Enhancing development?
Workforce Remodelling in English Schools

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Abstract:

Workforce Remodelling in England has been presented as a means to enhance the development of teachers and promote rising educational attainment. Through a re-examination of roles, schools are presented with an opportunity to review their ways of working to improve the quality of their practices. This paper looks at the ways in which the implementation of Workforce Remodelling has been happening in eight English schools (four secondary and four primary) and discusses semi-structured interview data collected from headteachers, teachers, teaching assistants and support staff over a two year period. In addition data from 543 questionnaires is reported. The extent to which schools fully engage in the remodelling process is examined as are the tensions between meeting legislative demands and using the opportunity of the reform agenda to think more creatively about roles and responsibilities.

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1) Introduction

Workforce Remodelling in England is an initiative that is being promoted as an attempt to address issues of work-life balance for teachers, a reassignment of some tasks from teachers to support staff and teaching assistants and is about giving teachers discrete time for planning, preparation and assessment (DFES 2001, 2003). It can be seen as an opportunity for a variety of staff to consider the model of education that they wish to deliver to children and the aspects of their educational practice that make their school distinct from schools elsewhere. Going through such a process involves change which is challenging and can also be highly complex. This paper reports work, commissioned by Staffordshire Local Authority in England, looking at the ways in which the implementation of Workforce Remodelling is happening across Staffordshire schools. Basic data are gathered through 543 questionnaire responses from school senior leaders, teachers, teaching assistants, administrators and other support staff. More qualitative findings are developed through semi-structured interviews conducted initially in eight schools (four secondary and four primary in 2005) followed up by revisiting six of these eight schools (three secondary and three primary in 2006). Interviewee's included Headteachers, teachers, teaching assistants and administrative staff.

This paper begins with a consideration of workforce reform in England and of the issues that may influence the ways in which change takes place. It also raises some questions about the extent to which the reform agenda is supporting the professional teacher or acting to undermine their position. Section 3 then discusses the methods utilised to collect the data reported here. After this the data is explored in three sections the first looking at how workforce remodelling has been implemented, the second how the reforms have affected roles and responsibilities and finally there is consideration of the views of school staff about the likely impact of these changes on the quality of their work. Finally the conclusion draws the literature and evidence together and argues that school staff see a value for learning and teaching in the changes undertaken but that the remodelling agenda is likely to be a motivator for long-term change in schools who do not naturally approach initiatives as creative opportunities.

2) Background

In England reforms of the 1980s and 1990s had increased the control of government over teaching and had "exerted pressure for the remodelling, reskilling and reculturing of the teaching profession" (Vulliamy, 2006, pg 2). The current New Labour government has been engaged upon a modernisation agenda which as Ozga (2002) points out is argued to be designed to improve the efficiency, economy and effectiveness of public services. In addition, these reforms are happening within a context where New Labour reforms have shifted responsibility for failure in education from the state to schools themselves (Webb, 2006). This shift to accountability and assessment has led to teachers suffering from increased levels of stress together with facing a conflict in what they saw as the value of teaching and reduced job satisfaction which led to under retention of new teachers (Vulliamy, 2006). Faced with studies presented by the School Teachers' Review Body (DfES, 2000) and the PricewaterhouseCoopers' Teacher Workload Study (2001), it became apparent to the Labour administration that there were factors which threatened a crisis in teacher recruitment and retention. As a consequence a National Agreement between Government, employers and school workforce unions was reached in January 2003 (with the notable exception of the National Union of Teachers). The agreement (introduced in three phases) implemented changes to teachers' conditions of service. In phase one (September 2003)

administrative and clerical tasks were removed from teachers with the intention of improving their work-life balance. In addition a time allowance was introduced for all teachers with management responsibilities. Phase two (September 2004) limited the time any teacher could be asked to cover classes for absent colleagues. Phase three (September 2005) brought in Planning and Preparation and Assessment Time (PPA) for all teaching staff to be taken during the school day. In addition invigilation of exams was removed as a responsibility for teachers and dedicated headship time was introduced. In this way it was intended that the education of children could be improved through enhancing teacher professional development and providing opportunities for thinking about the way the school approaches education.

