above) observe that development need not prove beneficial. For Belle, a nursery assistant at Rowan Primary School, ‘[development] is sometimes a backward step’ (R_3.2b_Belle), while one of the leadership team at Martinswood, Irene, when discussing development mentions ‘two steps forward and three steps back’ (M_3.4a_06:04_Irene); Josie, a primary school teacher, observes: ‘Things move on - and whether they’re a good thing or a bad thing remains to be seen. You just have to roll with it’ (G_2.3a_07:47_Josie). As a secondary

teacher, Sean would expect development to ‘indicate a positive thing, that was changing for the better, but I’m not sure that that is the case ... more change is not necessarily for the better’ (M_3.6a_09:30-09:45_Sean). He and Ghita distinguish between intrinsic development, over which they have some control, and change imposed externally, though they do not especially differentiate change from development (M_3.6a_09:24-09:58). Elena, a secondary school teacher with pastoral responsibilities, believes that: ‘any human being in any situation will develop in some way or another’, which may happen ‘sometimes positively and I suppose sometimes negatively’ (F_3.1a_07:50_Elena). Elena interrupts the natural balance of the phrase to insert ‘I suppose’, suggesting that the negative is hypothetical.

These examples from different schools characterise development as a purposeful, temporal process having uncertain outcomes. Commonly, development is thought meaningful, not arbitrary. Individual inconsistencies of metaphorical usage occur: occasionally distinctions are blurred in impromptu speech, or (where general meaning is intended) in avoiding repetition. There is no discursive association of one particular metaphorical meaning with a particular organisational setting or job-role, nor any coherent discourse of development centred upon an articulated meaning.

Overall, the employees conceive development using three distinct centres of meaning. The first two metaphorical groups, whether from inward or outward perspectives, describe development as an embodied process associated with progressive movement, flourishing and fulfilment. The third describes a largely transitive, objectified process associated with progression and improvement, increased value, and fulfilment of purpose. As a well-being facilitator explains, unexplored assumptions about meaning can bring confusion:

‘I think too many people think of development as being progress, *Let’s move it on*, and *Let’s take it here*. And they sort of lose sight of what they started off looking for.’ (F_3.3c_00:45-00:53_Sally)

A2 *How employees experience development*

Here, attention shifts from employees' conceptualisations to their experiences of development. Research conversations with participants are unlimited in content, but guided thematically by topic - rich in affective and contextual detail. The experiences described associate development with well-being, revealing common developmental features.

Characteristically employees recognise in development some truth about themselves. Life events now thought developmentally significant were not part of any personal design: 'I'm kind of going back to the way I was before I had a family, er, in a way' (M_3.2b_09:20_Jane). Employees describe development through working life as a powerful process, somewhat ungovernable, whose meaning is disclosed in deeply personal ways. Development 'might shoot off in a slightly different direction... and you might never get back to that point' (M_3.4a_05:50_Irene). As a primary school headteacher Gail believes she is more self-confident. Formerly, Gail 'didn't particularly aspire' to headship, only seeking promotion during her second deputy headship (G_1.2a_Gail). Irene's recent promotion within Martinswood College 'just sort of progressed' from previous interests (M_1.2d_08:24_Irene). Similarly, at Tredgold School Amy associates development with progressive meaning rather than with directional advancement:

'...you can become more engaged, and I'm finding that the things that I'm picking up, they're leading me to somewhere else. So everything's like fitting together.' (T_3.3c_02:41-02:53_Amy)

Ellen, a headteacher, finds that development may occur adaptively: 'you do develop - some of it as a necessity' (T_3.4d_05:00_Ellen), bringing a sense of achievement.

Kim became a teaching assistant at Gorsemoor Primary School as 'a stepping-stone', something that would offer 'a bit of experience', thinking '*It'll do me for a while*' - for she admits: 'I didn't want to come here' (G_1.1b_05:23_Kim). The local community places its particular, unremitting demands on the school's employees: 'I've never known anyone in my life take a drug; and then I'm dealing with ladies who can't stand

up!’ and ‘I’ve gone home, not slept, when I’ve known that Social Services were gonna go in and take children, and I wouldn’t see them the next day’ (G_1.1b_05:52).

Reflectively, Kim concedes that ‘It would be easier to go to a leafy school. It would be easier to walk in and there not be a social problem...’ but she concludes: ‘I would hate to leave... This is where I wanna stay. This is what I want to do’ (G_1.1b_07:52-08:27). Kim believes she is making a difference to people’s lives within and beyond the school. By choosing the more challenging way, she has found her vocation.

Besides her formal role of Senior Care Assistant on the leadership team, Amy has long experience of well-being facilitation at Tredgold Special School. She recalls her keenness to attend the training for school-nominated facilitators:

‘I thought *I’d like to be part of what they’re doing, and part of that*. And have come to be part of that... And I just thought it was a fantastic thing that people were being allowed out of schools to be involved in something like this, and it’s not to do with literacy or numeracy... and I can remember the day quite well.’ (T_2.4b_07:30-07:50_Amy)

The string of connectives reveals Amy’s enthusiasm. Her sense of excitement lies in realising she belongs in a wider professional community of shared values. Amy has been invited to lead well-being sessions in other schools, while two more Tredgold colleagues have since received facilitation training, forming a team. However, during the second research visit Amy admits: ‘I do the majority of the work... and I’ve got to let that go. A bit of: *Well I know it will get done if I do it...* That’s an issue for me’ (T_2.4c_09:48-09:54). The image of having to let go suggests childish possessiveness. But self-criticism is followed by criticism of others. Although Amy says she has ‘matured in the role of Facilitator’ (T_2.4c_00:15), the situation frustrates her. She has not lacked knowledge of delegation, but the faith to act upon what she knows. The hint of mounting pressure is strengthened when Amy mentions her family responsibilities, and that also she follows a higher education course. By the third visit, Amy reports that she has discussed delegation with the well-being team. Her account begins in the Historic Present Tense, dramatising the situation:

'I'm sitting there thinking: *Oh... you don't do anything*. And they're thinking: "You don't let us do anything"... and I was quite frank, and I apologised for, um, not letting go of the reins as much as I should, but erm: *You'd better make sure that you ((Laughs)) do the jobs that you're gonna do!*' (T_3.3a_04:41-04:56_Amy)

Airing these concerns has helped secure mutual trust. The meeting decided to increase representation on the well-being team. These new arrangements have broadened the scope of well-being activity: 'different people from different teams... fighting your cause as well, and looking at different areas' (T_3.3a_06:41). Amy has felt the burden of responsibility for well-being in school:

'...it's my name that's being sort of sullied if it's not done properly, but I've got to learn, it's not Amy well-being, it's Tredgold well-being... So I am letting go. I've let go ((Hesitates)) a little bit.' (T_3.3a_07:18-07:26_Amy)

The weakness remains, but Amy is pleased not to be the sole instigator of well-being activity: '... it's all over the place. Other people are doing things which are well-being orientated, and they're not facilitators... so pressure has gone, and the angst has gone' (T_3.3b_00:03-00:23). Amy, proud of letting-go and of enabling others indirectly, demonstrates her own development.

Where development is regarded instrumentally, different problems arise. The Senior Administration Officer at Martinswood, Dan, manages a school-wide programme involving consultation, negotiation, design and training for staff. Perceiving development as pragmatic, problem-solving improvement (M_3.1b_Dan), his experience of seeking to persuade teachers to follow the path set leads him to a more relativist position: development 'depends on your point of view', because 'some people on the receiving end don't see that as a positive development. They see that as a negative' (M_3.1b_03:32-04:40). Dan reports that teachers are held accountable for what is in their new job descriptions, which they interpret as 'a negative development' (M_3.1b_08:36). It frustrates him: 'No matter how many times we say, *This is not a rod to beat your backs*, there's some staff who don't believe that' (M_3.1b_04:49). Such

development is not of the programme; it is not ‘development of something’, but in people, and requires their acceptance.

A manager at Tredgold School, James, believing his own development lacks direction, similarly objectifies development: ‘a lot of my development over the past year has come purely driven by me’ (T_3.1d_01:45_James). James feels that ‘I could be developed more by those who have experienced what I’ve gone through’ although currently ‘I don’t feel that I’m getting development in that way’ (T_3.1d_01:53-0207), and that ‘I’ve pushed myself to take it to the level where I’ve taken it’ (T_3.1d_03:30). The experience of ‘getting development’, of burden, has proved dispiriting. James believes he needs more direct support and specific challenges, but is uncertain where to look. His distanced language, in which he and his development become separately objectified, reflects James’ sense of lost direction.

A3 *The influence of learning*

Participants in all five schools report developmental consequences from learning and from re-applying previous knowledge. Their accounts show development through interpreting life experiences for workplace purposes, and through transferring workplace learning to wider social contexts. Individuals reflect upon their experiences within and beyond work, drawing conclusions about themselves in either or both spheres.

The participants offering an opinion assert unanimously that learning is lifelong. Fran, a teaching assistant at Martinswood College, says: ‘I think I’m always learning’ (M_3.5b_Fran), having observed how her father has learnt to use computers late in life. Sally (a school librarian at Foresters) qualifies her view by emphasising personal choice: ‘...you’re always learning, anyway, but you need to be able to do it unconsciously. It shouldn’t be something where you feel it is a pressure on you to do that’ (F_3.3h_00:45-00:55_Sally). Similarly, Irene (a teacher at Martinswood) believes that learning must be ‘only if you want to’ (M_3.4a_Irene). Common examples are of individuals learning informally - from colleagues, regarded as a resource (M_2.5c_Una;

M_2.1d Irene; M_2.4d Jane; R_3.1c Mei; F_3.2e Tom), from children (G_3.4e Parminder), from family (M_3.5b Fran), and from former career experience (R_3.3c Nadine). At Rowan Primary School, teachers join a learning network (R_2.1d 09:20_Paula).

Occasionally, as with Fran, participants mention a predisposition to learn. At Foresters High School, the headteacher describes it as ‘hunter-gatherer’ culture (F_1.1d_Tom). Amy talks passionately about well-being facilitation at Tredgold School: ‘the more you learn, the more you can just look at things in different ways’ (T_2.4c_04:38_Amy). In committing herself to well-being activities, she has understood more how her own strengths and weaknesses are revealed in workplace situations. Thus she chose not to undertake an offered responsibility: ‘I thought, *If there’s some sort of story behind something, I might not be as straight down the line with that person as you would need to be in that role*’ (T_2.4d_00:59_Amy).

Employees report developmental consequences from workplace experiences. Following reflection, learning is re-applied expansively elsewhere in the organisation. For example, Irene, having observed a lesson, used some of the ideas (with her colleague’s consent) with a parallel class (M_2.1d_Irene). Irene also believes that learning occurs constantly: ‘sometimes you’re not even aware of what you’re doing’ (M_2.1d_03:40). Her colleague, Una, mentions that the department’s new subject specialist status brings fresh responsibilities, emphasising how colleagues learn reciprocally and from others. To fulfil these responsibilities requires good relationships and familiarity with the organisation: ‘You know where to go. You know who’s got good ideas’ (M_2.5c_02:17_Una). Such low-level, generalised experience features in Mei’s account of work as a primary school teaching assistant: ‘I used to pick up loads of tips from Anita [a teacher], and I’m now - I’ve probably passed them on to Nadia [a less experienced teacher] in a roundabout way’ (R_3.1c_06:03_Mei). The words *probably* and *roundabout* suggest that organisational development occurs through informal learning. In Mei’s words: ‘you don’t see it when you’re in there all the time’ (R_3.1c_04:55).

Sometimes participants mention how workplace learning influences their attitudes and actions outside school. For example, Parminder’s experience of looking after pupils as a

mid-day supervisory assistant has helped her cope with the behaviours of one of her own children, who has special needs (G_3.4d_03:20_Parminder). As a headteacher, Gail has learned to use more tolerance towards others' views in her home life (G_3.1c_Gail), becoming 'a better person' (G_3.1e_02:52).

Another form of developmental consequence occurs when employees find that life experience brings enriched understanding to workplace activity. Experience influences adults' perceptions of (and attitudes towards) children, or presents different perspectives on their own lives. As a mother who teaches at Gorsemoor Primary School, Josie perceives that: 'I was here for other people's children, but I wasn't actually there for mine' (G_3.2b_04:47_Josie). By re-evaluating her priorities for work and family, her life feels better balanced. Josie believes that since becoming a mother she regards pupils differently: '*You are somebody else's child...And you think, you know, If that was my child, how would I want them treated by a teacher?*' (G_3.2b_06:18-06:28)

Fresh experience may render previous learning suddenly relevant. Soon after accepting responsibility for a policy area at Rowan Primary School, Nadine recalls her professional work before becoming a teacher:

'In some ways I feel like I'm going back a little bit to things I've done before, as well, but in a different setting... You've still got to use your previous experience, haven't you? ... I want to keep using it, what I learnt then. I don't want to ditch it; I'd rather keep using it.' (R_3.3c_09:20-d00:05_Nadine)

Nadine values this continuity: in looking back she finds meaning. Experience is not obsolete, but potentially a developmental resource.

Also, reflection upon experience facilitates development. Jane, who teaches at Martinswood College, reflects on her child's enjoyment of learning at primary school: '...it's fun. And here, sometimes you're too preoccupied with... covering what you need to cover, that you don't make it fun,' which is ultimately counter-productive for students because 'you lose them' (M_2.4d_04:53-05:37_Jane). Because of the school's specialist subject status, Jane also works with local primary schools, where: 'I have learnt so much... about my own teaching' (M_2.4d). Finding significance for her own

professional work in both areas of experience, Jane re-asserts her commitment to provide enjoyable lessons for her own students, who ‘should still be treated in a way like children’ (M_2.4d); tests and external requirements receive less attention.

There is substantial evidence (widespread across schools and roles, strongly asserted, and rooted in people’s experience) that significant informal and, less commonly, formal learning enables developmental consequences for employees. Fran, a teaching assistant at Martinswood College, illustrates development through formal learning during a recent, certificated course: ‘it just makes you stop and think a little bit about what you’re actually here for’ (M_2.2b_05:36_Fran). In the next chapter, Marisa’s narrative concerning a similar course shows its rich influence.

Lev describes development through informal learning. He is a voluntary member of Irene’s well-being team at Martinswood College. Lev and Irene are recorded jointly in conversation. By the third field visit, Irene has joined the school’s leadership team. Lev has avoided promotion opportunities, though regarded as a creative and skilful classroom teacher - especially with pupils having special needs. Irene supports Lev, keen that he should present himself and the school favourably. Lev’s account concerns lifelong learning: ‘...most of it happens *ad hoc*, rather than what you structure,’ and he is ‘going through a learning period at the moment’ (M_3.4a_01:19-01:24_Lev).

Whereas Irene seeks to protect personal choice, Lev describes fruitful, active periods of self-directed learning, followed by ‘very long periods of stagnation, which if you’re not careful can become a habit’ (M_3.4a_09:13-09:18). Evidently he is reflecting upon personal experience: ‘For many years at Martinswood I didn’t move on very much at all’ (M_3.4a_08:24). Reference to ‘moving on’ marks a shift in thought from learning to development, shown by what occurs next in the conversation. Irene emphasises retaining personal time, despite external demands. If time is not found, Lev sees the consequences as spiritual loss:

‘You can lose sight of yourself... You can lose your own shape... if you take on too much. And then you can forget that you’ve got your own life and skills and ((Hesitates)) philosophy to develop, and you just get stuck in that rut of performing here and then going home and being burnt out’ (M_3.4a_07:36-07:39_Lev).

Irene advocates attempting something new: ‘It’s whether you... take the risk, and ... try to do something about it... You might still make the same mistakes, but you might actually go off in a different avenue’ (M_3.4a_05:03-05:13_Irene). However, Lev perceives risk in clinging to the familiar. With maturity, he says, comes awareness that: ‘you’ve got many more strings to your bow than just what happens here’ (M_3.4a_07:58_Lev). His decision came from circumstance and reflection: ‘*I’m going to make something happen!*’ (M_3.4a_09:26). Lev’s new project follows from introducing at school new skills practised in his leisure time. With pupils Lev has produced a podcast, and a CD for charity. He describes the dynamic of this process as if it were a wild horse: ‘I just sort of grabbed this and it started running on its own’ (M_3.4a_09:46). Only afterwards is it possible reflectively to ‘look down to the place you were... from a similar co-ordinate, but slightly higher’ (M_3.4a_05:36-05:41).

When Lev confides anxiety about *pushing the boundaries too much*, Irene praises his creativity as ‘going from strength to strength’ (M_3.4b_01:10-01:33_Irene). But when Lev admits that because of his passion for the project, it becomes ‘hard to go back and do the boring bits ... the naughty classes’, Irene re-introduces her metaphor: ‘we’ve got to find an avenue where you can do them both. And I’m working on it’ (M_3.4b_02:05-02:22_Lev/Irene). Learning and development are not solely a personal matter of seizing opportunities, but require social support and appropriate organisational facilitation. Lev has learned new technological skills, but also, how to meld them with his own interests, bridging work and home. With Irene’s encouragement for his renewed enthusiasm, Lev has gained a *slightly higher* vantage point on his own situation.

Participants describe the developmental consequences of learning in separate terms from the original learning experiences. For example, Gail’s experience as a primary school headteacher has helped her become: ‘a little better at trying to understand other people’s points of view’ (G_3.1e_03:35_Gail). Having gained this capability through her professional role, Gail applies it with family and friends. Similarly, as an administrative assistant in the Learning Support Department at Foresters, Jess has learned about certain pupils’ life histories. Consequently she gives these children ‘more leeway, I suppose, because they’re troubled’ (F_1.3a_Jess). Greater knowledge - sometimes, as with Jess, through recursive experience of different cases - nourishes an

inward, interpretative process over time, bringing a different moral perspective. Elena, a teacher with pastoral responsibilities in the school, mentions similar responses. Having worked previously at a school for “‘nice” girls”, in her ironic words, Elena regards successful transition to the present environment, and subsequent promotion, as ‘a milestone for me,’ so that she feels ‘proud to do it, and I enjoy it’ (F_3.1b_Elena). The learning experience of teaching at Foresters has changed her: ‘I’m much more tolerant of people in general... and you really realise that for some people they have had a terrible life’ (F_1.5b_02:48).

The school’s headteacher, Tom, refers to ‘wave after wave of emotion’ affecting the pupils and ‘often the staff as well’ (F_1.1a_04:43_Tom), so that the tough-minded accommodation of experience becomes necessity, not choice. Despite the rewards of working with children: ‘It’s incredibly frustrating; there’s no sort of... do-goody well-meaning-ness about it, because that’ll get rubbed off in two seconds in this place!’ (F_1.1a_04:34).

These altered perspectives emphasise that employees find meaning in process, further indicating how developmental experience relates self to others (see pp.138-139). Education employees describe attempts to interpret experience personally, deepening their understanding from deriving explicit subject-matter, to interpreting what such knowledge signifies within ‘a natural progression’ (M_2.2a_06:50_Fran). Engagement with meaning entails an inward discursive shift. Thus a keener inter-subjective awareness brings for Gail, Jess and Elena a more tolerant understanding; in Lev’s case, spiritual refreshment; for Amy and Tom, an unsentimental appreciation of their own qualities and limitations; for Nadine, rediscovery of relevance in areas of personal history; for Fran, enhanced understanding of educative purpose; and for Jane, fresh resolve to inspire students’ enjoyment of learning. A person’s behavioural changes in the workplace or beyond are outward indicators of this reflective, developmental process.

Thematic data analysis (B): How development is negotiated

Introduction

To negotiate development raises questions of choice and purpose. In development studies increasing interest has been shown in human functional capabilities rather than in measurable wealth, in conceptualising a capability space available to each person, and in associating these ideas with well-being (Sen 1999). Because power relations are rarely symmetrical, ways to occupy such space, with what intensity, and with what goals and benefits, require negotiation to realise capabilities.

The following sub-sections analyse aspects of the emotional, moral and social negotiation of development in and beyond schools as workplaces, where imbalances of power are present. (Well-being as a factor in development is considered in Section C3.)

B1 *Negotiating development in different organisational contexts*

Examples occur in all five schools of ways in which development is negotiated personally and socially within imbalanced power relations, using contextual knowledge. Employees show trust by revealing vulnerability to those in authority, and in using knowledge of self and others. Some consequences of lost trust are shown.

Participants in the five schools negotiate their work's emotional demands – initially in recognising and accommodating their feelings, and ultimately in discovering resourceful approaches. Elena believes that teaching is 'becoming more stressful' (F_3.1d_02:18_Elena). She recounts a gender-related aspect of her work at Foresters High School. Certain male pupils have 'built up a barrier, and they're not going to be told what to do by any woman' (F_1.5a_03:55). She no longer finds this hurtful: 'It's their problem, not mine, really,' but 'when I started [my job here] I did' (F_1.5a_03:40). No longer shocked, Elena maintains her composure. The headteacher at Gorsemoor Primary School, Gail, only finds time for reflection at home 'because of the hurly-burly

of each day' (G_3.1c_09:30). The unpredictability of her daily work is frustrating, but once accepted, 'then you can deal with it' (G_2.3e_02:00 Gail). Mei, a teaching assistant at Rowan Primary School, is guided by experience when certain colleagues show signs of ill-temper: '*Well I know that person's like that, so I'm just going to back off a bit*' (R_3.1b_02:09_Mei). At Martinswood College, Irene asserts that people with multiple responsibilities should 'bat back' some requests: 'You are all of those things, not just one of them' (M_3.4a_07:30-08:20_Irene). In these instances from different settings, there is practical wisdom in avoiding confrontation (through understanding the problem and refusing to punish oneself for it) and in preventing self-exploitation.

Well-being facilitators in all five schools mention the emotional challenges of their voluntary role. At Tredgold School Amy refers to support for her family as well as for colleagues in describing how: 'I make myself be the rock for most people I know: *Tell me. I don't mind*' (T_2.4c_06:29 Amy). The stretched phrasing of 'make myself be the rock' reveals how it is genuinely a role she undertakes, not simply an expression of kindness. Having major commitments in different areas of her life, Amy admits: '...there's been points when I just think: *Somebody ask me if I'm all right. I am all right, but just ask – you know?*' (T_2.4a_06:37-06:46). Amy realises that she over-commits herself, but also has high self-expectations. In order to negotiate with others how to lessen this burden, Amy negotiates her own feelings and perceptions concerning leadership and responsibility.

Recently Dan's job at Martinswood College has changed 'dramatically' (M_1.1d_Dan), from teaching to administration, while he continues to support the well-being group. Later describing himself as 'too much of a perfectionist' (M_2.5d_02:49), Dan recalls: 'I couldn't teach to the level I wanted to, and I couldn't do the admin side to the level I wanted to' (M_1.1d_08:25_Dan), inducing feelings of stress. He broached this problem with the headteacher. Over twelve months an agreement was reached. Dan relinquished his head of department status and became senior administrative officer, with a reduced salary: 'but it's certain I wasn't pushed' (M_1.1d_08:30). The headteacher has accommodated Dan's wishes, while launching an important school-wide programme which Dan is well qualified to run. Dan reflects: 'I was very lucky to be in the school I was in, that allowed that change to take place' (M_1.1d_07:53). The leadership team has responded sensitively to a valued employee's anxieties, to mutual benefit, but it was

not a grace-and-favour decision. It was important to Dan's well-being that he recognised his own emotional circumstance, was trusting enough to tell others, and that he was allowed time to decide, and that his developmental choice was supported. Another example of negotiation at Martinswood is provided (pp.156-160).

Jess, an administrator at Foresters High School, describes development negotiated from unpromising beginnings. She found her previous role 'very bitty' and 'nothing to get your teeth into' (F_1.3a_05:12 _Jess). A year before the research visit, Jess's unfulfilling role had caused great unhappiness: 'I didn't get anything out of it - no job satisfaction at all... and I could see it going nowhere' (F_1.3b_00:40-00:48). The implicit metaphor is of following an unrewarding, goalless path. Jess recalls: 'I thought, *Well if the job's not going to go anywhere, I'm going to have to*' (F_1.3b_00:57). Although employment opportunities locally were scarce, Jess decided: '*I'm not going to carry on doing this till I retire, because I think it would drive me mad*' (F_1.3b_01:23). She presents her thinking during this period as a dialogue between rational adult and child-like self:

'So for my own well-being, really, I thought: *Do something. Don't carry on with – You've got to*' (F_1.3b_01:24-01:28_Jess)

Finally, Jess made an appointment with the headteacher to discuss the problem, which was resolved when she accepted a new job. As with the example from Martinswood, no especial favours were granted. The post carried important responsibilities towards families and external agencies, and was more demanding, not less. From Jess's account her meeting with the headteacher was not the substantive issue: what mattered was the prior, inward negotiation of emotions from the work itself. Reflection upon these feelings led Jess to act for the sake of her well-being. Her own needs and those of the organisation were met. Jess says that the new job suits her 'down to the ground' (F_1.3a_04:40).

From different contexts, these accounts of negotiating emotions inter-personally show the importance of reflecting upon self and situation. Socially-negotiated job-changes require sensitive management, but have positive developmental consequences for individuals and their organisations. Where employees take the initiative, the overt social

negotiation is matched by inner negotiation of thoughts and feelings associated with self-perception and with personal circumstance.

When power distribution is asymmetric, psychosocial circumstances are negotiated along with the issue. Developmental consequences seem to depend on these negotiations. In some circumstances teaching assistants may feel wary of asking teachers for information, but at Gorsemoor Primary School Kim (a senior teaching assistant) declares that she is not afraid to ask teachers what something means. She encourages others to overcome their timidity and ask for help, because the teachers 'are very supportive' (G_1.1e_06:39-07:00_Kim). At Gorsemoor some perceive a 'gap' between teaching assistants and teachers, perhaps indicating low confidence. Kim's reassuring words are facilitative: the teachers can be trusted not to exploit the assistants' vulnerability, and their help can be sought. Hence, Kim mediates informally between groups of staff. Also, as the school's well-being facilitators, Kim and Josie try to erode remaining 'Us and Them' assumptions by organising evening social events. Thus individual and collective confidence and trust develop by various communicative means, to organisational benefit: confidence in institutional values increases. This approach contributes to the broader thrust of purposeful development at Gorsemoor Primary School. Active support for adult learning as a means of development reflects the Headteacher's encouragement in morning assembly:

'...the staff hear me doing this, saying to the children: *I am a learner. I'm your headteacher, but I'm a learner.*' (G_1.2e_05:14_Gail)

Gail implies that she addresses everyone, because it concerns the school as a community.

Development negotiated between employees and managers seems less propitious when aspects of personality impede organisational communication. (Further to ensure anonymity, the participants have been allocated fresh pseudonyms and references here.)

The employees in this setting feel anxious about discussing proposals or raising concerns with a senior manager, Alex. Previously Alex's reactions have been unpredictable and volatile, rather than negative:

‘...it could depend on the day as to how you’re reacted to, I guess. Um, and sometimes it’s not worth debating a point. Sometimes there’s things that I’d like to say, that I don’t...’ (Ty_1)

Here Terry must engage with personal feelings, rather than with ideas; the suggestions themselves are withheld, because ‘...sometimes I feel like there’s no point in pursuing something because it’s not ((Laughs)) getting a fair hearing’ (Ty_2). It is:

‘... disheartening sometimes... because some good ideas come from everybody. But, depending on the stress levels, or what’s happened in the day... the reception that you get could be quite varied and sometimes quite surprising... so you do have to pick your moment.’ (Ty_3)

Terry attributes Alex’s unpredictability to a residue of raw emotion which this senior manager bears from some previous event, and which later erupts. The account shows inner frustration from self-imposed restraint.

Other employees mention this situation, contributing different perspectives. Lou reports that Alex’s self-perception is of one who listens well, whereas: ‘I would be giving totally the opposite, opposite answer [on that score]’ (Lu_1). Lou would wish to raise this communication difficulty with Alex, but: ‘I ... already know what kind of response I’d get, because I’ve seen other people get a similar response’ (Lu_2). Again, the conclusion is: ‘I’m not gonna bother! I’ll just battle on, on my own’ (Lu_3). It is a source of frustration and regret, since other aspects of school life are promising: ‘... you just go round and think: *Why would I want to change that? Why would I want to change?*’ (Lu_4). By altering the verb, ‘change’, from transitive to intransitive Lou hints at other career options.

Sam contrasts Alex’s emotional reactions with those of a previous manager who maintained a calm demeanour. The effect of Alex’s response is to ‘impart that emotion to you, a bit like it was your fault – although that’s not [the] intention’ (Sm_1). Consequently, as well-being facilitator, Sam feels somewhat exploited in broaching issues with Alex on others’ behalf:

‘I’ve got a skin as thick as a rhino ... but to other people [such a reception is] quite frightening, and people who are not as assertive, or don’t feel that they’ve got the authority to speak out ... it stops stuff from being moved on.’ (Sm_3)

Developmental negotiation is complex in these circumstances of imbalanced power because of conflicting perceptions and personalities - and sometimes, because the sense of a lost past endures. This localised complexity within otherwise fruitful professional work is not calamitous, but persistently, frustratingly hinders individual and organisational development. The mundaneness of the situation is significant, for employees are left to seek their own accommodations to the well-meaning fallibility of someone in authority. The emotional demand of engagement deters some from the attempt, reducing capability and threatening morale.

Negotiation in the settings visited extends beyond formal discussion. Often people negotiate privately developmental steps in their working lives, reflecting upon the associated choices. Perceptions of self and of others influence individual choices where power is asymmetric. Employees value being entrusted with responsibilities (M_2.5d_00:05-01:07_Dan; R_2.4a_08:00_Nadine; R_3_Rec_1_00:55_Clerys; F_3.4c_04:52_Faith; T_3.3d_01:50_Amy). However, where frustration grows in painful, uncertain situations as work continues, employees may retreat from public engagement with ideas and explore other routes. To be treated abruptly or ‘totally ignored’ can be ‘quite intimidating’, and so ‘you avoid going back to the same person’, whereas a more generous attitude has the opposite effect (R_3_Rec_1_02:20-03:10_Clerys). In these examples informal negotiation of developmental process involves: reflection upon emotions and responses; confronting the unexpected flexibly; acknowledging vulnerability in seeking support or advice; and collaborating trustingly to resolve dilemmas.

B2 *How roles influence the negotiation of development*

The previous sub-section has presented what negotiation of development involves in different organisational settings. However, employees have multiple roles - formal and informal, at home, in their social lives, and at work - which may influence how individual and organisational development is negotiated, while entailing a more contextually specific approach. Below, two exemplars - one individual, the other institutional - illustrate tensions within roles and their developmental consequences for employees and organisations.

The first exemplar illustrates a primary schoolteacher's experience of tensions between her roles within and beyond the workplace, and the developmental consequences for her sense of identity. In the second exemplar, data from eight employees at Martinswood College show how roles are interpreted and organisational development negotiated.

¶ Roles and negotiation: an employee's experience

As a mother who teaches at Gorsemoor Primary School, Josie finds that these roles influence each other and her attitudes. She describes her psychological transference between them as if it were a sudden, possibly involuntary, shift between the 'extremes' of 'teacher mode' and 'parent mode' (G_3.2d_04:20-05:00_Josie). *Mode* is subtly distinct from *role*, suggesting a persona closely associated with role, but which may be adopted out of context. Thus Josie speaks self-critically of being 'in teacher mode' and 'over-analytical' sometimes when talking with her own children. However, when 'in parent mode' she 'may not actually appreciate' what she is being told (G_3.2d_04:36-04:46). To achieve a balance is difficult, 'but on the whole, I think once I pick the children up, I'm ((Hesitates)) as I say, I'm Me.' (G_3.2d_05:54).

Josie's account illustrates the personal and social construction of roles, 'modes', and identity, which inter-connect. She explores this theme as historical experience, when providing an example of developmental change. Josie envisages possible unwanted consequences from development (p.136). Professionally, development involves 'looking at the child as a person', rather than tracking academic progress

(G_3.2a_09:43). Josie relates adult development to the nature/nurture debate, separating genetic inheritance and physical maturation from the consequences of life events upon personal perspectives: 'your stance on everything changes as you experience more things' (G_3.2b_02:00). Her example of developmental experience follows directly from discussing the concept.

After the birth of her first child, Josie returned to work full-time: 'something for me brain to do' (G_3.2b_04:40). However, she felt conflicted, regretting missed time with her child. Therefore after her youngest was born, Josie decided upon part-time working:

'I've gone from being very work-orientated to - I enjoy being at work, and I enjoy being here, but it isn't the be-all and end-all. And my children are my priority' (G_3.2b_05:21).

Josie speaks of having 'mellowed a lot', of being 'more tolerant and understanding' (G_3.2b_06:06-07:40) since becoming a mother, which has brought a gentler approach toward her pupils. She has changed her opinion about sanctioning children who miss homework. In her early professional years Josie applied sanctions strictly, but 'as you become a parent, then you realise ... the children come home absolutely shattered' (G_3.2_01:48). In some homes, homework routines are not established. Therefore in recent years Josie has used a different strategy:

'I offer ... a session of lunchtime, so rather than being in every single playtime as a punishment, they come and work with me, and do their homework... in a lunchtime, and then they've got it there, and off they go.' (G_3.2c_02:40-02:52)

It is a move from 'permanently negative' psychology to 'a more positive way' (G_3.2c_03:14), a fruitful permeation of perceptions between one role in her life and another, having developmental consequences for herself and the pupils. But this alteration began from dissatisfaction with circumstances (as a mother), which seems to have been negotiated successfully, and then to have contributed to development in another role (as a teacher).

Two further points arise from Josie's experience. Firstly, she believes that (apart from her reduced working-hours) colleagues would not have noticed these developmental changes:

‘...a lot of changes in attitudes and beliefs you don't really come across until a situation arises when you actually discuss it with somebody. And I think even then you might not realise what your stance on something is until you're in that situation, and then you think, you know: *I would have thought I'd have taken that road, but actually, now I'm here, no.*’ (G_3.2c_06:45-07:11)

Secondly, later in the conversation, Josie revisits the theme of identity and roles. After the birth of her first child, she suffered post-natal depression, partly associated with an illness to the baby, for which she blamed herself. At this point the role of mother became over-ridingly important to her: ‘I was just [X's] Mum. I felt like I wasn't anything to anybody else. And it was really bizarre’ (G_3.2d_06:47-06:55). Josie describes the first half-term back at work as ‘a nightmare’:

‘I didn't want to be here. Hated it. I just wanted somebody to say the wrong thing to me and I was picking me coat up and going home.’ (G_3.2d_06:58-07:07_Josie)

But then Josie recalls ‘vividly’ saying to her husband after half-term:

‘I know who I am now. And it's strange: it was like suddenly I became more than just this baby's Mum – suddenly, like being aware of being a different person in all the different situations I was in’ (G_3.2d_07:20-07:38_Josie)

It would be inappropriate here to seek to ‘explain’ Josie's experience of transition. Yet it is perceptible how a person's sense of identity intimately engages roles, emotions, and perceptions continuously re-negotiated in routine experience. If stable, it is dynamically stable - subject to sudden forces requiring interpretation, rather than a static framework. On this evidence much negotiation occurs inwardly, reflectively, and unobserved.

At Martinswood College, middle managers' role descriptions (M_3.1b_Dan), arrangements for employees' performance management (M_2.6b_02:45_Ghita), and systems of appraisal for support staff (M_2.2c_Fran) have been revised. New procedures for monitoring pupils' progress have been introduced. Teachers feel under pressure to complete all tasks consistently well. For example, Jane describes her current work as 'all-consuming' (M_2.4a_08:50_Jane), but developmentally it involves 'sustaining things rather than introducing them all the time' (M_3.2a_00:53). She comments:

'I love what I do ... but there comes a point where you think, you know: *I should have done this, and I haven't been able to do it*. And that's ... what causes me worry: when I think I've not done something as best as it could have been done, because I just simply have not had the time ... And that's where it crosses the line of being a challenge ... into ... waking up in the middle of the night.' (M_2.4b_00:24-00:57_Jane)

Attributing her anxiety to personality, Jane says: 'You put all the stress on yourself' (M_2.4e_01:16).

Una's broader perspective is that many colleagues experience stress, although 'not off with stress necessarily', because of pressure 'to improve all the time, and juggle everything' (M_3.1e_00:40-00:57_Una). Though convinced that people are not exploited, in a workplace where relationships are good: 'if you see something that's not being done, you want it to be solved, don't you?' (M_2.5a_02:40). Una attributes the pressure partly to 'the nature of new initiatives and change, and, yeah, knock-on effects of that' (M_2.5a_02:52).

