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ABSTRACT

Headteachers in England, Scotland, and Denmark must respond to wide-ranging and often conflicting external demands. Simultaneously, they must develop strategies to enhance their staffs' skills and improve pupil performance. This paper examines the background of a collaborative research project on school leadership in the three countries; elaborates on the nature of the research design and methodology; and explores some emerging issues. Data were gathered through interviews with 45 headteachers/principals in 31 schools in the 3 countries. Phase two of the research will explore other school community members' expectations of headteachers. The headteachers identified the following leadership challenges--maintaining visibility, exerting curriculum leadership, demonstrating expertise in a climate of increased accountability, managing time, and managing conflict. In dealing with conflict, headteachers tended to take on the role of referee, key player, or torch bearer. At a conference held in Edinburgh (Scotland) in March 1995, headteachers offered the following guidelines for conflict management: (1) distinguish between functional and dysfunctional conflict; (2) handle all conflict to produce functional outcomes; (3) seek clarification before acting to resole problems; (4) identify the source of conflict; (5) treat conflict as professional development; and (6) try for win-win situations. One figure is included. Appendices contain a review of research on leadership and a list of questions underpinning the research project. (Contains 13 references.) (LMI)

Effective School Leadership in a Time of Change: Emerging themes and Issues

Paper: American Education Research Association, San Francisco, April 1995.

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Effective School Leadership in a Time of Change: Emerging themes and Issues (1)

Paper: American Education Research Association, San Francisco, April 1995.

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This paper examines the background to a collaborative research project on effective school leadership in England, Scotland and Denmark; elaborates the nature of the research design and methodology; and explores some emerging issues.

1. The focus of the study

The theoretical problems which this research project address focus on how school leadership is conceptualised by school leaders themselves and how their expectations (and those of a range of other stake holders within the school, the school's local community and the wider education community) combine to shape the leadership role. Our starting point is that whilst a considerable amount is known about **what** leadership styles are effective, less is know about **how** leadership is operationalised; or whether **expectations** about headship help shape the style and form; or whether and how far, the style is governed by the political, economic, or social **context.** Many leadership studies have assumed one single management style as being appropriate for all settings, yet headteacher behaviour may have very different outcomes in differing settings and may be inappropriate, if it is not situationally located. (Appendix I has a more substantial discussion about theoretical issues which underpin the project.)

The purpose of the study is to examine a range of models and approaches to leadership, and how leadership is perceived in different contexts and realised in specific roles within the school. The research explores differing expectations of what constitutes an effective headteacher, by focusing on the perceptions of headteachers, staff, parents, pupils, school boards (Scotland and Denmark), governors (England), local authorities and national officials.

The aims of the project are to:

- explore emerging patterns of leadership in schools in a time of change;
- identify different models of effective leadership and how people reflect on that;
- and test out the practical and theoretical value of those models.

The key questions being examined in the study are outlined in Appendix II.

2. The context

An important starting point for this research has been the national and local context for leadership. The context for this study is England, Scotland and Denmark, and a parallel study is being carried out in Australia (3). In the UK, the structural changes which have affected all sectors of education have been dramatic. Central government has sought to establish educational institutions as separate units (sometimes separate and independent corporations) which in most respects must manage their own affairs; be accountable against some form of performance indicators; and compete against each other for customers. The emphasis has been firmly put on the customer and his, or her right, to choose.

The education changes have had a differential impact in England and Scotland. The English system is now characterised by diversity and a more market-orientated approach than in Scotland, where consensus and collaboration still feature strongly. Both systems are struggling to balance an increased emphasis on centrality and national control, with greater decentralisation to schools.

In Denmark, April 1994 saw the introduction of a new Education Act for the Danish Folkeskole designed to create a school framework based on dialogue and cooperation between teacher and pupil and a climate of increased parental and pupil influence in the day to day running of schools. Implicit in the Act is a belief that such developments are best sustained by bottom up activity from the local system - the municipality - and from schools (Ploug Olsen, Moos and Thomassen, 1995). The Act will increase decentralisation at all levels in a system already highly decentralised.

In each of the three national contexts, headteachers will have to respond to wide-ranging and often conflicting external demands. At the same time, they will need to develop strategies which will enhance the skills and talents of staff within their schools and improve the quality and performance of pupils. The challenges for headteachers and the expectations about the headship role are central issues for the study.