Garrett (2005) states that whether change is desired, imposed, unwanted, planned, unplanned, evolutionary or systematic it will involve disruption to the systems in place. In addition the cultures and structures already existing in the organisation will influence the ways that change is mediated as well as the outcomes of it. Newman (2001) highlights 'new institutional theory' as a mechanism for explaining the ways in which organisations face change. New institutional theory emphasizes the informal and formal rules and conventions that shape social action which once embedded as 'norms' are difficult to shift, attempts to restructure being destabilised by attempts to make new structures fit within former approaches and ways of working. This means that governments cannot be wholly in control of change processes and outcomes. Newman goes on to argue however, that over time change can impose restrictions on action resulting in shifts in patterns of decision making. Isomorphism describes a situation where an organisation adapts to its environment incorporating ideas about appropriate ways to do things, thus organisations are influenced by the conventions of wider society about best ways of working and the goals that are important to achieve. Here new ideas are taken on board to win external legitimacy. For DiMaggio and Powell (1991) isomorphism can be divided into three forms. The first coercive isomorphism, is where the state obliges organisations to adopt particular practices. This can be seen in the legislative elements of the workforce reform agenda. The second, mimetic isomorphism, is when organisations copy other organisations to ensure that they are identified as operating best practice. Schools are encouraged to look at and consider practices in other schools, particularly at those whose practice conforms to the criteria for success agreed by government bodies (i.e. beacon schools). The third, normative isomorphism reflects a set of occupational or professional norms. There are a lot of norms around what it is to be a teacher. Here however, these norms may be perceived to be under threat as a consequence of remodelling as teaching assistants develop their roles to encompass some class teaching. This was a particular issue for the teacher unions especially the NUT.

For Gunter and Rayner (2007) workforce remodelling is about a fundamental attempt to break habits and instigate cultural change in schools. They argue that 'it masks a serious erosion of teacher professionalism and deeper conceptualizations of learning, teaching pedagogy' (pg 48). Further they argue that the basis of remodelling is founded on a definition of teachers as the problem in education which has led to an initiative based on shifting work from teachers onto other individuals. This strategy does not take into account a recognition of teachers' identities, the purposes of teaching or the moral dimensions involved with both (Gunter and Rayner, 2007). Moreover, they argue that learners themselves are not considered. This was an issue picked up in America by Mayrowetz and Smylie (2004) who

conducted an analysis of school workforce reform. They argued that the reforms involved two practices carried out either at the individual or at the group level. Task reassignment involves a reallocation of duties and task redefinition involves reconsidering the ways in which roles are conceived. As a consequence this enables a more creative process of re-conceptualising the tasks and activities that individuals or groups do. Whilst they had very little evidence to demonstrate impact on pupils it was in this category, where re-conceptualisation took place within the group as a whole, where Mayrowetz and Smylie believed an impact on pupils was probable. As a consequence they believed it was of key importance for all staff to be kept informed about and involved with the activities of the school. Whilst there may be a greater emphasis on partnerships and networks, as yet there has been little by way of a challenge to the vertical lines of control and command, and mechanisms of accountability reinforce limitations to the degree of risk-taking that schools can engage in (Currie et al, 2005). Reform therefore needs to give all those involved with the school the space to re-think what is possible and for the reform to influence (albeit in an unpredictable way) the future development of the school.

3) Method

This research, commissioned by Staffordshire Local Authority (LA) looks at the different ways in which schools are approaching the remodelling process. (The LA is the local government organisation responsible for education in their district). The first stage of the research involved forty-eight in-depth interviews in eight schools from within the LA. Four schools represented the secondary phase (11-18 years) and four schools represented the primary phase (4 -11 years). The schools varied in relation to size, geographical location and faith and represent schools typical of those within the LA. In each school visited, interviews were conducted with a member of the leadership group (headteachers, deputy headteachers, subject managers, year leaders etc), members of the teaching staff and members of the support staff (teaching assistants, learning support assistants, administrative and pastoral staff). Interviews were conducted over two terms with two visits to each school in order to ascertain whether views changed over that period of time.