Dan's stance is more political: if the school did not have a well-being programme, then education could easily be seen as a twenty-four hour job. Alluding to the notion of an inner life, he perceives a contradiction of values within policy:

‘...it’s going to be a struggle to- to educate us all that there is a life outside... er, and there ought to be a life inside that’s not to do with work as well. And, erm, that’s quite difficult, because all these new initiatives seem to say on the one hand, *You’ve got to have a work-life balance*, but on the other hand, *This job’s got to be done*’ (M_3.1e_02:50-03:14_Dan).

When Irene mentions how meetings are needed so that big decisions can be discussed, despite shortage of time, Lev observes: ‘...we’ve fallen into that cycle of meetings to try to keep people happy about the amount of meetings you might have in one week’ (M_2.1b_08:34_Lev).

Employees at the College are negotiating feasibility, responsibility, and their associated emotions. For individuals, these negotiations follow structural changes decided elsewhere, with varying degrees of consultation and of staff support. In these circumstances, development does not feature in the discourse. The Martinswood employees are concerned to protect what is vulnerable and to relieve pressure (M_2.5e_09:29_Una), but also to secure the results necessary to meet the school’s objectives: ‘...if people dug their heels in, there’d be a problem. So ... er, it’s quietly allowed to happen’ (M_2.5a_01:48_Dan). Employees continue to negotiate these paradoxical elements (M_1.1b_02:33-02-43_Una; M_2.1b_08:50_Irene). But also, for some teachers, such contradictions pervade other aspects of their lives:

‘You think, you know, we’re going to book to go away and stay in a pub....
Ooh, yeah, but what if OFSTED come in [a short-notice school inspection]?
You know: *Would that ruin the weekend?* And it’s silly...’ (M_3.2b_00:12-00:22_Jane)

Jane describes how ‘the rational part of me’ says one thing, but ‘in your head’ another commentary runs, bringing the observation: ‘It’s all pride, isn’t it?’ (M_3.2b_00:37-00:59). Thus the continuous struggle with conflicted feelings invites self-castigation.

Individuals’ contradictions relative to the organisation are matched by a conflicted organisational relationship with the wider policy environment. Martinswood is committed to the government’s agenda of continuous improvement in competitive local

education environments. The school has achieved dual specialism status, bringing investment in new buildings, equipment, and outreach work for some teachers. The College is over-subscribed, having active contacts with local businesses, although institutional competitiveness is regarded with distaste: ‘we’re being made to compete with other [school] organisations’ (M_2.1a_06:02_Irene). Fran, a teaching assistant, describes the College as ‘moving with the times,’ adding immediately: ‘It’s not stagnating; it’s not staying the same... It is moving, it’s offering a lot more’ (M_3.5d_01:16-01:31_Fran). Dan, a senior administrator, believes that if the College’s focus on exam results can be maintained, then ‘it won’t stagnate’ (M_3.1d_08:02_Dan). As a teacher, Una thinks that ‘some staff could be encouraged more, professionally, to develop. I think that’s missing, sometimes’ (M_3.1d_05:29_Una). Jane’s departmental perspective is that Martinswood is ‘becoming more open to change... moving with the times – not that it didn’t... getting out there and maybe catching up’ (M_3.2c_07:09-07:33_Jane). These items reveal ambivalence about *moving with the times*.

The headteacher, Will, describes himself as naturally cautious. Changes in the leadership team have unfolded over eight years. Knowing there is more still to be done, Will is patient and thorough. For him, to negotiate organisational development involves planning for clear objectives whose fulfilment is validated by external scrutiny:

‘And so our challenge for the next phase of development of this school started last Friday morning, after [the Inspector] went on Thursday: it was to get from *Good with outstanding features* to *Outstanding*.’ (M_3.3a_02:11-02:20_Will)

The challenge commits everyone to working co-operatively, to the best of their ability, at all times, and will be achieved through teamwork and commitment since ‘the staff feel that as well’ (M_3.3a_03:00). The ethos of the school is ‘either there, or it’s not: you can’t just switch it on and off’ (M_3.3a_06:39). For eighteen months, Will has sought to maintain the school’s readiness for inspection; with each passing term ‘you’re sort of drifting again, and then I’ve had to pick us up again’ (M_3.3b_02:53). Again, ambivalence arises concerning direction, momentum, and *moving with the times*, together with negatively-experienced responsibility. Ambivalence reappears when Will mentions the recent ‘light-touch’ inspection:

‘Now you can’t base your whole working life around OFSTED and OFSTED inspection: and OFSTED come and go, and life carries on; but, in a way, it gives you that focus. So everything that everyone has done for the last six years has contributed to this report.’ (M_3.3a_04:42_Will)

As a teacher, Ghita perceives that the threat of inspection has been ‘like a great burden on your back’ and ‘we’ve been made to worry’ (M_3.6a_00:44-00:54_Ghita). Sean’s view is that for many, the inspection was ‘a complete damp squib’ but ‘[employees] were wound up about it, and inevitably no-one wants to let the side down’ (M_3.6a_02:46_Sean). Jane believes the experience of ‘intensely waiting’ proved ‘quite exhausting for a lot of people, because it has been preying on your mind, all the time’ (M_3.2a_09:20_Jane). She also perceives ‘the huge amount of stress’ upon the headteacher, and that ‘it’s very hard for him not to ... pass that on’ (M_3.2b_02:19). On the day of the inspection: ‘I was here by seven, and he was already here’ (M_3.2b_01:50), even though he had attended a governors’ meeting the evening before.

The school has achieved dual specialism status over six years. Certain participants refer to departments as gaining or losing from these changes, although the leadership team discourages such thinking. Evidence of good professional relationships includes assertions that departments are not rivals, and that people support one another (M_2.6d_Sean; M_3.2b_Jane; M_2.1c_Irene). Nonetheless Jane admits that before her department gained specialist status, ‘you did feel that you weren’t perhaps regarded in the same light’ as those favoured by the first award, and therefore, ‘I don’t want to be back down there, thinking that about us. I want to stay up there’ (M_2.4a_09:14-09:29_Jane).

The College has achieved much, but some employees experience doubts. While the care for staff well-being is appreciated (p.178), employees acknowledge possible self-exploitation in their roles when supporting the team ethic. As with individuals, the challenge for organisational development is to retain autonomy while changing to meet external requirements. Tension underlies negotiating accountability for improvement rather than development in these circumstances. It is reflected in ambivalence and in awareness amongst teachers, at least, of stresses and strains: ‘we’ve not been so used to that [accountability] in the past’ (M_3.1b_05:40_Una). A former teacher, Dan is

sanguine about the College's prospects for the next three years: 'It'll either take off or hit the rocks' (M_3.1d_07:14_Dan). He adopts the metaphor of hauling some burden up an incline: 'If we're not careful, we'll just go downhill' (M_3.1d_07:35) and 'if you don't try- try to develop, then we will actually go backwards' (M_3.1d_08:10). Here, desire for development in *moving with the times* seems matched by anxiety.

These exemplars of roles and negotiation in two schools highlight a complex relationship between development and purpose. At Gorsemoor, Josie's account indicates how negotiation is continuous within inter-permeable roles marked by certain occasions, rather than deriving from them. Negotiation occurs between roles as much as in the affective circumstances of conducting them separately. It is strongly associated with a person's qualitative experience at work and at home.

The Martinswood exemplar provides further evidence: Dan's change of role has been accomplished at length, and institutional development is interpreted and negotiated by employees in different ways. Also, this exemplar shows that institutional development involves teams and individuals in negotiating conflicts between external requirements for accountability, and pressures of time and of other roles within and beyond the workplace. A person's roles are so closely associated with perceptions of self and identity that boundaries become highly permeable. Thus, a process of change within or through a particular role is not limited to that area of someone's life, and is not necessarily regarded as developmentally positive. The experiences of working mothers such as Josie and Jane, in their different schools, illustrate this. Employees' discourse about *moving with the times*; mention of the risk of *stagnating*, *drifting* or *going backwards*, and the imagery of relative departmental status all indicate that development focused on external criteria for improvement threatens organisational direction and purpose. Because such difficulty arises elsewhere in the data, it is appropriate now to consider the role of leadership.

B3 *Leadership for development: accounts of negotiation*

Thematic data analysis has shown the negotiated yet indeterminate nature of development; the complex, continuous interplay between multiple roles and individual sense of identity; the permeability of those roles; and the importance of reflection in perceptions of development. But the work has not so far emphasised development relative to the leadership of schools, nor in relation to organisational direction and purpose. Below, two headteachers describe the personal and social negotiation necessary to organisational development.

¶ Negotiating development under threat: a headteacher's account

Three of the participant schools face significant external threat to their existence. Tredgold School's future is uncertain because the Local Authority is reviewing provision for children with special needs. The other two schools, Gorsemoor Primary and Foresters High, are vulnerable to critical reports from external inspection because of pupils' levels of attainment, while suffering falling rolls and associated financial difficulties in competitive environments. Here, the primary school exemplifies the kinds of negotiation mentioned by all three headteachers.

When Gail became Headteacher at Gorsemoor Primary School, she was the third person in one year to occupy that role, and 'the school had been in some turmoil' (G_1.2a_05:52_Gail). The illness and death had occurred of a senior manager; another had retired because of illness (G_1.2a_Gail). A teacher extended her contract to become Acting Headteacher for a term (G_1.3a_03:42_Marisa). Also at this time buildings were demolished and refurbished to accommodate the Infant and Junior Departments together, causing considerable upheaval (G_1.4a_Josie). Although 'it wasn't a doom and gloom school' (G_1.1d_02:32_Kim), it was a matter of 'either things crumbled or you all just pitched in and got on with it... and people just pulled together' (G_1.4a_03:34-03:47_Josie). The pupils were 'all a bit unsettled' and 'it just felt like for a while there, all we were doing was, you know, ringing the police and the usual procedures' (G_1.3a_06:12-06:41 Marisa). Also, 'there were lots of exclusions [of pupils for disciplinary reasons]' (G_1.2a_07:10_Gail). In the early months of Gail's

headship ‘...we were coming in every Monday to every window put through. That was a big, big problem’ (G_1.1e_03:16_Kim). The school had suffered ‘a bit of depression back then’ affecting ‘belief in the children, and for one or two teachers, belief in each other’ (G_1.2b_05:10-05:23_Gail).

Gail’s broad strategy of renewal involves restoring employees’ confidence by facing together the emotional demands of change:

‘... the thing I had to do was to gather the staff, in terms of their own emotions, and well-being, and um ((Pauses)) I, I had to sort of get them to buy into the belief, but it was a genuine feeling I had anyway, that we were all in this together. Yes of course I carry the can, but we were in it together, and we could bring about change together.’ (G_1.2a_07:50-08:22_Gail)

Gail uses everyday terms (*carry the can*) alongside a more corporatist vocabulary (*get them to buy into the belief*) in outlining a familiar developmental quandary: how to help people to help themselves (Ellerman 2006). In case *get them to buy into* should suggest managerial contrivance rather than negotiation, Gail interposes *but it was a genuine feeling I had anyway*. The organisation’s members will work co-operatively because everyone’s contribution is needed. As the headteacher, Gail is not above others’ circumstances, but amongst them (*in it together*). This communitarian principle offers hope (*we could bring about change together*) while implying acceptance of responsibilities to co-operate. For in the early months of her headship, Gail encountered some attempts to pass all responsibility upwards: ‘*So what are you going to do about it?*’ (G_2.1a_04:00). Now that the school is more cohesive, she is anxious about the burden of high expectation upon her to make consistently well-founded, correct decisions (G_2.1a_07:52-08:10). Therefore Gail is consultative, giving her own opinion, but frequently asking what others think (G_2.1a_08:43).

Gail is pragmatic: ‘If your well-being is good, you can be more effective as a professional. It’s that simple’ (G_1.2e_00:01: 00:06). Within this broad strategy the school has come to take part in the local well-being programme, in which Gail participated at her previous school. She wants staff members to feel able to speak about the challenges inevitably arising at work, and to ‘see if we can look for a strategy to

half-solve them, and not let it develop' (G_1.2b_00:37-00:42). The risk in *letting things develop* is the consequent sense of powerlessness. Thus a major threat to the school is that inspectors may categorise it as Inadequate. This outcome, also, Gail would regard as a challenge that supportive, collaborative endeavour 'will equip us to deal with' (G_1.2e_02:40). The school has little power over inspection judgements, but if the worst happens:

'... well, we get that result and we try and build it brick at a time. Brick by brick, and not see the whole awfulness of it, you know. So we've even talked about what might happen to our feelings, and what might our Well-Being action plan be- look like, if we were to suddenly find ourselves in a very difficult position' (G_1.2e_03:01-03:21_Gail).

Perhaps because the employees have contemplated their worst fears about the school, and their responses, Gail will not permit complacency: 'I'm having quite a tough staff meeting tonight' (G_2.1f_03:18). She believes that the school has been 'very settled in terms of the leadership, erm - been a lot of gelling, a lot of better developments emotionally across the staff...' and 'It's been quite a good feel-good factor' (G_2.1f_03:28-03:59). But Gail wants to revise some organisational practices, entailing less comfortable experiences. Therefore she will ask the group: '*Do you want me to do it?* And that could help us' (G_2.1f_04:15). When asked about this meeting during the third field visit, Gail concludes her response with: 'I think that [issue has] been realised, and there's been progress' (G_3.1a_01:39).

Gail understands that she need not know about every occurrence. Nonetheless: 'I do think a school needs somebody who is right there, in the middle of the whole lot if you like' (G_3.1c_08:11_Gail). Placing herself at the organisational centre, Gail prepares for the unexpected, since: 'You never quite know, when you come to work, what's going to be put to you,' and thus, by 'accepting that that is the case, then you can deal with it' (G_3.1e_02:10-02:28). Similarly to Josie's 'parent mode' and 'teacher mode' (pp.153-154), Gail describes how as headteacher she adopts consciously different personae: '...to sort of take off the Gail personality and put the headmistress on is, is, sometimes a bit tricky' (G_3.1d_06:39).

Cumulatively, new initiatives influence Gorsemoor's capacity to adapt:

‘...there's so much change, and you've got to be careful because otherwise it's like a pack of cards being stacked up, and it can build up quite nicely, and be beneficial and look a marvellous building, but if there's one card put in the wrong place, or there's one card too many, the whole lot can go.’

(G_3.1f_08:40-08:58_Gail)

Contrasting with the image of organisational re-construction using bricks, *putting a card in the wrong place* emphasises developmental fragility. Gail's reference to the risk of *one card too many* is consistent with ‘making intelligent decisions’ about new initiatives (G_3.1c_06:40-06:47). Because the school's progress remains fragile, Gail says: ‘I'm still interested in just developing myself as the Head here’ (G_3.1e_09:10). Although ‘the same sort of challenges’ persist (G_3.1e_01:50), greater organisational self-confidence has helped Gail's own confidence to develop. The skills learned are transferred to other aspects of her life (G_3.1_02:45-03:02).

The strategy is effective, in that Gorsemoor seems to be more cohesive, inclusive, and settled than before (G_3.2a_Josie; G_3.4e_Marisa/Parminder; G_3.3a_Kim). In these circumstances leadership negotiates to protect unfolding development from contextually insensitive external pressures; to prevent undesired development; and selectively to adopt initiatives. All require clear purpose, and clear roles respecting purpose. The agenda of the ‘tough staff meeting’ featured subject co-ordinators' responsibilities to monitor practice and to support colleagues across the school (G_3.1a_00:52-01:42). In that sense leadership will not be widely distributed, but rather, widely demonstrated through negotiation.

¶ Negotiating development: a headteacher's work with governors

Three participant headteachers describe difficulties over school governance: at Rowan (R_1.1a/b; 2.1b); Gorsemoor (G_2.1h; 3.1g); and Foresters (F_2.1e; F_3.2a/b). These include governing bodies' divisiveness, recruitment shortages, infrequent visits to school, and reluctance to ask questions of direction and purpose. Yet the governors of

any publicly funded English school have a strategic role. How this body functions affects overall leadership and organisational capability: governors have considerable powers to influence school development, so their own collective development matters. A detailed example of one headteacher's developmental work with governors is presented below.

At Forester's High School, Tom is relatively inexperienced as a headteacher. He has established a leadership team of seven, including some recent appointments, with revised roles and responsibilities. Tom describes negotiation of a challenging situation in which the governors decide performance-related pay awards for the school's leadership team. The school's income is falling because of 'gently declining [pupil] numbers' (F_1.1g_03:30_Tom). The process of negotiating how the decision will be made, preparation for the governors' committee meeting, making the decision, and following-up lasts over six months, spanning two field visits.

Although the differentials are small, the decision at Foresters is symbolically sensitive in recognising the contributions of individuals within the re-shaped team. Indeed, given varying levels of experience between team members, 'there have been tensions' (F_2.1e_03:23). Nevertheless, cohesiveness is 'better than it's ever been' (F_2.1e_04:38). The safe option would be to divide the awards equally, recognising the team's collective achievement. But the governing body needs to become more actively involved in strategic decision-making (F_3.2a/b). Tom wants the governors to examine the issues: 'It's the meeting I've been dreading... for six months' (F_2.1e_04:08-04:14).

Tom values ethical consistency in conducting policy. The school is 'heading in the right direction' but must focus now on: 'ensuring that we're consistently doing what we say we're doing' (F_1.1g_02:02-02:13). High expectations are needed: 'both of pupils and of ourselves - and of each other' (F_1.1g_02:38). The shift of reference from 'ourselves' to 'each other' marks a movement in thought from staff and pupils as categorical groups to the mutuality of individuals as people. Also, Tom is committed to development through teamwork. Regarding the leadership team: 'I think development is everything. It's absolutely everything' (F_3.2c_06:23). Accordingly, the notion of an all-knowing, heroic leader, equal to all occasions, is 'a flawed model' (F_3.2c_00:20). Certain members of the leadership team: 'feel that they've really blossomed - is the

word they've used - in the last year and a half' (F_3.2c_05:30). Fittingly, Tom follows these ideals in approaching the governors' committee meeting.

In establishing the brief, Tom outlined a structured sequence of options, each accompanied by data:

'I didn't give them everything. I allowed them to decide. There were lots of sort of gates... They could have chosen ... a sort of compromise option, but they didn't. They wanted to go ((Amused)) for the Rolls Royce model! So then I gave them the final sheet... and they went right to the end... And, and they shared my apprehension, really. But they were equally inclined to ... choose the hard path rather than the easy path, and they saw it through and they did it.'

(F_3.2a_04:16-07:10_Tom)

Tom's account reveals a number of developmental features about this meeting: a long-lasting, purposeful and indeterminate process where subtle power asymmetries between roles are negotiated, then and afterwards. The options establish and hold open a capability space for governors to explore autonomously. The process requires sensitive negotiation of feelings: *they shared my apprehension, really*. The governors exercise responsibility by making consequential choices, and by deciding to follow *the hard path* in seeking the decisions best for the school.

Reflecting upon his role in the meeting, Tom emphasises developmental purpose:

'...it was difficult when I was the sole source of information, really. It was difficult to sit back and let them ... but I did do my best, I think, even though there were lots of pauses when I just, you know, said nothing, and just waited for them to... and they're a pretty good bunch of people, so they got it.'

(F_3.2a_07:20-07:35_Tom)

The headteacher recalls the emotional difficulty of refraining from intervention during awkward silences, and relief that the procedure took place successfully. Mention of his being *the sole source of information* indicates Tom's awareness of responsibility to present information fairly. Also, it may suggest the governors' limited background

knowledge of the school. Nonetheless, Tom admires this ‘pretty good bunch of people’, who gain confidence from undertaking a challenging task, new in their experience (F_3.2b_00:14). A sense of well-being in desired development is achieved by choosing ‘the hard path’.

Tom thinks the governors have made a good decision fairly: ‘they grew a bit in that process’ (F_3.2b_00:10). But the governors’ decision has not ended it. Subsequently Tom has had to inform the leadership team individually, involving some difficult discussions. He still feels disquiet about the internal politics of these events: ‘This is really unfortunate ((Amused)). It’s like opening this whole nightmare!’ (F_3.2b_04:21)

In the Foresters and Gorsemoor examples, organisational development strategy is negotiated with well-informed reference to context and due process, but without claiming or desiring comprehensive knowledge (G_2.1a; F_3.2c). In each school, the headteacher seeks to enable others with responsibilities to gain confidence in their own leadership capabilities by engaging actively in decision-making processes having indeterminate consequences. Challenges faced openly and honestly in a mutually supportive environment in the primary school, and an inductive process of reflective decision-making in the secondary school, help those involved to contribute while finding personal meaning. Part of the headteacher’s role in each case is to perceive, negotiate and protect the capability space for these activities - thus facilitating development.

Thematic data analysis (C): The ‘organisational’ in organisational development

The third key question concerns purpose and policy within schools: ‘What is organisational about organisational development?’ The subsidiary questions ask where development processes are located in organisations, how development in individuals influences and is influenced by organisational development, and finally, about the relationship between employees’ well-being and organisational development.

Originally, subsidiary question (C1) read: ‘What are the organisational conditions of development?’ However, on reflection, the phrase ‘conditions of development’ seemed unsuitable. Semantically, ‘conditions’ cannot capture the question’s intention, which less concerns generalisable factors (such as *trust*) than locating situated examples of the means. Ontologically, this thesis accepts that existential human life is a continuous process of ‘being-there’ (Heidegger 2007a[1927]: 27); meaning is sought in becoming (Merleau-Ponty 2005 [1945]: xxii). Thus, ‘becoming events’ will occur in human life, irrespective of conditional influence. Epistemically, ‘conditions’ implies that development is externally determined. However, an indeterminate, endogenous, rhizomic process, embodying a ‘principle of immanence’ (Chia 1999: 220) is identified in organisation literature. Conditions are influential only insofar as they help to meet needs (Bolman and Deal 2000: 63). Methodologically, ‘conditions’ implies that from subjective data this research could derive an objective list of factors necessary and sufficient for development. Such a list would be invalid, having no basis in procedures to test hypotheses. Therefore the subsidiary question has become: ‘Where are organisational sites of development?’

The idea of a *site* locates figuratively the context of unfolding development, evoking the ethnographic landscape of participants’ situated discourse and the grounds of ideas. ‘A site of development’ (unlike a ‘site for development’) is not earmarked, but waymarked (Heidegger 1998[1967]: xiii) - a point of reference historically and prospectively in horizons of time. Human beings are quintessentially sites of development, but organisations also may offer, facilitate and protect sites through communal endeavour and sense of collective purpose. By referring to ‘sites of development’, the revised question invites localised interpretation. The amended wording again shows the

importance of precise questions (see pp.13-14). Sometimes, difficulties in answering the question may expose limitations in the question itself, as here - a process of 'unconcealment' (Heidegger 2007b[1964]: 448-449).

C1 *Locating organisational sites of development*

Three forms of organisational sites of development are identified in employees' accounts from different schools: temporary informal groupings, use of organisational symbolism, and activity within organisational strategy. The focus in this chapter on the organised work of development reveals its exploratory nature - a sense of entering new territory purposefully together. The accounts reveal the employees' 'knowledgeability' (Giddens 1984: 281-282), often describing informal events and processes rich in contextual detail.

¶ Informal work-groups and Activity Theory

Informal work-groups gathered for specific, limited purposes are described in Activity Theory (Engeström 2004), where 'negotiated knotworking' focuses upon problems imperfectly understood, generating new concepts and discourse. 'Knotworking' (above, pp.74-75), is associated with new learning and development (Engeström 2001). Here, 'negotiated knotworking' is a type of the category, 'organisational sites of development'.

At Tredgold School, two organisational sites of development show 'negotiated knotworking'. The first demonstrates how development may unfold across a school from one person's insight. Tredgold School accepts placements of pupils with particular kinds of special need. However the needs profile is changing informally, bringing structural contradictions. Here the employees note a pupil's unusual behaviours, although the documentation before entry makes no reference to them (T_1.2d_05:53-06:03_James). A teacher's observation that the pupil's playground behaviours feature in the autistic spectrum is discussed in school. Following a meeting with the child's

parents and various external agencies, a specific autistic disorder is identified. At Tredgold, in meetings regularly called for three different groups of staff, the teacher who first identified these features describes autism in general, and what she has noticed specifically about this pupil. The only other case in the school was several years previously. Recollections of this former pupil bring further discussion at a full staff meeting. Consequently a teaching assistant assigned to the child's class asks to attend a specialist course concerning this condition. Later what has been noted from working with the pupil is relayed to all staff teams (T_1.2d_09:23-09:29).

James relates these events to illustrate the quality of the school's communications in response to changing external circumstance. But for present purposes, his account demonstrates features of development: unfolding process, agency and purpose, learning and reflection, and indeterminacy. Furthermore, the example shows how collaboration to resolve a baffling problem (the pupil's behaviours) is interpreted through a purposeful, informal sequence of learning, discussion and training. Numerous employees contribute, while new conceptualisation and discourse (the specific disorder, its symptoms and consequences) enable fresh action to be taken - that is, 'negotiated knotworking' (Engeström 2001). Finally, James' account also reveals an organisational site of development as defined above: a significant waymark, since the changed direction of organisational activity becomes meaningful to an outsider only with reference to that context, and to situated discourse and organisational purpose.

The second Tredgold example concerns employees' health. Sickness absence from work has reduced significantly: 'the payback for the well-being [programme] is phenomenal' (T_1.3d_03:11_Ellen). Also, improved staff absence rates are being analysed co-operatively (T_3.3b_02:40-05:29_Amy). To meet a need which employees identified, an informal fitness competition has been arranged between teams of employees, beginning from an assessed, average base level of exercise per group. Participants' team efforts are guided by the physical education co-ordinator. 'A massive proportion of the staff' is taking part (T_3.5a_02:36_Bob). A team's progress towards an imaginary island is charted over several weeks. Once more, 'knotworking' features appear: informal collaboration, new learning, and deriving a suitable discourse for personal, social and organisational purposes. A particular developmental aspect of this site is that while contributing to the general goal of staff welfare, it has inspired two people 'who

would normally not go running' to increase from mile-long runs to 'quite high [mileage] runs' (T_3.5a_03:32-03:37), while more people participate in sport. The competition now rewards people who cease smoking or follow a diet. A major element is that employees participate enjoyably in social activity which 'becomes ... routine' (T_2.5a_07:46), encouraging cohesiveness at stressful times (T_2.5a_08:10-08:42). Hence, Bob perceives that the process has lasting influence. These 'knotworking' sites of development stem from enthusiasm, good communication, and trust between organisation members - backed by percipient management.

Elsewhere, some features of 'negotiated knotworking' (Engeström 2004) are found. At Rowan Primary School Nadine supports a colleague in establishing an after-school Gardening Club for pupils (R_3.3c_05:52_Nadine). This example shows new activities 'literally learned as they are created' (Engeström 2004: 151), but its purpose is to extend informal provision rather than to resolve a structural contradiction through pooled expertise. Thus, 'knotworking' organisational sites of development require careful differentiation in research if their incidence is not to be exaggerated.

¶ A leadership team uses symbolism

An important symbolic area for members of the re-constituted leadership team at Foresters is the (round) meeting-table of the headteacher, Tom. The sole source of this information, he describes his earlier experience of a leadership course '...about school development planning - now it's called school improvement planning...' (F_1.1d_06:33_Tom). Tom notes without comment this change in official discourse, which links planning with accountability for improvement. The leadership course emphasised an organisation's core purposes:

'This is what the school's about. It's what it's about, and This is what we're about over the next few years; and maybe This is what we're about over the next year in order to, to generally develop and move forward.' (F_1.1d_06:49-07:04_Tom)

From the course, Tom retains the figurative image of the school's statements of core purpose spread on the table, covered by imaginary glass – and 'they remain locked there until ... a suitable time comes to review them' (F_1.1d_07:10). The statements, present symbolically during discussions, offer criteria for evaluating potential initiatives, including those projects 'you are told stroke asked to do' (F_1.1d_07:24). Projects consistent with core purposes are adopted; ill-matched proposals: 'you do everything you can to discard... It might seem like a good idea, but it's not ... what you're about' (F_1.1d_07:51-08:01). (Therefore, the leadership team regards participation in the well-being programme as part of the school's core purpose.)

This metaphorical site links development with institutional purpose. The statements are 'locked' to prevent fudging when politically the school is *told stroke asked* to do something against principle: purpose guides and guards development activity. With purposes metaphorically displayed, due process and time are needed before further review. Amended purpose becomes part of strategy. The strength of the image as a site of development is that its ethic supports clear thinking, process and team-work, while protecting vulnerabilities (since an adopted initiative fits purpose, and therefore is supported). But a focus on purpose cannot determine outcomes or remove responsibilities; the capability space for development exists there.

¶ Well-being programmes

Well-being programmes, voluntarily represented in schools by facilitators, are another example of organisational sites of development. Programmes have potential influence on organisational development – for example, through school-based well-being courses. Part of their value, and of discussing well-being self-reviews, is that they are inclusive, easing communications between disparate organisational groups (G_1.1e_04:46-04:56_Kim; T_2.4d_03:20-04:20_Amy; R_1.2b_03:10-04:09_Anita/Mei). Thus, a sustained concern for employees' well-being may be seen to protect organisational functioning: 'a team of people rather than a group of individuals, or even cliques...' (T_1.2b_09:30_James).

Well-being programmes operate informally as sites of development, varying with circumstance. At Martinswood College the programme is perceived to: boost morale (M_1.1b_09:36_Una); promote use of personal targets for work/life balance within performance review (M_1.1c_01:25_Dan); emphasise that managers care about employees' welfare (M_1.1c_07:40_Dan); and help in establishing an administrative assistant with allocated time to support teachers' work (M_1.3b_04:23-04:31_Ghita). Collectively these perceptions, suggestions, and tactical innovations embody the school's ethos that 'taking everybody on board and caring for people is... what we're about' (M_1.6a_04:50_Will). Indeed, the headteacher maintains active interest in 'the idea of staff well-being, staff development' (M_1.6a_02:33).

In staff meetings at Tredgold School, Amy invites suggestions on well-being matters:

‘...by getting them to think of it themselves (*What are we going to do? How are we going to move it on?*) their understanding ... is heightened.’
(T_2.4d_03:00-03:08_Amy)

Understanding is also gained, she believes, when colleagues undertake initiatives unsuccessfully or are grouped other than by teams for well-being courses.

Amy receives written suggestions from colleagues, unasked, because ‘a lot of people... know that well-being is important to Tredgold School. And they’re part of that team, and they want to come up with some of their own ideas’ (T_2.4d_03:52-04:09). Self-critically, Amy admits that she may not share sufficiently her well-being knowledge. Sole expertise ‘may be good for a person, but it’s not good for the organisation, really’ (T_2.4d_04:16). By the third research visit, Amy has found that shared understanding is mutually beneficial (T_3.3a_03:35-06:52 Amy). Development functions expansively.

As sites of development well-being programmes also operate formally: local co-ordinators provide commentary on-site about organisational self-reviews (opinion surveys). Headteachers may feel anxious about receiving and discussing the local co-ordinator’s well-being commentary with facilitators present. At Gorsemoor Primary School, Gail recalls: ‘I felt slightly threatened by the questions [survey items], as the Head, for all the obvious reasons’ (G_1.2e_01:12_Gail). At the time, she thought the

items biased towards criticism of leadership, and was surprised to find that ‘colleagues’ (probably other headteachers) ‘didn’t perceive it like that’ (G_1.2e_01:17-01:28). Gail strives for a culture where people can discuss their feelings honestly, ‘and I just want to develop that’ (G_1.2b_02:24-03:18), so hers is a significant public act within the strategy.

Similarly, receiving jointly well-being (organisational self-review) feedback is ‘a risk ...worth taking’ at Martinswood College (M_1.6c_07:48_Will). A well-being facilitator who attended such a meeting admires the headteacher’s openness to external comment:

‘...he’s not the sort of Head who’s aloof and you can’t talk to him... So it’s just felt sort of fairly natural to be there, and – and felt like we’re an equal member of the team listening to this [feedback] as well.’ (M_1.1c_06:18-06:30_Dan)

The well-being facilitator at Tredgold School mentions:

‘...that openness, saying: *Yeah, we’re not too great at this*, and coming from Ellen or James or wherever, I think ... the staff as a whole see that as a strength [of the school]’ (T_3.3g_07:50_Amy)

From an employee’s perspective, when the organisation is faced with difficult changes the facilitator should remain independent of management. Although senior managers’ engagement with well-being issues is valued: ‘... [the programme] needs to be separate as well, because you don’t always want to refer everything straight to the line managers, do you?’ (T_2.5c_02:07-02:15_Bob). In their well-being role, facilitators can sometimes raise delicate matters with senior managers (T_3.3c_03:20-04:52_Amy; R_2.2a_01:30-01:38_Anita/Mei). A facilitator’s suggestion during a well-being review meeting at Rowan Primary School has led to the deputy headteacher’s becoming ‘first port of call’ for employees, rather than the headteacher (R_3.4a_07:45-08:21_Paula). However, facilitators also mention the importance of discretion (F_2.5e_00:50-01:16_Sally), and of avoiding exploitation by colleagues, since ‘...at some point you sort of realise: *We’re only facilitating. Everyone is responsible for their own well-being*’ (G_1.4b_08:49-08:58_Josie).

As organisational sites of development, well-being programmes operate through facilitation. An organisation's membership learns what a programme can and cannot be in that particular context:

'... as a school we try to keep everything positive, erm, because the school maybe has had a bad press anyway... Because we work here and we obviously care about the place, we try to make it very positive.' (F_3.3a_00:46-01:00_Sally)

Resourceful ideas are located epistemically, emotionally and temporally in *organisational sites of development*, being maintained discursively between employees and re-visited through discussion, reflection and action.

C2 *The relationship between individual and organisational development*

At Martinswood College, Una has departmental and fresh cross-curricular responsibilities. Enthusiastic because these roles give her 'scope to move things on' (M_2.5c_06:50_Una), Una feels 'part of the system' whereas formerly she 'didn't feel as part of the whole scheme of things' (M_2.5c_07:00-07:10). Hence, for Una, belonging signifies having organisational influence. Her phrasing reifies the school as a scheme or system, rather than as an organised group. Thus Una enjoys having 'an impact on things', 'moving whole-school things', and being 'part of whole-school issues'. This instrumental discourse (her new role is directed towards school improvement) becomes more altruistic when Una considers colleagues. In promoting new professional practice, she enjoys witnessing how 'people take it on' increasingly, which is 'encouraging to see...' (M_2.5c_09:11-09:34). Una's whole-school role offers a capability space in which she may develop, benefiting herself and the common purpose. Amy mentions a similar situation at Tredgold School, but feels vulnerable to external influence: 'we don't want to be pulled about too much; we want to carry on doing this' (T_3.3d_00:03_Amy).

Foresters High School further illustrates association between individual and organisational development. Elena, a teacher with pastoral responsibilities, conceptualises development primarily in personal, professional terms, although ‘the school has to develop at the same time’ (F_3.1a_Elena). Resembling Una’s perceptions of her role, Elena’s awareness of reciprocity between individual and organisation indicates why Foresters’ headteacher is wary of the pace of change:

‘We’re sensitive to all these changes and all these demands, and we’re just about to start looking seriously at: *Hang on. Do we need to hold back a bit – because are we asking too much of people?*’ (F_2.1b_03:03-03:13_Tom)

The participant headteachers appreciate their own potential influence upon the organisation, showing moral responsibility toward the school community while aware of risk. Ellen says: ‘...if I thought I wasn’t achieving, and I wasn’t making a difference, I couldn’t do this job any more ...’ (T_3.4d_05:56-06:04_Ellen). For Will: ‘you can make an impact very easily, and then leave it to someone else to pick up the pieces’ (M_1.6a_02:03_Will), while Paula declares: ‘I’m prepared to stick my head on the block... to give the staff chance to take risks, and to make that curriculum creative’ (R_2.1e_06:50_Paula). Gail, speaking of the governing body’s development, says: ‘I will play... the trump card. I won’t just go: *Oh let’s get her. She’s a nice parent.* I won’t play safe’ (G_3.1h_04:38-04:49_Gail). The discretionary ethic of these headteachers is influential in supporting the schools’ development as communities.

