THE TIME OF OUR LIVES: LEARNING FROM THE TIME EXPERIENCES OF TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS DURING A PERIOD OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

By

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of Theory and Policy Studies

This research project documents teachers' and administrators' experiences, feelings and thoughts about time in their lives during a period of profound educational change. While issues related to time as a limited resource and a way of scheduling activities are investigated, the research study is also concerned with time in intensely political circumstances - when the development of policy and the implementation of that policy are shaped by time constraints. In particular, the research focuses on the way that time as subjective experience is or is not phenomenologically different for educators positioned differently within the schooling system.

The stories of teachers and administrators are used to study the meaning of time in everyday situations - to show the pervasive way that time influences actions. Based on the premise that individuals render their everyday social world visible through the stories they tell, this research sets out to understand the perspectives and meanings of time in the lives of these educators. How time relates to personal feelings, values, relationships, the implementation of curriculum reform, intensification, and power relations in the context of contemporary organizational life are of particular interest.
In this research study, I collected data through semi-structured interviews of about one hour’s duration with twenty teachers. Analyses of these data provide rich descriptions illustrating teachers’ experiences with time for an educational world in rapid transformation. Subsequently, I identified an opportunity sample of three educational administrators and I invited these individuals to participate in four one-hour in-depth interviews about temporal issues in education. The conversation-based interviews highlight lived experiences of time through narrative.

The thesis captures the intensity and the implications of time in the lives of teachers and administrators. It describes the taken-for-granted actions involving time and helps to unravel the meaning of time for these educators in the context of significant and politically driven change. Implications for reconceptualizing time are also considered.
The opportunity to weave my personal passions for time, educational change and inquiry into a doctoral dissertation would never have been fulfilled without the scholarship, direction, and nurturing of Professor Andy Hargreaves. In those moments when my commitment wavered and I was overwhelmed with juggling time demands, he was always, in spite of his own very busy and hectic schedule, a mentor, professional colleague and increasingly a friend - ready with supportive digressions, emerging and relevant research, new contacts, encouragement, and a willingness to walk in my shoes and to lead me along the dissertation journey.

My journey was further enhanced by the conversations and support of my friends and colleagues in the Theory and Policy Studies in Education Department of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto. It was here that I found a learning community devoted to supporting a culture of inquiry. The cast of characters included my course professors. Professors Richard Townsend, John Davis, Jim Ryan and Paul Begley leap to mind. They continuously went out of their way to encourage me to dig deeper. They always gave freely of their time and constantly created opportunities for me to shine academically. My cohort colleagues were a gift. We helped, supported and learned from each other. In particular, my own dissertation work owes a debt of gratitude to cohort friends like Bridget Harrison, John Tucker, and John Brock who explored many of the nooks and crannies of my dissertation work. Finally, all members of the
International Centre for Educational Change became special colleagues and celebratory friends on my journey.

A very special tribute must be given to my fellow colleagues who were involved in a collaborative research project on educational change. The unique holographic method and the individual perspectives that each person brought to the study provided rich learning opportunities. In particular, I salute Dr. Lorna Earl, principal investigator, and fellow team members Steven Katz, Michele Schmidt, Rouleen Wignall, and Debra Wilson. We travelled to unknown places and dared to be different as we learned and grew together. Our collaborative practice, mutual commitment, willingness to be constructively critical, affection and passion made the demands of learning synonymous with friendship.

I am most grateful to the members of my dissertation committee. Their wisdom and insightful guidance helped me to re-examine and to improve my conceptual and practical approach to this study. Being pushed to clarify and explain my work was a valuable part of the process. Dr. Brent Kilborn was always insightful and caring in his comments, probing gently and deliberately for excellence. He helped me to look for my own voice in the inquiry. Dr. Jim Ryan added greatly to my joy in inquiry by accepting the complexity of teaching while simultaneously seeking to remove complexity from the written text. My time as a post-graduate student was enhanced by their contribution to my pursuit of learning.