3. The sample

The research is being conducted in 31 schools in 10 local authority areas in England, Scotland and Denmark. The English and Scottish participants are all headteachers. In Denmark, as the headship of the school is defined as being shared by the two principals (head and deputy) both have been included in the study bringing the total sample to: **45 (21 female and 24 male).**

- **England:** There are thirteen headteachers participating in the English part of the project, seven female and six male) drawn from four local education authorities (Nottinghamshire, Hillingdon, Croydon and Hounslow). They are headteachers of different five types of schools. Three are headteachers of infant schools, one of a junior school, five of primary schools, one of a special school and three of secondary schools.

- **Denmark** : There are twenty-two school principals (heads and deputies) from the 11 schools which are participating in the project. Seven are female (four heads and three deputies) and eleven male (seven heads and three deputies). The school principals are from three municipalities: Fredensborg Humlebaek, Frederiksberg and Odense. There are variations in the size and range of the eleven schools in the study, although all teach from kindergarten to year 9.

- **Scotland:** The Scottish sample of ten schools is taken from three education authorities Strathclyde, Lothian and Central and one independent school. Seven of the headteachers are female and three male. There are five primary schools, four secondary schools and one special school in the Scottish sample.

The Scottish and English schools were chosen by the researchers in partnership with the participating local education authorities (LEAs). The LEAs were asked to identify headteachers who would be willing and interested to be involved in the project and who had already achieved a level of effectiveness, as perceived by the local authority. A balance of female and male heads was sought and the sample also took into account the range, type and size of school, as well as the catchment area it served. In the Danish sample, all schools were included from one particular municipality (Fredensborg-Humlebaek) and in order to extend the range and type of school, two schools were added to the project from Odense and two from Frederiksberg.

4. The research design and methodology

The project has been conceived as a dynamic activity. In terms of **methodology**, a range of instruments are being used to generate research data. Phase I of the project has drawn on semi-structured taped interviews with headteachers (in England and Scotland) and with headteachers and deputy headteachers (in Denmark). The interviews have explored pathways to leadership and the expectations that headteachers and principals have about their role. Participants have completed leadership and management diaries. Phase II will use explore the expectations that staff, parents, pupils, school boards/governors, employers, local authorities and national officials have about headteachers.

The research **process** is an integral element of the research design. The headteachers in the study are more than interviewees and their contributions to the framing and conduct of the research are an important part of the research. Whilst from a pure research point of view this approach would be seen as problematic, it has many advantages from a developmental and action-research perspective. Examining their role as leaders and opening themselves up to the perceptions of others is bound to affect and change the subjects of this study who will no doubt be different at the end of the two years. That process of change itself is, from a collaborative research point of view, a significant outcome from which we hope to learn a great deal.

Such a research design which takes the research team and the subjects into unpredictable directions, does need to be underpinned with methodological

rigour in the conduct of the study and in the analysis of a large body of qualitative data. The process of sharing and checking of data and testing hypotheses is being achieved by bringing the participants together at conferences at critical stages in the project, as is shown in table I. A seminar and a conference have already been held in Scotland. Findings from the Scottish seminar in 1994 were used to form the basis of a publication "Images of Leadership" (4). The Edinburgh conference concentrated on exploring the implications of the findings from the first phase of the research: headteacher expectations. Through discussion, participants have also helped to shape further stages in the project. Two further conferences are planned: Denmark, September 1995 and England Sprin 1996.

5. Emerging Issues

From the first stage of the project, five themes and issues have emerged: visibility, curriculum leadership; expertise and accountability; time; and conflict. We will refer briefly to the first three and to the latter two in greater depth.

***visibility**

Maintaining visibility was seen as a function of leadership but this was interpreted and operationalised in different ways. Being 'visible' referred to both the internal school community and the external community, with varying emphases placed on the importance of a high profile with parents, community groups, professional agencies, or local press as against visibility with the people internal to the school. Being visible to pupils and teachers was affected in different ways - by 'walking the job' (or as one headteacher put it *"walking the vision"*), having an open door, by being 'in the thick of things' in classrooms, or by making a commitment that every teacher or every pupil be spoken to at least once in a week. The underlying purposes of visibility include monitoring, availability, establishing and earning credibility, modelling and leading by example, and offering support for teachers.