There is some evidence that reciprocally a school’s organisational development influences the headteacher’s. Will, for example, feels that his personal development ‘has matched that of [Martinswood College]’ in this, his first experience of headship. (M_3.3b_06:54-07:07 Will). However, his view suggests parallelism more than reciprocity: ‘I’ve developed, and I think alongside it the school’s developed’ (M_3.3b_08:52). Will recalls the co-ordinator’s visit about the well-being commentary: ‘I’m there, thinking, *Ooh! This is about me. This is about us* ((Laughs))’ (M_1.6c_09:00). Will says that ‘I’ve sensed in myself and in the school’ a readiness for inspection (M_3.3b_02:50), and that the outcome has brought ‘an impetus that I needed, that the school needed...’ (M_3.3b_09:36). At Gorsemoor, her first headship, Gail comments: ‘I’m still interested in just developing myself as the Head here’

(G_3.1e_09:10_Gail). Her confidence and the organisation's have developed mutually (p.164).

At Foresters, Tom says of his first headship that, although he is 'very much the same person', nonetheless he has 'blossomed' from being given 'the freedom that I've just been talking about other people being given' (F_3.2d_04:28-04:36_Tom). Tom's experience confirms his beliefs about protecting others' means of development. Reflectively, he observes: 'I feel better about myself because of what we collectively have done in that time' and from receiving 'positive support, and encouragement, and feedback' (F_3.2d_04:43). Tom adds: 'I've shown to myself that I can do it', and 'I'm not waiting to be caught out any more' (F_3.2d_04:37-04:50), revealing self-critical reflection. Tom can no longer place himself mentally in the position of his previous job (F_3.2d_05:30) – so intensely has he worked, or perhaps, so rapidly has he developed. He associates closely his own development and that of the organisation, but does not identify the two: 'It isn't my school' (F_3.2d_09:39).

Two institutional examples follow of the developmental relationship between individuals and organisations, illustrating continuity and disengagement. They show the importance of historical context in development, and how this may be interpreted.

¶ Development and continuity

At Martinswood College an instance of organisational concern for staff well-being illustrates long-term developmental mutuality. Jane (a teacher) and the headteacher, Will, separately mention it. Essentially the school is 'reaping the benefits' (M_2.3e_07:54_Will) of its supportive policy regarding employees' family responsibilities and part-time working. The duties of an 'outstanding' head of department taking maternity leave (M_2.3e_06:56_Will) have passed jointly to Jane and Una - another part-time teacher having previous experience of such a role. During this period a bid for Second Specialism status has been submitted (involving that department), and an inspection by OFSTED has occurred. Meanwhile, Una has recently accepted a cross-curricular responsibility. These challenges have been successfully

negotiated partly because of trust between employees and the leadership, bringing reciprocal organisational benefits (M_2.3e_08:17_Will).

As mothers, both Jane and Una originally reduced their working-hours in order to spend time with their young children. In Una's case, her previous school proved unsympathetic to part-time working and job-sharing, so she resigned. At Martinswood, Will observes of the other school's headteacher:

'Maybe if you'd been a little bit more understanding and sympathetic to her cause, you might still have her working with you.' (M_2.3e_08:23-08:47_Will)

Jane's account begins from discussing (eudaimonic) well-being. A major factor for Jane 'and a lot of people' has been the flexibility of the school's leadership concerning part-time work (M_1.4b_09:12_Jane). It has enabled her to remain an employee after becoming a mother. For Jane and others, careful timetabling has facilitated childcare (M_1.4b_09:35-10:00). However, Jane adds that after the birth she required a significant operation, and thought: *'Well this is my only time [to be with the baby]... so I'm not going to work'* (M_1.4c_00:38). Having approached the headteacher intending to resign, Jane was delighted when it was suggested instead that she take a year's break (unpaid) and return to work rested:

'That was amazing! And that, for my personal well-being, has been, you know, a God-send, really ... because without it I wouldn't still be here... And I'm here and I'm happy because of everything that they've understood, and allowed me to do.' (M_1.4c_00:41-00:58_Jane)

While at home, Jane reflected: *'Well this is your chance to think about is there anything else you'd like to do?'* (M_1.4c_01:34). She returned to Martinswood because she enjoyed working with her colleagues, and because of the understanding shown her: *'Why would I go to another school...?'* (M_1.4c_02:15). Therefore the first personal and organisational consequence is that Jane has demonstrated loyalty because of her sense of well-being in this environment: *'I've been given what I needed to get myself ((Hesitates)) well again'* (M_1.4c_02:40). Jane emphasises 'well', implying strong feeling and the burden of illness.

In the final conversation, when considering her own development, Jane recalls: ‘I’ve moved forward a lot... I’m kind of going back to the way I was before I had a family’ (M_3.2b_09:08-09:21). When Jane’s child was a baby, giving the family most of her time ‘was the right thing to do’ (M_3.2b_09:43). Now, having increased her time at work, and with greater responsibilities, she says: ‘I love it... it’s the right thing for me... I’m really pleased that this is the way I’m going’ (M_3.2c_00:04-01:09). Jane and Una have used strong teamwork purposefully, the school has achieved its Second Specialism status, and the inspection has gone well: ‘...it’s down to the school that allowed us... to do all that’ (M_3.2c_02:41_Jane). The elements here - agency; temporality; meaningfulness and purposeful direction; unfolding indeterminacy; the association with eudaimonic well-being; and a sense of personal and organisational good fortune - all indicate that the second personal and organisational consequence of these actions is developmental. Significantly, Jane’s personal paradox of moving forward in going back illustrates how institutional development can offer stability. By supporting individuals in meeting their changing, developmental needs the school maintains functionality and fulfils its own. As a category of change, development can sustain continuity in unpredictable yet not arbitrary ways.

However, such a neat, doubly-authenticated example of reciprocal, positive development is uncommon in the data. For balance, a contrasting example is offered, where development (which by this definition will occur) does not bring organisational benefit, and where individuals notice discontinuity and fragmentation rather than continuity and coherence.

¶ Development and disengagement

Nadine, a teacher at Rowan Primary School, hoped that two recently appointed colleagues would change the dynamics of staff room relationships (R_1.3a/b_Nadine). Her own experience of joining the school a few years previously was that she ‘found it quite hard to settle’ (R_1.3a_08:49). The school was undergoing changes, which became a contributory factor (R_1.3b). In the third conversation, fifteen months later, Nadine reports that her new colleagues’ enthusiasm is refreshing: ‘There’s just a new

life about the place' (R_3.3d). Formerly, she says, 'I have perhaps distanced myself... because I don't like to get involved. But the newcomers 'don't like to get involved either. So that's nice' (R_3.3d_07:03). Though improving, it seems that aspects of the organisational culture largely persist. Nadine mentions quietly: 'I find myself probably talking more to [new colleagues] than other people... because I'm enthusiastic, and sometimes I need other people to be enthusiastic around me as well' (R_3.3d_06:34-06:48). For her own development, Nadine's willingness to entertain new ideas requires some reciprocity.

Historically Rowan Primary School has undergone disruptive changes of accommodation and amalgamation, which have affected the staff group. When a teaching assistant mentions 'problems on the staff relationships side of it' (R_3.1a_01:07_Mei), her teacher-colleague asserts that the issue will not be resolved (R_3.1a_01:11_Anita), despite the relaxed ambience of the new, purpose-built accommodation. Since the move, Mei concedes, 'I wouldn't have said anything's drastically changed' (R_3.1a_04:19_Mei). The newly appointed personnel mentioned above are the first for years. Most employees 'haven't had any experiences of other schools' (R_2.1d_05:42_Paula). The organisation seems inward-looking:

'... you've really got to be a special kind of person to fit in, haven't you?
(Laughter) ... But there were a few before, that- I sometimes felt
uncomfortable with...' (R_2.2c_09:33-09:51_Mei)

The school has not participated long in the well-being programme: the facilitators lack confidence in their knowledge and expertise (R_1.2c_Anita/Mei). The headteacher believes that amalgamation of the two previously separate, denominationally different schools has 'taken an awful lot out of [the employees]' (R_3.4a_01:27_Paula). During the research period, the school transferred to purpose-built accommodation. Although employees' morale has improved, the headteacher perceives similar problems of disengagement: '...it's people [not] taking responsibility for their own actions. And I just don't know how to address that' (R_2.1d_05:08). Other data support this view (R_1.2d_03:50_Anita; 1.2e 04:30_Mei). When the staff group lacks cohesiveness, governors' support becomes especially important. But governors' attention has focused on the transfer, whereas 'at the end of the day the building is only where we teach'

(R_2.1b_04:40_Paula). Thus the headteacher has felt relatively isolated. Candidly, Paula reports the employees' view that, having negotiated detailed preparations for the new building under construction, she 'became a bit detached' (R_3.4b_06:12). Paula recollects feeling that other employees failed to appreciate her efforts:

'... I actually found that very difficult to cope with. I actually felt quite resentful. It was as though I'd brought them to this Promised Land, I'd given blood, almost, to get them here, and now I felt I was- they were stabbing me in the back a little bit' (R_3.4b_06:51-07:18_Paula).

Reference to the Promised Land seems unconvincing in this context, because in the previous conversation Paula criticised governors for regarding the accommodation transfer as a sufficient, immediate purpose. The headteacher seeks to soften the powerful imagery of betrayal, of being stabbed in the back *a little bit* once uttered. Her present view is that the organisation is in the neutral zone of a transition. Therefore Paula's question to trusted colleagues becomes: '*How can we pick ourselves up out of here?*' (R_3.4a_03:00), though feeling 'not ready for that next stage yet' (R_3.4c_02:11). For Paula, it is a matter of 'just ticking off little things, which will bring back the satisfaction' (R_3.4a_05:33), rather than grand plans. Meanwhile, the well-being facilitators have negotiated that the new deputy head will be the first point of communication for employees needing help.

Despite consistent support for employees to attend training courses, positive developmental reciprocity between colleagues appears thinly in this school's discourse. For example Anita, a well-being facilitator, does not associate development with staff well-being (R_3.1b_03:54_Anita), but with teaching. Nadine says that in creating a nurturing environment for pupils: 'what you get back also helps your own personal development' (R_3.3b_07:19_Nadine). Developmental reciprocity and trust are recognised between adults and pupils, but less so organisationally.

In this context, the headteacher's ambivalence towards development is significant. She defines development as progression through grades on the school's self-evaluation form (SEF) used within OFSTED inspections:

‘I want them all to be Very Good, and so development is working towards those. And as soon as you’ve got to Very Good, then the goalposts have changed, and you’re no longer Very Good. So it’s continuing along that process, to strive for perfection.’ (R_3.4c_07:12-07:38_Paula)

But perfectibility does not describe the human condition. Paula’s equation of development with continuous improvement is confounded by her own experience of fickle and manipulative external forces. Promised Lands need cultivation.

Data from different schools indicate a significant inter-relationship between individual and organisational development, both welcome and unwelcome. However, context affects the nature of developmental experience within this inter-relation.

C3 *How employees’ well-being and organisational development are related*

In development studies, it has been claimed that human well-being involves ‘expanding the capabilities of people’ (Sen 1984: 497), that poverty signifies deprived capability (Sen 1999: 87), and that development is ‘a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy’ (Sen 1999: 3). Schools have a similar expansive function, offering perspectives upon these ideas: on well-being relative to organisational development; on ‘feeling fortunate’ as an aspect of well-being; and on schools as communities - an organisational view associating employees with the people they serve.

¶ Well-being and development: a conspectus

In all five schools well-being is associated with development across a range of staff roles (pp.147-148; 152-153; 139; 170-171; 183-185; 158-159; 178-179; 150; 176-177). Most examples show desirable development and feelings of well-being. These are considered before illustrations of unwelcome influence.

Individual agency can assist organisational development, bringing well-being benefits. Josie, a teacher at Gorsemoor Primary School, initially responded to pupils' missing homework by using detentions (p.154). In starting a homework club Josie has reversed this 'permanently negative psychology' (G_3.2c), reducing strain on the pupils and herself by establishing routines. Josie's more tolerant attitude derives from her maternal experience. Homework club is now a feature of organisational life. At Tredgold School, the team competition to promote staff fitness has operated inclusively. Strongly supported, the scheme is growing (pp.170-171). The organiser, Bob, believes that colleagues' motivation becomes 'routine' once linked with pleasurable social activity, creating longer-term cohesiveness between employees at times of vulnerability to stress (T_2.5a).

In all five schools, the well-being facilitators help to strengthen communications between employees and senior managers when the organisation faces difficult changes, in broaching sensitive matters, or when help is needed (pp.150-152; 174-175). For example, at Rowan Primary School a line of communication involving the recently appointed deputy headteacher has been negotiated (R_3.4a_Paula). Such arrangements sustain and protect organisational capability (p.181), while helping to calm professional inter-relations.

Conversely, organisational development may influence individual well-being. At Martinswood College, Dan mentions the importance of the school's involvement in the well-being programme (pp.156-157). Employees experiencing ceaseless demands nonetheless may feel guilty about shortcomings (M_2.4b_Jane; M_2.5a_Una; M_3.1e_Una; M_3.4a_Lev). The College's enduring well-being commitment has helped employees to manage this contradiction, for example by providing administrative assistance to teachers. The headteacher of Gorsemoor Primary School mentions how pragmatic investment in employees' well-being promotes organisational effectiveness (pp.162-163). Gail describes the depressed state in which she found the school three years earlier, and the collective need to recover confidence (p.162). She believes that 'we're all better, including me, now, at responding appropriately' to the school's challenges (G_1.2a_09:48). By accepting challenge as endemic, well-being is strengthened (G_1.2b_00:30). At Foresters High School the headteacher, Tom, having asserted that development defines his work, declares: 'I feel better about myself'

because of the collective achievement (p.177). Tom feels he has blossomed in the role, suggesting that both personal and organisational development influence his well-being.

Well-being and organisational development are reciprocally influential. Organisational action at Martinswood College has protected Jane's well-being in supporting her one-year absence from teaching after the birth of her child, and subsequent illness (pp.178-179). Reciprocally, during a period of departmental upheaval at a challenging time in the school's development, Jane and her colleague Una provide loyal service, enabling the College's successful negotiation of major developmental challenges. Tredgold School features two reciprocal examples. Since Amy has delegated more to others in the well-being group, well-being activity across the organisation has increased and broadened in scope (pp.139-140), thus assisting longer-term succession planning. Showing faith in others' capabilities has promoted trust. Reciprocally, Amy's well-being has benefited: 'pressure has gone, and the angst has gone' (T_3.3b_00:19 00:23 Amy), while she takes pride in her achievement. A second example is that Amy feels refreshed by her course of higher education (supported by the school's management). Regarding such learning as healthy and necessary, but also valuing autonomy in her role, she believes that study enables her to continue in post (T_2.4c_08:17-08:25).

At Foresters, Faith (the headteacher's Personal Assistant) believes that autonomy, flexible working arrangements, and being trusted benefit her well-being (F_4.3c_05:00). Faith is happy at work, repaying trust with loyalty and a desire to 'uphold Foresters High' (F_1.4e_08:20). Wishing to see the school's reputation enhanced in the community, Faith designs, edits and distributes the newly-begun school newsletter (F_3.4c_01:20_Faith), and ensures that parents' evenings are run professionally. Faith's anxiety for the school is well-founded. With high levels of deprivation in the community, and falling rolls, a critical OFSTED inspection report could close the school. Therefore it is noteworthy that on the eve of inspection, the headteacher spoke to the staff about their well-being and how to protect it in such challenging circumstances (F_2.5a_08:30_Sally). Thus Tom's words link well-being agency with organised protection of capabilities for development - the school microcosm illustrating Sen's (1999: 87) global perspective.

Josie and Kim, well-being facilitators at Gorsemoor Primary School, encourage all colleagues to attend social evenings, since ‘the better the communication between staff is, the less likely [it is that] children are going to fall between the gaps of knowledge’ (G_2.4d_07:19_Josie). Their efforts have stimulated greater cohesion between staff and children (G_2.4d_04:35), easing communication (noted in the school’s well-being self-review).

Negative cases may illustrate how undesirable organisational development and loss of well-being are associated. The first concerns the unpredictable reactions of a senior manager in meetings or when consulted (pp.150-152). The damaging consequence for well-being is that people turn away disheartened, feel frustrated, or ‘battle on’ unsupported (Lu_3). The senior manager’s emotional volatility hinders organisational development: fresh ideas or alternative viewpoints are withheld, and generally the problem ‘stops stuff from being moved on’ (Sm_3).

The second negative example has complex, reciprocal elements. In the headteacher’s view, Rowan Primary School is in a neutral, transitional zone of development (p.181). The amalgamations of two previously separate schools and their governing bodies, and transfers of accommodation, have sapped energy. Enthusiasm for new ideas is limited, while *undercurrents* (p.131) lead newcomers to distance themselves from engagement (R_1.3a; R_3.3d Nadine). The new accommodation is calming, and ‘when there are things that aren’t perfect, it does pull people together, and we try and fight the corner together’ (R_2.4c_08:43-09:01_Nadine). But the headteacher feels unsupported, regretting that she became *a bit detached*: the transfer increased her workload (pp.180-181), while organisational development lost some direction and purpose. Disengagement can follow despite good work being done: organisational development and employees’ well-being seem inter-permeable.

Across the five schools, employees’ well-being has consequences for the organisation and its work, showing reciprocal agency. Some hold this belief strongly. Employees value organisational commitment to staff well-being and associated activity. Where *undercurrents* exist, commitment to lessen the effect is appreciated; but as the metaphor implies, organisations lose headway and direction.

The next two sub-sections further explore positive association between employees' well-being and organisational development.

¶ Feeling fortunate

The composites beginning this chapter convey the prevailing tone of the recorded conversations: commonly the employees express feelings of good fortune and pride in their situations, despite acknowledged pressures and problems. In view of the literature concerning occupational stress in education (see pp.8-9), reports of positive circumstantial well-being relative to organisational development are potentially significant.

At Foresters High School Sally feels 'very lucky' that her professional skills have been appreciated by headteachers (F_2.5a_07:44_Sally), while Elena feels 'proud' in her pastoral role (F_3.1b_02:27_Elena). Rhianon is 'privileged' to run the Reading Recovery programme at Gorsemoor Primary School (G_R_3_00:10_Rhianon), and Kim, a teaching assistant, says: 'I don't know anyone who's unhappy here' (G_1.1e_01:56_Kim). Marisa, the school secretary, has 'worked in other schools, and there's always been a divide between, like Us and Them... and it's not like that here, really' (G_2.2c_06:03-06:15_Marisa). Similarly, at Rowan Primary School Mei believes that teaching assistants and teachers are 'treated exactly the same now', whereas 'I'm sure in other schools it's not the same... I've heard other TAs, that they are the lowest of the low' (R_3.1c_05:25-05:31_Mei). As a teacher, Nadine values the hard work she witnesses at Rowan: 'we've got really quite a dedicated staff here compared to some places I've been in' (R_1.3a_07:45_Nadine), while Belle, a nursery nurse, comments that 'it is a very caring school ... we all do help each other' (R_1.4c_01:54-02:02_Belle). At Martinswood College, Sean feels more trusted professionally in his teaching responsibilities than he believes occurs in 'some other places' (M_2.6d_03:17_Sean). In another department, Jane considers that anyone joining the team 'just seems to fit in. You know, touch wood, it's really lucky like that' (M_2.4c_01:58_Jane).

The headteacher says of Tredgold School's employees: 'We're very fortunate. People genuinely here want the school to move on, and want it to do well' (T_2.3a_09:20_Ellen). It is everyone's good fortune, she implies, that staff members are so positively oriented. Amy, the school's well-being facilitator, also recognises the importance of goodwill. During her first-ever presentation about well-being to employees in another school, Amy was shocked to witness resentment, 'blame culture' and entrenched bitterness - 'everything which is not Well-Being' (T_2.4c_03:06-03:33_Amy). This experience sharpened her awareness that Tredgold's ethos is precious and actively sustained. James speaks similarly, emphasising how individual actions can influence organisational culture (T_1.2c; T_1.2a_James).

References to feeling circumstantially fortunate sometimes bring comparisons with less favoured workplaces. Participants compare previous employment experiences with their present situation - for example, James at Tredgold School (T_1.2b_07:09). Having worked in commerce, Faith believes that support for work/life balance at Foresters is 'the best wherever I've been' (F_3.4d_09:36-09:48_Faith). Support is provided, not solely as policy, but because 'they sort of know you as a person' (F_3.4e_01:16). Her colleague Elena mentions a school where a friend teaches: 'I think people started to feel guilty... if they were seen in the staff room at lunchtime, because they felt they should be working' (F_3.1d_06:10_Elena). The comparisons with other workplaces are highly generalised, but their validity is not germane. What matters is that employees believe them, and freely say so. Such instances occur commonly (although with varying frequency) in all five schools. Unless employees elsewhere routinely feel lucky in their situation, and unless all the above examples are coincidental or otherwise invalid, an explanation seems necessary.

These state-funded schools are all maintained by Local Authorities, subject to governmental regulations and curricular requirements for the pupils' education and care. Otherwise their only common organisational factor seems to be involvement in a staff well-being programme. Possibly institutional commitment and employees' mentions of fortunate situation are associated. But association need not signify causation. Firstly, well-being programmes are neither established uniformly within Local Authorities, nor uniformly implemented between or even within schools: public commitments to staff well-being do not thereby achieve it. Secondly, the participants mention other

potentially beneficial factors besides well-being programmes: local availability of good training programmes; support for employees to attend courses; engagement in *Investors in People* and in *Healthy Schools*; policies which support part-time workers; systems of coaching and mentoring; honesty, openness and goodwill between staff; commitment to the *Every Child Matters* agenda (which also encompasses adults working with children); benefits from part-time working and job-sharing; and schools conceived symbolically as teams, communities, or families. The presence of these variables - that is, of these institutional realities - prevents sole causal attribution to well-being programmes and organisational development.

However, once well-being programmes are included in the above list, the employees' wide ranging references indicate benefit from organisational principles and procedures which the well-being ethos unifies, and which all five schools publicly embrace. Furthermore, all the headteachers affirm this ethos. Paula emphasises creativity, freedom and inclusive involvement in planning support for all employees (R_2.1e/f 08:30-01:40_Paula). Tom expresses communitarian values (F_1.1e_07:52_Tom), later declaring 'I want everyone to blossom' (F_3.2c_05:41). Ellen, talking of her own experience of working with the staff, says 'you want them to blossom', 'I want people to feel wanted', which involves 'making sure ... that they are well looked after' (T_1.3c/d_09:40-02:04_Ellen). Reflectively, Will comments: 'I would be disappointed if ... there was a general feeling that we didn't care for and look after our staff' (M_2.3e_00:45_Will), while to 'emphasise and raise the status of the support staff' has been his long-term commitment (M_1.6a_03:16). Gail believes that 'everybody has got something to offer' (G_1.2b_05:12_Gail), and that these 'gifts and talents ... should be nurtured' (G_1.2c_07:19); in facing challenges 'we've got to feel confident that we can speak about them' (G_1.2b_00:38), while she respects the principle that colleagues 'have as much ownership as they can' concerning their responsibilities (G_1.2_09:08).

Thus, to feel fortunate in one's work is founded in developmental principles having widespread support. It stems from an intellectually coherent swathe of discretionary organisational practices representing meaningful, lasting, and inclusive concern for staff well-being. For example, Elena recalls a day of well-being training organised by the facilitator: '...you know that they'd done it because they wanted people to sort of relax... I think that's brilliant' (F_1.5b_07:23-07:31_Elena). Precisely which initiative

prompts which organisational innovation matters less than that an enduring culture of caring is enabled to develop as coherent practice. It is facilitated, not random process.

There is no immediate link between co-ordinated, reflective practice promoting fortunate feelings, and subsequent organisational development. However, the participant headteachers associate them. Their vocabulary – wanting people to blossom, encouraging creative freedom, nurturing, caring for, everybody having something to offer, ‘ownership’ – is about protecting and promoting others’ development, not securing instrumentally their training or improvement (Harris, C, 2003: 192; Mearns and Thorne 2004[1999]: 16-19). Nor is hedonic happiness the concern: to be looked after, to feel wanted, to feel included, and to feel confident in speaking about worries all suggest recognition of eudaimonic needs in demanding, collaborative circumstances rather than the pleasure principle (Ryan and Deci 2001: 145-148; Ryff and Singer 2003: 20-25). The headteachers in their different contexts entwine well-being vocabulary with that of development.

¶ Schools as communities: psychosocial parallelism

In all five schools, employees from a wide range of roles associate well-being with organisational development. ‘Feeling fortunate’ is a common sentiment in these schools. Besides individuals’ agentic ‘pro-social behaviour’ (Gregg et al 2008: 2), deliberate, principled organisation has helped to establish this prevalent mood. Also, fifteen employees across the schools (less markedly in the secondary schools) associate their psychosocial circumstances reciprocally with those of the pupils. This parallelism is a third aspect of association between well-being and development.

The communitarian nature of schools is expressed incidentally in all settings. Jane asserts that laughter with colleagues and with the pupils characterises Martinswood College, emphasising that she ‘wouldn’t want to trivialise it’ (M_3.2c_09:40_Jane), while Irene believes that watching pupils thrive ‘helps you as an individual as well’ (M_2.1b_03:08_Irene). Any misplacement of pupils in Tredgold Special School is ‘...damaging for them. It’s not good for the other pupils, it’s not good for the staff’ (T_3.2a_06:50_Donna). Elena has remained at Foresters High School because: ‘you

don't want to leave the pupils and some of the staff behind' (F_1.5a_04:48_Elena). When she comments that 'This school is addictive' (F_1.5a_04:19), Elena hints at the risks alongside the rewards of caring. At Rowan Primary School, the purpose-built accommodation has had a calming effect on the adults (R_2.2b_09:54_Anita) and on the pupils (2.2c_02:30_Mei). The employees at Gorsemoor Primary School are to be forewarned that a support unit for pupils with additional needs must close. Kim, who works in that unit, believes her colleagues will be disappointed for the team, '...but I think they'll also be disappointed for the children' (G_2.3b_05:15_Kim). The loss is to the school communally.

This association of employees' with pupils' well-being, as reciprocally influenced by events and as influencing one another, is also a rationale. The headteacher at Martinswood College regards it as the basis of a good school: '... if you've got a happy staff, that transmits itself to the pupils, doesn't it?' (M_2.3e_01:20_Will). Fran, a teaching assistant, has recently gained an additional qualification requiring study of College policies. She is surprised that Martinswood needs an equal opportunities policy:

'...here, you sort of still feel, I suppose, like the children do, that you are insulated, and you're a little sort of group, and different from everybody else!' (M_2.2a_09:15-09:30_Fran)

She believes one can forget how such 'big-bad-world' policies apply in schools, because 'things are just done anyway' (M_2.2a_08:40): children and employees alike are protected. Fran identifies the political aspects of staff relations between teachers and teaching assistants, but previously was unaware of a policy context defending rights and freedoms in the school community.

To symbolise Tredgold as an organisation, Bob chooses a play area in the grounds. When accompanying the youngsters there he witnesses 'how much fun they can have, and how much they can open up' (T_3.5c_07:10_Bob). He interprets this image in terms of adults: '...it's how much you can join in, and do what you want to do, as a member of staff as well' (T_3.5c_07:10-07:21). His words imply communality of spirit and healthy enjoyment, but also suggest development through participation. In a school for pupils experiencing emotional and behavioural difficulties, James (like Will, above)

believes that the adults supporting them must feel ‘happy within themselves, happy within the workplace, comfortable that they can talk to somebody if there’s an issue...’ (T_1.2b_09:10_James).

In these schools, adults’ child-like qualities are acknowledged without cynicism: ‘we got over-excited, as we sometimes do’ (R_3.4c_06:10_Nadine); and ‘I learn a lot off the teachers, though... I learn a lot off the kids!’ (G_3.4e_00:30_Parminder); while a sense of fun is encouraged (M_2.1c_00:55_Irene; S_2.4c_00:50_Amy; F_2.3a_05:35_Elena). However, child-like qualities are also vulnerable to external threat. A teaching assistant describes the OFSTED inspection of Martinswood College: ‘I was absolutely terrified. I was thinking - *What if we say something wrong? What if we do something wrong?*’ (M_3.5c_00:03_Fran). Here, a mature woman working developmentally with other assistants as with the students, sees herself child-like and hapless, dependent on powerful adults’ inscrutable judgements about what may be ‘wrong’ in her conduct. In another participant school, tears have followed an inspection judgement of a ‘good’ lesson, when a less experienced colleague’s was rated ‘outstanding’.

Amy’s colleagues at Tredgold have accepted newly-delegated well-being tasks enthusiastically. As facilitator, Amy castigates herself for not having shown trust, contrasting this with her attitude toward pupils:

‘...if you give people a little bit – you know, I know this, because I work with kids, and do it [show trust] to the kids, but sometimes when you’re an adult you get lost in it, and don’t know what’s right.’ (T_3.3b_02:24_Amy)

Donna has a similarly tough-minded perspective. In describing Tredgold’s pupils as ‘taking responsibility for their own lives’, needing support but ‘not using it as an excuse’, she adds: ‘I think [the school] offers the same chances for staff in many ways, development-wise’ (T_3.2a_02:31-03:04_Donna). In such cases, the principled professionalism used with children is being rediscovered and re-applied in adults’ development.

Gorsemoor Primary School provides rich examples of this potentiality. Rhianon, a teacher, finds good reason in having *time to think* (a topic offered for comment): ‘for

your own self-esteem, how you perceive what you do. Very, very important – it's what we teach children' (G_Recorder 3b_00:06_Rhianon). Also Kim, a teaching assistant at Gorsemoor, explains:

'We try and teach the children about this Helping Hand: *If you had a problem, who could you go to?* But I think it applies to adults as well.'
(G_1.1e_08:04_Kim)

Similarly, Josie compares feedback to pupils in class with feedback to colleagues following lesson observations. The pupils assimilate comment quite flexibly, she says, but as a teacher: 'I find it hard to do that to somebody else ...' (G_2.4d_04:36_Josie). The school business manager, Marisa, mentions pupils struggling to contain anger:

'Sometimes talking to them just sets them off again. You might as well just let them calm down, because you'd do that yourself.' (G_3.4d_06:09_Marisa).

Kim shows the need to understand children's family circumstances:

'I look at that woman like I look at the kids: *Well, what has she been through in her life?* And she needs as much help as that child, cos without helping the parents, you can't- they can't help their children' (G_1.1b_07:14-07:27_Kim)

Such remarks chronicle the routine, emotional demands upon school employees, and reciprocal influences across generations, roles, and communities. But they also reveal the non-judgmental, inclusive regard for self-determination associated with developmental purpose (Walker 2005: 78; Pring 2005: 203; Smith, R, 2005: 210).

The headteacher, Gail, observes that to be 'spoon-fed' skills helps neither children nor adults (G_3.1c_08:11_Gail). Greater trust between employees and children is promoting communal well-being (G_1.2a_09:40-09:54). Believing that 'everybody has something to give', Gail wants all employees to accept that 'some people will shine' in particular areas, '...and that's what we teach the children' (G_1.2b_04:31-05:04).

In these examples, participants draw parallels between the pupils' well-being and their own. Three headteachers assert that organisational action to benefit the employees influences the pupils (M_2.3e_Will; T_2.3c_Ellen; G_1.2a_Gail). From different role perspectives and in different settings, employees comment that their expertise to support children's well-being and development also applies in adult contexts. As communities these organisations are sites of learning and of development for adults and children alike, where employees may benefit collectively from re-applying their 'knowledgeability' (Giddens 1984). Yet, lacking coherent theorisation of development, even richer possibilities in such tacit understanding remain unfulfilled.

Picking out threads of development

Introduction

The thematic findings are synthesised below according to themes linked to the three key questions: perceptions of development in schools within well-being programmes, development as a negotiated process, and the ‘organisational’ in organisational development. Subsidiary topics within each theme provide finer detail, but do not complete the analysis. A summary is provided. Chapter Five will analyse employees’ narratives of development, bringing a fresh hermeneutic perspective to the recorded data. Therefore a final synthesis, related to the literature, will be made at the close of the next chapter.

¶ Perceptions of development

The academic literature in various fields reveals disparate understanding and usage of *development*, currently and historically (Esteva 2007[1992]: 6-25). But conceptualisation is hampered by semantic dualism, development’s intangibility as a process, and over-use of inadequate descriptive metaphor (above, p.33).

Across five schools, employees from a wide range of roles reveal divergent conceptualisations of psychosocial development. No category of meaning is specifically associated with any particular sub-group of employees, suggesting lack of association with role or with professional training. Participants’ conceptions of development comprise three metaphorical groups (pp.134-137). Two are linguistically intransitive: a subjective view of development as embodied movement and endogenous fulfilment (*we’re moving forward*); and an outward, altruistic concern for development as progressive flourishing in others (*they’re blossoming*). The third group conceives development as improvement-oriented progressive purpose: sometimes concerning the self as object, but more commonly, linguistically transitive, purposeful amelioration (*moving people on*). In either instance, implicitly power lies with the agent/subject rather than with the recipient/object. The first two groups of intransitive metaphorical

thinking about development are essentially variant perspectives (participant/observer) upon similar understanding of latency, whereas the third (*moving people on*) externalises an object of improvement.

This research, constructed for variety of phenomenal instance rather than statistical validity, cannot provide reliable data about sub-groups in the sample. The phenomenon, development, is the case. Nevertheless it is apparent from the data that a particular conception of development is not associated with a specific institution, type of school, or organisational culture (pp.134-137). Categorical consistency is more closely related to individuals' beliefs, values, and linguistic frameworks than to the discourse of an occupational group, but an individual's linguistic usage may also be inconsistent. Thus no greater concordance about the meaning of development exists in these schools than in academic scholarship. This ethnographic finding from schools, supported by evidence from academic literature (pp.31-33), has implications for organisational practice, for the ways in which educational purpose is conceived in policy, and for development theory.

However, much greater consistency is found when participants describe their personal experiences of development. The process, only partly governable, unfolds with time, unpredictably yet meaningfully, through interaction (p.139), learning (p.142) and reflection (pp.143-144) and is highly contextualised. For example, development brings strong commitment to a school, its pupils and the wider community (G_1.1b_Kim), or a sense of maturity through experience which later influences organisational development (T_2.4c_Amy). Feelings of positive well-being accompany development judged beneficial (pp.177-179; 176). Where frustration exists, development is described transitively in individuals' distanced discourse (pp.141; 179-182).

These descriptions of developmental experience closely match some academic perspectives - for example, in philosophy concerning rhizomic process (Deleuze 1993[1987]); in organisation studies concerning non-linearity and complexity (Cilliers 2002); in sociology concerning agency and 'making a difference' (Giddens 1984); in psychology concerning life-span development (Schaffer 2006); and in education concerning ethical purpose (Bottery 2004; Haydon 2007) and models of workplace development (Yandell and Turvey 2007). The logic of indeterminate and emergent

process, and of socially-constructed understanding, is that development may be thought desirable or undesirable (Van de Ven and Poole 1995; Giddens 1984; Matusov et al 2007).

From a wide range of roles in the five schools, participants are unanimous that learning is lifelong (pp.141-142). Individuals in different schools assert that learning occurs naturally and almost un-noticed: 'you're not even aware of what you're doing' (M_2.1d_Irene); 'you don't see it when you're in there all the time' (R_3.1c_Mei); and 'you need to be able to do it unconsciously' (F_3.3h_Sally). They refer more commonly to informal than formal learning within lived, inter-permeable experience at work and elsewhere, serving to emphasise the social nature of learning (Coffield 2000; Blackler et al 2000; Engeström 2004; Maitlis 2005; Yandell and Turvey 2007).

In all five schools participants mention developmental consequences from their learning, though not as direct effects, since periods of reflection also feature. Examples include Jane during her year of recovery, Fran following her course of training, and Nadine in drawing upon experience in another profession. Developmental consequences are described in terms distinct from those of the original learning. For example, Fran's course required study of school policies, but the developmental consequence has been to refresh her sense of purpose: 'to stop and think... about what you're actually here for' (M_2.2b Fran). Similarly, sustained learning about children's neglect or deprivation has had the developmental consequence for individuals such as Elena that they show greater tolerance towards others - including other adults - and their circumstances.