My journey is part of a never-ending story - one that began several years ago. To some extent it is closure to unfinished business. Many of my personal friends and colleagues are witnesses to how time consumed my life on a daily basis. As I became
more entangled in the complexities of time, I realized that writing about time takes time. Without the prompting and encouragement and support of my wife, Mari, the journey would be forever incomplete. In all my efforts, and transgressions, Mari has unfailingly provided the strength for me to continue. She has continuously and unselfishly nourished me with love and reassurance. Along with the friendly teasing and encouragement of my sons Adrian, Ben and Frank, I am now in a better place to begin another journey and to tell more stories.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There are just so many ways that time impacts my life. First, I usually don’t have enough of it - to do the things I want as well as those things expected of me. Schedules and routines frequently restrict my freedom and self-expression and force me to behave in unnatural ways. Everything seems so hurried. I often rush from meeting to meeting, occasionally arriving late or not completely prepared. It’s not fair to my colleagues or me. The pace of living also results in my spending less time doing the things that I value. Being with friends and family, for example, are treasured occurrences that are the stuff of meaningful memories, but which represent increasingly smaller portions of my daily living. And, contributing in a quality way to events and projects in my own community are rare possibilities these days.

Reflecting on my own experiences at least helps me begin to understand how time influences many of my actions and taken-for-granted decisions. As a result of my interest in time, I am making conscious decisions that help my own staff balance their work and personal commitments. But then I wonder, “Why do I stay at work until 6:00 pm or 7:00 pm or later and even come to meetings on Sunday?” Why do I let my
work control my life this way? Is senior management aware of the
intrusiveness of these additional demands and the resulting stress? With
fewer resources and increasing expectations to produce quality results
immediately, what options are there for me?

The present always seem to vanish so quickly until there is little
precious time left to make meaningful life decisions. As people who
choose to work in organizations, we have to make adjustments to the
routines and ways of doing business. But what happens to our views of
time as we are compelled to implement a plethora of new policies in an
increasingly intense and fast-paced workplace? In such circumstances,
how can our integrity and well-being be maintained? Can a better
understanding of time enable us to maintain some degree of personal
control over our own identity while still making effective contributions in
the workplace?¹

1.1 Background

This thesis describes a study of the perceptions of teachers and educational
administrators about issues related to time during a period of fundamental educational
reform. It documents their experiences, feelings and thoughts about a variety of matters
related to time in their lives. While many of the concerns, emotions and challenges are
common to individuals in the larger society, from my experience there is a degree of
insidiousness in the way that mandated educational reforms deliberately use time to lever

¹Taken from my own journal notes — 14/06/97
change and to control the work of teachers. Some of the time issues have involved
intensification, compression of time, increased curriculum and assessment expectations,
school renewal, short implementation time lines, mandated instructional time, reduced
planning time, continuous and unrelenting change, lack of professional development
time, fewer resources, and so on.

In an era of educational reform that features increased central control of policies
and funding, more public accountability, new governance models and fewer resources, it
is essential that teachers and educational administrators find innovative ways to provide
the best learning opportunities for their students. Although the task is a complex one.
Fullan (1995) suggests that issues related to reculturing, restructuring and retiming should
be considered. However, as Hargreaves (1996) cautions, this task must acknowledge the
ways that government and management are increasingly colonizing school and teacher
cultures. Manufactured uncertainty and paradoxes related to educational expectations
pose challenges to cultural approaches to educational change.

In Ontario, the now infamous comments on July 6th, 1995 by the Honourable
John Snobelen, then Minister of Education, about inventing a crisis in education have
fostered a climate of suspicion and distrust. An extract from his comments during a
briefing with senior staff appears in the following passage:

You can’t change if you are improving. Unless you threaten the survival of
an organization, then change is not real change, core change.
transformational change. That kind of change, that quality of change, isn’t
available until you bankrupt how it is. Really bankrupt how it is.... I like
to think of it as creating a useful crisis. (http://www.osstf.on.ca)

In an effort to recognize and support teachers in developing and maintaining their
own cultures, this thesis focuses on issues related to time in the lives of educators. The
present study examines the different time tracks (Lyman & Scott, 1989) found in the
workplace and investigates how teachers and administrators respond to different time
binds and time pressures. By describing the perspectives of time in the lives of teachers
and administrators it is hoped that a better understanding of the struggles faced by these
individuals will emerge. The study also sets out to demonstrate how time is the actual
substance of reform and a deliberate goal of reform, not merely a by-product. Time
becomes a powerful lens for understanding the context of educational change, social
change and political change.