For the second stage of the research semi-structured interviews were planned in the same schools visited in the first stage of the research. Whilst for the first year of the study eight schools were involved during the second year one primary and one secondary school were unhappy about further involvement. In terms of the secondary school, anecdotal evidence suggests that this school has had particular difficulties following the imposition of Teaching and Learning Responsibility allocations (TLR's) which was resulting in a number of staff moving to other schools. The case of the primary school was more complex but appeared to be related to the Headteacher, who despite having made arrangements for the research to go ahead, had not communicated the arrival of the researcher to staff and they subsequently refused to be interviewed. This head has since taken a job in another authority. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with senior leaders (including headteachers), teachers, teaching assistants and administrators (24 interviews at the second research stage). In order to collect data from as wide a group within the school as possible return interviews were not necessarily collected from the same staff as previously (although in some cases this was what happened). Interview data once collected were transcribed and analysed using content analysis.

In addition to the semi-structured interview data questionnaires were administered to a 25% representative sample across all Staffordshire Local Authority schools (4690 staff) in 2006 targeted at all staff from the caretaker to the headteacher. The response rate was 12%, 543 questionnaires being returned. When broken down to demonstrate the particular percentage returns from particular staff groupings responses included 31% of senior leaders (including headteachers); 16% of teachers (including middle leaders); 10% of teaching assistants (including cover supervisors); 11% of administrators and 1% of support staff (including caretakers and lunch-time supervisors). Of these returns 36% were from the primary phase of education (including primary, infant and junior schools); 58% were from the secondary phase of education (including secondary and middle schools deemed secondary); and 6% were from the special needs sector. Questionnaires were based on information collected for the first report. These data were analysed using SPSS.

A selection from these data is presented in the following sections.

4) Engagement in Remodelling

In this section of the paper the issue of the ways in which schools had engaged with the legislative demands of the remodelling agenda that were directly related to attempts to improve the workloads of teachers is explored. Schools were asked to comment upon the changes that had taken place as a result of workforce remodelling. Questionnaire data (Figure 1) demonstrates what different staff felt about the questions that referred to changes specifically designed to support teachers.
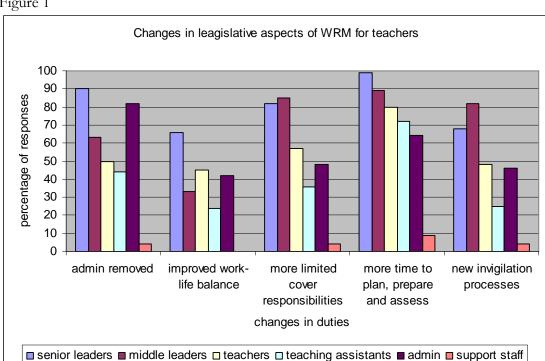
Figure 1

The categories have been divided into six groups. Senior leaders includes headteachers and the senior leadership team; middle leaders are those leading curriculum or pastoral areas but

are not included on the leadership team; teachers are those teachers without middle leadership responsibility; teaching assistants also includes cover supervisors; administrators are all those doing administrative work and support staff include lunchtime supervisors and caretakers. There are a number of points of interest in figure 1. The overall impression is of the greater clarity senior leaders have about the changes made and the comparatively little knowledge of the support staff. It is perhaps understandable that senior leaders are likely to be well-informed about initiatives as they are the people most likely to ensure that changes take place. What is a little surprising is that senior leaders are not all 100% sure on all categories. Moreover senior leaders appear to report more favourably on a lot of change categories than other groups. On issues such as work-life balance for teachers it is perhaps difficult for those other than teachers themselves to answer but it is interesting that senior leaders see this in a more positive light than the teachers themselves. In fact most other staff seem less convinced than senior leaders by the notion of teachers work-life balance having improved. Changes in invigilation processes are something much more likely to affect the secondary phase schools than primary and this may explain the slightly lower response rate here. In terms of the administrative changes, the administrative staff are much more aware than teachers of the changes in workload here, perhaps because many of them will have picked up this work. It is interesting however that only half the teachers reported noticing a difference in their administrative duties. This may be linked to issues about teachers being reluctant to hand-over some tasks (photocopying and display in particular) or that they simply fill time gained with other tasks. It would however seem that a majority of teaching staff have seen an improvement in time to plan, prepare and assess and have benefited from more limited cover responsibilities. Looking at the responses from teaching assistants these are more cautious than the teachers responses and may indicate that they do not feel as fully informed about the changes taking place as the teaching staff. They do however register the advent of planning, preparation and assessment time which may be linked to their role in helping cover such sessions.