These findings indicate that development may follow from learning through reflective interpretation of experience, implying revised subsequent action. Unlike informal learning, which may happen incidentally, development is recognised when people invest experience with significance - as when Gail reflects upon her time as a headteacher: 'I am a better person' (G_3.1e_02:52_Gail). Reflection upon experience - especially after discussion (G_3.2c_Josie) - involves an inward discursive shift in finding and identifying meaning. It requires an interpretative synthesis to clarify modulated value. Gail's judgement, *I am a better person*, is not a transformation of (cognitive) meaning through learning (Mezirow 1991), but rather, actively recognises a

transition in appreciative understanding through interpreted, consequential meaning. Thus, although closely associated with learning, development seems distinct from it.

This finding further illustrates the work on learning and proximal development by Vygotsky (1978). It supports theory that learning anticipates development (Hinchcliffe 2007) in a reflexive relationship (Jarvis 2006). Disclosure of developmental meaning accords with ‘unconcealment’ through a clearing of the way of thought (Heidegger 2007b[1964]: 445).

¶ Development as negotiation

Significance revealed through clarification does not imply that development is uncomplicated. Analysis shows that a way forward is negotiated socially as well as personally, over time.

In two schools organisational action supports individuals’ well-being through re-negotiated jobs. In both examples, the employees seek help from the school leadership, bringing subsequent developmental benefit to the individual and to the organisation. The employees’ accounts reveal how clearly they recognised their quandary. Dan recalls: I couldn’t teach to the level I wanted to, and I couldn’t do the admin side to the level I wanted to’ (M_1.1d 08:25_Dan), which he found stressful. Jess thinks to herself: *‘Well if the job’s not going to go anywhere, I’m going to have to’* (F_1.3b_00:57_Jess). In approaching the headteachers about these problems, both workers have made themselves vulnerable. The situations are brought to successful conclusions through sensitive negotiation. From these and other instances of negotiated development (including the unresolved, negative example of frustration and disengagement resulting from another’s emotional volatility), it appears that inner negotiation of thoughts and feelings precedes and outlasts the negotiation of observable changes.

In all five schools, teachers and headteachers indicate that work pressures are severe, and that their responsible work involves psychosocial risk (pp.145-146; 148-149; 156-157; 160; 161-164; 176). Also, there are associated consequences for others (pp.149; 150-151; 152; 157; 164). In this context, examples of development which reduce

systemic sources of strain become significant. Workers in the caring professions of public services are especially vulnerable to ‘feelings of helplessness and futility about work’ (Fineman 2003: 145) from physical and emotional exhaustion. Teachers may experience: ‘feelings of inappropriateness and/or inadequacy as the nature and demands of the job have changed’ (Woods 1999: 127). Thus participants’ accounts of organisational commitment to employees’ well-being, and of negotiating trustfully when powers are imbalanced, indicate that welcome developmental consequences are socio-culturally achieved.

One employee’s experience of how roles influence developmental negotiation (pp.153-155) shows the importance of considering people’s circumstances, rather than simply their workplace personae. Josie’s account illustrates the permeability of roles within personality - in this case, post-natal depression affected her well-being in school and her life at home. Responsible motherhood seemed to require Josie temporarily to banish all else: working in school became nightmarish (G_3.2d_06:47_Josie). But Josie’s maternal experience has brought a ‘more tolerant and understanding’ perspective to teaching, (G_3.2b), replacing the negative psychology of progressive sanctions over pupils’ missed homework with ‘a more positive way’ (G_3.2c). This example emphasises how reflection, inwardly focused on self and others, may contribute expansively to integrative, developmental action.

The second example concerning roles shows how development at Martinswood College is negotiated institutionally with ambivalence (pp.156-160). In various contexts and across different roles the College’s goal of performing outstandingly well on external criteria brings continuous strain. Yet it is both school policy and individuals’ desire to protect well-being across the school, to relieve workloads, and to support work/life balance. Also, there are concerns about changes to the College’s status, and associated long-term effects. Employees wish to preserve the valued features of the school’s culture - for example, the quality of professional relationships - while accepting (sometimes reluctantly) the need for change. In both respects the participants reveal misgivings and anxiety alongside loyalty and pride. The polarising effects of these conflicts are negotiated within roles (M_2.5a_Una). A teacher perceives sympathetically that the headteacher has been under ‘a huge amount of stress’ so that ‘it’s very hard for him not to ... pass that on’ (M_3.2b_Jane). Anxieties about

inspection, and the fretful behaviours they sometimes produce, permeate roles in home life (M_3.2b_Jane).

At Martinswood, development through such existential quandary involves tacit, informal agreements (M_2.5a_Dan) to be trusting and trustworthy, valuing autonomy without disrupting the changes threatening it. This dependence on shared values is potentially fruitful (Chou et al 2008: 1736), but difficult to sustain, partly because of unwelcome political pressure: ‘we’re being made to compete with other organisations’ (M_2.1a_Irene). Tredgold School shows certain similarities, in that the school’s ‘special’ role is under review by the Local Authority, but information for the staff is very limited. Also, doubts exist about the wisdom of certain placements, given the school’s area of expertise. Meanwhile, Specialist Status is being sought through a formal proposal. Participants are confident in what the school achieves, but not in its status (pp.133; 136; 175; 191).

Academic literature on organisational complexity and change management describes how paradox and conflicted feelings may be negotiated. For example, stress effects and ambivalent group responses in public sector organisations are the focus for Obholzer and Roberts (2002[1994]: 121-128; 181-183), while ‘holding paradox open’ (a position employees at Martinswood College seem to have reached) may be more successful than denying, displacing, or seeking to resolve it (Beech et al 2004: 1314). Principals in schools increasingly experience conflict between their ‘managerial and pedagogical values’ (Dempster and Berry 2003: 461).

At Foresters High School negotiation seeks coherence and alignment. Organisational theory about ‘strategy as practical coping’ suggests that the question *Where are we now?* (Tom’s focus, see p.136) less concerns navigation than relating ‘current experiences to historical past’ in order to act consistently with disposition and identity (Chia and Holt 2006: 651). When governors resolve to take *the hard path*, thus enhancing the school’s strategic leadership (above, pp.166-167) and core purposes are symbolically present at leadership team meetings, consistent principle is strengthened (pp.171-172).

For three years at Gorsemoor Primary School, Gail has nurtured confidence and faith amongst the staff, the pupils and the community, restoring and sustaining calm. Here, negotiation involves discussing openly and participatively anxieties about what might be done should inspectors categorise the school as Inadequate. Gail's *house of cards* imagery conveys fragility, but also consistent principle: initiatives will be undertaken selectively since the school's challenges mostly remain consistent (G_3.1e_Gail). Tom and Gail have negotiated protection of the schools' capabilities for development through acting consistently and openly (Sen 2006[1993: 36-40; Chia and Holt 2006: 637).

The findings emphasise particularly: (a) how inner processes of psychosocial negotiation encompass overt actions or discourse; (b) how negotiation is facilitated by openness, trustfulness and trustworthiness, and by ethically consistent actions in leadership and in power relations; (c) negotiation of complexity, risk, and paradox. Academic literature across different fields similarly shows the importance of negotiation in development (Nussbaum 2001; Sen 1999). The process may not flow freely, needing struggle (Vygotsky 1978; Levykh 2008), while individual human agency must be protected and facilitated trustfully and trustworthily (Chou et al 2008) for altruistic, rather than instrumental, ends (Ellerman 2007; Bottery 2003).

¶ Development and organisation

Organisational sites of development locate development activity conceptually (pp.169-175). Three examples have been identified: informal work-groups as described in Activity Theory (Engeström 2001; 2004), organisational symbolism in leadership, and well-being programmes.

Informal work-groups are described at Tredgold School: a sequence of informal actions follows inquiry into a newly-registered pupil's diagnostically significant, but previously undocumented, behaviours. The process has several informal features: individual agency and 'knowledgeability' (Giddens 1984: 21-22); attending to the child's behaviours more than to the limited documentation; good communications; and adaptiveness. Workers cross structural boundaries and group themselves informally to

resolve problems not yet fully understood - a form of expansive learning (Engeström 2004: 152-153). However, close reference to the research data identifies such 'knotworking' (Engeström 2004) within *organisational sites of development*, a broader conception. These sites demonstrate varieties of informal, agentic development activity, but also, that the capability space needed (Nussbaum 2001: 12) is held open through negotiation. Development expands protected human freedoms (Sen 1999: 36), not just learning.

Thus the core purposes of Foresters High School are metaphorically locked away under imaginary glass covering the headteacher's round table. When the leadership team appraises possible initiatives, the symbolism reminds them of priorities - maintaining the principled consistency which the headteacher believes necessary to negotiate organisational development. Clear organisational purpose helps to ensure leadership's support for adopted initiatives, which themselves become sites of development.

Well-being programmes supported by senior managers are other sites of development. Sustained concern for employees through long-term participation in well-being programmes protects organisational functioning (T_1.2b_James). The informality of programmes gives facilitators little organisational power, but thereby offers independence and opportunities to function creatively. Employees indicate that they value this independence (T_2.5c_Bob; R_2.2a Anita/Mei), but recognise its limitations (G_1.4b_Josie; F_2.5e_Sally). The openness of headteachers in receiving feedback about organisational self-reviews of well-being is itself a source of development (T_3.3g_Amy). Well-being programmes develop through and with their facilitators: a cultural process of realising contextual potentiality.

Some thematic data indicate a relationship between individual and organisational development (C2). Headteachers especially recognise a close association between personal and organisational development, but also it features in others' accounts (M_2.5c_Una; T_3.3d_Amy; R_3.3d_Nadine). Una is developing in that she recognises and values feeling part of the system, exploring freedoms in the new role, and influencing pedagogy. The College is developing through its organisational capability to apply these techniques more widely and more frequently (M_2.5c_Una).

Two instances of the relationship between personal and organisational development illustrate the importance of context for interpreting developmental sequences. At Martinswood College, the example involving Jane's year of recovery after childbirth and Una's change of employment has strong developmental features (pp.177-179). Continuity of provision has been maintained and has facilitated new developmental possibilities (for example, outreach work). As they occurred, these 'separate' events could neither have been predicted nor identified within a developmental sequence. Their efficacy and meaning exists only in organisational actions to support well-being, matched by employees' commitment. On later reflection, they are found meaningful. In that sense, developmental significance is not disclosed, but actively recognised.

The other example, at Rowan Primary School, shows the headteacher's feelings of disengagement and resentment associated with loss of organisational purpose: 'How can we pick ourselves up out of here?' (R_3.4a_Paula). A teacher who formerly distanced herself from unspecified yet undesired interactions feels refreshed by the arrival of two recently-appointed colleagues (R_3.3d_Nadine). However, development seems to be associated more with lessons than with the staff room. Despite the morale-boosting purpose-built accommodation, uneasy professional relationships persist (R_3.1a_Mei/Anita). Acknowledged divisions within the organisation (in the governing body, between members of the staff, and in the distancing of the headteacher) are not yet fully repaired. The headteacher's representation of development as continuous improvement towards perfection is clouded by cynicism. Thus, a complex association exists between participants' conflicting perceptions of development, and the sense of an organisation in conflicted (though not yet dialectically productive) transition.

A conspectus of findings concerns the relationship between employees' well-being and organisational development (pp.182-185), emphasising the importance of individual agency. At Tredgold School the team fitness competition and consequent changes in lifestyles are thought to strengthen resilience while promoting organisational cohesiveness. Organisational development may bring well-being benefits, as in the broad strategy of restoring confidence at Gorsemoor Primary School. The aim is to improve organisational effectiveness, but 'helping our well-being' (G_1.2a_Gail) is perceived as an associated consequence. Mutual influence exists, for example, in managerial support for Jane's and Una's well-being at Martinswood College. A

negative example shows how a senior manager's volatile reactions inhibit developmental capability because individuals suppress possible contributions.

Commonly employees assert feelings of good fortune in their situations - sometimes favourably compared with other schools or private sector employment. These feelings may be associated with organisational support, beyond regulatory conformity, for family responsibilities: 'they sort of know you as a person' (F_3.4e_Faith). However, it is unlikely that the presence of well-being programmes entirely explains these views. A wide range of discretionary, communitarian practices supports employees' welfare. Thematic data analysis indicates a complex relationship between employees' well-being and school development. Because care for employees is systemic, coherent and active, rather than instrumental, fitful and responsive, the capability space for development is protected: such organisations self-renew (Schaffer 2006: 42).

Often, participants place themselves implicitly as members of communities which include the pupils, observing psychosocial parallels between themselves and the children (pp.189-193). Such references are characterised discursively in terms of human well-being: 'laughter' (M_3.2c_Jane), 'happy' (M_2.3e_Will), 'fun' (T_3.5c_Bob), 'happy within themselves ... comfortable' (T_1.2b_James) and 'insulated' (M_2.2a_Fran). Some participants recognise adults' child-like qualities as valuable, while pupils' welfare may be associated with that of the adults working with them - for example Irene (M_2.1b_08:55), Elena (F_2.3a_01:50) and Nadine (R_3.3c_07:39). The principled, professional approaches and knowledgeability used educationally to support children's development may also apply to development in adults.

Trust may be incapable of organisation, but the evidence here is that trustfulness and trustworthiness are developmental within organisation, and may be organisationally protected. Such principles are used developmentally with adults in counselling contexts (McLeod 2003: 7; 178-179). Lack of a robust educational discourse may limit the possibilities in recognising and drawing upon this mutuality as a site of development. The misprised concept of development seems to have lost 'structural properties'-institutionalised features across time and space (Giddens 1984: 185).

Summarising the main thematic threads

Firstly, participants understand development in different ways, from intransitive unfolding to transitive objectification of purpose, using different metaphors. There is no common discourse of development, but greater consistency of perception occurs when people recount their lived experiences. Overall, participants describe a purposeful process of unfolding latency and immanent meaning, as embodied movement, blossoming, or flourishing. Development, whether desirable or undesirable, occurs diachronically but unpredictably through social interaction.

Secondly, development is closely associated with, but distinct from, formal and informal lifelong learning. Development succeeds learning and influences well-being. Developmental consequences are described in separate terms from antecedent learning experiences, seeming to require subjective recognition through reflective interpretation.

Thirdly, development is negotiated socially and individually, requiring struggle and agency. Sometimes the struggle is primarily personal: different roles inter-permeate and feelings of responsibility are negotiated. Where power is asymmetric, organisational commitment to employees' well-being and individuals' readiness to trust can bring developmental outcomes through explicit, shared values, involving inner negotiation of thoughts and feelings which precede and outlast the overt negotiation. The role of leadership includes holding open the capability space for others' development.

Fourthly, *organisational sites of development* are introduced as means of identifying emergence and meaning in organisation. Three examples are informal 'knotworking' groups (Engeström 2001; 2004), organisational symbolism, and well-being programmes. Context influences fundamentally the positive association between individual and organisational development (for example, in terms of direction, purpose and capability). 'Separate' events may be recognised only retrospectively as part of a meaningful sequence: development is actively and interpretatively recognised.

Fifthly, a complex, reflexive relationship exists between employees' well-being and organisational development, whether desirable or undesirable. Psychosocial parallels

exist between employees and pupils in schools. Professional practice which supports children's development also applies in adult workplaces, but is not fully articulated.

This section began with the analogy of a loom, of picking out threads in the warp. With these established, now the weft of narrative can be worked into these ideas. The overall synthesis (pp.228-236) will compare the findings with the literature reviewed.

CHAPTER FIVE FINDINGS FROM NARRATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter analyses narrative material, in contrast with the thematic approach above. Narrative data analysis enables individual voices to be more clearly and fully heard, revealing particular landscape perspectives. Unfolding, informal narrative shares some features with development itself, in representing the social process of finding and interpreting meaning discursively in sequential, situated events. Thus a person's narrative may disclose aspects of the course of development and well-being through episodes of remembered experience.

The present study features imagery, vocabulary and points of reference consonant with those of narrative inquiry: movement across a landscape, narrative threads, historical context, experiential knowledge, temporal process, 'composite autobiography' (Clandinin and Connelly 2000: 63-70; 53) and 'the interwoven lives of teachers and children' (Clandinin 2006: 48). However, reference to narrative analysis does not make this thesis a narrative inquiry. The latter more frequently seeks to record the observed present, for example 'the moment of curriculum making', by creating 'interim research text' (Clandinin 2006: 50-51) and 'living alongside another' (Clandinin 2006: 46). Rather, as a work of discursive ethnography using philosophical hermeneutics to interpret accounts of experience, the methodology of this research occupies 'borderland spaces' with narrative inquiry (Clandinin 2006: 52). Its emergence separates 'the traditional culturalist demand for a model, a tradition...' from the necessary uncertainty in articulating '...new cultural demands, meanings, strategies in the political present' (Bhabha 1994: 35).

The experience of this research is indeed of entering 'into the midst of stories' (Clandinin 2006: 47). The previous chapter has analysed participants' stories thematically (for example, Paula's account of disengagement and Josie's of returning to work and of post-natal depression). Other material of importance and illustrative power in the context of modern education unfortunately cannot be accommodated in this thesis: Kim's experience of the closure of the unit where she works (G_1.1a/b); Sally's of supporting distressed colleagues during and after an OFSTED inspection (F_2.5a/b);

and Will's of being evaluated as a headteacher (M_1.6e). However, narratives from four participants in three settings (one primary, one secondary and one special school) are analysed below. They are chosen for their *breadth* of content and contextual reference, for the *variety* of context and circumstance in which they are told, and for *relevance* (that is, the material invites interpretative analysis). Between them, the narratives balance personal with organisational foci.

The narratives below illustrate the temporal nature and lasting significance of development. They describe extended periods of at least six months, but the historical time frames vary: Rhianon's vivid experience occurred seven years before, over several months; Donna's refers to the previous twelve months; Marisa's narrative is told amidst unfolding events; while Sally recalls episodes from the last two years. Meaning is attributed to the deemed consequences - for example, Marisa judges that she has changed as a person following a course of study. Theoretically, development comprises *becoming*, emergence, and meaning-making (Heidegger 2007a[1927]: 28-64; Deleuze and Guattari 2004[1987]: 262-263); Merleau-Ponty 2005[1945]: xxii; Chia 1999: 215). As an aspect of experience, the indeterminacy of development (unlike random processes) carries its own communicable history.

Two further sections follow the individual narrative analyses. The first, as in the previous chapter, picks out threads of findings from the whole material. The second synthesises Chapter Four's thematic findings with those from narrative data analysis here, relative to findings from the literature review. Conceptual elements from the literature feature in the four narratives, as in the thematic analysis, but sometimes with different emphases. Threads drawn together hermeneutically from these sources establish patterns of meaning within the phenomenal material, together with any snags.

Marisa's narrative: School Secretary/Business Manager (Gorsemoor Primary School)

'People at home can't believe it'

Over three research conversations Marisa describes the value of attending a course of formal training. She and Parminder, a lunchtime supervisory assistant and cleaner, jointly record their conversations with the researcher. Parminder speaks pertinently but relatively little in these sessions, tending to support or add to Marisa's contributions. As the senior of the two participants, Marisa acts protectively towards her colleague while acknowledging the support given, and is keen to make her mark. Thus in effect Marisa has two audiences.

At the time of the first field visit Marisa has just begun a course of 'between six and twelve months' work' including a residential element (G_1.3a_00:55_Marisa), which leads to a further professional qualification. Marisa introduces this topic voluntarily, when asked to say something about herself so that the recording volumes can be monitored. She presents her involvement in the course defensively, as if events are beyond her control: 'So, er, that's pretty stressful, having to go back to further education' (G_1.3a_01:00). Marisa explains that the course is government-funded and sponsored by her school. Sessions are held on weekdays. The course is 'a bit of an eye-opener', so Marisa declares cautiously that she is enjoying it 'so far' (G_1.3a_01:15-01:42).

Marisa perceives that she is unappreciated by some colleagues. Later in the conversation, this brings the evaluation:

'From my point of view, I think if, um, teaching staff in particular got in the office for a day ((Amused reaction from Parminder)) and saw exactly what it was like for the first hour, with the late children and all the usual interruptions, and do your job as well, then I think that would be an eye-opener... Because all they think you do is sit around drinking coffee, and having a chat.'

(G_1.3c_04:04-04:59)

This underlying frustration recurs minutes later. Marisa describes ‘running to get kids who are on transport’ while ‘people are just watching the phone ring!’ (G_1.3c_06:42). When Marisa mentions the course again, she confesses anxiety about new job roles and descriptions:

‘and erm this course I’ve taken on – it’s all going in that direction, as a School Business Manager, which involves more financial – which I’m not really happy about, because I don’t really enjoy that side of it... but I mean that’s a bridge I’ll have to cross.’ (G_1.3d_03:23-03:34_Marisa)

Marisa relates the narrative fitfully, even within the same research conversation, as if circling the source of anxiety in order to probe it from different quarters: ‘It doesn’t automatically mean promotion or anything like that’ (G_1.3d_04:18); the established members of the management team will ‘still see me as a secretary, answering the phone’ (G_1.3d_04:50); and ‘*You’re not part of us*’ (G_1.3d_05:03). Paradoxically, in undertaking further training (which challenges her confidence), Marisa fears that her status in the leadership team will not change: ‘I just feel it’s a closed door at the moment’ (G_1.3d_05:20).

In the second conversation, near the course’s end, Marisa reports how much she has learned: ‘just basically seeing [her role] from another point of view,’ which has proved ‘very, very interesting’ (G_2.2a_01:22-02:26). The course’s methods have included role-play, ‘which I was quite dreading, but actually I quite enjoyed it when I was doing it, you know’ (G_2.2a_02:54). Subsequently Marisa has felt more confident, for example in making a formal presentation, when previously ‘I would never stand up and talk to people, in front of a group, unless I knew them’ (G_2.2a_04:59). This confidence comes from being ‘more professional, and knowledgeable,’ feeling proud to be ‘asked my advice about things,’ and understanding that ‘you do earn respect from it’ (G_2.2a_05:48-06:02). Referring to Child Protection procedures, Marisa is conscious of her responsibility to the pupils: ‘...it’s people’s lives here’ (G_3.4b). Her job description has been revised to match her qualifications - a prospect she found threatening beforehand. Consequently Marisa feels more confident in facing the future, ‘because I’ve changed, myself, as well’ (G_2.2a_06:34).

Indeed, possibly Marisa is more respected following the course, because of her increased knowledge and expanded role. However, more probably the difference reflects Marisa's changed outlook: more trusting, less ready to feel slighted, and more assured in her new managerial and administrative role. By confronting the challenge to take on responsibilities, and by becoming inwardly more at ease in her perceptions of others, Marisa is following a path of development beyond learning.

In the final conversation Marisa mentions her course again. Defining development as 'a progression on what you're capable of' and as being given 'opportunity to do either further training or ... courses and things ... and improve your skills', immediately Marisa uses her course to illustrate its significance. Her professional development 'has just grown' (G_3.4c_04:21). She recalls feeling 'apprehensive when you go into these things' (G_3.4c_04:45), but adds reflectively:

'... whether you pass or fail it doesn't matter, I don't think, because you yourself, personally, you've grown, I feel ...in my experience... Erm, and that just benefits myself, and my well-being, in my job.' (G_3.4c_04:53-05:12_Marisa)

The course represents a major achievement, particularly because Marisa has completed it: 'on me own, as me: not as someone's Mum or wife ... or daughter' (G_3.4c_05:40-05:46). When Marisa sees herself holistically she defines herself differently (rather than by role). This significant discursive shift resembles Josie's description (p.155) of recovery from post-natal depression: 'I know who I am now' (G_3.2d_Josie).

Reference to multiple roles leads Marisa to emphasise how the course has influenced her life beyond work:

'And I have changed, in the last twelve months - a lot. People at home can't believe it - although I think I've gone calmer. ((Pause, then laughs))
(G_3.4c_05:53-006:03_Marisa)

At work, Marisa can make presentations successfully, has overcome anxieties about learning with others, and enjoys being asked for advice because of her fuller knowledge

of managerial issues. She expresses the outcomes simply: 'I feel *bigger*, if you like' (G_3.4c_07:27), 'I feel much better' (G_3.4c_08:16), and 'I'm seen from a different point of view, a management point of view' (G_3.4c_09:05).

Recalling the first recorded conversation, Marisa remembers feeling apprehensive 'about... how [further qualification] was gonna be accepted here' (G_3.4c_08:38). She has felt more anxious to be accepted than to be academically successful, supporting the earlier inference that Marisa's resentment towards teaching colleagues has been nourished by her own attributions. A mature woman with a family, she represents her inner thoughts as adult/child dialogue: '*You've got to grow up. You can't just sit and moan and whinge. You've got to have a reason and a point*' (G_3.4c_09:20). Marisa's assertion of developmental agency and sense of purpose resembles Lev's decision to 'make something happen' at Martinswood College (p.145), Dan's to negotiate a complete change in career plan (pp.148-149), and Jess's at Foresters High School '*not ... to carry on doing this till I retire*' (p.149). The similarity extends to common feelings of positive well-being.

Marisa's narrative conveys that sense of a person in developmental transition (Bridges 2003[1995]; Marks and Shah 2005), showing how feelings of tribulation may accompany such experience. Her retrospective judgment that she could no longer *moan and whinge* indicates how her situation at school, closely associated with the headteacher's and the governors' work, had needed positive engagement.

Rhianon's narrative: Teacher (Gorsemoor Primary School)

'A very humbling experience'

Rhianon provides a more traditionally sequenced oral narrative than the others. She responds to suggested topics using audio-cassette, with opportunities to pause or re-record, and to choose an appropriate time. As requested, Rhianon's account (twelve minutes) describes 'a particular experience I've had at work which has taught me something valuable, and which I now apply in other situations'

(G_2.3a_00:36_Rhianon). Occasionally her formal style reflects the original question, perhaps use of notes, and the unnaturalness of talking into a microphone. Rhianon's thoughts have been prepared but not scripted: narrative power comes from significant experience and her struggle to describe it.

Rhianon describes her professional and personal experiences of the terminal illness and death of a seven-year-old pupil in her class. Rhianon's response partly involves support for mother and child, partly her management of the class towards the end of this difficult period, and partly contemplation of her own feelings as a responsible parent. These experiences permeate organisational, professional and personal boundaries.

The pupil's illness lasts several winter months. From a professional viewpoint, it is: 'A very humbling experience for any teacher – um, something very, very hard to have to face.' (G_2.3a_02:15_Rhianon). The situation undermines adult powers, yet requires a teacher's closest attention. Rhianon shows concern for honesty when describing the mother's reactions: 'a lovely lady' but one who 'also liked to rely on people, and lean on people' (G_2.3a_02:43). Details of the mother's requests are not given, but Rhianon describes her own engagement as learning 'to take comfort from very small chunks' (G_2.3a_02:59). Before Christmas, the child attends school once or twice weekly. Rhianon exchanges classrooms with a colleague close to the school entrance, so as to:

'...try and make ... Mum feel more welcome to bring [her child] in, for lessons that would possibly be slightly less formal than English and maths, and a bit of fun – to give her a bit of relief, and a little normality.' (G_2.3a_03:32-03:45_Rhianon)

Thus, educational responsibilities mingle with human concern for others, suggesting Rhianon's growing involvement. As the condition worsens, the child's appearance changes. Consequently Rhianon feels:

‘a great sense of responsibility with the other children... hoping they would be accepting... So I had to work with the class on that aspect.’
(G_2.3a_04:25_Rhianon)

She visits the child's home ‘from time to time’ but finds such contacts difficult because there are ‘limits to how far you can become personally involved’ (G_2.3a_04:42). Nonetheless Rhianon visits on Christmas Eve to give the mother some respite, ‘and she was just so grateful for that, and to me it was absolutely nothing’ (G_2.3a_05:04). Another dimension for Rhianon is awareness that her personal actions and responses may influence how her own children ‘would see death, and how they should react to it’, so that these cumulative responsibilities become ‘very draining’ (G_2.3a_06:40-06:59).

Responsibility also features relative to the child's death, which Rhianon learns of when arriving at school one day. She plans quickly how to tell the class, deciding to use a story which can introduce the subject. Recalling the ‘levelling experience’ of these moments, Rhianon remarks how the pupils: ‘were very, very quiet, and almost fragile, the class, but they were very mature about it’ (G_2.3a_06:07). However, this is not the natural state of childhood:

‘I can remember actually having to say to the class: *It's OK to have fun, and laugh*. And they actually needed to be told that.’ (G_2.3a_06:16-06:24)

The mother, a religious person, sees the child's death as a sacrifice. She telephones Rhianon for long conversations subsequently, so continues to receive support.

Rhianon concludes: ‘...unfortunately this particular practical experience isn't something you can say was valuable’ (G_2.3a_07:32). Later in the recording, this is re-phrased as: ‘an experience I felt all along I could do without’ (G_2.3a_07:53). For Rhianon does rescue some value from significant loss. She gains ‘more confidence to tackle situations

head-on' (G_2.3a_07:41), becoming less afraid of what she might see or feel. Rhianon richly appreciates her own life, not taking things for granted, and becomes 'more sensitive to feelings and people' (G_2.3a_08:20-09:04). The long-term developmental consequences of this humanising experience are deep. Rhianon recognises that these events have influenced her life, 'but I do find it hard to explain how' (G_2.3b_01:25).

The instance is exceptional, not merely in the context of this research, but in Rhianon's own life. Typically: 'lots of mini-experiences ... have moulded the way things have moved forward for me' (G_2.3a_00:50). Hence a possible criticism of using Rhianon's narrative as an example of development is that developmental situations characteristically involve agentic purpose (see Lev p.145; Dan and Jess pp.148-149); here, Rhianon has not sought the experience, finding it draining to negotiate. Indeed, sometimes Rhianon presents herself as impelled by circumstance: 'I had to go and face him when he first came out of hospital' (G_2.3a_03:55); 'I had to work with the class' (G_2.3a_04:31); 'I had to do a quick plan' (G_2.3a_05:48); 'I can remember actually having to say to the class' (G_2.3a_06:14); and 'I had to see [the mother] at the funeral' (G_2.3a_07:13).

But to argue lack of agency is untenable. Unsought development may be disclosed as 'unconcealment' (Heidegger 1964, in Krell 2007[1978]: 444-449) through clearer thinking. In Chapter Four above, Lev describes his own development in terms of clinging to a wild horse - something beyond control, having its own energy and direction (above, p.145). Other participants refer to development as unsought and somewhat ungovernable (p.138). Rhianon does not seek or savour her grim experience. Yet evidence in different disciplines indicates that development may nevertheless occur through stressful experiences, distressing emotional challenges, and ungovernable trauma (Pennebaker 2003; Troman and Woods 2001; Joseph and Linley 2005; Brölde 2007). Paradoxically, undesirable distress may afford development that is ultimately efficacious, a fresh discovery of purpose, just as adversity may test the resilience of well-being. Rhianon's narrative illustrates this feature.

Rhianon is motivated by her sense of responsibility (toward the sick child, the mother, her class, her children, and herself). The last element seems especially important. Although Rhianon faces events beyond her control, she can influence their negotiation.

A strong sense of moral responsibility and empathy guides her professionalism in this deeper purpose. Rhianon is not passive, but an agent in the process: visiting the mother, supporting the child, changing classrooms, preparing the class for the terrible news, reassuring them later, and consoling the mother after the funeral. Her development follows this self-educative struggle.

Donna's narrative: Senior Care Manager (Tredgold Special School)

'A lot of nerves in there'

Asked for an example of learning at work, Donna describes the re-accreditation process for the *Investors in People* (IiP) award at Tredgold School - a responsibility she has undertaken for the first time. Thus Donna's narrative purpose is to illustrate learning rather than development. The narrative lasts six minutes.

Donna hints at some initial reluctance to accept IiP responsibilities: 'I said that I would take on...'; '...it was given to me'; 'I knew nothing about the accreditation process particularly'; and 'I was given it' (T_2.2e_04:57-05:32_Donna). She has always thought accreditation important because previously it was the headteacher's responsibility, whereas now it is delegated as an opportunity. Donna observes: 'I either do something completely or I don't really touch it. I don't just dabble in stuff!' (T_2.2e_05:37). Therefore Donna studied the documentation because she wanted 'to meet the criteria really clearly, and show that, you know, we do this as a school' (T_2.2e_05:50).

By implementing the IiP requirement to participate as a whole school Donna learns that:

'...people do actually want to contribute ideas; they want to be involved in the whole-school planning; they want to have their say.' (T_2.2e_06:05-06:14_Donna)

The emphases convey her conviction. In approaching the process thoroughly, Donna has been able to ensure participation, learning much about 'the way that the school development plan comes together, not just what my bit would be' (T_2.2e_06:35). To prepare for the assessment, Donna has led a training day for the employees. Although beforehand she thought privately, '*I don't really fancy this*', expecting the day to be 'boring and dull, because it's hardly an inspirational topic', the training proved popular. The experience taught Donna that 'you can take a topic and do something with it' (T_2.2e_07:23). On the assessment day she is nervous: '*If I blow it, this is just on my shoulders...*' (T_2.2e_07:39). Donna has had to prepare thoroughly for her meeting with

the assessor. Initially she says, 'I know what I want him to hear' (T_2.2e_09:55), but swiftly adds that the evidence is valid: 'I don't think I could do it if I didn't believe in what I was doing.' (T_2.2f_00:00). The assessor is impressed, the evidence meets the criteria, and the school receives its accreditation.

Retrospectively, Donna perceives that: 'There's a lot of nerves in there for me at various points' (T_2.2e_08:19), particularly because of anxiety when situations are beyond her control. She has had to trust in colleagues whom the assessor chooses to interview: '...people with any sort of grievance could go and really muck it up for you' (T_2.2e_09:43). Donna appreciates the headteacher's letter of thanks for her successful work, although her reflection on the experience goes beyond personal pride:

'For me, the impact that the whole process had wasn't just I proved that we passed *Investors in People* – it really did impact on the school' (T_2.2e_08:39)

Donna inserts *I proved* awkwardly within the sentence, showing pride in having amassed convincing evidence for the assessment: '...they weren't going to come round and screw the plaque off the wall!' (T_2.2e_08:53). Donna's leadership of the assessment process has influenced parts of the school development plan.

Donna's narrative illustrates how development is an unfolding process, negotiated over time, through which people find meaning. Although she recognises the importance of IiP re-accreditation, Donna did not seek this task, hinting at diffidence. However: 'It's not the sort of job you do unless you're really into it' (T_2.2f_00:04). Therefore any initial hesitation may have centred upon the burden of responsibility, not the nature of the task. From that perspective, the underlying challenge is to Donna's confidence and capability rather than to her motivation (*I did it very thoroughly*). In preparing staff members for the assessment process, Donna begins the training day anxiously (*I don't really fancy this*) but learns that others also find such material interesting - that 'you can take a topic and do something with it' (T_2.2f_07:25).

Similarly the conduct of the assessment is nerve-racking (*People ...could go and really muck it up for you*). By referring to *a lot of nerves in there*, Donna highlights her own struggle. Near the end of the narrative, reflecting upon her year of involvement, she

observes: 'I think perhaps I did gain some confidence in the school, in what we do, and in my own ability to be a contributor to that' (T_2.2f 00:09-00:17). For Donna development has come from responding successfully to the anxieties of responsibility, and from gaining confidence. Donna lists increased confidence in three areas, but confidence in the school comes first. The sentence does not present a rising scale of rhetorical importance because its ending is anti-climactic: *my own ability to be a contributor to that*. The implication is that, besides confidence, Donna has renewed her faith in the organisation through her work and through others' responses. Finally, the evidence from LiP assessment has helped to secure well-informed changes to the school development plan, so that organisational development may be enhanced in future.

Donna's experience features development mutedly because the narrative focuses upon learning. Several examples of self-motivated, informal learning at work are offered: conning the accreditation criteria; familiarisation with the process; learning that colleagues are keen to participate; realising that even unpromising topics can provide an interesting training day; and especially, understanding systemically how individuals' knowledge and ideas can contribute to whole-school development planning. But the narrative reveals aspects of development consistent with the above findings from literature review and thematic data. The narrative complements thematic findings about reciprocal development between individuals and organisations. Furthermore, it supports the body of literature indicating that development follows closely upon learning (Jarvis 2006: 79; Barnacle 2009: 27) and that these are associated with altered perspectives, behaviours, attitudes and sense of well-being (Taylor 2007: 178; McLaughlin 2008: 358).