***curriculum leadership**

Countries differed in their understanding of, and approaches to, curriculum leadership. In Denmark, the management team has traditionally respected the professional autonomy of teachers but is now being required by legislation to exercise a closer interest in teaching and learning. In schools in England, curriculum leadership has traditionally been the role of head'teachers' but in recent years they have found themselves pushed away from that role by the need to be managers of small businesses. The struggle to re-emerge into a more pedagogic clear water was described by one headteacher as *"coming up for curricular air "*. Scottish headteachers see a vision of the future in what has happened in England where the market philosophy has schools in a much stronger grip. Headteachers in Scotland who are, for the immediate present, are still protected by education authorities continue to exert strong curriculum leadership in primary schools and, to a lesser extent, in secondary schools, where

the power of the subject department often mitigates against a whole school approach to learning and teaching.

***expertise and accountability**

The power of the headteacher or management team to pursue a vision and exercise professional decision-making has been constrained in recent years by demands for greater accountability and by the creation of governing, or consultative, bodies to whom the management is accountable. In Denmark and Scotland, this takes the form of a school board comprising elected members from different constituencies (for example, parents and teachers). They are, unlike their English counterparts, consultative bodies with limited decision-making powers. The governing body in English schools is the employer and can have a very major influence on how decisions are made and priorities determined. A sharpened sense of accountability is common in all three countries but its legal force in England gives it exceptionally incisive teeth.

***time**

Management of time is an issue of increasing significance in all countries. This can be attributed to a widening range of expectations and multiplying demands on school leaders. While this is an issue of common concern, the extent of uniformity within and across countries in how people use their time is not clear at this stage. Typically there are attempts to stem the rising tide of administration, to stop this overflowing into other areas of school life and to try and maintain the balance between personal and professional life. 'Backlogging' (or failing to keep abreast of demands) is seen as a consequence of limited time for increasing requirements.

Heads expect to work hard. In the English sample, there is remarkable uniformity about the number of hours worked. English heads work between 50-70 hours per week, with most identifying 55 hours as the norm. Scottish heads work 45-60 hours per week. Size, the nature of the school, whether this is a first second, or even third headship do not appear to influence the hours which have to be worked, or the percentage of time spent on administration.

For Danish heads this consistency of response was not apparent, some worked 56 hours per week and others 33. This discrepancy may relate to their difficulties in dividing their working hours from their free time. Another issue that emerges from the Danish principals in relation to the balance of time spent on educational leadership or administration is the lack of agreement on the boundaries between the two. The indications are that participants do not share the same concepts, or even the same language when discussing the differences between the two. This should alert us to the need to explore more carefully with all heads in the project what is meant by categories such as administration, education and pedagogy terms which are often used as if they are unproblematic. What counts as work and leisure and how participants characterise particular tasks will be explored further in the research. What has emerged so far, however,

across all three countries is a strong feeling that the demands on heads have increased dramatically over the last five years, particularly in relation to administration. English heads uniformly spend 40% of the time on administration. Scottish heads take administration home with them.

In England and Scotland, there is no expectation that the amount of time required to do the job will diminish. In Denmark, however, the picture is apparently contradictory. Some principals expect their work load to diminish, others do not. On closer examination, the contradiction disappears: those who define leadership in terms of administration, expect their working hours to decrease because of anticipated secretarial assistance whilst those who define their work as centrally involving people, do not believe that their workload will decrease. *" The close contact with the teachers, students, parents can't be made more efficient."*

In making decisions about how they spend their time heads are in effect managing a range of competing priorities and expectations and there are complex issues about how the the agenda is determined and dealt with. For most heads it is difficult to plan their time. As one English headteacher described it.*"You have to be ready to deal with whatever hits you when you get through the door"*. The breadth of demands are enormous and can range from floods to pestilence. Whilst most English and Scottish heads have a regular teaching or classroom commitment, they struggle to maintain this. Heads are also under pressure to complete pressing administrative and financial tasks and sometimes got swamped by these responsibilities. Striving to create a balance between the different facets of their work is a constant challenge.

***Conflict**

Conflict is an inherent part of the job in all three countries. Varying expectations both internal and external, demands of time and tensions in leadership priorities are all ingredients of potential conflict. The ability to manage conflict successfully is generally seen as the most significant challenge of effective leadership. Whilst conflict manifests itself in different facets of school policy, its most immediate impact is in terms of relationships - teacher-teacher, teacher-pupil, or teacher-parent for example.