The research has indicated difficulties in full communication about change and that there is a hierarchy apparent in the extent of the knowledge held. The data would also suggest that there has been a marked impact on the workload for administrators. What is less clear is whether changes to teaching assistants roles were taking place.

5) Roles and responsibilities
This section of the paper investigates the changing roles and responsibilities around curriculum delivery taking place as a result of remodelling. Schools were first asked to discuss their Planning, Preparation and Assessment (PPA) arrangements including how sessions were covered, the ways in which Teaching Assistants (TA's) were used and the appropriateness of this. Interviews revealed that covering PPA time was a particular issue for the primary headteachers who had to be creative about how they managed this in the most cost-effective and beneficial way.

> … biggest issues really I would say are around … the Planning Preparation Assessment time … we actually went down the route of using teaching assistants to cover some of the PPA … in the Key stage 1 and then sort of higher up the school we took a decision to use [*a local football team*] Community Programme to actually cover some of the PE curriculum

> … we actually employed somebody … [*who*] comes and does French sessions with Year 6 …
>
> Acting Headteacher Primary Phase School C

> … [*we are*] changing from using various staff to cover a large amount of pupils to perhaps one member of staff covering one class at a time … as far as the sort of PPA is concerned … what had been set up here was that key stage one and key stage two work separately … so that reception year one and year two, each have a teaching assistant for the first part of the afternoon and then all of the children then, apart from reception go into the hall with one member of staff to do singing … and by the same token, for the first half of the afternoon years three, four, five and six are all in the hall to do singing, and that's the bit that I'm going to change, which will obviously have knock on budgetary effects … I feel we need to look at the learning that's actually going on …
>
> Headteacher Primary Phase School A

Because covering PPA time represented a significant difference in the ways that primary schools operated there was a certain amount of critical reflection attached to the solutions arrived at. Questions were raised about the quality of learning happening for pupils. The solution of bringing in external specialists offered some a solution but raises questions about the effectiveness of subject experts who have little or no training to teach. There are also questions about the learning taking place with large groups of children singing. In addition as the quotation above indicates there were also questions about the wisdom of allowing staff to take their PPA allowance at the same time (although the rationale for this was generally about allowing teachers to plan together). This administrator seemed to sum up the two key issues which were of concern to a number of staff.

> … the staff decided that we would go down the path of using our own TA's to cover PPA … it's been a big thing for some TA's to go from taking a group of six children from Phonics to taking a whole class without any training on managing a class full of children … unfortunately some … lack control … I can hear it. I can tell when it's a PPA afternoon in Key Stage 1 … it is very dejecting when teachers on a Friday at half past twelve say "Bye, I'm going now, have a nice week end" and you're work is piled above you on your desk … it feels really unfair … most Key Stage 1 staff … have their PPA at the same time … if like there's a large group of staff who have it on a Friday afternoon they go at half past twelve … I just find it really knocks those staff … who unfortunately their PPA time isn't on a Friday afternoon …
>
> Administrator Primary Phase School C

The acting head in the same school also flagged his concerns.