Sally's narrative: Librarian and Well-Being Facilitator (Foresters High School)

'More than just putting up posters!'

Sally relates this material during the first research conversation, when she is possibly apprehensive. Driven by the thought, '*Am I doing things right?*' she adds: 'I live on praise' (F_1.2a_02:20_Sally). When asked how she became involved in well-being facilitation, Sally mentions that the school programme has continued through a time of changed headship. She discloses very little about her own development through the programme's two years of existence, although this is not part of her narrative purpose. Hence, Sally casts herself as Chorus to the action. In documentary fashion, the narrator presents an illustrative sequence in which the organisational setting and the well-being programme's expansive yet uncertain role feature consistently.

Sally agreed to become the well-being facilitator at Foresters, on information that the role was to 'put posters up around the school' (F_1.2b_08:00). However, when attending facilitators' training she 'suddenly realised it was a lot more than just putting up posters!' (F_1.2b_08:26). The then headteacher proved supportive, having attended a meeting at which the local well-being co-ordinator made a brief presentation. The headteacher 'hadn't quite realised what was involved and what it meant' (F_1.2c_01:34). Initially, Sally 'had no idea about it' (F_1.2c_00:58).

But Sally enjoyed the training, partly from being reminded of 'what makes people happy and sad' (F_1.2b_08:43), which was timely. It seems that her engagement stems from reflection during that day. An organisational consequence of involvement in the programme has been to establish regular meetings of well-being representatives from sectors across the school. Negotiations to secure calendared bookings for well-being meetings have begun, since '[a meeting will] get cancelled if anything comes up' (F_1.2c_00:08). Meetings are customarily held in the headteacher's office, and customarily he attends them. Sally thinks it is one reason why other employees may have agreed to participate.

Sally feels unsure whether to regard the well-being programme as holistic therapy or as 'changing the attitudes and the working patterns of the school... And we've actually

done both' (F_1.2c_03:04). Resource sheets from the local co-ordinator have been used in devising 'Ways Forward'. Contributors identifying problems were asked for possible remedies: 'And certain things were changed because we used those sheets' (F_1.2c_03:47). Similarly, the more holistic approach has involved in-school massage treatment for individual employees. However, Sally questions her own beliefs and actions concerning these contrasting approaches to well-being: 'It's hard to know which way you should go, really' (F_1.2c_05:12). Consequently: 'I feel sometimes that I've slightly, like, muddled along' (F_1.2c_05:30). Also, Tom's commitment to well-being as the incoming headteacher was doubted: 'But he has taken it on... I am reassured. Yes I am. And he listens.' (F_1.2c_07:05). Hence, Sally has continued her voluntary leadership of the school's programme.

A feature of well-being meetings is that achievements from the previous meeting are reviewed (F_1.2d). Sally mentions incidentally that discussion items are brought to other meetings in the school by individual members of the well-being group. This indicates a permeation of well-being ideas within organisational routines, including routine thinking. The agenda of well-being meetings enables departmental representatives to raise concerns (F_1.2d), so that a network for discussion exists. Group meetings are organised according to an action plan based on findings from the previous organisational self-review (survey). Also, Sally receives ideas informally – for example, to present reports about well-being activities in governors' meetings. As a governor herself, Sally has 'never mentioned it ... But why shouldn't the governors know? And actually, they should know' (F_1.2d_04:15-04:27). However, the reduction of lunchtimes to thirty minutes, following consultation, is a persistent source of complaint. The difficulty for Sally is that, although the well-being group discusses such problems, it has no delegated power to resolve them: 'and that's why I think you need to have the headteacher there' (F_1.2d_01:35).

As a governor at Foresters High School, Sally has been interviewed for an *Investors in People* (IiP) assessment. But as facilitator of the well-being programme, she mentions that '...nearly every member of staff that [the assessors] had interviewed' - between twenty and thirty people - came to tell her: '*I mentioned Well-Being ...and I said about the Well-Being*' (F_1.2d_04:41-04:59). Sally concludes from this: '...they actually do

feel that we make some sort of difference, however small' (F_1.2d_05:47). It further indicates the well-being programme's spreading influence.

Reflecting on well-being progress at Foresters, Sally cites recent interviews for management posts. As a school governor, Sally attended a lunch where she mentioned her well-being commitment during informal conversations with candidates. Although some 'almost didn't know what I was talking about', others 'knew a lot more than I knew about it' (F_1.2d_06:39). The statement is not elaborated, for Sally's point is that she was able to communicate the school's participation in the programme as an incentive for candidates (F_1.2d_06:48). However, Sally implies that she recognises a common interest or expertise in well-being matters at senior levels in some schools across Greenhills and other Local Authorities.

Sally's narrative is one of organisational development from an unpromising beginning, through engagement in structuring a group to represent the large number of employees. It refers to debate about what sort of approach to take, describing the institutional culture of well-being which has begun to appear. The discussions with interview candidates indicate possible, structural consequences (Giddens 1984) of the wider programme's influence within professional thinking.

Whereas at Tredgold independence of management marks good faith, at Foresters close managerial involvement is sought. These are not oppositional ideas: in context each approach seems valid, while revealing the sensitivities being negotiated on all sides.

Sally's narrative emphasises how the well-being programme is a part of school development, happening gradually through micro-practices (Chia 1995: 581-582) - virtually in the interstices of organisation. Colleagues show readiness to acknowledge the school's well-being programme as collectively they find their own way with it. Characteristically of change, the process is hedged by uncertainties (Fullan 2001:32), and dependent on senior managers' protecting the space (Chia and Holt 2006: 637; 640); characteristically of development, those involved take an active responsibility (Starratt 2007: 172-173).

Picking out threads: analysing the narrative data

The subject-matter of the four narratives varies (attending a course of qualification; coping with a pupil's illness and death; preparing for an organisational assessment process; and well-being facilitation). Hence they are not intentionally narratives of development, but narrative streams in which development is disclosed. The commentary this material gives to development, and to employees' and organisational well-being, is presented below.

In the narratives chronology is structurally necessary to meaning (for example, Marisa must feel some anxiety before she can feel pride), but time also influences the interpretation. In narrative terms, Donna links acceptance of responsibility to prepare Tredgold School for iP assessment with her memory of the previous headteacher's involvement. Symbolically it signals the task's importance, and seemingly influences her acceptance of it. In her newly-revised role, Marisa's changed perspectives of work and of her colleagues follow reflection upon her early working career immediately after leaving school. Time matters to Rhianon's narrative because she remembers details of relatively distant events so clearly: the fact that seven years have passed is not obvious, but influences interpretation. The temporal distance indicates how deeply the boy's death and associated events affected her then, but its developmental significance has been to the altered way in which Rhianon has regarded her own life and family since. Sally's narrative of well-being development at Foresters High School shows the importance of continuity through the change of headteacher. The programme's spreading with time helps to consolidate its presence while extending its discursive influence. Thus well-being is included on the agendas of various committees, while numerous employees (unprompted) mention it as evidence for *Investors in People* assessment. Well-being has become a meaningful idea within their working lives. During an appointment process, Sally (as a governor, but also as well-being facilitator) is able to discuss well-being with managerial candidates familiar with the programme in other schools: a structurational effect (Giddens 1984). These indications of development have personal and collective meaning.

From the perspective of *becoming* and latency, each narrator engages cautiously in a situation which, though a source of anxiety or deep concern (as with Rhianon), is not

avoided but ultimately faced over an extended time. The narratives emphasise how the dynamic, unfolding nature of development exists through self-conscious agency. Hence it is Marisa's decision to undertake the training course, and hers to persist with it even as her understanding changes. Sally realises that a day's course signifies greater well-being responsibilities than putting up posters, but she attends. Donna is not compelled to accept responsibility for *Investors in People* assessment, yet she does.

In three narratives, the unfolding is of the person actively in a larger complex of influences. Conscious of professional and parental responsibilities, Rhianon's awareness of the pupil's declining health influences how she responds to her own children. Also, she decides to visit the child's mother to offer respite. Such actions are self-determined, constituting empathic support to people beyond the school as the situation changes. But they are also future-oriented (Fredrickson and Losada, 2005: 679). Paradoxically by exerting what capability she has, Rhianon develops in capability (*More confidence to tackle things head-on*). This paradoxical principle also applies in the narratives of Donna and Marisa, although Sally's seems different.

Sally's narrative is apparently anomalous because it is a narrative of organisational rather than personal development. Only from an organisational perspective is it congruent with the other narratives. In narrative terms, Sally's feelings and reactions represent a chorus to the action: the narrative subject is Foresters High School, in which she plays an influential role. Thus, her own initial bemusement exemplifies organisational misconceptions about well-being programmes. The headteacher's presence at meetings matters symbolically, Sally says, because it encourages others to attend (who then attend to well-being discourse). When considering whether governors should receive a well-being report she presents an organisational, not a personal, perspective. The spread of well-being thinking into other meetings having different agendas does not indicate Sally's development, but the institution's: the agency of others is required organisationally. As a character in her own narrative and, in facilitating well-being, Sally feels ambivalent about which path to take, but nevertheless acts (...and we've actually done both) so that she and the organisation find meaningful capability. The narrative illustrates an individual's developmental influence on organisation, and that sense of journeying collectively in which responsible action supports decisions amidst doubt.

In these narratives, commitment deepens with learning. However, the way forward may not be clear - or rather, no set path exists. Sally mentions having *muddled along*; Donna has to overcome *nerves* when situations are not subject to her control; Rhianon describes her experience as *humbling* because the routines of professional behaviour no longer apply in the context of a death; and although Marisa follows a formal course of assessed training, her anxiety concerns her capacity to *grow up*, its personal demands, and how others will regard her. Thus, the narratives illustrate educational theory of reflexive learning and development (Jarvis 2006: 79), developmental capabilities (Hinchcliffe 2007: 223), and 'the opening out of possibilities' (Bottery 2004: 130) having diverse, unpredictable, long-term outcomes (Pring 2005: 202). In terms of organisation, they also reveal development's partly intuitive nature (Nayak 2008: 176).

The narrators find interest and purpose in unfolding events rather than from initial anticipation. Within this socially-negotiated process, learning precedes development. Donna's learning goals change during preparations for *Investors in People* assessment, from how to understand the success criteria to ways of understanding how the assessment outcomes may influence the organisation strategically. The goals of informal workplace learning are characteristically neither stable nor clearly defined (Engeström 2004: 150-151). Learning theory associates the unfolding, indeterminate yet purposeful nature of development with the social construction of meaning in children (Vygotsky 1978) and in adults (Merriam 2004: 60; Taylor 2007: 174-175; Stojanov 2007: 76; Erickson 2007: 63).

In organisational terms, well-being development at Foresters High School involves exploring what an employees' programme can mean and become in that particular, changing context. Having accepted this responsibility, Sally recognises that she cannot oversee the entire process (*we make some sort of difference*). Development at Foresters involves negotiating circumstances (the headteacher's presence in meetings as a means of influence), principle (whether or not to report to governors), and emotion-laden response (*I am reassured*). At Tredgold, Donna negotiates the circumstantial challenge of a training day which prepares employees for an external assessment process (*hardly an inspirational topic*), the principle of keeping people informed and then trusting them, and the emotion-laden aspects of training colleagues (*I don't fancy this*). Marisa's course experience involves negotiating circumstantial challenges such as making

presentations and providing specialist advice when asked; negotiating the principle that collaborative learning such as role play can be fruitful; and negotiating her own feelings about accepting responsibility. Finally, Rhianon negotiates the professional and personal circumstances of the pupil's terminal illness; the principle of how far to extend support to the family; and her own emotion-laden responses at times when children (family and pupils) may witness them. Thus, reflecting the thematic data analysis, the narratives show how development involves negotiation in 'the struggle for flourishing' (Nussbaum 2001: 69), where 'the personal and professional are deeply connected' (Beattie et al 2007: 119). Development is hard-won.

However, the narratives display aspects of development which thematic analysis may have under-valued. The first is that developmental experience in all four narratives begins unpromisingly rather than promisingly. Rhianon wishes that the child's death, which caused such distress, had never occurred; Donna is given her task of *IiP* assessment, but does not seek it; Marisa describes herself as *having to go back to further education* and is anxious about colleagues' reactions at work; while Sally has low expectations of well-being facilitation before attending training. By contrast, the thematic data analysis presents participants' descriptions of development (pp.138-141, above) where incidental, progressive discovery of purpose is mentioned, but not initial wariness or anxiety. In thematic analysis two examples of negotiated job changes indicate positive development and enhanced well-being from unwelcome beginnings (pp.147-149), but the chapter's conclusion does not register its significance.

A second aspect highlighted by the narratives but undervalued in the thematic summary is situational responsibility. Thus Rhianon feels responsible towards the mother as well as to the child; towards her own children as well as to the class. Donna feels responsible to the school organisationally, and to her colleagues. Marisa feels personally less role-defined and more autonomous, while perceived as a responsible manager. Sally feels reassured when the incoming headteacher attends well-being meetings, since the group's work may be seen to influence decision-making elsewhere. The social aspect of development is significant in these accounts - from the viewpoint of social learning, but also because others' presence is a moral encouragement to responsible action. It is the 'principle of each person as an end' (Nussbaum 2001: 5).

Chapter Four mentions responsibility in various school contexts without drawing conclusions. Amy's difficulties with delegation stem from her presuppositions about leadership responsibility (pp.139-141). Tom refrains from intervention in the governors' discussions because he wants them to take responsibility for consequential decisions (p.165-167). When Jane says of work pressures: 'You put all the stress on yourself' (p.156), she reveals her sense of personal responsibility. Examples of headteachers' sense of responsibility are also given (pp.158; 172; 173). In the thematic data, feelings of disengagement and loss of direction are associated with employees' reluctance to take responsibility (pp.180-182). Yet, despite negative and positive examples, thematically this feature is little explored.

In all four narratives a sense of moral responsibility impels developmental actions, despite unpromising beginnings. In the thematic analysis instances are not salient because of the specific, topical focus. However, narrative analysis asks the relatively open, invitational question: *What does this story have to tell?* Also, the grouping of selected narratives facilitates comparison.

The narratives support earlier findings about negotiation. Firstly, Sally's ambivalence about development in well-being at Foresters High School resembles, on a smaller scale, the organisational ambivalence at Martinswood College about *moving with the times* (sub-section B2). Secondly, the permeability of roles described by Josie at Gorsemoor Primary School (sub-section B2) reoccurs in her colleague Rhianon's experiences of a pupil's illness. However, Rhianon's narrative additionally indicates a pattern within negotiation. The four narratives, from three different settings, all include negotiation of circumstance, of principle, and of emotion-laden response. These elements help to explain why development is not arbitrary, but achieved.

The narratives corroborate major areas of the thematic findings, without presenting contradictory material. Also, the narrative data offer fresh insights in three areas (unpromising beginnings; responsibility; and elements of negotiation), requiring modification to the findings from thematic analysis. The finding about *responsibility* is important methodologically, because during thematic analysis significant material was overlooked, despite its presence in the data and in the thesis. Such work demonstrates the value of the hermeneutic principle.

Once analytic findings from the thematic and narrative data are synthesised, it may be possible to re-conceptualise development. The final chapter will consider the implications for education, and for current policy and research concerning school improvement and leadership.

Gathering the threads of development

In previous sections, thematic and narrative threads have been picked out (pp.194-205; 222-227). Now these threads can be inter-woven with relevant literature. A gap exists in the education literature regarding theory of psychosocial development. However, the greater concern is contemporary lack of recognition that such a gap exists (above, pp.54-57; 82-83). Hence the methodology and critical thrust of this thesis is to provide an ethnographic account, in a populated landscape, of something elemental yet unregarded. The chapter will use what has been learned from these findings and from literature review, in approaching *a new critical re-conceptualisation of development*.

The five thematic threads (above, pp.204-205) may be summarised as: (1) unfolding, purposeful process; (2) the role of learning; (3) struggle, negotiation and capabilities; (4) meaning, interpretation, and sites of development; (5) discourse, well-being and community. Hermeneutically the narrative data enrich but modify these findings.

Unfolding, purposeful process

Thematic analysis separates individual conceptions of development, provided directly in answer to a request (sub-section A1), from the researcher's inferential interpretation of participants' discourse mentioning or implying development (sub-section A2). The narrative data fit the second category, because the events are being interpreted in terms of development. Their particular contribution to the idea of developmental becoming is that it may be unsought, and even undesired, but that meaning is subsequently attributed as the result of agency in the process.

From thematic perspectives, developmental experience comprises purposeful, embodied movement, and movement in meaning (pp.137-139). Different conceptions of development use three groups of imagery describing a purposeful, intransitive, and endogenous process of progressive, embodied movement; an intransitive process of others' flourishing, perceived altruistically; or a transitive, instrumental, ameliorative process (pp.134-137). There seems to be no consistency of view within a given group, institution, or type of school (p.137). Occasionally, some individuals use transitive and

intransitive linguistic formulations having different conceptual implications. Overall there is discordance rather than confusion - some participants asserting that development is not necessarily welcome or beneficial, while others equate the term with improvement (p.134-137); most mention or imply development's positive connotations. The narrative material, though not seeking to define development, by contrast emphasises how development can begin unpromisingly (pp.222-223). Also, the narratives illustrate the importance of time, not just within unfolding process, but also to interpreted meaning over weeks, months or years (pp.207; 213-214; 221).

However, inconsistency does not signify that 'anything goes'. Differing interpretations in various academic fields have brought neither a productive, definitional pluralism nor clarity of argument. Development theory in one field is seldom referenced in another. Instrumental development has specific purposes (Harris and Hopkins 2000; Hopkins 2007), which under-theorisation may serve to mask (Sidaway 2002; Hotho and Pollard 2007). By contrast, bodies of thought in development studies and in some education literature are conceptually explicit, describing purposeful, expansive possibility linked with well-being (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2001; Marks and Shah 2005; Clark 2005; de Ruyter 2004; Walker 2005; Pring 2005; Jarvis 2006; Hinchcliffe 2004; 2007). Process philosophy in organisation studies elucidates embodied movement and becoming (Chia 1999; Nayak 2008) and purposeful emergence (Hussey 2002), where organisation itself is processually becoming. Such theory contradicts earlier views of planned, instrumental change outlined by Stickland (1998), and the interventionist, transformative leadership reviewed by Burnes (2000).

Views about development are contested in adult education, development studies, and psychology, while in occupational counselling conceptual definition is a priority. Yet within the recorded data and in the schools-focused education literature there seems little awareness that contrasting views exist. Unexplored inconsistencies matter because similar vocabularies mask different assumptions about action. Hence, members of the same leadership team may regard development either as self-determining autonomy (above, Donna p.134; compare Walker 2005) or as improvement (above, James p.135; compare Sun et al 2007). Interpretation explores tensions between familiarity and strangeness (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 295; Kerdeman 1998: 251): difference is worth our attention.

The role of learning

The participants assert unanimously that learning is lifelong (pp.141-142). Emphasising the importance of choice, some add that adults should not feel obliged to undertake learning. Disquiet on this point is expressed in adult education concerning European Union policy (Tuschling and Engemann 2006). Some participants recall learning incidentally or without particular thought – often informally from colleagues, but also from children, family members, and from previous career experience. This finding supports academic literature suggesting the importance of workplace and informal learning (Coffield 2000), and its role in shaping organisations (Fuller and Unwin 2004). The data also provide some examples, from different schools, of formal courses bringing developmental consequences, as in Marisa's narrative above.

This research indicates that the *content* of adults' learning experience and the developmental *import* understood from it are distinct, requiring an inward discursive shift involving values-laden judgement. For example, in her pastoral role at Foresters High School, Elena has learned much about some pupils' home lives. Professionally she uses this information discreetly, but the developmental consequence for her is to have become 'much more tolerant of people in general' - including adults (p.146). In all five schools (pp.141-146; 195; 208-218), adults in various roles describe movement from antecedent learning to developmental consequence - as Vygotsky (1978) observed of children, and Jarvis (2006) of adults.

On this evidence reflection upon experience (Kreber 2004: 33) recognises development in the existential self. Josie's account of working during the early months of motherhood illustrates how differently she now regards her relationship to the pupils (G_3.2b_Josie). This fresh outlook comes from re-evaluating her priorities after dispiriting emotional experiences. Narrative analysis reinforces the importance of reflection - for example, Donna mentions greater *confidence in the school* (T_2.2f_Donna). Rather than new knowledge (command of subject-matter) through expertise, she expresses deepened understanding through 'an activity we naturally live' (Kerdeman 2003: 295) which enriches potentiality (Williamson 2006: 58).

Struggle, negotiation and capabilities

A key theme is how schools with well-being programmes negotiate development (Chapter Four, Section B). This study shows how relationships are perceived to influence the negotiation of psychosocial and organisational development, especially where power imbalances exist.

Development in the workplace questions both organisational power relations and the systemic values and assumptions sustaining them. Jess at Foresters and Dan at Martinswood (sub-section B1), who changed their jobs, show the agency of individuals unwilling to allow unfulfilling, depressing situations to continue. Caught between opposing sets of demands and unable to meet either successfully, Dan takes positive action; Jess feels that her role is unsatisfying, and secures transfer to a more interesting and more responsible job. Negotiation of these circumstances requires individuals to render themselves vulnerable - by informing senior managers, or (as with Kim's colleagues) in asking teachers for help, or when Donna leads a training day for colleagues. These people resist becoming what others may expect (Knights 2004: 25, citing Foucault). Such are the 'largely unexamined' micro-political processes, 'the everyday stuff' of organisational life (Busher 2006: 57).

Thematic and narrative analyses show how unfolding development does not simply happen, but is achieved. The headteacher at Foresters dreads the meeting with governors about additional management pay awards because of the sensitivities involved and the governors' possible reactions. But he persists because the school needs them to shoulder their responsibilities: power is relational (Knights and Willmott 2005: 154-155). Several accounts feature negotiated risk - for example, Donna's narrative of *Investors in People*, and Kim's encouraging colleagues to ask teachers for help (p.150). Emotional demands are first recognised and considered reflectively, then accommodated resourcefully (Fredrickson and Losada 2005: 679), as 'challenged thriving' (Ryff and Singer 2003: 15).

Such situations are not naïve: there is also some expectation of trust, protected confidentiality, and that others will listen. Each person has capabilities of organisational value. Job candidates interviewed at Tredgold were invited to present a particular area

of interest which they could contribute to the school. Such space is invitational, not pre-defined, and reciprocally beneficial because ideas were adopted. In respecting a person's vulnerability, an organisation shows itself secure. Thematic and narrative analyses reveal the importance to employees of trust (pp.139-140; 149-150; 151-152; 199; 208-210) - a finding supported in organisation and education scholarship (Chou et al 2008; Bottery 2004: 101-104; Ruth-Sahd and Tisdell 2007: 127-128). In one negative example (above, pp.150-152), wariness of a senior manager's volatile responses brings disengagement, loss of morale, and loss of organisational capability. Mistrust signifies a history of experiences (Kiefer 2002: 59).

The four narratives, and Tom's account of working with governors, indicate that *circumstance*, *principle* and *emotion-laden response* feature in negotiation. Josie's highly contextualised description (pp.153-155) emphasises the permeability of roles within personality and the ways in which ideas and feelings inter-permeate home and work. A professional difficulty (pupils' not handing-in homework) is negotiated positively when Josie draws on her own experience as a mother. At Martinswood College, analysis of institutional ambivalence about *moving with the times* shows the continuing paradox of genuine care for employees' well-being set against sincere desire to meet demanding external requirements. Each paradoxical circumstance is negotiated. The ambivalent principle is quietly to accept self-exploitation individually, while institutionally promoting and defending welfare rights. The emotional response is conflicted: strain alongside fortunate feelings. Politically, the Martinswood accounts exemplify how deep changes to the public sector have rendered public responsibility personal (Newman 2007: 27; Ball 2008:186-187; Gleeson and Knights 2006: 279).

Different fields of study emphasise negotiation within development - for example: 'turning-points' in positive psychological health (Wethington 2003: 51); in organisation studies, trust (Elangovan and Shapiro 1998: 547; Chou et al 2008: 1736); and self-determination in development studies (Thirlwall 2002: 43) and education (Walker 2005: 79). *Capability space*, associated with well-being (Sen 1999), suggests negotiation's purpose - to gain freedom to make choices (Nussbaum 2001) and to function fully as a human being. To assume that people simply resist change is questionable (Herold et al 2007: 949; Sutcliffe 2006: 770 reviewing Kelman 2005; Piderit 2000: 791; Weick and

Quinn 1999: 380). The organisations and individuals in this study seek to enhance developmental capability - a deeply political endeavour.

The data show how unfolding development cannot finally be controlled or pre-determined, yet may be shaped. In organisational terms, the process is not 'unilinear ... implementation and control' but 'a dialectical process of mediation' (Hotho and Pollard 2007: 600) in a complex adaptive system (Glatter 2006: 72-73). Indeed, both thematic and narrative data indicate that in the existential situation of endogenous becoming, notions of following a path are inaccurate. Rather, what is negotiated becomes the way.

Meaning, interpretation, and sites of development

This research has explored the relationship between development and well-being by focusing on personal and collective endeavour, expressed in employees' comments, explanations and narratives.

Organisational contexts extend the evidence that developmental meaning is found socially through reflection on experience (Chapter Four: Section C). The term 'organisational sites of development' has been coined to locate epistemic, emotional and temporal sources of meaning (rather than their structural conditions). Examples are 'knotworking' groups (Engeström 2004), well-being programmes, and organisational symbolism. Sally's narrative of well-being at Foresters shows how the idea's presence as a topic in meetings is becoming meaningful to her colleagues - discursively maintained and therefore capable of development. At this school, the mental image of core purposes (*what we are about*) displayed under glass at meetings helps the leadership team to evaluate competing possibilities.

From individual perspectives, developmental meaning within organisations may involve feeling more accepted with time: *a part of the system*, as with Una at Martinswood (p.175), more *settled*, as with Nadine at Rowan (p.130) and, as in Marisa's narrative at Gorsemoor or Bob's comments at Tredgold, worthy of *respect* (pp.209; 132-133). Also, employees feel social and moral responsibility to their colleagues (Donna pp.216-218);

to the schools as institutions (Ellen p.170; Elena p.189-190); and to themselves (Clerys p.130; Rhianon pp.214-215). The recursive task of working through felt responsibilities towards others in complex situations - the feeling of having *muddled along* (Sally, p.220), of exploring *a different avenue* (Irene, p.145), of doing *something with it* (Donna p.216) - encourages new perspectives on experience, and hence, different interpretations of selfhood. Examples from different schools are Rhianon's greater appreciation of what she values in her own life following a pupil's death (p.213-214), and, from her pastoral work with children, Elena's greater tolerance of adults (p.146).

There are some examples of reciprocal, developmental influence between individuals and organisations, such as Donna's narrative of the *Investors in People* assessment, Amy's account of well-being at Tredgold, and Jane's year of leave at Martinswood. A negative example records, from three perspectives, how a senior manager's volatile behaviour diminishes organisational capability. In psychology, meaning and purpose are associated with well-being (Joseph and Linley 2005; Fredrickson 2004; Ryan and Deci 2001; Ryff and Singer 1998), and philosophically, with development (Merleau-Ponty 2005[1945]; Viteritti 2004; Dewey 1981[1916]). Analysis of present data shows how meaning, purpose and well-being inter-act in contextually-specific ways through individual and social agency. But the process they comprise is developmental, being recognised only with time.

The participant headteachers link their own professional development with organisational development. Psychological identification does not sufficiently explain these apparent parallelisms. The present research only offers indicators - for example, at Rowan Primary School the distancing of the headteacher from staff members for several months because of work pressures has induced frustration on her part, and some loss of organisational direction. At Foresters the headteacher, believing that he and others have flourished from being given freedom (p.177), emphasises ethical consistency (p.165). The consequences are suggested when Elena asserts that the school is becoming more coherent (pp.123-124), while Jess, Faith and Sally value the consistent support shown to individuals. Another such example is at Gorsemoor, where the headteacher's self-presentation models readiness to engage with learning, and where employees such as Kim, Marisa, Josie and Parminder express this spirit. These instances indicate the

spreading influence of leadership as a value-laden systemic characteristic (Ogawa and Bossert 2000: 50) within organisational development.

Discourse, well-being and community

Several participants mention benefits to well-being from organisational processes and systems which enhance freedoms (Sen 1999), loosely defined. Well-being programmes themselves are an example: Gorsemoor's has helped to identify residual 'Us and Them' feelings amongst employees, while 'well-being' offers a rationale for facilitators to arrange social evenings. Greater cohesion of the school's working practices from improved communication partly derives from these informal outings (G_2.4d_Josie). Similarly Tredgold's fitness programme, and at Rowan, arrangements for the new deputy headteacher to be the first point of contact for employees, have followed from well-being consultations and from facilitators' presence in these schools. Whereas Jane's year of recovery benefited her own well-being, strong organisational continuity was maintained at a critical time in Martinswood College's development; subsequent changes accommodated another's long-term absence (M_1.4c_Jane). In these instances, cohesiveness and continuity have ensued. Indeed facilitated, systemic attention to employees' well-being has encouraged organisational development in specific, contextually-critical areas: continuity (Martinswood), confidence and cohesion (Gorsemoor; Foresters), trust (Rowan), and openness (Tredgold).

A second area of collective experience is 'feeling fortunate' (Chapter Four, C3), circumstantially in the organisation and relative to other workplaces. This sentiment has not arisen randomly, but through the holistic influence of lasting, ethically coherent practices within organisational culture, including well-being programmes (pp.188-189). The employees themselves maintain this situation in showing responsibility towards others. The headteachers' discourse inter-weaves the vocabularies of eudaimonic well-being (Ryan and Deci 2001) with altruistic, intransitive development (above, p.189). Together, these findings are significant: organisational discourse embodies 'deep structures' of cultural knowledge guiding myriad 'surface communicative actions which might otherwise appear unconnected' (Heracleous 2006: 59-60). Similarly to the findings above showing coherence of principle with apparently unconnected events, and

of these with specific, contextually-critical consequences, here organisational discourse (from its deep sources) itself influences ‘situationally-specific action’ (Heracleous 2006: 60).

In communitarian spirit, employees associate themselves with the pupils implicitly and explicitly. At Gorsemoor Primary School Kim believes that the idea of a ‘helping hand’ (whose fingers symbolise potential sources of support) applies to adults also. Some managers, recognising that parallel psychosocial circumstances may require parallel approaches, present this idea as a rationale linking well-being with development in school communities. At Tredgold Special School it matters that adults working with the pupils should be: ‘happy within themselves, happy within the workplace, comfortable that they can talk to somebody if there’s an issue...’ (T_1.2b_09:10_James). This analysis illustrates the communitarian strength of the schools (McLaughlin 2008: 364; Schwartz and Sharpe 2006: 391) and their cultural integrity expressed through individual ideas and actions. It indicates the importance of eudaimonic well-being factors (Ryan and Deci 2001; Ryff and Singer 2003). Feeling fortunate; showing social responsibility; listing sources of help; knowing whom to approach confidentially – all demonstrate awareness of risk, and resourcefulness in facing it (Fredrickson 2004: 1368-1369; Ogden 2004: 262-263).

In these schools an heuristic vocabulary of well-being - encouraged by well-being programmes, unions, Local Authorities, *Healthy Schools* (Department for Education and Skills [DfES]: 2009), and *Every Child Matters* (DfES: 2002) - is helping employees to explore the psychosocial aspects of educational work, alongside considerations of the pupils’ welfare. Yet a coherent development theory to accompany, enrich and unify these practices in education is lacking - as the literature review and the research findings demonstrate. Therefore a new synthesis of understanding about development is offered below.

Re-conceptualising development: towards a new critical theory

The methods of this discursive ethnography (Chapter Three) have been progressively defined through *ontological*, *epistemic*, *practical* and *discursive* considerations. These also illustrate the ‘problem’ of development: its under-theorised, protean familiarity. Hence the same four elements can provide a consistent means of critique and of re-conceptualising development, from this study’s findings and the literature.

Criticism is not a separate process from interpretation (Gadamer 2004[1975]; Ricoeur 1984), but contributes to theory development. Parts of the critical argument refer to Habermas’ four concepts of sociological action - teleological, normative, dramaturgical, and communicative (Outhwaite 2006: 132-150).

A critique

The idea of development is associated with a powerful (Western) scientific-materialist discourse (Alvares 2007[1992]: 219-224). This presupposes a fundamentally realist, teleological standpoint: there is one world, objectively ‘out there’, upon which a person seeks to achieve ends through decisions about action (Outhwaite 2006: 135). In terms of psychosocial development, person *P* seeks to develop person *G* by action to alter circumstance *Y*. Thus *P* implicitly originates (seeking to determine) what happens, as an objective process empirically available (Bush 2008; Wrigley 2005). Socially, such decisions become strategic when others’ actions and responses are anticipated within planning, leading to instrumental change and managerial control (Cummings and Dyson 2007; Davies and Coates 2005). An alternative perspective implies staged biological maturation in describing progression. The instrumental metaphor is cultivation, but the same model applies: *P* cultivates *G* by affording *Y* growing conditions (as in Southworth 2007: 176-177), thus undermining agency.

Epistemically development becomes difficult to locate, given the wide range of ideas with which it is yoked. For example, if regarded as staged maturation, it shares few features with development in: occupational psychology (Millward 2005); late adulthood (Jarvis 2006); psychotherapy (Rogers 1959; Embleton Tudor et al 2004); organisation

studies (Chia 1999); nursing (Ruth-Sahd and Tisdell 2007); or economics (Thirlwall 2002). Alternatively, if development is an eclectic concept across fields of knowledge, notions of stages or of actions by *P* to develop *G* are inadequate: societal development (Desai 2002) and moral development (Pring 2005) follow indeterminate paths. Another epistemic difficulty is the predominance of cognitive theory within education (Hager 2004a: 243), tending to under-rate intuition and affect, theory of the embodied mind, and the empathic understanding found in some of the research data (above, pp.142-146).

In terms of praxis and functionality, development tends to be qualified (for example as professional development). This clarifies the scope of concern, but if the ontological orientation is instrumental, then in academic and governmental literature ideas of cultivation, ‘growing tomorrow’s leaders’ (Southworth 2007: 177), and in practitioners’ speech of shifting a dead-weight, *moving the school on* (above, p.136), appear fitting. The problem of praxis becomes *G*’s role in ‘being developed’ by *P* (Leithwood et al 2007: 97-98), since a certain set of power relations is assumed (Weick and Quinn 1999: 380). But development is linked ethically with purpose (Hinchcliffe 2004: 536). If the ends are instrumentally conceived, then development is most likely to serve the more powerful (Bush 2008: 284; Hotho and Pollard 2007: 587; Gronemeyer 2007[1992]: 54); Ellerman 2006: 122-125).

Discursively, major problems reside in education because of the *growth* metaphor, and its application to the politics of improvement (above, pp.49-50). Continuous growth is not a law of nature. Continuous improvement only makes sense in large-scale analyses of trends, not in the vagaries of particular circumstance. The rhetoric of development as improvement is based on a deficit model, measured by pre-determined criteria. Hence ultimately these efforts become self-defeating distractions (Children, Schools and Families Committee 2008), locked in a normative discourse of control (Heracleous 2006: 179-181). The purpose of education is beyond them.

Recovering the idea of development

Ontologically, development describes an existential process of endogenous becoming, found meaningful, which occurs diachronically as a psychosocial and cultural-historical

phenomenon in individuals, groups, organisations and societies (Heidegger 2007a[1927]: 312-313; Merleau-Ponty 2005[1945]: xxii-xxiii; 404-405). As an aspect of embodied mind, development is agentic movement across a landscape, always between horizons of past and present constantly changing with time (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 301-302). Existentially, precise beginnings and endings cannot be established (Deleuze and Guattari 2004[1987]: 262-263). Since processes of development are socially inter-permeable and capable of structural influence, deemed outcomes are indeterminate, not arbitrary (Giddens 1984: 11-14; 26-27; Chia 1999: 214; Gleeson and Knights 2006: 288). The route taken becomes the path, but therefore needs interpretation (Gadamer 2004[1975]: 180; Dall'Alba 2009: 36). In such circumstances, antecedents and consequences are more appropriate terms than causes and effects (Miles and Huberman 1994: 233-235).