It should be stressed at the outset that all individuals in society require many kinds
of time. People need time for work, recreation, relationships, family, and self. In addition
to allocating our time to different activities, we also experience and construct meanings
of time differently. Time is experienced subjectively. For example, when reading a good
novel we can get so absorbed that two hours seems like only a few minutes; on the other
hand, the pain from childbirth, a hernia operation or a root canal can feel like an eternity.
In other words, time issues are not the exclusive domains of any one group of individuals.
Nevertheless, the goal of this thesis is to examine time related matters involving teachers
and educational administrators.
Much of the substance of educational reform in Ontario is about time and controlling time in schools. In an attempt to increase standards, the curriculum has been revised and downloaded to younger children. As a result, teachers must learn and then implement the new curriculum and assessment policies, usually in a very short time span. This is happening at a time when funding is being managed centrally, experienced teachers are being encouraged to retire, and working conditions are being tightly controlled. The pressure to do more with less, and more quickly, affects how we feel, think and behave. By increasing classroom instructional time and regulating extracurricular time dramatically, the way teachers and administrators approach their jobs has been drastically altered. This intensification of teachers' time is one way of saving money. It is also one way of controlling teachers' professional lives. Conflicting views about how to respond to these changes may result in organizational disharmony - often with worrying implications. Expectations from government and educational administrators for teachers to act more professionally can sometimes be viewed as exploitation. Holding teachers more accountable, while simultaneously increasing their workload and colonizing their planning time and personal time sets the scene for passionate confrontations. Time to plan and to practise, time for curriculum development, time to turn policy into practice, time to teach mandated curriculum expectations, time to assess and to report learning, time to support extra-curricular activities, time to share successful practices, time to communicate with parents, time to sell reform, and time for vigilance about the primary purposes of education are hotly debated topics.
Time is a deliberate part of the reform policy in Ontario (The Education Accountability Act; The Education Quality Improvement Act). By keeping teachers busy and by increasing the scope and pace of change, the government is reducing the capacity of teachers and administrators to reflect and to resist.

1.2 Context

In September 1996 I was seconded to the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training for a two year period from my job with The Simcoe County Board of Education where I co-ordinated and supervised system-wide research and program implementation. This secondment was subsequently extended to June 1999. In my new ministry job I was the Manager of the Standards and Assessment Unit in The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Branch. I was responsible for overseeing a number of educational changes, including the development of rigorous standards and assessment policies for the new provincial curriculum in Grades 1-12, developing and implementing innovations such as the new provincial report card for students, developing policies for expanded provincial assessments, and working closely with senior ministry and political staff on a wide variety of government initiated education reform projects.

Accepting this new position resulted in typical days that included approximately three to four hours of travel time (since I live about 90 kilometres north of Toronto) and average working days of ten to twelve hours duration. I was also expected to work evenings and weekends when required so as to meet project deadlines. In addition, the meaning of time assumed new significance for me as I became intimately involved in the
practical and profoundly political intricacies of working in the ministry on an extensive educational reform agenda.