> … you'd obviously got some teaching assistants who didn't actually want to take on that role … and obviously you've got some who are very ambitious and obviously very capable of doing more … I don't want my child in a two hour hymn practice just so the teacher can go and sit in the

> staff room and plan, and as a teacher, I didn't want to have to come back to a Year 6 class who were on the ceiling after two hours … but I think the way we've done it in school has worked quite well … they don't have to prepare any material and we don't expect them to mark …
>
> Acting Headteacher Primary Phase School C

Concerns therefore centred around classroom control, the quality of teaching and learning and perceptions about teachers taking PPA time en-mass. The issue of staff going home early on a Friday was an obvious issue for the administrator above and undoubtedly caused some tension. Thus the implications of all the legislative changes were apparent with all staff noticing at least some changes in school structure or roles and responsibilities. The secondary schools had also noticed these changes.

> … I am almost a result of Workforce Remodelling … this role … embodied … all those things that many of the senior members of staff could no longer do because of Workforce Remodelling … we've employed learning supervisors … we now have four people filling three FTE posts …
>
> Administrator Secondary Phase School H

> … we have now implemented I think all the requirements so teachers have protected Preparation Planning and Assessment time … we have now appointed an Exams Officer …
>
> Headteacher Secondary Phase School F

These responses were fairly typical of secondary phase schools demonstrating that exam invigilation was a key issue alongside employing extra staff for classroom cover and administration. The implementation of Teaching and Learning Responsibility points (TLR's) had proved difficult in some cases and this was particularly apparent in the secondary phase schools.

> … we moved to external invigilators as required and the other big thing which is related is the TLR restructuring and the need to produce staffing structure almost from a clean sheet … It was the most traumatic experience for the institution and for leadership and for some people directly affected … we consulted, we responded to concerns, reviewed things, we changed things but still we left some dissatisfied people … it was quite a depressing term perse and in a sense we are still recovering and I've lost one person… not a happy time really that process …
>
> Headteacher Secondary Phase School H

Whilst the TLR points had provided opportunities for schools to re-structure, the process was difficult to manage. The effects of pay reductions on some staff inevitably affected colleagues and morale. This is understandable as schools are relatively small and close communities of people and thus sensitive to the impacts of change on any individuals within them. It also may be the case that secondary phase schools were more strongly affected because they have a more hierarchical structure than primary phase schools. The quotation demonstrates how difficult it is for a Headteacher to manage what is a complicated set of

negotiations and keep all their staff happy about the outcomes. Feeling fully informed is essential for staff to gain an understanding of why particular changes are taking place.

Linked to the issue of PPA was the question of how teaching assistants were utilised to cover classes and these concerns affected both school phases. All staff interviewed had clear views about the appropriateness or not of teaching assistants taking whole classes.

> … it just depends on the teaching assistants themselves, some of them are confident, some of them perhaps not so confident… some of them are open to more training perhaps some not …
>
> Administrator Primary Phase School A

> … teachers shouldn't be replaced by teaching assistants…
>
> Teaching Assistant Primary Phase School A

> … some teachers don't respect TAs. They still look on them as you know, chair putter unders and nose wipers …
>
> Teaching Assistant Secondary Phase School H

> … I can think of one TA that I'd be quite happy to leave with my classes … sometimes I think that she'd do a better job than me … and that's very humbling…
>
> Teacher Secondary Phase School H

> … teaching's about personality standing in front of kids and engaging kids and if you can do it you can and if you can't you can't …
>
> Teacher Secondary Phase School E

> … we're not trained teachers I've not gone to University … I don't get the money that they're getting …
>
> Teaching Assistant Secondary Sector School E

> … we have cover supervisors who are recruited specifically to supervise classes when their normal teacher is absent and we have a whole team of teaching assistants … who's role is to support youngsters …
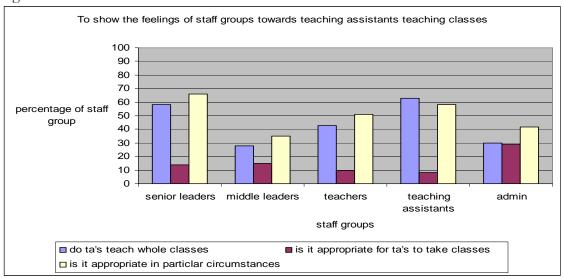>
> Headteacher Secondary Phase School F