Epistemically, development involves more than cognitive knowledge, being a future-oriented, biopsychosocial process of the whole person (Barnacle 2009: 27; Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 265-266). The present study finds a mutually sustaining inter-relationship between eudaimonic well-being (a sense of being) and development (a process of becoming), both having biopsychosocial features (above, pp.27-29; 39-41; 182-185). Well-being has a reciprocal relationship with development - individually, socially and organisationally (pp.148-152; 161-164; 186-189): communitarian well-being locates care for pupils with care for employees in one development ethic. Processually, latent meaning is disclosed in sequences of events; as a process of *becoming*, development occurs in continuous transition between past and present horizons of interpreted meaning (pp.144-145; 212-215). Well-being is a variable state of continuous, holistic *being*, nourished by development and receptive to the latent meaningfulness in experience (pp.178-179). By contrast, depersonalised experience associated with stress and burnout involves loss of meaningful relatedness (Sims 1996: 203-207; see p.185 above). Similarly, distinctions may be made between states of well-being and of health, and processes of development and of learning.

Development and learning are closely associated but distinct (Hinchcliffe 2007). Development follows from and possibly facilitates learning experiences (Vygotsky 1978; Jarvis 2006), being recognised interpretatively through reflection rather than revelation (above, pp.142-146; 230) (Kreber 2004; Eraut 1994). An inward discursive

shift of thought synthesises understanding (qualitatively different from the original subject-matter) and reconstitutes its value (pp.143-144; 196-197). Learning's influence on development is neither certain nor straightforwardly deterministic, being mediated by such elements as role, personality, experience and interpretation (see pp.208-210) (Russell 2007). At work and elsewhere, informal learning influences development, being transferred to other roles and circumstances (pp.153-155), whereas lack of scope or opportunity in organisations is associated with lost momentum, less meaningful activity, or waylessness (see pp.151-152) (Hager 2004b: 528; Fuller and Unwin 2004).

From perspectives of praxis and functional description, development is achieved through social negotiation and struggle where powers are asymmetric (above, pp.150; 161-164; 197-199) (Yandell and Turvey 2007; Lave and Wenger 1991). Despite development's positive connotations, early experiences of the process may seem unpropitious, while developmental indeterminacy includes potentially unwelcome consequences (above, pp.215; 210) (Wethington 2003). Hence to take some responsibility in a situation is authentic action, accepting risk (above pp.148-149). In the development process, circumstantial challenges, principle, and emotion-laden response are negotiated (above, pp.224-225).

The notion of *capability space* (Sen 1999) describes the situated potentiality of a person or group at a given time, in which some form of dispositional choice applies. In an organisation, development occurs as active, negotiated, responsible process through which immanent space is perceived, held open, and protected (above, pp.165-167; 184). Support for development involves low-key, ethically consistent, systemically coherent, organisational activity founded upon 'each person as an end' (Nussbaum 2001: 5). Thus the well-being of individuals in education becomes included in organisational purpose (above, pp.188-189). Aspects of educational judgement and supportive practice may apply equally to employees as to the pupils (above, pp.189-193). Hence development is a natural phenomenon socially achieved (pp.138-140; 169-171) (Molden and Dweck 2006: 200), while the manner of its achievement becomes part of the significance of what occurs (above p.140; Gilbert 2007: 18).

A new discourse of development would emphasise its etymology as the unfolding opposite of envelopment. Psychosocially, it is an intransitive process: 'to develop in

respect of...' rather than 'to develop [something-as-object]'. The language of development is not about '*getting* someone to form a belief' as Habermas' theorisation of communicative action explains (Outhwaite 2006: 143, original emphasis), or sharing some normative agreement, or presenting a version of self, but describes interpersonal negotiations of meaning, centrally founded on interpretation (above p.140; Engeström 2004). Rather than serving to reproduce meaning through repetitive social practice, developmental discourse re-interprets meaning through recursive social engagement (Giddens 1984; Freire 1972).

A discourse of development is necessary because development is what human beings experience, and because educative purpose is developmental (Glatter 2004: 216). The social landscape is replete with references to development, but this research indicates that the idea, being elemental, slips by. Interpretative reliance on metaphorical assumptions, while (in Habermas' terms) gliding over 'the practice of everyday life as something derivative or inauthentic' (Outhwaite 2006: 343), misses the strangeness of the familiar. A coherent, robust, unsentimental educational theory of development, able to unify children with adults, schools with communities, principle with action, and capability with opportunity, is lacking. The above conceptualisation could provide a basis for re-invigorating debate about purpose-before-improvement in education.

Self-criticism has not featured in this critical theory, but forms part of the wider reflexive comments in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS

The research focus

This study investigates the nature of psychosocial development and its relationship to human well-being (see pp.7-9) in English educational contexts, by gathering school employees' perspectives. The research is important firstly because education's purpose is developmental, although the concept itself is ill-defined and politically peripheral compared with school improvement. Secondly, in other academic fields development is a major concept associated with human well-being. Since endemic psychosocial stress damages education employees' health and morale (pp.10-11), schools promoting staff well-being offer opportunities to study its relationship with adult development.

The main research question asks:

How do employees in schools within well-being programmes perceive and negotiate organisational and individual development?

Its key elements are:

How do employees in staff well-being programmes perceive development?

How is development negotiated?

What is 'organisational' about organisational development?

Structurally the thematic findings have followed these key questions and their subsidiaries, whilst narrative data analysis has contributed different perspectives. Interpretative threads drawn from the analyses have been synthesised under broad headings (p.228), towards re-conceptualising development.

Conclusions about the key questions and the central research task are presented below, before assessment of the significance and limitations of this research. Recommendations are made for further scholarship and practice, ending with reflection on the research process.

Conclusions about the key questions

Employees' perceptions

Employees in five schools conceptualise development in different ways (pp.134-137): *endogenously*, as embodied, purposeful movement; *altruistically*, as others' flourishing; and *exogenously*, as intentional amelioration. Development has positive connotations but some employees also envisage possibly undesirable consequences (pp.136-137). Although the sample is designed for variety, not statistical validity (pp.102-103), no discursive patterning is found according to organisational setting, job-role, or even (in some instances) within individuals' discourse (p.137). The voices in this study communicate discordance, not confusion; hence the idea of development is expressed inconsistently and with different implications for action. In this, the employees' perceptions resemble the literature on development in education studies and elsewhere (pp.31-35), despite metaphor's capacity to express explorative thinking (Heracleous 2006: 63). Development, the daily concern and central purpose of education, is educationally under-theorised.

Therefore, in view of the discordance in participants' descriptions of development, it is highly significant that from both thematic and narrative analytic perspectives, participants describe their experiences of development much more consistently: an unfolding, emotion-laden process occurring through or with others. It may feel ungovernable, and is indeterminate, but has meaning: *I'm really pleased that this is the way I'm going* (p.179). Time features significantly in employees' accounts of development. Experiential sequences are identified and interpreted retrospectively, thus affording fresh perspectives upon present values (pp.142-146; 154; 209; 216-218). The continuous need to interpret experience links development with learning, while exposing the weakness in regarding development objectively as determinate (Busher 2006: 68-69).

The employees in this study are unanimous that learning is lifelong, but a few emphasise volition rather than requirement (see pp.141-143). Some participants' understanding of experience has altered within the research period (pp.138-140; 208-

211), demonstrating the value of extensive intervals between site visits when studying psychosocial process. In this study, learning at work and elsewhere is described often as occurring informally, socially and incidentally, in ways predisposed to influence organisational practice (pp.141-145). These findings reflect scholarship in organisation studies and adult education: informal learning occurs socially (Coffield 2000; Hinchcliffe 2004; Beattie et al 2007), is lifelong (Jarvis 2006; Hager 2004b), and has political implications (Tuschling and Engemann 2006; Holm 2007). Furthermore, thematic and narrative analysis of employees' statements finds that learning precedes development and that the processes are reflexively associated (pp.141-145; 224), as observations of children's learning have shown (Vygotsky 1978). The significance of this ethnographic finding about adults is that, because learning is lifelong, so too is development - consistent with theory (Hinchcliffe 2007; Pring 2005; Jarvis 2006; Bottery 2004; Schaffer 2006: 6; Starratt 2007: 169).

Analysis of thematic and narrative data indicates that reflection upon learning brings an inward discursive shift in the significance attributed to experience (pp.146; 196; 209-210). What participants describe - becoming committed to a school and its community (Kim, pp.138-139); coming to place trust in others (Amy, pp.139-140) - does not match the cognitive shift of transformative learning theory (Mezirow 1997). Rather, the employees portray values-laden recognition of meaning and deepened significance - active transition from knowledge of subject-matter to an integrative, more holistic understanding of self relative to others (Joseph and Linley 2005; Russell 2007). Reflection's role in finding developmental meaning weakens the prevalent idea of development as an external project of educational improvement (Southworth 2007; Rau 2006; Leithwood et al 2007) while strengthening its conception as a natural yet achieved process of human being and becoming (Starratt 2007; Beattie et al 2007; Russell 2007; Kerdeman 2003).

Rather than a schematic transformation through learning (an act of cognition), this study finds that development involves transition through recursive reflection upon experience, in which values-laden insight is found (an act of recognition). It illustrates an aspect of Bourdieu's theory of practice, placing psychosocial recognition/misrecognition 'on a continuum between the highly personal and the highly collective' (Grenfell 2004:180). However, recognition is a point reached, a clearing of the way of thought (Heidegger

2007b[1969]: 445) that presumes emotional and social engagement: ‘Where there is no struggle, there is no development’ (Levykh 2008:100).

Across different settings, in both thematic and narrative data, employees recognise development through personal reflection on experience which permeates boundaries of role (above, pp.153-155; 212-215) and identity (pp.144; 208-211). Developmental recognition - for example, of becoming more tolerant (pp.144-145), more confident (pp.216-218; 223), or of coming to ‘belong’ (pp.175; 132) - involves emotionally charged, embodied moral reasoning linked with perceived well-being (above, pp.148-151; 234-235) (Levykh 2008: 94; Joseph and Linley 2005: 265-267; Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 536). Thus, well-being and development are associated in human flourishing (Sen 1985 and 1999; Gasper 2002: 459; Marks and Shah 2005: 528; Hinchcliffe 2007: 230).

Developmental well-being is eudaimonic, not hedonic (above, pp.178-179; 235-236; 239) - termed psychological well-being (PWB) (Ryff and Keyes 1995; Ryff et al 2004). The present study shows how eudaimonic qualities such as self-acceptance (above, p.18) are enhanced and exercised heuristically in different organisational roles (pp.161-164; 175; 191-192) across different settings (pp.139-140; 142-143; 144-145). In promoting psychosocial resilience (Joseph and Linley 2005: 273; Ryff et al 2004: 1384) and mutualism (Herold et al 2007) amongst employees, the schools are developing institutionally.

Negotiating development

In the present research, negotiation involves finding means of development in wide-ranging contexts: personally (resolving a worrying teaching problem by calling upon parental experience; re-negotiating one’s job), and socially (reaching a difficult decision at a governors’ meeting; supporting expansive well-being activity throughout a school).

Participants’ accounts of negotiating development in schools illustrate the contextual significance of paradox and self-renewal. A secondary school’s struggle to retain autonomous identity while meeting external accountability criteria, working to

perfectionist standards while asserting the importance of staff well-being, is captured in terms of *moving with the times* (see pp.156-160). Institutional ambivalence about contradictory principles is replicated in individual experience. Employees at a special school, having identified the significance of one pupil's unusual behaviours, negotiate a sequence of adaptive organisational changes to support the child, through which institutional capability develops (pp.169-170).

These complexities reveal how schools are systemic processes rather than static entities (above, pp.67-68). Negotiation amid complex process embraces contextual features and historical/cultural perspectives unavailable empirically. These contribute to organisational sense-making, but also function within individual networks of meaning. Thus the findings illustrate process-oriented organisation theory of complexity (Chia 1999; Nayak 2008) - for example that organisations, inherently paradoxical, have remembered histories (Cilliers 2002), and are capable of spontaneous, adaptive change (Chia and Holt 2006; Engeström 2004; Viteritti 2004).

The emotional content of negotiation features in thematic and narrative perspectives across settings (pp.148-149; 153-156; 179-181; 212-215). In negotiating emotion at work, means of development involve tough-minded decisions about social action and personal resilience (pp.143-144) following principled reflection. These are eudaimonic (rather than hedonic) well-being features (Waterman 1993; Ryan and Deci 2001) - not the pursuit of happiness, but self-determining authenticity (above, pp.197-200; 231-233). Eudaimonic features of psychological well-being are elemental in negotiating development (above, pp.22-25) (Ryff and Keyes 1995; Huppert and Baylis 2004).

Some evidence indicates that as development unfolds, features of negotiation recur (above, pp.231-233): *circumstantial challenges*, *principle*, and *emotion-laden response*. The circumstantial challenge includes negotiating perceived risk through awareness, not avoidance - for example, a primary school's employees are encouraged to discuss rather than conceal their anxieties about potentially critical judgements in some future inspection (see p.162-164). Psychosocial development is personally and socially achieved: negotiation creates the facility for development (Nussbaum 2001).

But no established route for developmental process exists: the way itself is negotiated (above, pp.232-233) through personal and social landscapes and between temporal horizons (Gadamer 2004[1975]). Even in the deliberate, educative circumstance where capability space is protected and waymarked (Heidegger 1998[1964]) - as with the sequenced decisions for governors considering management pay awards - outcomes are indeterminate, and *the hard path* is chosen through commitment (above, pp.165-166). The social and organisational responsibility is to support the 'space' in which potentiality and capability may be explored (Sen 1999: 288; Hinchcliffe 2004: 539).

Roles influence how development is negotiated, personally and organisationally. Knowledge or experience gained incidentally in one role may benefit another in unanticipated ways (pp.142-143). Plural roles are permeable within experience (Marisa, p.209-210; Nadine, p.143) and personality (Josie, p.153; Una, p.175); experiential understanding is transferred between home and work (Jane, p.179; Parminder, p.142-143). However, one role may come to supplant all others, negating their meaning and becoming a site of new struggle (pp.154-155). The narratives show particularly that feelings of moral responsibility towards others influence how employees enact their roles (pp.159; 175; 212-25; 219-221). Voluntary well-being facilitators in all five settings negotiate the role's emotional demands (p.144) additionally to their paid work. Sometimes Facilitators need to be supported themselves; by declining to accept responsibility for colleagues' well-being, they avoid the 'trap' of others' expectations (above, p.148) (Fineman 2003: 139). The narratives illustrate how roles develop with situations, becoming part of their meaning (Rhianon pp.211-215; Sally, pp.219-221).

Much negotiation occurs inwardly, reflectively, and unobserved. It accompanies overt social negotiation, but also precedes and follows it (pp.155; 197). How a role is perceived may bring positive, principled, purposeful action without seeking resolution - for example, a teaching assistant's empathic consideration of how to respond (for the good of all concerned) to certain drug-using parents (pp.138-139). Also, from a narrative perspective, developmental potentiality may be protected by what goes unsaid, or does not occur: *people could go and really muck it up for you* (p.217). Development activity which involves not declaring or not seeming to act (pp.138-139) illustrates features of challenge-principle-response in negotiating dilemma. It contests the action-focused model of strong, singular leadership described in some education scholarship

(Wikeley et al 2000; Sun et al 2007) by showing its subtlety as a quality of organisation (Ogawa and Bossert 2000), exercised individually. Such restraint respects others' self-determining development (Allix and Gronn 2005; Walker 2005).

Leadership for development uses consistent, explicit or implicit principle in negotiation (above, pp.163; 165-166; 217). Participants in various settings regard as organisational strengths headteachers' openness to commentary about organisational well-being, and in canvassing opinions or ideas (pp.173-174; 199-200). Both exemplars of negotiation in school leadership (pp.161-167) highlight a complex developmental relationship between meaning, well-being and purpose, in which participating and listening matter. Contrary to the image of heroic, singular leadership mentioned above, strength is perceived more collectively, in consulting and listening, and in responsible collegiality. It requires practical wisdom (p.29) and empathic insight (pp.139-140; 143; 159). Thus employees' openness to ideas and mutual trustfulness are encouraged and similarly valued in organisational cultures (pp.138-139; 148-149; 217-218) (Chou et al 2008).

Schools are complex organisations: participants in this study value strength in the coherent agency of actions by many people, of feeling encouraged and free to act (above, pp.159; 162; 170-171; 183-184; 217; 219-220), rather than the 'heroic individualism' criticised by Gronn (2003:17). The greater purpose of the school's overall development is served through attending to the spirit in which lesser actions and decisions are conducted. When encouragement and freedom are inconsistently afforded, frustration follows, and employees retreat from negotiating development (above, p.151).

Development and organisation

This research shows the importance of leadership's protecting notional capability space (pp.161-167; 177-179) concerned with 'truly human functioning' (Nussbaum 2001:12-13). Equally, in accepting communitarian values, such space invites and needs active commitment to participate by individuals and groups (above, pp.179-181). Although development involves self-reflection, it occurs from social experience (pp.138-139; 212-215) (Beattie et al 2007:119; Cole 1999:19). A person's agentic capability at work (as elsewhere) has implications for well-being, relative to opportunities created and

maintained socially through power relations (above, pp.144;177-179; 198-200) (Lave 1996; Sen 1999; Gasper 2002; Zimmerman 2006). Because volitional autonomy is distinct from unaccountable independence (Ryan and Deci 2001), organisational development negotiates relations of power affecting multiplicitous opportunity within and beyond boundaries (above, pp.127-129; 161-164) (Giddens 1984; Böhm 2006; Gewirtz 2002).

Both thematic and narrative data indicate that development may involve organised maintenance of process in continuity, sometimes in low-key ways. Staff roles and schedules may be re-balanced to sustain quality while extending the range of provision (above, pp.177-179); but also, in another school, informal ‘well-being’ mediation helps to maintain communication when teaching assistants hesitate in seeking help from teachers (p.150). The schools are able to renew themselves from within, partly because valued processes are socially maintained through such ‘micro-practices’ of immanent strategy (Chia and Holt 2006: 636). In supporting a person’s development as an ethical responsibility, an organisation becomes more assured in terms of accountability (above, pp.208-210; 177-179). Despite scepticism about reciprocity within knowledge management theory (Spender and Scherer 2007: 9), such mutualities of individual and organisational development (Fuller and Unwin 2004: 141; Holm 2007: 41) illustrate how organisations are not entities separate from people, but constituted by them, and therefore capable of being changed by them deliberately and incidentally (Heracleous 2006; Avis 2007). To characterise organisational development as authored or *driven* largely from the top is to misunderstand both developmental process and leadership (Barker, B, 2005: 30-31; 161-162; Viteritti 2004: 169). Rather, leadership for development (in different roles) interprets, facilitates, protects and guards against what is and what is becoming (above, pp.145; 161-164; 177; 188-189; 212-215).

Organisational sites of development are conceived here as metaphorical contexts and meaningful points of reference for unfolding development in collective endeavour (p.168). Examples from schools in this research are informal ‘knotwork’ groups, as described in Activity Theory (Engeström 2004), use of symbolism in evaluating organisational proposals, and well-being programmes. These sites illustrate institutional capability to self-organise in flexible, creative and informal ways, within and between formal structures. Sites of development are sources of employees’ informal learning, but

also means of exploring capability. For example, the spread of well-being ideas into organisational groups having different agendas (above, pp.219-221) shows how development may occur rhizomically through routine interaction (Deleuze 1993). Sites of development, generating networks of activity within and beyond organisations (above, pp.169-171; 219-221), are foci of organised social meaning.

Well-being programmes are a striking, common feature of the five schools; in every locale, participants feel fortunate in their workplace, despite acknowledged pressures (pp.186-189). Further, the ethos and praxis of facilitating pupils' development and well-being may similarly support the staff (pp.189-193). However, cautious interpretation of these findings is needed. A wide range of organisational practices potentially supports employees' well-being. *Feeling fortunate* is better attributed to a swathe of consistently maintained, ethically coherent, organisational welfare practices - including well-being programmes - than to any single factor. This focus on people in their own right (Nussbaum 2001) reasserts education's fundamental purpose (Bandura 2002: 4-5; Bottery 2004: 10, 171; Pring 2005: 195-205; Avolio and Gardner 2005: 317; White 2007: 25; Levykh 2008: 91-92, citing Vygotsky).

In five schools, organisational cultures of contextually-specific development and eudaimonic well-being challenge the inevitability of well-attested, depressive effects in education and the values implicit in their structural sources (Giddens 1984; Fineman 2003: 149). In the five schools visited, pressures of external inspection are felt emotionally as a burden on leadership, on families and individuals, and on teaching assistants as well as teachers. The emotional demands of supporting children's development, and of sustaining the teamwork needed in organisational development despite external pressures (above, pp.123; 146; 147; 151; 161; 196; 212), show the criticality of self-understanding, mature emotional relations and inclusive practices centred upon well-being. Employees' well-being is thought crucial by the headteachers in this study, but employees are concerned for the headteachers, too. For emotion influences how people make sense of what happens at work (Weick 1995: 48). The emotional labour of needing to demonstrate or hide feelings within a work-role (Hochschild 1983) is related to burnout (Zapf and Holz 2006: 24), but is increasingly required in education (Hebson et al 2007: 675). Heavy workloads, high intensity working, and prolonged emotional labour depress morale, occupational health and well-

being, particularly amongst teachers and headteachers (Bowers and McIver 2000; Smith et al 2000; Hebson et al 2007). These factors demonstrate the practical value of approaches through which employees feel fortunate in their work.

In achieving its aims (above, p.8) this ethnographic research shows that well-being and development in organisations are mutually influential yet lack a coherent, theoretically-founded, or widely applicable discourse. An ethic of development - conceptually grounded firstly in agency, unfolding capability and negotiated self-determination, and secondly in the emotional, unsentimental resourcefulness of eudaimonic well-being - clarifies and reasserts educative purpose while affording a basis for its praxis and for further study.

Overview

Well-being and development are under-theorised in education literature, though debated in other fields. The social and educative purpose associated with these ideas has been by-passed politically, and misprised academically. Conceptualisations of development by a range of employees in five schools are discordant, but their descriptions of experience highly consistent. Development is recognised as a lifelong, endogenous, indeterminate, but meaningful process, reflexive with learning, and negotiated personally and socially through reflective engagement. This finding is consistent with strands of literature in various fields of enquiry. Within and beyond the power relations influencing educational institutions, ethical concern for employees' well-being enables organised communitarianism to facilitate low-key development processes of larger consequence individually and organisationally. In realising human capability, the duality of eudaimonic well-being and development needs articulation through inclusive discourse which itself becomes 'situationally specific action' (Heracleous 2006: 60).

The study's significance and contribution to knowledge

The discursive ethnographic approach shows how adults in five schools find developmental meaning with time. In different settings, employees associate psychosocial well-being with development individually and organisationally (pp.153-155; 175-182; 182-185), but these themes are not gathered coherently in scholarship. Gaps amidst disparate literatures expose conceptual fragmentation (pp.82-83). Methodologically, traditional ethnographies observe stable orders, avoiding change theory (Engeström 2004:155). Little is known of how organisational change unfolds (Amis et al 2004: 16), and studies of process are politically naïve in disregarding larger power structures influencing organisations (Parker 2000: 521-523; Böhm 2006: 111). In education, longitudinal studies of school development are rare (Barker, B, 2005: 26), studies of schools as organisations rarer still (Glatter 2006: 71). Traditionally health psychologists have studied well-being less than pathology (Marks et al 2000: 22). Also, psychological research has emphasised (hedonic) *subjective well-being* based on life satisfaction, rather than (eudaimonic) *psychological well-being* (Keyes and Haidt 2003: 3) based on self-determination. Thus the contribution of this research is to explore neglected cultural ground, bordering diverse fields (Bhabha 1994: 34), often traversed on the way to somewhere else, yet overlooked in its features (above, p.83).

Across different educational settings, practitioners' perceptions clarify the nature of developmental experience, relative to literature in different fields. In both thematic and narrative analysis, participants emphasise how the grounds of development may seem unpromising, for development is achieved through tough-minded negotiation of thoughts and feelings - before, during and after outward events (pp.148-149; 154-155; 208-211; 212-215). The process involves coming to recognise and understand capabilities, while negotiating and protecting opportunities to realise them (pp.138-139; 171-172; 176; 177-179; 216-220). Singly and collectively people influence how events occur, re-interpreting their values-laden understanding of themselves and of others (pp.146; 151-152; 184; 208-211). This account contradicts organisational and educational literature which regards development instrumentally (for example: Rau 2006; Lohman 2005; TDA 2008; OFSTED 2008; Southworth 2007).

Recognition of development follows reflection upon social experience, involving an inward discursive shift in values-laden interpretation (pp.145-146). This discursive ethnography shows that the element of coming to realise, *from a similar co-ordinate, but slightly higher* (p.145), recognises transition (pp.142-146; 153-156; 181; 196-197; 213-214). Recognition locates a point reached, present capability, and potentiality (pp.196-197; 221; 223), which Heidegger calls ‘unconcealment’ (Krell 2007[1978]: 446). An indeterminate process, human psychosocial development is never objectively complete (Deleuze 1993), and is lifelong (Jarvis 2006). Hence the phased, problem-solving emphasis of transformative learning theory, wherein ‘the process by which adults learn ... is the same as the process of adult development’ (Mezirow 1994: 28), and perhaps limited to certain adults (Merriam 2004), seems flawed.

Low-key, ethically consistent actions facilitating eudaimonic well-being and further capability also contribute to schools’ organisational self-renewal (pp.162; 183-184; 219-221). Four narratives of experience show that felicitous, unpredicted consequences may follow indirectly from small but concerted efforts in different organisational areas. But such organisational practices are themselves actively protected (pp.176; 190; 201-203) - an aspect unremarked in Activity Theory (Engeström 2001; 2004). These ethnographic findings support organisation theory concerning complexity and renewal (Cilliers 2002; Schaffer 2006: 42) and ‘organized consistency of purposive actions’ in strategy (Chia and Holt 2006: 636), but not models of planned, instrumental change (for example, TDA 2008; see Burnes 2000: 274-277).

However, felicitous consequences are not necessarily associated with happy experiences or pleasurable pursuits (pp.212-218). Only eudaimonic well-being factors (Ryan and Deci 2001) support development in adverse or traumatic circumstances (Joseph and Linley 2005; Wethington 2003). Greater clarity about these phenomena reveals their power to unify, despite lack of an articulated professional discourse of development and well-being.

Inattention to the various epistemological assumptions, linguistic usages and metaphors for development in education invites disparate consequential actions. The importance of development is further obscured by the prevailing instrumental discourse. Commonly bracketed with other terms such as learning, ‘growth’, or training, *development* rarely

features in its own right, although its importance is asserted in adult education (BESA 2009; Hinchcliffe 2007; Jarvis 2006; Williamson 2006[1998]), leadership studies (Luckcock 2007; Tsiakkios 2005), psychology (Schaffer 2006; Bandura 2002), and philosophy of education (Hinchcliffe 2007; Dewey 1981[1916]). The human process of psychosocial development is insufficiently problematised in contemporary education scholarship. The thesis shows that a robustly theorised development ethic is needed.

Consequently a re-conceptualisation has been suggested (above, pp.237-241), seeking to offer a more *coherent*, more *powerful* and more *robust* theory of psychosocial development. Whereas academic writings and the conceptual discourses in the sample schools are discordant, an articulated re-conceptualisation of development from participants' accounts related to the literature reveals consistency in the phenomenon across time and place (pp.196-197; 221-225). The suggested reconceptualisation embraces the complex association between learning and development, highlighting the role of reflection in discursive shifts of interpreted meaning (pp.146; 196; 210-211).

The emphasis on reflection and process evokes the study of professionals' reflective practice by Schön (2009[1991/1983]), critical of positivistic 'technical rationality' (pp.30-49). In professional contexts such as architecture, psychotherapy and teaching, Schön describes how reflection occurs during as well as after practice: 'our knowing is in our action' (p.49). Such knowledge is tacit, while the practitioner generates 'a new understanding ... and a change in the situation' (p.68). However, Schön's epistemological insights are not supported explicitly by an ontological foundation. Thus, the phrase 'reflective practitioner' has proved vulnerable to colonisation by agencies less enamoured of 'public inquiry into the dilemmas which underlie our swings from one policy extreme to another' (p.350) - part of Schön's conclusions. The affective domain is an encumbrance to technical rationality. If reflective practice is regarded solely as a cognitive problem-solving tool, a professional accomplishment, it loses its potentially inclusive reference to what all human beings ordinarily do (however well), feelingly, in a range of 'becoming' situations. Ironically a consequent risk for education is that reflective practice, rather than standing as a powerful, descriptive defence of professionalism-in-action, may be reduced to yet another criterion for judging professional competence. Schön notes that research in 'the swampy lowlands' of experience describes 'intuition' and 'muddling through' (p.43), rather as Sally

describes her work in this thesis (above, p.220). For reflective practice is a feature of development, not merely a tool of improvement. In the field of education, to re-conceptualise development more holistically is to offer important theoretical *coherence* which upholds the spirit of Schön's work, despite the passage of time.

The re-conceptualisation is the more *powerful* because it offers the possibility of unifying childhood with adulthood in lifelong development, and individual with organisational development. It highlights differences between education theory concerning the zone of proximal development (ZPD) (Vygotsky 1978) and the capability space of welfare economics (Sen 1999). Reciprocity between psychosocial development and well-being, individually and organisationally (pp.183-185; 235-236), indicates the need for inter-disciplinary perspectives and collaboration which could explore this potentiality.

Such theory, the outcome of process-oriented research, is the more *robust* for its rejection of development as necessarily desirable, while emphasising struggle, negotiation, and power relations in organisational and socio-cultural policy contexts (Engeström 2004; Nelson-Jones 2006[1986]: 8; Hotho and Pollard 2007). This reduces the vulnerability to politicised annexation of development as a concept.

Using the findings from this study and from existing theory, the re-conceptualisation affirms development as the constant, indeterminate process of active becoming in which humanity recognises significance reflectively: non-linear and immeasurable, achieved endogenously from need, negotiated personally and socially, and associated with learning and with well-being. Individual development and organisational development are reciprocal. This understanding exposes the weak theoretical grounds of politicised school improvement (objective instrumentalism) and 'growth' (staged progression).

In offering more clarity, the study has potential significance for educational practice, policy, and research. To education practitioners, it offers conceptual unity of purpose for needs-based practice involving rights and responsibilities, both from educational and organisational perspectives: a common focus on realising immanent capabilities within an inclusive, protected, socially negotiated, psychosocial space. This represents a more subtle exploration of human potentiality than a sequence of planned improvement along

predetermined pathways of external requirement. But it is not an either/or quandary: development is the greater principle which improvement serves, and needs a re-ordering of purpose (Bottery 2003: 60; Glatter 2004: 216; Pring 2005: 203-204; Dall'Alba 2009: 43).

The significance to policy is that a more powerful, rigorous conception of development is presented than currently available, showing the inadequacy of metaphors of evolutionary 'growth'. The participants describe development as achieved, despite the risks which ultimately contribute to its meaning (pp.165-168; 211; 217-218). Policy-making for development and well-being is not a sentimental exercise, but involves tough-minded recognition of ubiquitous, temporal human process. Indeterminacy implies limits upon control and the need for trust and responsibility (Bottery 2004: 102; Anderson 2003). The major potential benefit to policy is conceptual coherence: it becomes possible to ally development in adults with that in children, employees with those they serve, educational establishments with communities, and education policy with health, social and welfare policies: the same principle applies.

The significance for research is that the concept of development gains more precise meaning and value. A coherent, shared understanding of endogenous development as non-instrumental yet coherent ethical practice linked to human flourishing is less vulnerable than 'growth' or 'improvement' to political annexation because it values people for themselves - in education as elsewhere. Despite critique of process-based organisation studies (Böhm 2006), this research maintains a political perspective upon larger-scale structural inter-connections and influences, including the work of non-governmental but nationally-networked schools-based well-being programmes. Analysis shows how individuals and groups actively negotiate contextually-specific ways of meeting needs by influencing their psychosocial circumstances, despite systemic performance-pressures and lack of an articulated discourse (pp.231-233).

The political role of development involves negotiation between the more and the less powerful. In other fields (psychotherapy, health psychology, traditional and welfare economics, organisation studies, and social theory) development is a major, continuing focus. This ethnographic study, making the familiar strange, raises the question why

contemporary schools-focused education research gives development theory so little attention.

Limitations of the study

A hazard for this study, as for development theory, is to become everything and nothing: an over-reaching enterprise that becomes lost in contradictions, or which retreats into blandness. Necessarily this research has explored fields of inquiry beyond education - from health to organisation studies, and from psychology to philosophy. Although this approach brings a stimulating variety of perspectives, it risks invalidity from misunderstanding the subtleties and depth of debate within disciplines, and thus, deriving a distorted or muddled view. It would be possible to exploit others' learning by lifting a quotation out of context - because 'it fits' - and thus to accumulate an attractive yet spurious confection. The study's deep limitation is not its incapacity to generalise to populations, but the risk of misjudging its interpretative scale.

All research carries bias. Here, although the meanings of terms such as development, well-being and (to a lesser extent) organisation have been examined, *perception* has not been similarly considered - partly for reasons of space. Yet the main question asks about people's perceptions of development. This challenges validity: the researcher has chosen to regard what people say as genuinely representing their perceptions, and also, that perception equates with opinion. The possibility that people may veil parts of the story, or say what they believe is wanted, or imply what they do not intend, is unexplored. However, a completely relativist methodological position on interpretation would defeat any consistent meaning. Ethically, qualitative approaches demand careful, reflective, self-critical listening, but there is no final means to defeat scepticism about interpretation. Ultimately the researcher's responsibility is authentically to stay close to the material, using judgement in the light of the data, the known sources, and the known context. Several recorded conversations explore issues in depth, and care has been taken to show multiple references. In one instance, a statement was not subsequently used because it could have been prompted rather than freely given.

An area of deliberate bias is that the sample design is delimited to schools participating in well-being programmes. A balanced, scientific design would have required a control group of schools uninvolved in such programmes. But this is not an evaluative study. Well-being programmes are relevant because their medium/long-term focus is the adult workforce, and institutional and individual development. Also, in academic literature well-being and development are associated (Sen 1999; Huppert and Baylis 2004). Since development is difficult to identify, especially in adults, it is better to seek first in likely circumstances. Thus the bias in this research is towards finding such an association.

The recording of some conversations with pairs of participants has limited some research possibilities. Occasionally person *A*, having offered an idea, would amend or withdraw it once person *B* demurred. Intervention as a researcher becomes difficult when unproductive discussion begins between participants, or when people speak simultaneously. Ultimately, some material was unusable because lines of thought became trammelled and their meanings unclear or irrelevant to the topic. Sometimes the presence of three people sparked ideas and recollections, but this reflected personalities and did not occur in all circumstances: overall, more may have been lost than gained. Several recorded conversations show the researcher's limited questioning technique - for example, in asking over-long questions, or in pursuing unproductive topics. A more practised researcher could have minimised these difficulties.

Recommendations for further research and for practice

This thesis is limited by risk in interpretative scale above, (p.257). More work is needed on the nature and implications of development internationally from educational, philosophical, psychological, health and sociological perspectives. Indeed, considerable scope exists for international study of development as an educational principle (rather than a socio-economic project), vital for all people in all cultures. A re-conceptualisation of development is offered as a contribution towards neglected theory in this area. Further research into development may refresh debate about *purpose* in education (with its well-being implications), informing policy while minimising political annexation.

The deliberate bias of this research is towards associating well-being with development: its positive findings should be challenged. The heart of the matter is how development is perceived, and the implications for schools, research, and policy - especially in terms of leadership. In order to refine and expand current understanding, further ethnographic work is needed in a range of educational circumstances - for example, to explore in more depth the volitional and inter-subjective aspects of adult development and of 'leadership for development' in schools. Further scope exists for longitudinal approaches from narrative inquiry, action research, and cultural perspectives.

The limitation of disparate scholarship on development and well-being is hazardous for initial research (p.257), showing the need for greater connectivity: firstly, to connect 'schools education theory' with 'adult education theory' and these theories with fresh education policy; secondly, to connect educational institutions with organisation theory (for example, of complexity and self-renewal) rather than to equate organisation with instrumental business management.