It has always been my belief and practice that the workplace is not defined by regular working hours. If a task needs to be completed, then it gets done. In my job at the ministry, I agreed to work for a set number of years and to use my expertise and skills to make a difference in an area that I valued. While I believe that it is important to link my time to some form of productivity, every moment does not have to be devoted to a productive workplace outcome. Time spent on quality activities, relationships, personal growth and professional development are experiences that I also value in the workplace. Although many of my days at the ministry were often intense and the demands from others to meet and to produce various reports were overwhelming, I was prepared to accept these conditions as a part of my job. While I came to accept that other people would appropriate my time (it was definitely a given in my workplace), I also had a certain amount of power to manoeuvre and structure my own time. I have never been comfortable fitting within tightly controlled schedules determined by others, so a certain amount of flexibility to determine my own agenda was important. In this sense, I was able to structure some of my time and consequently shape the life in my time. Although I get a great deal of satisfaction and a sense of self-efficacy from productivity in my workplace, time spent doing my job is always conditional on receiving support from my family. In addition, the health and well being of my family and me always receive primary consideration.
In my new role at the ministry, I worked closely with a range of key stakeholder groups. My daily routine included consultation with a range of ministry staff and political staff in developing curriculum and assessment policies and other educational reform and change initiatives that were mandated by the government for all schools in the province. The pace was often hectic and stressful. A whole range of temporal issues such as those resulting from exacting timelines, unexpected crises, working in an organization that treated everything as urgent, and dealing with volatile and highly controversial issues characteristically dominated my everyday workplace experiences.

Increasingly, teachers and educational administrators in Ontario were being required to implement a range of educational reforms and mandated changes that challenged existing instructional and assessment practices. Many of these changes resulted from and had been conceptualised within a discourse about how best to educate children for the twenty-first century. In the early part of the 1990s, for example, a new Common Curriculum (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1995) that focussed on learning outcomes at key grade levels was introduced. This Common Curriculum explicitly dealt with social issues such as equity and social justice. It also attempted to change some of the sacred norms of schooling by placing an emphasis on the transition years between elementary school and secondary school. There was also a specific focus on integrated learning, collaboration and province-wide standards in language and mathematics.

Many of these changes had been nurtured by a number of significant studies that provided data to stimulate public conversations. The Radwanski Report on dropouts
(1987), the Premier's Council Report on people and skills in the new global economy (1990), the Conference Board of Canada's Employability Skills Profile (1992), and the report on racism by Lewis (1992), for example, provided a basis for many of the public conversations and the changes that were embodied in The Common Curriculum.

Simultaneously, the Royal Commission on Learning in Ontario (1994), marshalled a wealth of additional information and identified many of the issues in education that were part of this ongoing discourse.

Although these studies foreshadowed change, education in Ontario had escaped the intense scrutiny and torment of a neo-conservative, market driven economy and a public accountability focus that had previously characterized many jurisdictions around the world. The storm clouds of change that had been looming on the global horizon for several years descended suddenly, swiftly and severely with the election of the conservative government in 1995. The resulting turbulence quickly overwhelmed and altered public education and schooling, as it previously existed. Fundamental educational change and mandated reform occurred rapidly and in a context of continued labour unrest and heated public debate. It was at this point in Ontario education that I accepted a position as Manager of the Standards and Assessment Unit in the Ministry of Education and Training.

From 1995 to 2000 the educational landscape in Ontario experienced radical educational reform and unremitting change (Bedard & Lawton, 2000; Gidney, 1999; Lafleur, 2001; Moore, 2001). Some of these changes included:

* the establishment of school councils,
The reduction of the number of school districts in the province,

reformed governance structures at the school district level,

the establishment of an independent assessment agency, known as the Educational Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO),

provincial assessments of students in Grades 3,6 and 9,

the development of Grade 10 tests of language as a high school diploma requirement for implementation beginning in the 2001-2002 school year,

the establishment of the Ontario College of Teachers,

the introduction of teacher testing,

the removal of principals and vice-principals from the teachers' collective bargaining unit,

a new centrally controlled funding formula for school districts,

secondary school reform, including the reduction of secondary school from 5 years to 4 years, increased instructional time and a new teacher advisory program,

a new curriculum for all students in grades 1-12,

new academic assessment policies and standard report cards for all students in the province,

a Charter of Education Rights and Responsibilities, for students, teachers and parents,

a student Code of Conduct.
The unprecedented speed and seismic magnitude of these educational changes and school reform initiatives within a relatively short period awakened public interest and involvement in education. Many of the changes were about saving money and redistributing the tax base, increasing standards by downloading the curriculum, taking control of policy development and implementation, increasing accountability, centralizing decisions about curriculum and funding, destabilizing and diminishing the power of teachers' federations, and increasing the instructional time and workload of teachers. Heated and often vitriolic public conversations as well as labour unrest heralded fundamentally new ways of doing business.