Strategies for managing that positively and creatively (or 'transformationally') are often individual and intuitive rather than 'by the book', and typically learned from previous headteachers and mentors. In dealing with conflict heads recognise that they are **alone.** Ultimately, they have to take difficult decisions and actions on their own but whether heads also feel **isolated,** seems to depend on whether they can and do draw on others, both from within and outside their school for support. Some heads seem to feel that they must shoulder all the burdens, others take a very different view. Whether this is an issue of gender has yet to be explored.

In managing conflict heads take three roles. Firstly, they are the **referee**

mediating conflict between and within different groups: parents, staff and students. As well as handling routine conflict, heads are also called on to handle profoundly personal and conflictual issues which have little direct bearing on the school itself. At its extreme, mediating conflict can involve breaking up a fight between staff, or between parents as it did for one English headteacher. *"Soon after I was appointed two parents threatened each other with knives. I called them into the office and it was resolved for a while before they fell out again.... Looking back that was risky and I'm not sure I'd do it again."* Even where the examples are less dramatic, it is not easy. In Denmark, the heads responsibility to intervene in conflict between teachers is experienced as *" one of the most difficult working areas for headteachers.... Its a very sensitive area which requires personality and training."*

Even more stressful for heads is the second area of conflict in which they are directly involved as a **player.** These areas include pupil exclusions, disciplinary procedures in relation to staff, staff redundancy and promotion. For heads the greatest personal cost is in having to make decisions about staffing which have a profound affect on peoples' lives such as promotion or redundancy, a particular issue for English heads because of local management of schools. *"It was extremely hard.. It cost me in personal terms, loneliness and so on. "* Despite the personal cost, conflict can also offer the opportunity for heads to express important values. *"In my second term I had a disciplinary action with a teacher who slapped a child in the playground and although that was absolutely awful, it did enable me to state my own values quite clearly."* (English head)

The third role that the headteacher assumes in dealing with conflict is as a **torch bearer.** Here the head has to manage the competing expectations and demands on them from a range of groups and sources. In carrying out this torch bearer role, the head frequently has to deal with the conflict which emerges when she or he overtly pursues values of equality and social justice which challenge the deeply held prejudices of some individuals and small groups.

In handling conflict in all its different forms, heads have to juggle the competing needs and wants of parents, pupils and teachers, both in relation to issues within the school and with regard to issues external to it. In developing strategies to deal with conflict there is a large degree of uniformity across the countries, any gender dimensions in this have yet to be explored. What we have found so far is that both female and male heads agree that their initial strategy in dealing with conflict is as one Scottish head put it, *" reading the runes....being ahead of the game..... heading it off."*

In exploring further this issue of strategy it has emerged that whilst heads are*"walking the vision,"* they may choose to intervene in non-public ways. Another strategy is to create systems and structures which remove the conditions in which conflict arise. For example, one English head identified resource allocation as a potential area of conflict and adopted a strategy of further devolving budgets down to staff. *"How could I possible suit everybody. They know more about their areas than I do. People don't flourish if they are pulled*

back by me making those decisions. I trust their professionalism." Despite a number of very creative strategies for reducing conflict, all heads nevertheless feel that the buck stops with them.

At the Edinburgh conference in March 1995, the theme of confict was explored extensively with headteachers. Asked to draw out strategies from their own experience the following were some of those suggested:

- distinguish between functional and dysfunctional conflict
- handle all conflict to produce functional outcomes
- don't rush into resolution - seek clarification
- analyse where the conflict arises from
- treat it as professional development
- try for win-win situations

Decide which battles

- you will fight and win
- you will postpone
- you will re-route
- you will create

"Remember! There are some battles that you should not or need not enter."

6. Concluding thoughts

As the project evolves, new themes as well as new data are emerging. Shared leadership, for example, is a phenomenon often referred to in all three countries but there are different understandings of what this means in practice and structural differences in the ways in which leadership is organised across the three countries. How it is articulated depends on differing leadership styles and even within leadership teams there are contested definitions and accounts. Shared leadership is one of the issues which the project will explore more fully. We anticipate that this study will generate a rich source of data and contribute both to our understanding of school leadership and ways in which that function can be developed most effectively.

Notes

1. This project is supported by the Nuffield Foundation, the Scottish and English Higher Education Funding Councils, the Scottish Office Education Department, the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, Roehampton Institute, the participating local authorities in Scotland (Strathclyde, Lothian and Central) and Denmark (Fredensborg Humlebaek, Frederiksberg and Odense) England (Hillingdon, Hounslow, Nottinghamshire and Croydon) and by the local Training and Enterprise Councils which cover Croydon and Hillingdon.