The employees in this study value openness and trust - qualities inviting ready listening and calm consideration. During the present research well-being, development and leadership issues have resonated with aspects of counselling theory and practice. Examples include active use of reflection; therapeutic approaches toward work-related stress and burnout; negotiation of paradox; and means to realise capability. Also, counselling and other assistance are major aspects of support available to employees within well-being or development strategies in local and national systems. Further work is needed to investigate how counselling theory and practice (besides counselling itself) may contribute to well-being activity and to development in education.

Reflexive comment

In describing development, the thesis has used the common metaphor of a person's movement across a landscape - classically exemplifying embodied mind (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). In one sense, the research is on familiar ground (experience in education, terminology, well-being programmes, organisational structures and

practices). However, this work has not served to confirm predisposed opinions. On the contrary, it represents long exploration of a complex, abiding problem.

The study has sought to understand the natural processes of development and its ramifications by describing what is found, rather than what was expected. The main research question was not finalised for months, because the essential problem was difficult to express successfully. The original plan for a mixed methods approach was abandoned. A methodology to explore the key questions emerged only gradually. No straightforward path to self-evident ‘truth’ appeared. Hence, the issues of well-being in adverse circumstances, of whether or not to rely upon transformative learning theory, and of the supposed apolitical nature of process studies, were challenges faced in the course of writing the literature review.

Sometimes it became uncomfortable to gather valued views and experiences when conversations apparently took long detours. The recordings show missed opportunities to explore topics, raising evaluative questions about what nevertheless was gained. In writing the thesis, certain subsidiary questions were revised, not because they posed ‘awkward’ challenges, but because they did not serve the main question well enough. As a work of discursive ethnography, everyday terms (development; well-being) were rendered unfamiliar - a problem which deepened with study. Also, familiar material became strange (for example, in recognising that *moving with the times* at one school actually expressed ambivalence); whereas unfamiliarity (such as the apparently anomalous nature of Sally’s narrative) became meaningful through hermeneutic practice. Initial analysis of aspects of the research (produced months earlier) no longer expressed what had since become understood.

Indeed, it would have proved self-defeating to cling to earlier assumptions. The principle of *fidelity* (pp.95-96) still applies. Unaltered opinion would deny five years’ work, would defeat the purpose of sponsors, of research, and of the University, while utterly negating the participants’ contributions. Currently, at what feels like a modest vantage point in an outstretched landscape, the thesis has come suddenly to represent its own subject.

APPENDICES

Appendix A Extracts from introductory letter to Headteacher

Appendix B Sample extract from transcription

Appendix C Three analytic methods

APPENDIX A: EXTRACTS FROM INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO HEADTEACHER

Dear

Research into Organisation Development and Well-Being

Thank you for allowing me to discuss with you the possibility of conducting some of my research fieldwork at [school]. With this letter I enclose a sheet (Document 3), which explains what I am proposing to do, a consent form which I ask you to sign (Document 9), and copies of other documents for participating members of staff.

I wish to emphasise that there are very clear ethical guidelines for the conduct of research associated with any UK university. These include the complete protection of confidentiality and anonymity for individuals and organisations when the fieldwork is conducted, and in the later thesis and associated academic publications.

[.....]

I plan to visit a small number of schools in different parts of the country on a regular basis over a period of between fifteen and eighteen months - basically, one day per term. [.....] No observations of classrooms, nor any detailing of incidental conversations, comments or events, would be regarded as part of the research evidence. For most practical purposes, I would expect to liaise with the school's well-being facilitator(s).

On each visit I would need to meet the same members of staff (including yourself), for interviews lasting approximately 40 minutes each. The discussions would be recorded and later transcribed.

[.....]

I hope this gives you a sufficient outline. More details are enclosed. However, I am very happy to discuss with you any aspect of my work, arising now or in the future. Finally, near the end of my research I intend to provide some feedback at a briefing session in

your area, about my findings and conclusions concerning organisation development across all the schools.

Thank you for giving this your time and attention. I look forward to working with you.

Yours sincerely

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE EXTRACT FROM TRANSCRIPTION

Rowan_1.3a_03:39-06:07 Nadine (teacher)

N: ...I've been lucky that I've always had supportive bosses, really-

R: Mm.

N: -that have just let me go ahead and do that kind of thing.

R: That's nice.

N: Mm.

R: But you've- you started as a Teaching Assistant, you say, and [then-

N: [Yeah, in a High School.

R: -and then you decided to become a teacher at some point? Is that how it happened?

N: Erm, kind of. Erm, ooh, I'd say I came into teaching quite late. Erm, I'd always done office work before and then I got [an industrial injury] so I had to change my job. And while I was off work on long-term sick I went back to college, which wasn't something I had an opportunity to do at sixteen, and I sort of got I st- I did two or three different courses, and found I was interested in psychology.

R: Mm.

N: So I did the Psychology degree, and I was thinking about being an Education Psychologist, but you have to do two years' teaching first. But when I came into a school I thought: *Actually I quite like this. I like being in a school environment.* So I'd done my Psychology degree, I went to work as a TA for a year, just to make sure I liked

being in a school, and loved it. Then I did my Teacher Training, and then I've worked in a couple of schools since. And-

R: Mm

N: -I've been here three years. The bulk of my teaching experience has been here.

R: Mm.

N: But, erm, it's funny really, because I sort of think back to what I was doing twenty years ago, and it's nothing related to this, really! But there are also a lot of skills that you get from other jobs that you can bring into teaching. So where I had a lot of admin experience, with the amount of paperwork we've got now to do as teachers, all that experience helps with, you know, things that I'm doing in school.

R: Mm. How, how do the pressures compare? Because people are always talking about the strong pressure in teaching, but there's strong pressure in other jobs, is there? Or...

N: There is, and I think, erm, I'd rather have pressures in teaching than pressures in other jobs, just because I've found a job that I really like. And I think pressure's a big pressure if you don't want to do it. If it's a pressure that you sort of, you like your job and you're willing to take it on, it's not as big a pressure, is it? You know, if you're under pressure in an office environment, and you're working to tight deadlines but you don't want to be in that office-

R: Mm.

N: -then the pressure feels all that much worse; whereas in a school, every day is different. You know, children will always keep you on your toes! ((Laughter)) It's just a completely different environment. I mean, I've done a few different jobs before, and I don't think there's anything like working in a school. It's a completely different sort of job to anywhere else I've ever worked. But I love it. I like working in school; I like the school environment; I like working with children; and the variety – there's more variety in this job than I've ever had in any other job.

APPENDIX C: THREE ANALYTIC METHODS

Analysing thematic data

Thematically-linked features in the recorded conversations across fifteen site visits were identified using ‘discourse analysis sheets’. Standard thematic headings were:

Development, Images, Positive Association, Negative Association, Leadership, and Time. Salient points from each on-site meeting visit were listed under these headings, highlighting, as in the example below, what employees value in organisational culture.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS SHEET Gorsemoor Primary School Visit 2				
	<i>Development</i>	<i>Images</i>	<i>Positive Assocn</i>	<i>etc.</i>
GAIL Headteacher 2.1_a-h	Dvt thru engagement with emotions a ‘on whole, consultatn shld be genuine’ a Encrges prof devt b ‘Do you want me to do it?’ [Be tough] f ‘They’ve gt to see me as a lrng profssnl’ g Lrng from other hds g	‘or they’re gonna fold’ a ‘They felt they’d moved forward’ a ‘move them out of the comfort zone’ f		
MARISA (Sec) and PARMINDER (MSA, playgrnd assistnt + cleaner) 2.1_a-f		P ‘thy dn’t evn spk’ a P ‘The Hatch’ a Govs strictr w law b Evbdy was drained c P ‘we all gt on now’ d P ‘I love me job’ e M ‘tightening up’ f	M ‘better respect’ a M professionalism a Sppt for wk/l blnce c Open-door policy c [Staff] Openness c M busy, not bored c	

Analysing narrative data

A table of thirteen developmental features across the four narratives (Chapter Five) showed how Sally’s narrative differed from the other participants’. (The sixth column was added later, showing that Sally’s narrative described organisational development.)

ANALYSIS OF FOUR NARRATIVES: DEVT. FEATURES	Marisa	Rhianon	Donna	Sally (a) persnl	Sally (b) orgnsl
Drawn into it – not exactly voluntary					
Agency				masked	
Taking increased responsibility					
Permeation of boundaries					

Hermeneutic interpretation

Hermeneutic interpretation sees the immediate proportionately by considering its background, while appreciating the whole through its particularities (see pp.99-102). It is not one method, but a means of preventing misunderstanding and abuse of method.

For example, findings from the thematic data (Chapter Four) have been re-appraised relative to participants' detailed narratives (Chapter Five). In a variety of circumstances, hermeneutic interpretation has shown how development may begin unpromisingly, emphasising how individual agency and the passage of time influence participants' understanding of events.

A second example concerns discourse within Martinswood College, where individuals' references to 'moving with the times' came to epitomise the organisation's ambivalence toward the policy environment (pp.156-160).

REFERENCES

- Alexander, H.A, 2006. A view from somewhere: Explaining the paradigms of educational research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **40** (2), 205-221.
Downloaded 07.11.07.
- Allix, N, and Gronn, P, 2005. 'Leadership' as a manifestation of knowledge. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, **33** (2), 181-196.
- Alvares, C, 2007[1992]. Science. In Sachs, W (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power*. London: Zed Books and Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 219-232.
- Amis, J, Slack, T, and Hinings, C.R, 2004. The pace, sequence and linearity of radical change. *Academy of Management Journal*, **47** (1), 15-39. Downloaded 27.09.05.
- Anderson, K.D, 2004. The nature of teacher leadership in schools as reciprocal influences between teacher leaders and principals. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **15** (1), 97-113.
- Anderson, L, 2003. A leadership approach to managing people in education. In Kydd, L, Anderson, L, and Newton, W (eds.), *Leading People and Teams in Education*. London: Open University / Paul Chapman Publishing, 11-26.
- Angelides, P, and Ainscow, M, 2000. Making sense of the role of culture in school improvement. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **11** (2), 145-163.
- Aristotle, 1996[c 334 - 323 BC]. *The Nicomachean Ethics* (trans. Rackham, H). Ware: Wordsworth Editions Ltd.
- Armenakis, A.A, and Bedeian, A.G, 1999. Organizational Change: A Review of Theory and Research in the 1990s. *Journal of Management*, **25** (3), 293-315. Downloaded 07.11.04.

Arnold, J, 2001. The Psychology of Careers in Organizations. In Cooper, C, and Robertson, I (eds.), *Organizational Psychology and Development*. Chichester: Wiley, 23-59.

Avis, J, 2007. Engeström's version of activity theory: A conservative praxis? *Journal of Education and Work*, **20** (3), 161-177.

DOI: 10.1080/13639080701464459. Downloaded 01.05.08.

Avolio, B.J, and Gardner, W.L, 2005. Authentic leadership development: getting to the root of positive forms of leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, **16**, 315-338.

DOI:10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.03.001. Downloaded 25.10.07.

Axelrod, R, and Cohen, M.D, 1999. *Harnessing Complexity: Organizational implications of a scientific frontier*. London: Free Press.

Ball, S.J, 2008. The legacy of ERA, privatization and the policy ratchet. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, **36** (2), 185-199.

DOI: 10.1177/1741143207087772. Downloaded 14.04.08.

Bandura, A, 2002. Growing primacy of human agency in adaptation and change in the electronic era. *European Psychologist*, **7** (1), 2-16.

Barker, B, 2005. *Transforming Schools: Illusion or Reality*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Barker, D.P.J, 2005. The developmental origins of well-being. In Huppert, F.A, et al (eds.), *The Science of Well-Being*. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, 59-73.

Barnacle, R, 2009. Gut instinct: The body and learning. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **41** (1), 22-33. DOI: 10.1111/j.1469.2008.00473.x. Downloaded 25.02.09.

- Beattie, M, Dobson, D, Thornton, G and Hegge, L, 2007. Interacting narratives: Creating and re-creating the self. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, **26** (2), 119-141. DOI: 10.1080/02601370701219434. Downloaded 16.12.07.
- Beech, N, Burns, H, de Caestecker, L, MacIntosh, R, and MacLean, D, 2004. Paradox as invitation to act in problematic change situations. *Human Relations*, **57** (10), 1313-1332.
- Benefiel, M, 2005. The second half of the journey: Spiritual leadership for organizational transformation. *Leadership Quarterly*, **16**, 723-747. DOI: 10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.07.05. Downloaded 25.10.07.
- Bhabha, H.K, 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Blackler, F, Crump, N, and McDonald, S, 2000. Organizing processes in complex activity networks. *Organization*, **7** (2), 277-300. DOI: 10.1177/135050840072005. Downloaded 27.04.08.
- Blumer, H, 1969/1998. The Methodological Position of Symbolic Interactionism. In *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1-60. (Cited in Zimmerman 2006.)
- Bogdan, R.C, and Biklen, S.K, 2003. *Qualitative Research in Education: An introduction to theory and methods* (fourth edition). Boston: Pearson Education.
- Böhm, S, 2006. *Repositioning Organization Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bolman, L.G, and Deal, T.E, 2000. People and organizations. In *The Jossey-Bass Reader on Educational Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley, 59-69. [No editor given]
- Bottery, M, 2003. Uses and abuses of quality: The need for a civic version. In Preedy, M, Glatter, R, and Wise, C (eds.), *Strategic Leadership and Educational Improvement*. London: Paul Chapman /Open University, 60-73.

Bottery, M, 2004. *The Challenges of Educational Leadership*. London: Sage, Paul Chapman Publishing.

Bourdieu, P, 1977[1972]. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (trans. Nice, R). Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, **16**, Cambridge University Press.

Bowers, T, and McIver, M, 2000. *Ill Health Retirement and Absenteeism Amongst Teachers*. DfEE Research Report RR325. Nottingham: Department for Education and Employment.

Bowman, W, 2006. Why narrative? Why now? *Research Studies in Music Education*, **27**, 5-20. DOI: 10.1177/1321103X060270010101. Downloaded 20.06.08.

Bridges, W, 2003[1995]. *Managing Transitions* (second edition). London: Nicholas Brealey.

Briner, R.B, 1999. The neglect and importance of emotion at work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, **8** (2), 323-346.

British Educational Research Association, 2004. *Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*. Southwell: BERA.

British Educational Studies Association, 2009. *Education Studies: The bigger picture*. Annual Conference documentation. <http://www.educationstudies.org.uk>. Downloaded 06.04.09.

Brown, A, Rhodes, E, and Carter, R, 2004. Supporting learning in advanced supply systems in the automotive and aerospace industries. In Rainbird, H, Fuller, A, and Munro, A (eds.), *Workplace Learning in Context*. London: Routledge, 166-182.

Brown, A.D, Gabriel, Y, and Gherardi, S, 2009. Storytelling and change: An unfolding story. *Organization*, **16** (3), 323-333.

Brown, J.S, and Duguid, P, 1991. Organizational learning and communities-of-practice: Toward a unified view of working, learning, and innovation. *Organization Science*, **2** (1), 40-56.

Brülde, B, 2007. Happiness theories of the good life. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, **8**, 15-49. DOI: 10-1007/s 10902-006-9003-8. Downloaded 19.10.07.

Buchanan, D, and Huczynski, A, 1997. *Organizational Behaviour: An introductory text* (third edition). Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

Bunting, M, 2004. *Willing Slaves*. London: Harper Collins.

Burnes, B, 2000. *Managing Change: A strategic approach to organisational dynamics* (third edition). Harlow: Prentice Hall/Financial Times.

Burton, D (ed.) 2000. *Research Training for Social Scientists: A handbook for postgraduate researchers*. London: Sage.

Bush, T, 2008. From management to leadership: Semantic or meaningful change? *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, **36** (2), 271-288.

Busher, H, 2006. *Understanding Educational Leadership*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Calas, M.B, and Smircich, L, 1999. Past postmodernism? Reflections and tentative directions. *Academy of Management Review*, **24** (4), 649-671. (Quoted in Nayak 2008: 175).

Carroll, B, and Levy, L, 2008. Defaulting to management: Leadership defined by what it is not. *Organization*, **15** (1), 75-96. DOI: 10.1177/1350508407084486. Downloaded 17.07.08.

Carter, P, and Jackson, N, 2004. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. In Linstead, S (ed.), *Organization Theory and Postmodern Thought*. London: Sage.

Catholic Encyclopedia, 2009. *Hedonism*.

<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07187a.htm>. Downloaded 08.01.09.

Chia, R, 1995. From modern to postmodern organizational analysis. *Organization Studies*, **16** (4), 579-605.

Chia, R, 1999. A 'rhizomic' model of organizational change and transformation: Perspective from a metaphysics of change. *British Journal of Management*, **10** (3), 209-227. Downloaded 15.09.08.

Chia, R, 2000. Discourse analysis as organizational analysis. *Organization*, **7** (3), 513-518. Downloaded 15.09.08.

Chia, R, and Holt, R, 2006. Strategy as practical coping: A Heideggerian perspective. *Organization Studies*, **27** (5), 635 - 655. Downloaded 15.09.08.

Children, Schools and Families Committee, 2008. *Testing and Assessment*. House of Commons: Third Report of Session 2007-2008, Volume 1, HC169 -1.

Chou, L-F, Wang, A-C, Wang, T-Y, Huang, M-P, and Cheng, B-S, 2008. Shared work values and team member effectiveness: The mediation of trustfulness and trustworthiness. *Human Relations*, **61** (12), 1713-1742.
DOI: 1177/0018726708098083. Downloaded 14.02.09.

Cilliers, P, 2002. *Complexity and Postmodernism: Understanding Complex Systems*. London: Routledge.

Clandinin, D. J, and Connelly, F. M, 2000. Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Clandinin, D.J, 2006. Narrative inquiry: A methodology for studying lived experience. *Research Studies in Music Education*, **27**, 44-54.
DOI: 10.1177/1321103X060270010301. Downloaded 20.06.08.
- Clark, D.A, 2005. Sen's capability approach and the many spaces of human well-being. *Journal of Development Studies*, **41** (8), 1339-1368.
DOI: 10.1080/00220380500186853. Downloaded 12.12.07.
- Clarke, P, 2000. *Learning Schools, Learning Systems*. London: Continuum.
- Clarke, P, 2006. Challenging challenge: the importance of knowing that we don't know, sometimes... *Improving Schools*, **9** (3), 187-191. DOI: 10.1177/1365480206065011.
Downloaded 24.12.06.
- Coffield, F, 2000. The structure below the surface: reassessing the significance of informal learning. In Coffield, F (ed.), *The Necessity of Informal Learning*. Bristol: Policy Press, 1-11.
- Cole, K, 1999. *Economy, Environment, Development, Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Connelly, F.M, and Clandinin, D.J, 1990. Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, **19** (5), 2-14.
- Cook, S.D.N, and Brown, J.S, 1999. Bridging epistemologies: The generative dance between organizational knowledge and organizational knowing. *Organization Science*, **10** (4), 381-400.
- Coolican, H, 2005. *Research Methods and Statistics in Psychology* (third edition). London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Cooper, M, 2000. *The Well Teacher: Promoting staff health, beating stress and reducing absence*. Stafford: Network Educational Press.

Cornelissen, J.P., 2005. Beyond compare: Metaphor in organization theory. *Academy of Management Review*, **30** (4), 751-764. Downloaded 14.03.07.

Cornelissen, J.P., Oswick, C., Christensen, L.T., and Phillips, N., 2008. Metaphor in organizational research: Context, modalities and implications for research – Introduction. *Organization Studies*, **29** (1), 07-22. DOI: 10.1177/0170840607086634. Downloaded 01.02.08.

Creswell, J.W., 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (second edition). London: Sage.

Cropanzano, R., and Greenberg, J., 2001. Progress in organizational justice. In Cooper, C., and Robertson, I., (eds.), *Organizational Psychology and Development*. Chichester: John Wiley, 243-298.

Cummings, C., and Dyson, A., 2007. The role of schools in area regeneration. *Research Papers in Education*, **22** (1), 1-22. DOI: 10.1080/02671520601152029. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Dall’Alba, G., 2009. Learning professional ways of being: Ambiguities of becoming. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **41** (1), 34-45. DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2008.00475.x. Downloaded 15.02.09.

Davies, B (ed.), 2007. *Developing Sustainable Leadership*. London: Sage/Paul Chapman.

Davies, P., and Coates, G., 2005. Competing conceptions and values in school strategy: Rational planning and beyond. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, **33** (1), 109-124.

Dawson, S., 1996. *Analysing Organisations* (third edition). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

de Ruyter, D.J, 2004. Pottering in the garden? On human flourishing and education. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, **52** (4), 377-389. Downloaded 16.12.04.

Deleuze, G, and Guattari, F, 2004[1987]. *A Thousand Plateaus* (trans. Massumi, B). London: Continuum.

Deleuze, G, 1993[1987]. Rhizome versus trees. In Boundas, C.V (ed.), *The Deleuze Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press, 27-36.

Delors, J, 1996. *Learning: The Treasure Within*. Report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century. Paris: UNESCO.

Dempster, N, and Berry, V, 2003. Blindfolded in a minefield: principals' ethical decision-making. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, **33** (3), 457-477.

Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2002. *The Healthy Schools Standard: Themes*. <http://www.healthyschools.gov.uk/Themes/Default.aspx>. Downloaded 07.07.09. [See also Health Development Agency 2002.]

Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2004. *Every Child Matters: Change for Children*. London: DfES-110-2004.

Desai, V, 2002. Community participation in development. In Desai, V, and Potter, R.B (eds.), *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Hodder Arnold, 117-121.

Desai, V, and Potter, R.B (eds.), 2002. *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Dewey, J, 1981[1916]. Education as Growth. In McDermott, J.J (ed.), *The Philosophy of John Dewey* (second edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 483-493.

Dichter, T, 2003. *Despite Good Intentions: Why development assistance to the Third World has failed*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

- Diener, E, 1984. Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, **95**, 542-575.
- Diener, E, Sapyta J.J, and Suh E.M, 1998. Subjective well-being is essential to well-being. *Psychological Inquiry*, **9**, 33-37. Downloaded 26.02.07.
- Diener, E, Suh, E.M, Lucas, R.E, and Smith, H.L, 1999. Subjective well-being: Three decades of progress. *Psychological Bulletin*, **125** (2), 276-302.
- Diener, E, Oishi, S, and Lucas, R.E, 2003. Personality, culture and Subjective Well-Being: Emotional and cognitive evaluations of life. *Annual Review of Psychology*, **54**, 403-425. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145056. Downloaded 19.10.04.
- Dimmock, C, 2000. *Designing the Learning-Centred School: A cross-cultural perspective*. London: Falmer.
- Dirkx, J.M, Mezirow, J, and Cranton, P, 2006. Musings and reflections on the process of transformative learning: A dialogue between John M. Dirkx and Jack Mezirow. *Journal of Transformative Education*, **4** (2), 123-139. DOI: 10.1177/1541344606287503. Downloaded 17.12.07.
- Drew, J.B, and Kiecolt-Glaser, J, 1998. Defining wellness: Stress, illness and the application of existing knowledge. *Psychological Inquiry*, **9**, 37-40.
- Dunford, R, and Jones, D, 2000. Narrative in strategic change. *Human Relations*, **53** (9), 1207-1226.
- Dweck, C.S, 2000. *Self-Theories: Their role in motivation, personality and development*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Elangovan, A.R, and Shapiro, D, 1998. Betrayal of trust in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, **23** (3), 547-566. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/259294>. Downloaded 30.08.08.

Ellerman, D, 2006. *Helping People Help Themselves: From the World Bank to an alternative philosophy of development assistance*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Elliott, J, 2001. Characteristics of performative cultures. In Gleeson, D, and Husband, C (eds.), *The Performing School*. London: Routledge, 192-209. (Cited in Gleeson and Knights 2006.)

Embleton Tudor, L, Keemar, K, Tudor, K, Valentine, J, and Worrall, M, 2004. *The Person-Centred Approach: A contemporary introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Engeström, Y, Engeström, R, and Kärkkäinen, M, 1995. Polycontextuality and boundary crossing in expert cognition: Learning and problem solving in complex work activities. *Learning and Instruction*, **5**, 319-336. Downloaded 23.04.08.

Engeström, Y, Miettinen, R, and Punamäki, R-L (eds.), 1999. *Perspectives on Activity Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Engeström, Y, 2001. Expansive learning at work: towards an activity-theoretical reconceptualisation. *Journal of Education and Work*, **14** (1), 133-156. DOI: 10.1080/13639080020028747. Downloaded 01.05.08.

Engeström, Y, 2004. The new generation of expertise: Seven theses. In Rainbird, H, Fuller, A, and Munro, A (eds.), *Workplace Learning in Context*. London: Routledge, 145-165.

Engeström, Y, and Blackler, F, 2005. On the life of the object. *Organization*, **12** (3), 307-330. DOI: 10.1177/1350508405051268. Downloaded 04.05.08.

Engeström, Y, and Kerosuo, H, 2007. From workplace learning to inter-organizational learning and back: The contribution of activity theory. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, **19** (6), 336-342. DOI 10.1108/13665620710777084. Downloaded 08.01.08.

- Eraut, M, 1994. *Developing Professional Knowledge and Competence*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Eraut, M, 1999. Headteachers' knowledge, practice and mode of cognition. In Bush, T, Bolam, R, Glatton, R and Ribbins, P (eds.) *Educational Management: Redefining theory, policy and practice*. London: Sage/Paul Chapman, 114-126.
- Erickson, D, 2007. A developmental re-forming of the phases of meaning in transformational learning. *Adult Education Quarterly*, **58** (1), 61-80.
DOI: 10.1177/0741713607305936. Downloaded 06.11.07.
- Erikson, E, 2001[1964]. Insight and responsibility. In Coles, R (ed.), *The Erik Erikson Reader*. London: Norton, 194-195.
- Esteva, G, 2007[1992]. Development. In Sachs, W, *The Development Dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power*. London: Zed Books, 6-25.
- Fineman, S, 2003. *Understanding Emotion at Work*. London: Sage.
- Fink, D, 2005. *Leadership for Mortals: Developing and sustaining leaders of learning*. London: Sage, Paul Chapman, Corwin Press.
- Flaherty, S, and Moss, S.A, 2007. The impact of personality and team context on the relationship between workplace injustice and counterproductive work behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, **37** (11), 2549-2575. Downloaded 06.11.07.
- Foucault, M, 2004/1969. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge Classics (translation: 1972).
- Fredrickson, B.L, 1998. What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology*, **2**, 300-319. Downloaded 29.06.07.

- Fredrickson, B.L., 2004. The Broaden-and-Build Theory of Positive Emotions. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, B* 359, 1367-1377. DOI: 10.1098/rstb.2004.1512. Downloaded 19.05.06.
- Fredrickson, B.L., and Losada, M.L., 2005. Positive affect and the complex dynamics of human flourishing. *American Psychologist*, **60** (7), 678-686. DOI: 10.1037/0003-066X.60.7.678. Downloaded 29.06.07.
- Freire, P., 1972. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- French, W.L., and Bell, C.H., 1995. *Organization Development* (fifth edition). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Fromm, E., 1976. *To Have or To Be?* New York: Harper and Row.
- Fullan, M., 2001. *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (third edition). Columbia: Teachers College Press.
- Fuller, A., Munro, A., and Rainbird, H., 2004. Introduction and overview. In Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro, A (eds.), *Workplace Learning in Context*. London: Routledge, 1-18.
- Fuller, A., and Unwin, L., 2004. Expansive learning environments: Integrating organizational and personal development. In Rainbird, H., Fuller, A., and Munro, A (eds.), *Workplace Learning in Context*. London: Routledge, 126-144.
- Gadamer, H-G, 1977[1962]. On the problem of self-understanding. In Linge, D.E (trans.and ed.), *Philosophical Hermeneutics*. Berkeley: University of California, 44-58.
- Gadamer, H-G, 2001. Education is self-education (trans. Cleary, J. and Hogan, P). *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **35** (4), 529-537. Downloaded 16.05.05.
- Gadamer, H-G, 2004/1975. *Truth and Method* (second, revised edition), revised translation: Weinsheimer, J., and Marshall, D.G. London and NY: Continuum.

Gaspar, D, 2002. Is Sen's Capability Approach an adequate basis for considering human development? *Review of Political Economy*, **14** (4), 435-461. DOI: 10.1080/095382502200000989 8. Downloaded 11.06.07.

Geertz, C, 1979. From the native's point of view: On the nature of anthropological understanding. In Rabinow, P, and Sullivan, W.M (eds.), *Interpretive Social Science: A reader*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 225-241.

Gewirtz, S, 2002. *The Managerial School: Post-welfarism and social justice in education*. London: Routledge.

Giddens, A, 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gidron, Y, Magen, R, and Ariad, S, 2001. The relation between hopelessness and psychological and serological outcomes in Israeli women with breast cancer. *Psychology and Health*, **16**, 289-296.

Gilbert, P, 2007[1992]. *Psychotherapy and Counselling for Depression* (Third Edition). London: Sage.

Gillett, G.R, and McMillan, J, 2001. *Consciousness and Intentionality*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Glatter, R, 2004. Leadership and leadership development in education. In Storey, J (ed.), *Leadership in Organizations: Current Issues and Key Trends*. Abingdon: Routledge, 203-221.

Glatter, R, 2006. Leadership and organization in education: time for a re-orientation? *School Leadership and Management*, **26** (1), 69-83. DOI: 10.1080/13634230500492962. Downloaded 10.01.07.

- Gleeson, D, and Knights, D, 2006. Challenging dualism: Public professionalism in 'troubled' times. *Sociology*, **40** (2), 277-295. DOI: 10.1177/0038038506062033. Downloaded 14.04.08.
- Goodwin, N, 2006. A note from the series editor. In Ellerman, D, *Helping People Help Themselves*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, vii-ix.
- Gray, J, Goldstein, H, and Thomas, S, 2001. Predicting the Future: The role of past performance in determining trends in institutional effectiveness at A level. *British Educational Research Journal*, **27** (4), 391-405.
- Greene, M, 2005. Imagining futures: The public school and possibility. In Carr, W (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge, 161-173.
- Gregg, P, Grout, P, Ratcliffe, A, Smith, S, and Windmeijer, F, 2008. *How important is pro-social behaviour in the delivery of public services?* Bristol: Centre for Market and Public Services, Working Paper No. 08/197.
<http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/CMPO/workingpapers/wp197.pdf>. Downloaded 23.05.08.
- Grenfell, M, 2004. *Pierre Bourdieu: Agent provocateur*. London: Continuum.
- Griffin, J, 1986. *Well-Being: Its Meaning, Measurement, and Moral Importance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Griffin, J, 2000. Replies. In Crisp, R, and Hooker, B, *Well-Being and Morality: Essays in Honour of James Griffin*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 281-313.
- Griffin, J, 2007. What do Happiness Studies study? *Journal of Happiness Studies*, **8**, 139-148. DOI: 10.1007/s10902-006-9007-4. Downloaded 19.10.07.
- Grimshaw, J, 1999. *Employment and Health: Psychosocial Stress in the Workplace*. London: British Library.

Gronemeyer, M, 2007[1992]. Helping. In Sachs, W (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A guide to knowledge as power*. London: Zed Books and Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 53-69.

Gronn, P, 2003. *The New Work of Educational Leaders*. London: Sage.

Gunter, H, 2003. Thinking through moral values: Putting Bourdieu to work within the field of education management. In Samier, E.A (ed.), *Ethical Foundations for Educational Administration: Essays in honour of Christopher Hodgkinson*. London: Routledge Falmer, 212- 252.

Gunter, H.M, 2008. Policy and workforce reform in England. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, **36** (2), 253-270. DOI: 10.1177/1741143207087776. Downloaded 14.04.08.

Gutting, G, 2005. *Foucault: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Habermas, J, 1990. A review of Gadamer's *Truth and Method* (Dallmayr, F.R and McCarthy, T, trans). In Ormiston, G.L, and Schrift, A.D (eds.), *The Hermeneutic Tradition*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 213-244. (Cited in Prasad, A, 2000: 22).

Hager, P, 2004a. The conceptualization and measurement of learning at work. In Rainbird, H, Fuller, A, and Munro, A (eds.), *Workplace Learning in Context*. London: Routledge, 242-258.

Hager, P, 2004b. Front-loading, workplace learning and skill development. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **36** (5), 523-534. Downloaded 01.02.07.

Hammersley, M, and Atkinson, P, 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (second edition). London: Routledge.

Hammersely, M, 2004. Some questions about evidence-based practice in education. In Thomas, G and Pring, R (eds.), *Evidence-Based Practice in Education*. Maidenhead: Open University / McGraw-Hill, 133-149.

Hammersley, M, 2006. Philosophy's contribution to social science research on education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **40** (2), 273-286. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Harris, A, and Hopkins, D, 2000. Introduction to Special Feature: Alternative perspectives on school improvement. *School Leadership and Management*, **20** (1), 9-14. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Harris, A, 2003. Teacher leadership and school improvement. In Harris, A, Day, C, Hopkins, D, Hadfield, M, Hargreaves, A, and Chapman, C (eds.), 2003, *Effective Leadership for School Improvement*. London: Routledge Falmer, 72-83.

Harris, C, 2003. Heidegger's 'question concerning technology': Implications for responsible school leadership in an era of restructuring. In Samier, E.A (ed.), *Ethical Foundations for Educational Administration: Essays in honour of Christopher Hodgkinson*. London: Routledge Falmer, 178-198.

Hasenfield, Y, 1983. *Human Service Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. (Cited in Johnson, B, 2004: 20.)

Hatch, M.J, 1997. *Organization Theory: Modern Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hatch, M.J, and Yanow, D, 2008. Methodology by metaphor: Painting and the study of organizational identity. *Organization Studies*, **29** (1), 23-44.
DOI: 10.1177/0170840607086635. Downloaded 03.02.08.

Hay, A, 2006. Seeing differently: Putting MBA learning into practice. *International Journal of Training and Development*, **10** (4), 291-297. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Haybron, D.M, 2000. Two philosophical problems in the study of happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, **1**, 207-225. Downloaded 29.05.07.

Haydon, Graham, 2007. *Values for Educational Leadership*. London: Sage.

Health and Safety Executive (HSE), 2000. *Securing Health Together: A long-term occupational health strategy for England, Scotland and Wales*. London: Health and Safety Commission and Health and Safety Executive C250.

Health Development Agency (HDA), 2002. *National Healthy School Standard: Staff health and wellbeing*. Wetherby: Department of Health, Department for Education and Skills, Teacher Support Network and Worklife Support.

Hebson, G, Earnshaw, J, and Marchington, L, 2007. Too emotional to be capable? The changing nature of emotion work in definitions of 'capable teaching'. *Journal of Education Policy*, **22** (6), 675-694. DOI: 10.1080/02680030701635312. Downloaded 14.04.08.

Heidegger, M, 1998[1967]. Preface to *Wegmarken*. Frankfurt: Vittorio Klosterman. Gesamtausgabe edition, vol. 9. Frankfurt: Vittorio Klosterman, 1976. Trans. *Pathmarks* McNeill, W.A (ed.), 1998. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Cited in Peters 2009: 3.)

Heidegger, M, 1999[1936-1938]. *Contributions to Philosophy (From Enowning)*, trans. Emad, P, and Maly, K. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. (Cited in Peters 2009: 4.)

Heidegger, M, 2007a[1927]. *Being and Time* (trans. MacQuarrie, J, and Robinson, E, 1962). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing (29th impression).

Heidegger, M, 2007b[1964]. The end of philosophy and the task of thinking. In Krell, D.F (ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings*. London: Routledge, 427-449.

Heracleous, L, 2006. *Discourse, Interpretation, Organization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heracleous, L, and Jacobs, C, 2008. Understanding organizations through embodied metaphors. *Organization Studies*, **29** (1), 45-77.
DOI: 10.1177/0170840607086637. Downloaded 03.02.08.

Hetland, H, Sandal, G.M, and Johnsen, T.B, 2007. Burnout in the information technology sector: Does leadership matter? *European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology*, **16** (1), 58-75.
DOI: 10.1080 13594320601084558. Downloaded 17.05.07.

Hinchcliffe, G, 2004. Work and human flourishing. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **36** (5), 535-547. Downloaded 01.02.07.

Hinchcliffe, G, 2007. Truth and the capability of learning. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **41** (2), 221-232. Downloaded 07.11.07.

HMSO, 1974. *Health and Safety at Work Act 1974*. UK: The Stationery Office.

HMSO, 1988. *The Education Reform Act 1988*. UK: The Stationery Office.