What becomes obvious from the range of quotations included is that all staff had strong views about the use of teaching assistants and most of these were based on the variability of individual TA's and their skills, views about whether or not teaching assistants are better placed looking after specific pupils, whether they should be supervised and whether they are sufficiently qualified. There was a similar range of responses from both school phases and similar variability in the extent to which teaching assistants felt that teachers valued their input. Most reported some teachers having faith in the TA's capability and some that made it apparent that they didn't. A very similar set of responses came through the questionnaires.

Figure 2 below demonstrates how different staff groups thought TA's were being used to teach whole classes, how appropriate they thought this was and whether they agreed it was

appropriate but added an additional clause to justify this position. Additional clauses included the need to be supported (ie: by a supply teacher, by a teacher being present or another TA), only if they are paid more, only if they have the necessary subject expertise, only if it involves the occasional use of TA's, only if they are covering and the teacher has set the work etc. The support staff did not complete this section in enough numbers to warrant representing their views. As the graph clearly demonstrates almost 60% of senior leaders were utilising TA's but also strongly indicated that they would want to qualify that use of the TA in some way. As senior leaders were in positions of responsibility around the teaching and learning of pupils it is perhaps understandable that they felt additional conditions were important. This is also an issue that raised strong reactions from teacher unions because of the implied blurring of the divide between the roles of teachers and TA's. This might explain why responses showed a preference for some additional qualifying criteria.

Figure 2

What is also interesting is the low percentage of staff who felt that TA's should take whole classes without extra qualification. The only group that appears more supportive of TA's teaching is the administrator's category. This may be because they do not generally deal with concerns about the curriculum and teaching and learning in a direct way. It seems odd that a greater percentage of TA's feel that they currently take whole classes than the senior leaders report. This may demonstrate some differences in the ways these two groups categorise and understand teaching whole classes. Finally there appears to be a difference in enthusiasm towards TA's teaching whole classes from middle leaders and to some extent teachers in comparison to senior leaders and TA's themselves. Consequently despite some fairly significant changes in roles and responsibilities there remains a concern about the appropriateness of these changes and possibly for its effects on learning and teaching.

6) Perceptions on impact
In the light of all this activity taking place on workforce remodelling it seemed essential to discover whether schools had felt that this initiative benefited them and the quality of their work. There were a number of aspects of remodelling that seemed to be viewed very positively.

> … the teaching component offered is much more focused on teaching and learning and I think the administrative component has become much more professional …
>
> <div align="right">Administrator Secondary Phase School H</div>

> … I've no problem with its direction at all, its absolutely right … enabling teachers to concentrate on teaching and learning …
>
> <div align="right">Headteacher Secondary Phase School H</div>

> … I think you've got a much clearer structure and people if you like are aware of what they've got to do ….
>
> <div align="right">Teacher Secondary Phase School E</div>

Therefore for the secondary phase schools clear structures and a focus on teaching and learning were welcomed and the advantages of these changes presumed to be beneficial.

> … it's a real vehicle that aught to be going on, and on, and on … you need pro-active people, people who are enthusiastic … generated through the development of the team …
>
> <div align="right">Teacher Primary Phase School A</div>

> … all staff now feel that they've got a period of time during the week when they can actually do something, there's time to reflect and there's time to actually plan in some quality time …
>
> <div align="right">Acting Headteacher Primary Phase School C</div>

Primary phase schools valued its contribution to engaging staff in change and allowing them time to reflect. Thus schools and staff in general were very positive about the changes that had taken place and felt there were many benefits for pupil learning and for staff involvement. Nevertheless there were inevitably some aspects of the reform that they expressed more concern about. Key issues raised were those around pupil behaviour and the need for teachers to manage this plus the increased workloads for staff other than teachers. One final question raised was about whether initiatives such as workforce remodelling would make a difference to schools that were less receptive to change.