During September 1997, elementary and secondary schoolteachers participated in a bitter two-week walkout. These days of protest closed all public elementary and secondary schools in the province and focused teachers’ objections to Bill 160 that included sweeping changes to the very structure and substance of education in the province. The walkout was not a legal strike. Teachers went without pay to show their dissatisfaction with the government's proposed legislation. In spite of these drastic measures and very vocal objections, including a court challenge, Bill 160 was enacted by the Ontario Legislature in December 1997 and became The Education Quality Improvement Act.

In September 1998, many boards were in a legal position to strike as collective agreements came up for renewal. Unresolved issues surrounding Bill 160 - that is, The Education Quality Improvement Act - were the focus of discontent. In particular, the interpretation of how to respond to the government's direction to increase instructional
time, set class sizes limits and introduce a centrally controlled funding formula ignited festering teacher resentment. As a result, Ontario experienced another period of labour unrest with full strikes, rotating strikes, work-to-rule, and lockouts in school districts throughout the province. Ontario was in the midst of a full education war.

Issues related to time appeared to be a deliberate part of the government's reform agenda. After all, time is money! The increase in instructional time, the implementation of economic sanctions involving labour and resource savings, the overwhelming number of educational reforms and the hurried pace of change are overt examples of time as an object of reform. Instructional time, for example, was a way of controlling teachers' behaviour by regulating the total amount of time spent in the classroom. On average, this meant an extra half period that secondary school teachers had to devote to classroom instruction. Many of the changes resulted in additional pressures and intensification (Apple, 1986). Being responsible for implementing new, rigorous curriculum standards and being held accountable through the implementation of performance standards and new large-scale testing had a dramatic impact on the morale and well being of teachers. Forced to wait for inadequate funding and to implement programs without adequate training or resources resulted in teachers "cutting corners" and becoming stressed and bitter about the mandated reforms. Work overload was commonplace. When the government introduced an early retirement option, many educators left their profession willingly and eagerly. With the depletion of skilled and knowledgeable educators came a loss of experience and corporate memory.
In an effort to eliminate any ambiguity in The Education Quality Improvement Act and to tighten further their control over education, the government introduced Bill 74 in May 2000. Within a month, Bill 74 was passed in the Ontario Legislature as The Education Accountability Act. Specific features of this Act are to ensure that school boards:

1. Provide co-instructional activities such as sports, arts and special school activities.

2. Ensure that school boards actually meet the instructional time standard for teaching time in secondary schools - 4 hours and 10 minutes per day, or just under 21 hours a week – which was set in legislation in 1998.

3. Lower the average class sizes at both the elementary and secondary levels.

4. Ensure that school boards meet province-wide quality standards in such areas as class sizes, curriculum and provision of special education.

5. Ensure school boards meet the objectives of student-focused funding by dedicating more resources to the classroom.

(http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/nr/00.05/account.html)
As indicated, The Education Accountability Act has a provision to mandate that all teachers assume responsibility for co-instructional activities. This not only contradicts existing contracts and working conditions, but it also increases the workload of teachers placing them on notice for participating in non-instructional activities such as coaching and field trips. Furthermore, the Act says that any employee who publicly criticises or objects to the governments’ policies is subject to punitive action. As a result, labour unrest and public confrontations continue and threaten to dominate the first few school years of the new millennium.

During the last five years of the twentieth century the Ontario government’s agenda for education became increasingly clear to educators, parents, students and other residents. Driven by a new economic formula, governance restructuring, centralized policy development, secondary school reform, curriculum and assessment renewal, a preoccupation with high rigorous standards, and a commitment to exercise more control over teacher and student behaviour, the face of education throughout the province was in the process of a major transformation. Educational reform and change are still occurring and they involve substantive transformations of the use and meaning of time in education (see Education Improvement Commission, 1997). The increase in instructional time, the reduction of planning time, the regulation of extra curricular time, and the preoccupation with testing and accountability are a few of the ways that time is transforming the landscape of education.