2. The Scottish research team includes, **Joan Forest** and **Jenny Reeves,** Quality in Education Centre, the University of Strathclyde,

3. This project will be led by **Neil Dempster** and **Lloyd Logan,** Griffith University, Queensland, Australia.

4. **Images of Leadership** (1994), is available from the Quality in Education Centre, Strathclyde University, the Centre for Educational Management, Roehampton Institute, and the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies.

Research-design
Effective School Leadership in a Time of Change

Research-team:
1994: Design

Seminar in Glasgow
May 1994
Some headteachers and LEA's
"Images of leadership"

ICSEI-Conference

Interviews with heads and deputies and LEA's

Headships to comments on interviews

Headships:
Diaries

Conference in Edinburgh
March 1995
Discussions on diaries and emerging themes

Researchers
Analysis and AERA-Annual Meeting

Conference in Copenhagen
September 1995
Discussions on themes

Stage 2:
Interviews with pupils, teachers, parents

Researchers
Analysis

Conference in London
1996
Discussions on analysis and strategies

Final report

Appendix I: Leadership the research agenda

Over the last two decades, researchers have conceptualised leadership in a number of ways. One approach has been to characterise leadership as an activity carried out by 'special' people who display certain **traits**, and who operate in particular ways. Another approach has been to focus on the issue of **style** and to analyse how that style is operationalised: whether, for example, the leader adopted a style which structured the task towards the achievement of objectives, or developed an approach which focused on the people involved. Other research has focused on issues of **context**, particularly from an anthropological perspective. Maccoby (1976), for example, constructed four male archetypal leaders which he characterised as: the craftsman, the jungle fighter, the company man and the games man.

Over the last few years, analysis has focussed on 'new order leadership': the types of leadership style which are deemed to be most effective in turbulent times. A range of management theorists have identified transformational leadership (which requires the leader to be democratic, participative and people orientated) as being a more effective style than transactional leadership (with its dependence on power and the formal characteristics of authority).

American writer Judy Rosener (1990) has developed a particular conceptua sation of new leadership: interactive leadership, in which leaders work to encourage participation and enhance the self-worth of their colleagues. She argues that such a style meets the demands of the work-force for increased participation and the demands of the economy for organisations which can adapt to change. Rosener suggests that because of their socialisation, women are more likely to adopt interactive forms of leadership than men.

> *"While men have had to appear to be competitive, strong, tough, decisive and in control, women have been allowed to be cooperative, emotional, supportive and vulnerable. This may explain why women today are more likely than men to be interactive leaders."*
>
> (Rosener, 1990, p.124)

She also argues that interactive leadership may not always work. It is a style which can lend itself to conflict and criticism. It requires time and not every member of staff may want to be energised by their 'boss'. According to Rosener, an effective leader needs to be able to accommodate a repertoire of management styles.

The capacity of senior managers to adopt a repertoire of management styles was one aspect of a study carried out on women chief executives of local authorities (Riley and White 1994), One finding from the study was that women chief executives managed across a range of boundaries adopting different management styles to accommodate particular circumstances. As leaders, the women chief-executives characterised themselves as being *considerate, empathetic, energising of others,* but also *demanding, pushy and provocative.*

In decision-making they were *strategic and decisive* but also *dogged and humble* (Riley 1994).

This brief discussion on new leadership has been introduced to highlight some of the complexities and different facets of leadership. Style, context, expectations, and the personal attributes of the leaders themselves, all raise questions and challenges. We need to question whether our perspective on leadership has become single dimensional when what is needed is a multi-dimensional approach. We notice whether a leader is female, or male, black or white. Do our expectations differ because of this? There is a growing consensus that the effective leader is one who works to encourage participation and enhance the self-worth colleagues. But how do they do this, and what happens if this approach does not work?

The focus on new forms of leadership also raises questions about the relationship between leadership and management. Are they interchangeable? Does 'good' management incorporate leadership and administration? A decade ago, Bennis and Nanus (1985) explored these issues in terms of such questions as: are organisations over managed but under led? Do they excel in their ability to handle the daily routine without questioning whether the routine should be done at all? The massive increase in the administrative tasks involved in headship today, forces us to examine whether administration has overridden leadership.