HMSO, 1999. *The Management of health and Safety at Work Regulations 1999*. UK: The Stationery Office.

HMSO, 2004. Non-teaching staff by type of school. *Social Trends*, 34. UK: The Stationery Office.

Hochschild, A.R, 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: UCP.

Hofstede, G, 2003[1991]. *Cultures and Organizations: Intercultural co-operation and its importance for survival*. London: Profile Books.

- Holliday, A, 2002. *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Hollins, K, Gunter, H.G, and Thomson, P, 2006. Living improvement: A case study of a secondary school in England. *Improving Schools*, **9** (2), 141-152. DOI: 10.1177/1365480206064728. Downloaded 20.02.08.
- Holm, U, 2007. Lifelong learning and 'time competence'. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, **26** (1), 25-43. DOI: 10.1080/02601370601151364. Downloaded 16.12.07.
- Hopkins, D, 1990. The International School Improvement Project (ISIP) and effective schooling: Towards a synthesis. *School Organisation*, **10** (2), 179-194.
- Hopkins, D, 2001. *School Improvement for Real*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Hopkins, D, 2007. Sustaining leaders for system change. In Davies, B (ed.), *Developing Sustainable Leadership*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 154-174.
- Hopkins, D, and Reynolds, D, 2001. The Past, Present and Future of School Improvement: Towards the Third Age. *British Educational Research Journal*, **27** (4), 459-475. DOI: 10.1080/01411920120071461.
- Hotho, S, and Pollard, D, 2007. Management as negotiation at the interface: Moving beyond the critical-practice impasse. *Organization*, **14** (4), 583-603. DOI: 10.1177/1350508407078768. Downloaded 01.02.08.
- Hughes, J, 1993. *The Philosophy of Social Research*. London: Longman, cited in Burton, D (ed.), 2000. *Research Training for Social Scientists*. London: Sage, 1.
- Huppert, F.A, and Baylis, N, 2004. Well-being: towards an integration of psychology, neurobiology and social science. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, **B**, 359: 1447-1451. DOI:10.1098/rstb.2004.1519. Downloaded 19.05.06.

Huppert, F.A, Baylis, N, and Keverne, B, 2004. Introduction: Why do we need a science of well-being? *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, **B**, **359**, 1331-1332. DOI:10.1098/rstb.2004.1519. Downloaded 19.05.06.

Hussey, T, 2002. Thinking about change. *Nursing Philosophy*, **3**:104 -113.

Ignatow, G, 2007. Theories of embodied knowledge: New directions for cultural and cognitive science? *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, **37** (2), 115-135. Downloaded 20.03.08.

Industrial Relations Services, 2001. Norfolk Education Staff Well-Being Project: Working for fitter schools. In *IRS Employment Review*, No.733 (August), 'Employee Health Bulletin', 7-11.

James, C, Connolly, M, Dunning, G, and Elliott, T, 2006. *How Very Effective Primary Schools Work*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, in association with BELMAS.

James, O, 2008. *The Selfish Capitalist: Origins of affluenza*. London: Vermilion.

Janesick, V.J, 2003. The Choreography of Qualitative Research Design (second edition). In Denzin, N.K, and Lincoln, Y, (eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. London: Sage, 46-79.

Jarvis, P, 2006. *Towards a Comprehensive Theory of Human Learning*. London: Routledge.

Jaspers, K, 1996[1937]. *Introduction to 'Philosophy of Existence'*. In Kearney, R, and Rainwater, M, (eds.), *The Continental Philosophy Reader*. London: Routledge, 55-61.

Jeffrey, B, and Troman, G, 2004. Time for ethnography. *British Educational Research Journal*, **30** (4), 536-548.

Jickling, B, and Wals, A.E.J, 2008. Globalization and environmental education: Looking beyond sustainable development. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, **40** (1), 1-21.

DOI: 10.1080/00220270701684667. Downloaded 22.02.08.

Johnson, B.L, 2004. Where have all the flowers gone? Reconnecting leadership preparation with the field of organization theory. *UCEA Review*, Fall 2004, 16-21. www.ucea.org.

Jones, C, and Munro, R, (eds.), 2005. *Contemporary Organization Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Joseph, S, and Linley, P.A, 2005. Positive adjustment to threatening events: An organismic valuing theory of growth through adversity. *Review of General Psychology*, **9** (3), 262-280. DOI: 10.1037/1089-2680.9.3.262. Downloaded 29.06.07.

Jung, Carl Gustav, 1933. *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Kahneman, D, Diener, E, and Schwarz, N (eds.), 1999. *Well-Being: The foundations of hedonic psychology*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kegan, R, 2000. What “form” transforms? A constructive-developmental approach to transformative learning. In Mezirow, J (ed.), *Learning in Transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*, 35-69. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. (Cited in Erickson 2007: 63.)

Kelman, S, 2005. *Unleashing Change: A study of organizational renewal in government*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press (reviewed by Sutcliffe 2006).

Kerdeman, D, 1998. Hermeneutics and education: Understanding, control, and agency. *Educational Theory*, **48** (2), 241-266.

Kerdeman, D, 2003. Pulled up short: Challenging self-understanding as a focus of teaching and learning. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **37** (2), 293-308.

Keyes, C, 1998. Social Well-Being. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, **61** (2), 121-140.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=01902725%28199806%2961%3A2%3C121%3ASW%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K>. Downloaded 14.11.07.

Keyes, C, and Haidt, J, (eds.), 2003. Introduction: Human flourishing – The study of that which makes life worthwhile. In Keyes, C, and Haidt, J (eds.) *Flourishing: Positive Psychology and the Life Well Lived*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 3-12.

Kiefer, T, 2002. Analyzing emotions for a better understanding of organizational change: Fear, joy and anger during a merger. In Ashkanasy, N.M, Zerbe, W.J, and Härtel, C.E.J, (eds.), *Managing Emotions in the Workplace*. London: M.E. Sharpe, 45-69.

Kilgore, D, and Bloom, L.R, 2002. ‘When I’m down, it takes me a while’: Rethinking transformational education through narratives of women in crisis. *Adult Basic Education*, **12**, 123-133. (Cited in Taylor 2007: 185.)

Knights, D, 2004. Michel Foucault. In Linstead, S (ed.), *Organization Theory and Postmodern Thought*. London: Sage, 14-33.

Knights, D, and Willmott, H, 2005. The subjugation of identity and ... and ... organization-to-come. In Jones, C, and Munro, R, (eds.), *Contemporary Organization Theory*. London: Blackwell, 148-162.

Kolb, D.A, 1984. *Experiential Learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Kreber, C, 2004. An analysis of two models of reflection and their implications for educational development. *International Journal for Academic Development*, **9** (1), 29-49. DOI: 10.1080/1360144042000296044. Downloaded 06.11.07.

Krell, D.F (ed.), 2007[1978]. *Martin Heidegger: Basic Writings*. London: Routledge.

Ladson-Billings, G, 2003. Racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies. In Denzin, N, and Lincoln, Y, (eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (second edition). London: Sage, 398-432.

Lakoff, G, and Johnson, M, 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh*. New York: Basic Books.

Lang, D, 2003. Aquinas' notion of good in the context of educational leadership. In Samier, E.A (ed.), *Ethical Foundations for Educational Administration*. London: Routledge Falmer, 81-96.

Lange, E.A, 2004. Transformative and restorative learning: A vital dialectic for sustainable societies. *Adult Education Quarterly*, **54** (2), 121-139. DOI: 10.1177/0741713603260276. Downloaded 18.12.07.

Laszlo, E, 1987. *Evolution: The grand synthesis*. Boston: New Science Library.

Latchem, C, and Hanna, D.E, 2001. Processes of organizational change. In Latchem, C, and Hanna, D.E (eds.), *Leadership for 21st Century Learning*. London: Kogan Page, 41-52.

Lave, J, 1996. The practice of learning. In Chaiklin, S, and Lave, J (eds.), *Understanding practice: perspectives on activity and context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-32.

Lave, J, and Wenger, E, 1991. *Situated Learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Le Guin, U, 1989. *Dancing at the end of the world: Thoughts on words, women, places*. New York: Harper and Row. (Cited in Dunford, R, and Jones, D, 2000: 1209.)

Leithwood, K, Bauer, S, and Riedlinger, B, 2007. Developing and sustaining school leaders: Lessons from research. In Davies, B (ed.), *Developing Sustainable Leadership*. London: Sage/Paul Chapman, 97-115.

Leont'ev, A.N, 1978. *Activity, Consciousness, and Personality*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Levering, B, 2006. Epistemological issues in phenomenological research: How authoritative are people's accounts of their own perceptions? *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **40** (4), 451-462. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Lévi-Strauss, C, translated 1966. *The Savage Mind (La Pensée Sauvage)*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Unacknowledged translation. (Original publication, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1962.)

Levinas, E, 1996 [1989]. *Ethics as First Philosophy*, extracted from Hand, S. (ed.) 1989, *The Levinas Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell. In Kearney, R. and Rainwater, M, 1996. *The Continental Philosophy Reader*. London: Routledge, 124-135.

Levykh, M, 2008. The affective establishment and maintenance of Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development. *Educational Theory*, **58** (1), 83-101. Downloaded 03.02.09.

Lohman, M, 2005. A survey of factors influencing the engagement of two professional groups in informal workplace activities. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, **16** (4), 501-527. Downloaded 06.12.07.

Luckcock, T, 2007. Personal growth and spirituality in leadership development: A critical analysis of the construction of self in LPSH. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, **35** (4), 535-554. DOI: 10.1177/1741143207081062. Downloaded 19.10.07.

Lupton, R, 2005. Social justice and school improvement: Improving the quality of schooling in the poorest neighbourhoods. *British Educational Research Journal*, **31** (5), 589-604. DOI: 10.1177/1741143208090595. Downloaded 23.10.08.

MacGilchrist, B, Myers, K, and Reed, J, 2004. *The Intelligent School*. London: Sage.

McLaughlin, C, 2008. Emotional well-being and its relationship to schools and classrooms: A critical reflection. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, **36** (4), 353-366. DOI: 10.1080/03069880802364486. Downloaded 19.03.09.

McLeod, J, 2003. *An Introduction to Counselling*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press.

Maitlis, S, 2005. The social processes of organizational sensemaking. *Academy of Management Journal*, **48** (1), 21-49.

Maitlis, S, and Lawrence, T.B, 2003. Orchestral manoeuvres in the dark: Understanding failure in organizational strategizing. *Journal of Management Studies*, **40** (1), 109-139. Downloaded 16.11.05.

Marks, D.F, Murray, M, Evans, B, and Willig, C, 2000. *Health Psychology: Theory, Research and Practice*. London: Sage.

Marks, N, and Shah, H, 2005. A well-being manifesto for a flourishing society. In Huppert, F.A, et al (eds.), *The Science of Well-Being*. Oxford: Oxford University Press and Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, 503-531.

Maslow, Abraham, 1998[1968]. *Toward a Psychology of Being* (third edition). Chichester: Wiley.

Matusov, E, DePalma, R, and Drye, S, 2007. Whose development? Salvaging the concept of development within a sociocultural approach to education. *Educational Theory*, **57** (4), 403-421.

Merleau-Ponty, M, 1964, (Edie, J.M ed.) *The Primacy of Perception: and other essays on phenomenological psychology, the philosophy of art, and politics*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, M, 2005[1945]. *Phenomenology of Perception* (English translation 1958). London: Routledge Classics.

Merriam, S.B, 2004. The role of cognitive development in Mezirow's Transformational Learning Theory. *Adult Education Quarterly*, **55** (1), 60-68.
DOI: 10.1177/0741713604268891. Downloaded 18.12.07.

Mezirow, J, 1991. *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mezirow, J, 1994. Understanding transformation theory. *Adult Education Theory*, **44** (4), 222-232.

Mezirow, J, 1997. Transformative learning: Theory to practice. In Cranton, P (ed.), *Transformative Learning in Action: Insights from Continuing and Adult Education*, No. 74 (Summer). San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass, 5-12.

Mezirow, J, 2000. Learning to think like an adult. In Mezirow, J, and Associates (eds.) *Learning as Transformation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 3-33. Cited in Merriam, 2004.

Miles, M.B, and Huberman, A.M, 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* (second edition). London: Sage.

Millward, L, 2005. *Understanding Occupational and Organizational Psychology*. London: Sage.

Misgeld, D, and Nicholson, G (eds.), 1992. *Hans-Georg Gadamer on Education, Poetry and History: Applied hermeneutics* [e-book]. New York: Albany State University Press.

Mohan, G, 2002. Participatory development. In Desai, V, and Potter, R.B (eds.), 2002. *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Hodder Arnold, 49-54.

Molden, D.C, and Dweck, C.S, 2006. Finding 'Meaning' in psychology: A lay theories approach to self-regulation, social perception, and social development. *American Psychologist*, **61** (3), 192-203.

DOI: 10.1037/0003-066X.61.3.192. Downloaded 13.11.07.

Moon, J.A, 2007[1999]. *Reflection in Learning and Professional Development*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Morgan, G, 1997[1986]. *Images of Organization* (second edition). London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Morley, L, and Rassool, N, 1999. *School Effectiveness: Fracturing the Discourse*. London: Falmer.

Mutch, A, 2006. Organization theory and military metaphor: Time for a reappraisal? *Organization*, **13** (6), 751-769.

DOI: 10.1177/1350508406068503. Downloaded 01.02.08.

Nagel, T, 1986. *The View from Nowhere*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Cited in Alexander, H.A, 2006. A view from somewhere: Explaining the paradigms of educational research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **40** (2), 205-220.

Nayak, A, 2008. On the way to theory: A processual approach. *Organization Studies*, **29** (2), 173-190. DOI: 10.1177/0170840607082227. Downloaded 27.04.08.

Nelson-Jones, R, 2006[1986]. *Human Relationship Skills* (fourth edition). London: Routledge.

Nesse, R.M, 2004. Natural selection and the elusiveness of happiness. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, **B 359**, 1333-1347. DOI: 10.1098/rstb.2004.1511. (Also in Huppert, F, Baylis, N, and Keverne, B (eds.) 2005, *The Science of Well-Being*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-32.)

New Economics Foundation, 2004. *Well-Being Manifesto for a Flourishing Society*. <http://www.neweconomics.org> Rotterdam: Erasmus University. Also in Huppert, F, Baylis, N, and Keverne, B (eds.) 2005. *The Science of Well-Being*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 503-531.

Newell, S, Robertson, M, Scarborough, H, and Swan, J, 2002. *Managing Knowledge Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Newman, J, 2007. Re-thinking 'The Public' in troubled times: Unsettling state, nation, and the liberal public sphere. *Public Policy and Administration*, **22** (1), 27-47.
DOI: 10.1177/0952076707071502. Downloaded 23.04.08.

Nicolaidou, M, and Ainscow, M, 2005. Understanding failing schools: Perspectives from the inside. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **16** (3), 229-248.

Nonaka, I, 1991. The knowledge-creating company. *Harvard Business Review*, Nov-Dec, 96-104.

Nonaka, I, and Takeuchi, H, 1995. *The Knowledge-Creating Company*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norfolk Local Education Authority and Teacher Support Network, 2001. *Developing Organisational Well-Being* [Three booklets]. Norwich: Norfolk Education Staff Well-Being Project.

Nussbaum, M.C, 2001. *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (paperback edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, M, 2006[1993]. Commentary on 'Charles Taylor: Explanation and Practical Reason'. In Nussbaum, M, and Sen, A (eds.), *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 232-241.

Nussbaum, M, 2006. Reply: In defence of global political liberalism. *Development and Change*, **37** (6), 1313-1328. Downloaded 01.01.08.

Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), 2006. *Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, 2005/6*. London: Stationery Office.

Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), 2008. *Sustaining Improvement: the journey from special measures*. London: DfES-070221.

Ogawa, R.T, and Bossert, S.T, 2000. Leadership as an organizational quality. In *The Jossey-Bass Reader on Educational Leadership* (Introduction by M. Fullan). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 38-58. (Originally published in *Educational Administration Quarterly*, **31** (2), 1995, 224-243.)

Ogden, J, 2004. *Health Psychology: A Textbook* (third edition). Maidenhead: Open University/McGraw-Hill Education.

Ouston, J, 1999. School effectiveness and school improvement: Critique of a movement. In Bush, T, Bolam, R, Glatter, R, and Ribbins, P (eds.), *Educational Management: Redefining theory, policy and practice*. London: Sage/Paul Chapman, 166-177.

Outhwaite, W (ed.), 2006. *The Habermas Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2008 (second edition, 1989). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/cgi/entry/50062558?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=development&first=1&max_to_show=10. Downloaded 29.08.08.

Parker, M, 2000. 'The less important sideshow': The limits of epistemology in organizational analysis. *Organization*, **7** (3), 519-523. DOI: 10.1177/135050840073010. Downloaded 27.08.08.

Pascale, R, Millemann, M, and Gioja, L, 2000. *Surfing the Edge of Chaos*. New York: Crown Business Publishing.

Pedder, D, 2006. Organisational conditions that foster successful classroom promotion of Learning How to Learn. *Research Papers in Education*, **21** (2), 121-200. DOI: 10.1080/02671520600615687. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Pendlebury, S, 2005. Feminism, epistemology and education. In Carr, W, (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge, 50-61.

Pennebaker, J.W, 2003. The social, linguistic, and health consequences of emotional disclosure. In Suls, J, and Wallston, K.A (eds.), *Social Psychological Foundations of Health and Illness*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 288-313.

Peters, M.A, 2009. Editorial: Heidegger, phenomenology, education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **41** (1), 2-6.

DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2008.00516.x. Downloaded 18.02.09.

Piderit, S. K, 2000. Rethinking resistance and recognizing ambivalence: A multidimensional view of attitudes toward an organizational change. *Academy of Management Review*, **25** (4), 783-794.

Podger, G, 2008. 'Don't blame HSE for workplace deaths'. (Chief Executive of the Health and Safety Executive to *The Guardian* newspaper). Monday 21st April 2008, p.33.

Polanyi, M, 1962. *Personal Knowledge: Towards a post-critical philosophy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Polanyi, M, 1975. Personal knowledge. In Polanyi, M, and Prosch, H (eds.), *Meaning*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 22-45.

Prasad, A, 2002. The contest over meaning: Hermeneutics as an interpretive methodology for understanding texts. *Organizational Research Methods*, **5** (1), 12-33.
DOI: 10.1177/1094428102051003. Downloaded 08.08.08.

Pring, R, 2000. The 'False Dualism' of educational research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **34** (2), 247-260. Downloaded 16.05.05.

Pring, R, 2005. Education as a moral practice. In Carr, W (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge, 195-205.

Punch, K.F, 2005. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (second edition). London: Sage.

Rainbird, H, Munro, A, and Holly, L, 2004. The employment relationship and workplace learning. In Rainbird, H, Fuller, A, and Munro, A (eds.), *Workplace Learning in Context*. London: Routledge, 38-53.

Rau, R, 2006. Learning opportunities at work as predictor for recovery and health. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, **15** (2), 158-180.
DOI: 10.1080/13594320500513905. Downloaded 17.05.07.

Rawls, J, 1971. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, Belknap Press.

Rawls, J, 1996. *Political Liberalism* (expanded paperback edition). New York: Columbia University Press.

Raz, J, 2000. The central conflict: Morality and self-interest. In Crisp, J, and Hooker, B (eds.), *Well-Being and Morality: Essays in Honour of James Griffin*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 209-238.

Reeves, J, Turner, E, Morris, B, and Forde, C, 2005. Changing their minds: The social dynamics of school leaders' learning. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, **35** (2), 253-273. DOI: 10.1080/03057640500147219. Downloaded 23.11.06.

Rehn, A, 2008. On meta-ideology and moralization: A prolegomena to a critique of management studies. *Organization*, **15** (4), 598-609.
DOI: 10.1177/1350508408091009. Downloaded 16.09.08.

Richardson, L, 2003[1994]. Writing: A method of inquiry. In Denzin, N.K, and Lincoln, Y.S, *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 499-541.

- Ricoeur, P, 1981. *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, Thompson, J.B, (ed. and trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Cited in Prasad, 2002.)
- Ricoeur, P, 1996[1983]. On interpretation. [Extracted from Montefiore, A (ed.), *Philosophy in France Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press]. In Kearney, R, and Rainwater, M (eds.), *The Continental Philosophy Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, 138-153.
- Rist, G, 2007. Development as a buzzword. *Development in Practice*, **17** (4), 485-491. DOI: 10.1080/09614520701469328. Downloaded 06.12.07.
- Robson, C, 2004. *Real World Research* (second edition). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rogers, C.R, 1959. A theory of therapy, personality and interpersonal relationships, as developed in the client-centered framework. In Koch, S. (ed.), *Psychology: A study of a science, Vol. 3: Formulations of the person and the social context*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 184-256.
- Rogers, C.R, 1963. The concept of the fully functioning person. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*, **1** (1), 17-26.
- Rogers, C, 1980. *A Way of Being*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, Mariner Books.
- Rogers, C, 2004[1961]. *A Therapist's View of Psychotherapy*. London: Constable.
- Rollinson, D, 2005. *Organisational Behaviour and Analysis: An Integrated Approach* (third edition). Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Rubin, H.J, and Rubin, I.S, 2005. *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data* (second edition). London: Sage.
- Rumsby, R.L, 2005a. Organisational development and employee well-being in schools: Research methods and design. (Unpublished paper: University of Leicester).

- Rumsby, R.L, 2005b. Well-being at work in education: A basis for organisational development. (Unpublished paper: University of Leicester).
- Russell, H, 2007. Learning for being: An ontological and existential approach. *International Journal of Lifelong Learning*, **26** (4), 363-384. DOI: 10.1080/02601370701417137. Downloaded 16.12.07.
- Ruth-Sahd, L.A, and Tisdell, E.J, 2007. The meaning and use of intuition in novice nurses: A phenomenological study. *Adult Education Quarterly*, **57** (2), 115-140. DOI: 10.1177/0741713606295755. Downloaded 06.11.07.
- Ryan, R.M, and Deci, E.L, 2001. On happiness and human potentials: A review of research on hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. *Annual Review of Psychology*, **52**, 141-166.
- Ryff, C.D, 1989. Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **57**, 1069-1081.
- Ryff, C.D, and Keyes, C.L.M, 1995. The structure of psychological well-being revisited. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **69**, 719-727. Downloaded 21.11.04.
- Ryff, C.D, and Singer, B, 1998. The contours of positive human health. *Psychological Inquiry*, **9** (1), 1-28. Downloaded 26.10.07.
- Ryff, C.D, and Singer, B, 2003. Flourishing under fire: Resilience as a prototype of challenged thriving. In Keyes, C.L.M, and Haidt, J (eds.), *Flourishing: Positive psychology and the life well-lived*. Washington: American Psychological Association, 15-36.
- Ryff, C.D, Singer, B.H, and Love, G.D, 2004. Positive health: Connecting well-being with biology. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, **B**, 359, 1383-1394. DOI:10.1098/rstb.2004.1521. Downloaded 24.05.07.

- Saith, A, 2006. From universal values to millennium development goals: Lost in translation. *Development and Change*, **37** (6), 1167-1199.
- Sartre, J-P, 1973[1946]. *Existentialism and Humanism* (trans. Mairet, P). London: Methuen.
- Schaffer, H.R, 2006. *Key Concepts in Developmental Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Scheier, M.F, and Carver, C.S, 2003. Self-regulatory processes and responses to health threats: Effects of optimism on well-being. In Suls, J, and Wallston, K.A (eds.), *Social Psychological Foundations of Health and Illness*. Oxford: Blackwell, 395-428.
- Schön, D.A, 2009[1991/1983]. *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Schwandt, T.A, 2003. Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism. In Denzin, N, and Lincoln, Y (eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (second edition). London: Sage, 292-331.
- Schwartz, B, and Sharpe, K.E, 2006. Practical wisdom: Aristotle meets positive psychology. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, **7**, 377-395.
DOI: 10.1007/s10902-005-3651-y. Downloaded 19.10.07.
- Scoones, I, 2007. Sustainability. *Development in Practice*, **17** (4), 589-596.
DOI: 10.1080/09614520701469609. Downloaded 26.02.08.
- Selman, P, 1998. Local Agenda 21: Substance or spin? *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, **45** (5), 553. (Cited in Scoones, I, 2007. Sustainability. *Development in Practice*, **17** (4), 589-596.)
- Sen, A, 1984. *Resources, Values and Development*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sen, A.K, 1985. Well-being, agency and freedom: the Dewey lectures 1984. *Journal of Philosophy*, **82**, 169-221. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2026184>. Downloaded 18.03.09.

Sen, A, 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A, 2006[1993]. Capability and Well-Being. In Nussbaum, M, and Sen, A (eds.), *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 30-53.

Senge, P, 2000. 'Give me a lever long enough, and single-handed I can move the world.' In *The Jossey-Bass Reader on Educational Leadership* (no editor credited). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 13-25.

Senior, B, 2002. *Organisational Change* (second edition). Harlow: Prentice Hall/Financial Times.

Shaw, P, 1997. Intervening in the shadow systems of organizations. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, **10** (3), 235-250.

Sheldon, K.M, and Lyubomirsky, S, 2006. Achieving sustainable gains in happiness: Change your actions, not your circumstances. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, **7**, 55-86. DOI: 10.1007/s10902-005-0868-8. Downloaded 19.10.07.

Shmotkin, D, 2005. Happiness in the face of adversity: Reformulating the dynamic and modular bases of subjective well-being. *Review of General Psychology*, **9** (4), 291-325. DOI: 10.1037/1089-2680.9.4.291. Downloaded 29.05.07.

Sidaway, J.D, 2002. Post-development. In Desai, V, and Potter, R.B (eds.), *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Hodder Arnold, 16-20.

Silverman, D, 2005. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction* (second edition). London: Sage.

Sims, A, 1996. *Symptoms in the Mind: An introduction to descriptive psychopathology* (second edition). London: W.B. Saunders.

Smith, A.W, and Baum, A, 2003. The influence of psychological factors on restorative function in health and illness. In Suls, J, and Wallston, K.A (eds.), *Social Psychological Foundations of Health and Illness*. Oxford: Blackwell, 431-457.

Smith, A, Brice, C, Collins, A, Matthews, V, and McNamara, R, 2000. *The Scale of Occupational Stress: A further analysis of the impact of demographic factors and type of job*. Health and Safety Executive Contract Research Report 311/2000. Norwich: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Smith, J, and Spurling, A, 1999. *Lifelong Learning: Riding the tiger*. London: Cassell.

Smith, R, 2005. Paths of judgement: The revival of practical wisdom. In Carr, W (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge Falmer, 206-218.

Smith, R, 2009. The long slide to happiness. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **42** (3-4), 559-573. Downloaded 01.02.08.

Southworth, G, 2007. Leadership succession. In Davies, B (ed.), *Developing Sustainable Leadership*. London: Sage/Paul Chapman, 175-193.

Spandler, H, 2001[1996]. *Who's Hurting Who? Young people, self-harm and suicide*. Gloucester: Houndsell Publishing / Manchester: 42nd. Street.

Spencer, L, Ritchie, J, Lewis, J, and Dillon, L, 2003. *Quality in Qualitative Evaluation: A framework for assessing research evidence* (Cabinet Office). London: National Centre for Social Research.

Spender, J-C, and Scherer, A.G, 2007. The philosophical foundations of knowledge management: Editors' Introduction. *Organization*, **14** (1), 5-28.

DOI: 10.1177/1350508407071858. Downloaded 01.02.08.

- Spiegel, S., 2005. Robert Cooper: Beyond organization. In Jones, C, and Munro, R (eds.), *Contemporary Organization Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell/The Sociological Review, 106-119.
- Starratt, R.J., 2007. Leading a community of learners: Learning to be moral by engaging the morality of learning. *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership*, **35** (2), 165-183. DOI: 10.1177/1741143207075387. Downloaded 19.10.07.
- Statt, D.A., 1991. *The Concise Dictionary of Management*. London: Routledge.
- Stevenson, N., 2000. Questions of hermeneutics: Beyond empiricism and post-modernism. In Burton, D (ed.), *Research Training for Social Scientists: A handbook for postgraduate researchers*. London: Sage, 21-33.
- Stickland, F., 1998. *The Dynamics of Change: Insights into Organisational Transition from the Natural World*. London: Routledge.
- Stojanov, K., 2007. Intersubjective recognition and the development of propositional thinking. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **41** (1), 75-93. Downloaded 07.11.07.
- Stoll, L, and Fink, D, 1996. *Changing our Schools: Linking school effectiveness and school improvement*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Storey, J (ed.), 2004. *Leadership in Organizations: Current Issues and Key Trends*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Stroh, M, 2000. Qualitative interviewing. In Burton, D (ed.), 2000. *Research Training for Social Scientists*. London: Sage, 196-214.
- Sumner, L.W, 2000. Something in between. In Crisp, R, and Hooker, B (eds.), *Well-Being and Morality: Essays in Honour of James Griffin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-19.

Sun, H, Creemers, B.P.M, and de Jong, R, 2007. Contextual factors and effective school improvement. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **18** (1), 93 – 122.
DOI: 10.1080/09243450601058287. Downloaded 20.02.08.

Sutcliffe, K.M, 2006. *Academy of Management Review*, **31** (3): 769-772. Book review of Kelman, Steven, 2005, *Unleashing Change: A study of organizational renewal in government*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Taylor, E.W, 1998. Transformative learning: A critical review. *ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education*. Information Series No.374.

Taylor, E.W, 2007. An update of transformative learning theory: a critical review of the empirical research (1999-2005). *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, **26** (2), 173-191. DOI: 10.1080/02601370701219475. Downloaded 16.12.07.

Taylor, F.W, 1911. *The Principles of Scientific Management*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Tharenou, P, 2001. Managerial Career Advancement. In Cooper, C, and Robertson, I (eds.), *Organizational Psychology and Development*. Chichester: Wiley, 61-115.

The Open University, 2008. Advertisement: 'It's Your Time'. *The Big Issue*, **789**: March 31-April 6. London, Wandsworth.

Thirlwall, A.P, 2002. Development as economic growth. In Desai, V, and Potter, R.B (eds.), *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Hodder Arnold, 41-44.

Tiberius, V, 2004. Cultural differences and philosophical accounts of well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, **5**, 293-314. Downloaded 29.05.07.

Training and Development Agency for Schools, 2008. *The Little Book of Managing Change*. London: TDA.

Troman, G, and Woods, P, 2001. *Primary Teachers' Stress*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Tsiakkios, A, 2005. The application of the concept of continuous development to the Cyprus educational system. *International Electronic Journal for Leadership in Learning*, **9** (7). <http://www.ucalgary.ca/~iejll>. Downloaded 28.02.08.

Tsoukas, H, and Vladimirou, E, 2001. What is organizational knowledge? *Journal of Management Studies*, **38** (7), 973-993. Downloaded 25.04.08.

Tuschling, A, and Engemann, C, 2006. From education to lifelong learning: The emerging regime of learning in the European Union. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **38** (4), 451-469.

United Nations, 2000. *A Better Future for All: Progress towards the International Development Goal*. New York: United Nations.

Van de Ven, A.H, and Poole, M.S, 1995. Explaining development and change in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, **20** (3), 510-540.

Van Houtte, M, 2005. Climate or culture? A plea for conceptual clarity in school effectiveness research. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **16** (1), 71-89.

Van Manen, M, 2005. Moral language and pedagogical experience. In Carr, W, (ed.) *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge, 219-229.

Vandenberghe, R, and Huberman, A.M (eds.), 1999. *Understanding and Preventing Teacher Burnout*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Viteritti, A, 2004. Gianni Vattimo, Umberto Eco and Franco Rella. In Linstead, S (ed.), *Organization Theory and Postmodern Thought*. London: Sage, 149-172.

Vygotsky, L.S, 1978. *Mind in Society*. Cole, M, John-Steiner, V, Scribner, S, and Souberman, E (eds.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Walford, G, 2001. *Doing Qualitative Educational Research: A personal guide to the research process*. London: Continuum.
- Walker, J.C, 2005. Self-determination as an educational aim. In Carr, W (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge, 74-82.
- Wallace, M, 2002. Modelling distributed leadership and management effectiveness: Primary school senior management teams in England and Wales. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **13** (2), 163-186. Downloaded 06.05.05.
- Waterman, A.S, 1993. Two conceptions of happiness: Contrasts of personal expressiveness (eudaimonia) and hedonic enjoyment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **64**, 678-691.
- Weick, K.E, 1995. *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Weick, K.E, 2001. *Making Sense of the Organization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Weick, K, and Quinn, R, 1999. Organizational change and development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, **50**, 361-386.
- Weightman, J, 2004. *Managing People* (second edition). London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development.
- Wenger, E, 2000. Communities of practice and social learning systems. *Organization*, **7** (2), 225-246. DOI: 10.1177/135050840072002. Downloaded 27.04.08.
- Wethington, E, 2003. Turning-points as opportunities for psychological growth. In Keyes, C, and Haidt, J (eds.), *Flourishing: Positive Psychology and the Life Well Lived*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 37-53.
- White, J, 2005. Education, the market and the nature of personal well-being. In Carr, W (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge, 97-107. (Also 2002 in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, **50** (4), 442-456.)

White, J, 2007. Well-Being and education: Issues of culture and authority. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, **41** (1), 17-28.

Wikeley, F, Stoll, L, and Lodge, C, 2000. Effective school improvement: The English case studies. In de Jong, R (ed.), *Effective school improvement programs: A description and evaluation of ESI programs in eight European Countries*. Groningen, The Netherlands: GION, 45-177.

Wikeley, F, and Murillo, J, 2005. Effective School Improvement: An introduction. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, **16** (4), 355-358.
DOI: 10.1080/09243450500234336. Downloaded 07.01.07.

Williamson, B, 2006[1998]. *Lifeworlds and Learning*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE).

Wilson, J, 2003. Perspectives on the philosophy of education. *Oxford Review of Education*, **29** (2), 279-293.

Winch, C, 2005. Autonomy as an educational aim. In Carr, W (ed.), *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Educational Philosophy*. Abingdon: Routledge, 65-73.

Woods, P, 1999. Intensification and stress in teaching. In Vandenberghe, R, and Huberman, A.M (eds.), *Understanding and Preventing Teacher Burnout*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115-138.

Woods, P.A, 2007. Authenticity in the bureau-enterprise culture: The struggle for authentic meaning. *Educational Management, Administration and Leadership*, **35** (2), 295-320. DOI: 10.1177/1741143207075395. Downloaded 19.10.07.

Wooltorton, S, 2004. Local sustainability at school: A political reorientation. *Local Environment*, **9** (6), 595-609. DOI: 10.1080/1354983042000288085. Downloaded 22.02.08.

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 1987. *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wright, T.A, 2002. The importance of time in organizational research. *Academy of Management Review*, **27** (3), 343-345.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4134382>. Downloaded 24.09.08.

Wrigley, T, 2004. 'School effectiveness': The problem of reductionism. *British Educational Research Journal*, **30** (2), 227-244.

DOI: 10.1080/0141192042000195272. Downloaded 01.12.04.

Wrigley, T, 2005. Leadership and resistance. *Improving Schools*, **8** (1), 5-6

Wrigley, T, 2006. Schools and poverty: Questioning the Effectiveness and Improvement paradigms. *Improving Schools*, **9** (3), 273-290.

DOI: 10.1177/1365480206072154. Downloaded 24.12.06.

World Health Organisation, 1946. *Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organisation* as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19/22 June 1946; signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the WHO, No.2, p.100) and entered into force on 7 April 1948.

Yandell, J, and Turvey, A, 2007. Standards or communities of practice? Competing models of workplace learning and development. *British Educational Research Journal*, **33** (4), 533-550. DOI: 10.1080/01411920701434052. Downloaded 07.11.07.

Yorke-Barr, J, and Duke, K, 2004. What do we know about teacher leadership? Findings from two decades of scholarship. *Review of Educational Research*, **74** (3), 255-316.

Zapf, D, and Holz, M, 2006. On the positive and negative effects of emotion work in organizations. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, **15** (1), 1-28. DOI: 10.1080/13594320500412199. Downloaded 17.05.07.

Zimmerman, B, 2006. Pragmatism and the capability approach: Challenges in social theory and empirical research. *European Journal of Social Theory*, **9** (4), 467-484.
DOI: 10.1177/1368431006073014. Downloaded 06.06.07.