There was a determined effort by the conservative government to limit spending, reduce bureaucracy, empower parents, control student behaviour, change the structures of
secondary schools, reduce the numbers of teachers and administrators, limit the powers of federations, implement a new centrally directed curriculum, test teachers, and establish more visible and public accountability. Setting high, rigorous standards, developing core curricula that feature “the basics”, centralizing control and direction of curriculum and assessment policies while promoting local decision-making, ensuring clear and precise reporting and communication of student achievement, increasing public accountability and targeting high student achievement on provincial, national and international tests characterized many of the changes that had a significant impact on educational practice.

During the 1999 provincial election, there was also a promise to have all teachers take a written certification examination every three to five years and to introduce student testing in every grade. These changes are now in their formative stages of implementation.

The reform agenda included the control of money and resources available to education. Funding formulas for the development of curriculum and assessment policies, special education services, and the operational structures and procedures framing educational practice were precisely prescribed and tightly monitored. This represented a shift from municipalities funding education and local school boards interpreting broad curriculum and assessment policies and implementing their own operating procedures. Gone, for example, were the days when schools and school districts had the discretion to shift funds from one area to another. In addition, it was no longer possible to implement different curriculum outcomes and to use different student report cards across the province. These were replaced with grade-by-grade specific provincial curriculum
expectations, new assessment policies and one common provincial report card that had to be used for all students in Ontario.

All of these changes had an impact on teachers’ time. For example, the funding formula imposed certain restrictions and guidelines. In Special Education this meant that not only were fewer staff available, but these people were also expected to spend additional hours completing application forms in order to secure limited dollars. An increase in instructional time in secondary schools also meant that fewer teachers were required. So, fewer teachers were assigned more classroom instruction duties. With the advent of a more rigorous, grade-by-grade curriculum and new standardized assessments, province-wide testing and student report cards, classroom teachers were now expected to learn new ways of doing business. During the first few years of implementation, it was not uncommon for teachers to spend 60-80 hours completing the standardized student report cards - often on their own time at home.

In the midst of these fundamental educational reforms, everyday life in schools continued. Teachers and educational administrators were expected to provide quality instruction, create meaningful learning opportunities for students, improve student achievement and deal with the increasing demands of students with a wide range of educational and personal needs. In addition, they were now expected to implement new policies simultaneously, including new curriculum and assessment policies, quickly and seamlessly.

For teachers, as well as other professional workers, finding the right balance of time for work, self and family was becoming a real challenge (Hochschild, 1997). There
was more to do and not enough time to do it all. Workload and stress were increasing.

Time for training, resource development, planning, and implementation was now an added responsibility and pressure. All of these demands were beginning to make inroads into the personal lives and well being of teachers.

Educational administrators faced many challenges that were similar to those encountered by teachers. Now considered management and separated from the teachers’ federation, they were responsible for ensuring that teachers implemented the new curriculum and assessment policies. Not only did they have limited funds for professional development and few resources to support the mandated changes, but they also had to deal with shortages of teachers and deal with turnover of leadership. All of these changes were occurring in a context of continuing labour disputes and increased public accountability.

This research study set out to investigate the meaning and significance of time for teachers and educational administrators in this highly political context of educational reform and mandated change in Ontario. Initially I wanted to find out more about how teachers and administrators spent their time during these turbulent changes, how they managed their time and how they felt about the choices they made. As I proceeded, however, it became clear that time was not just a side effect of educational reform, but also its deliberate instrument. Understanding the transformation of educators’ time in this local and specific social-political context became an integral part of my investigation. It became a way to better understand similar global trends.
The focus of the present study was on the practical issues related to the use and meaning of time in the lives of teachers and educational administrators. The teachers and administrators in this study were interviewed at a time when changes were being made from the Common Curriculum to the Ontario Curriculum. For example, teachers were interviewed in the spring of the 1997-1998 school year. During this time, the Ontario Curriculum for Language and Mathematics had already become the operational curriculum policy, while the Common Curriculum remained the policy for all other curriculum areas. The standard student report card was being piloted in school districts for the second year. And, the province-wide assessments in Grade 3 occurred for the second time. In addition, there was considerable public discussion about the emerging curriculum and assessment changes and educators from around the province were involved in the development of other subject areas for the new Ontario Curriculum documents that were to become policy in September 1998.