> … I wouldn't be surprised at all if some heads had a far more radical approach to school improvement than I do whether those heads would need the prompt of Workforce remodelling to make them think … I doubt it. What about those schools that are simply cruising … those schools might again take the view "Right lets do what we've got to do to meet the legislative requirements" …
>
> <div align="right">Headteacher Secondary Phase School H</div>

The implication here is that schools who are more readily pre-disposed to look creatively and critically at their own practices will utilise every opportunity that comes their way to do this whereas schools who are not so inclined are unlikely to respond to anything beyond that which is imposed upon them. Thus workforce remodelling is only a creative opportunity to

schools who view all change as a creative opportunity. These it seems are likely to be led by headteachers who are also of the same disposition, headteachers being in a powerful position to affect the direction schools adopt.

7) Conclusion

The evidence collected from the schools visited within this study has suggested that they are complying with the legislative requirements of workforce remodelling and that this has led to an increased workload for administrators and a change in responsibility for teaching assistants. Gunter and Rayner (2007) express concerns about the remodelling agenda operating to erode teacher professionalism, concepts of learning and teacher pedagogy. From the evidence collected in this research teacher professionalism could be argued to have improved in the eyes of the school staff themselves and teachers were now being enabled to concentrate on teaching and learning. This may underestimate underlying political manoeuvrings but it did appear that teachers thought that they were being accorded greater recognition. Thus far there were also clear divides between the role of teaching assistant and teacher, the TA being seen as someone who could 'hold the fort' whilst the teachers planned and supported what was happening in the classroom. This not only has implications in terms of concepts about learning and pedagogy but also raises arguments about not overloading TA's with responsibilities for which they are not properly remunerated (highlighted in many of the interviews). Moreover with the advent of PPA time it was deemed appropriate in schools to make use of external specialists who may not necessarily have a teaching qualification or an understanding of pedagogy. This clearly places a set of challenges before the school as Gunter and Rayner outlined.

The legislative aspect of remodelling can be seen as operating as coercive isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). Schools need to be seen to be engaging in these change processes to please government and Local Authorities. In addition as Newman (2001) pointed out such regulations act to restrict the boundaries within which schools are free to think and act. The shifting role of the teaching assistant challenges teachers, governors and to some extent headteachers to consider what norms define the role of teacher and teaching assistant, thus the normative isomorphic qualities of these roles are being challenged. The data here does indicate that almost half the teachers responding did see some improvement in their work-life balance. Also in terms of time provided for teachers to think, plan and structure their teaching and the perceived value that this has for pupils learning, may persuade schools to embrace aspects such as PPA time as a long term change, despite the financial risks to the budget involved. Nevertheless the schools reported here appear to be more likely to collectively reassign tasks than to collectively redefine their ways of working (see Mayrowetz and Smylie, 2004). If teachers and headteachers are not motivated to make changes that go beyond those imposed by government and in addition they do not see positive benefits from change then it seems unlikely that schools will alter radically and may even suffer some of the restrictions to their thinking outlined by Newman.

Change is a complex process. Faced with this complexity the headteacher has a difficult job in leading the staff forward and providing them with direction. Each of the schools visited was subject to differing contextual factors and as such had reached different solutions for moving forward. Contextual effects are an important consideration (Ozga, 2005). What is not clear is the extent to which workforce remodelling has had an effect on such behaviours and it seems likely, as suggested by one of the secondary school heads, that schools already

pre-disposed to seek opportunities to look at change in creative ways will utilise any opportunities that present themselves to do just that, whilst other schools do not. Perhaps the benefit of workforce remodelling could be seen in shifting the attitudes and practices of those schools entrenched in heavily authoritarian and hierarchical practices but again there is little evidence to suggest that such schools will alter their practices because of the reform initiative. What is important is that staff feel involved and a part of the developments within school and therefore demonstrate an enthusiasm for their work that is infectious. Seeking ways of drawing staff into the activities of the school is consequently very important.

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