Such issues have also become the focus of attention of private sector management gurus, a number of whom now question what they see as excessive managerialism: an overemphasis on procedures and the analysis of hard data to inform decision-making. Stuart Levine, for example, argues that the emphasis is shifting away from:

> *"total quality management which was largely technically driven, to an emphasis on total quality leadership, which takes the technical side and marries it with the human side"*
> (Levine and Crom 1994).

Henry Mintzberg (1994), one-time proponent of orthodox, transactional management, has recanted from this position. He now argues **for** creativity and **against** *" the assumption of detachment ....(and) ....the soft underbelly of hard data .... the disassociation of thinking from acting "*. Paradoxically, uncertainty and creativity have become the new buzz words in management.

What are the implications of these shifts in thinking for education and school leadership? Undoubtedly, the actions that educational leaders take to shape, to influence and to inform their organisations will affect both the processes of schooling (the shared learning and development experience of pupils and teachers) and the outcomes (how young people feel about themselves and how equipped they are to face the challenges of adulthood). Parents, policy-makers, researchers and pupils all agree that headteachers make a difference (MacBeath

1990 and 1991). But the nature and degree of that impact continues to be open to debate.

Research on educational leadership has explored the impact of the headteacher on various aspects of the life of a school and on student outcomes. One focus of analysis has been on the most effective models of leadership to manage the process of educational change and implement new educational policies. Kruchov and Hoyrup (1994) have examined ways of improving quality in school leadership by looking at the expectations of headteachers , teachers and parents.

A Canadian study of school principals, suggests that the two most effective models of school leadership are direct and indirect instructional leadership (Leithwood, Jantzi and Dart, 1991). Principals who adopted these two models interpreted the change programme as an opportunity to meet student needs. Their attitude was characterised by enthusiasm and optimism; a willingness to take risks to pursue their goals; and a keenness to involve both parents and colleagues in the change process.

Hallinger and Leithwood (1994) have suggested that research on school leadership has tended to examine the impact of the headteacher on three areas:

- the school environment (such as parental satisfaction, or community participation);
- intra-organisational processes (such as staff morale, or curricular organisation);
- and organisational outcomes (such as student achievement and pupil retention).

They have suggested that there is wide variation in the priority given to those variables and that such differences are profoundly value laden. Hallinger and Leithwood have also identified three particular gaps in research on leadership: lack of evidence about the impact of leadership styles on student outcomes; a lack of focus on particular theoretical problems; and a lack of focus on practice. This research project attempts to address the latter two issues: the theoretical and the practical.

Appendix II (Questions which underpin the research)

Context
- How far is effective leadership related to context? situation? *(national/local/school/type of school:primary/secondary/all age)*
- What form does leadership take in different contexts?

Expectations of headteachers
- What are headteachers' expectations about themselves?
- How are these expectations translated into action?
- What do headteachers see as teachers'/parents'/pupils'/employers' expectations of them?
- What expectations do others have of headteachers?
- What are the areas of consensus and difference about effective headteachers and others who exercise a leadership role?

Conceptualising leadership
- To what extent is leadership seen as synonymous with the headteacher or senior management team?
- Are there different ways of being a good leader?
- What are the elements of the role?
- What helps headteachers and others to develop the different elements of their role?
- What aspects of the job give them satisfaction?
- What is their implicit theory of society, or how people learn/change?
- How do leaders conceptualise the way in which they manage change? *(mechanisms?/ structure?)*

Values, choices, conflict
- How do headteachers conceptualise the way in which they manage value choices?
- How do they enable the school to articulate and to affirm its values?
- How do they manage conflicting values? *(e.g. between local community and school)*
- How do leaders carry responsibility for moral choices?
- How do they interpret and make decisions on behalf of other groups/individuals/ their staff/ pupils/parents?

Managing Time and tasks
- How do headteachers and SMTs use their time?
- How do they interpret their use of time?
- What do they identify as their priorities?
- How do they manage pressures and conflicts of priority?
- Are there differences by country? by school sector??

Pathways
- How do headteachers explain how they became leaders?
- What /who have been seminal influences?

Leaders: born or made?
- How much of leadership is an aspect of personality/personal style?
- How is leadership learned?
- What do leaders need to know to be able to lead?
- What kind of experiences do they find most helpful?
- How does training help to develop effective headteachers?

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