The Common Curriculum had replaced an objectives based curriculum with one that had broad essential outcomes and a program organized under four general areas - Arts, Language, Mathematics Science and Technology, and Personal and Social Studies. The program areas were designed to promote integrated learning rather than discipline specific learning. Each of these program areas had a number of specific curriculum outcomes for several categories or broad topics that described in detail the knowledge, skills and values that students were expected to learn. These specific outcomes were written for the ends of Grades 3, 6 and 9 and a complex cross-referencing and coding of the essential and specific outcomes were included to direct implementation. In addition,
assessment principles were a featured component of the Common Curriculum. A broad range of assessment practices were advocated, including self-assessment, performance assessments, criteria-based assessments, and the use of levels of achievement. Assessment was positioned as a way to improve achievement and promote high standards.

When the Conservative government was elected in 1995, it made numerous election promises to reform education in Ontario. Among these promises were a new grade-by-grade specific curriculum that would replace the Common Curriculum, a standard provincial student report card and rigorous province-wide testing.

The new Ontario Curriculum returned to a discipline focus. Subject specific documents included overall and specific curriculum expectations detailing the knowledge and skills required for each grade. The intent was to provide consistency of expectations across the province so as to facilitate province-wide testing. In addition to the grade-by-grade curriculum expectations, each document included one Achievement Chart that provided brief descriptions of four possible levels of student achievement for four categories of knowledge/skills. The new Ontario curriculum replaced the Common Curriculum in phases. For example, Language and Mathematics curriculum documents were developed and released as policy in September 1997. The Arts, Health and Physical Education, Science and Technology, and Social Studies and History were released as policy documents in September 1998. French-as-a-Second Language was the final document to be released in the spring of 2001.
The standard student report card was field tested in more than 90 school districts during the 1996-1997 school year, piloted during the 1997-1998 school year and became policy in September 1998. The report card used the levels of achievement for assigning letter grades to students in Grades 1 to 6 and percentage grades to students in Grades 7 and 8. Since the Ministry of Education had no assessment policy, the guidelines for using the report card shaped assessment and reporting practices. Assessment practices were also influenced by the province-wide assessments. The first province-wide assessment occurred in Grade 3 during the 1996-1997 school year using levels of achievement based on the Common Curriculum outcomes for Language and Mathematics. The second province-wide assessment occurred during the 1997-1998 school year. It was the first province-wide assessment to be based on the curriculum expectations and Achievement Charts in the Ontario Curriculum Language and Mathematics policy documents.

As was the custom in Ontario, school districts and schools were expected to provide teachers with support and resources to implement curriculum policy that was developed centrally by the Ministry of Education. In large school districts, for example, second-generation documents were developed to support implementation in the local district. Under this process, teachers had varying levels of support and training depending on the structures and resources available in the school district. This was the situation when teachers implemented the Common Curriculum; it was also the case when implementing the Ontario Curriculum. Since the Common Curriculum was just in the early stages of implementation, abandoning these implementation efforts and re-focusing
energy and limited resources to implementing the new Ontario Curriculum created considerable stress and tension.

These policy details have been provided in order to avert possible sources of confusion in reading the thesis. The rapid succession of reform events across two different governments, created dramatic turnarounds (e.g., from integrated learning to a focus on subject disciplines and standards), subtle shifts or progressions (e.g., from divisional outcomes to grade-by-grade specific expectations), overlaps (e.g., a continued focus on classroom assessment and improvement), and continuities (e.g., the development and expansion of province-wide assessment and accountability) in educational policy over a relatively short period of data collection spanning one school year for teachers and the following school year for administrators. Thus, where statements are made about teachers' and administrators' time-based responses to reform from one period of data collection and are phrased in ways that apply to the entire data collection period, this is because the reform patterns mentioned either overlap across or transcend the entire reform period. In particular, conditions of implementation in terms of space, scope and limited levels of support for reform were highly consistent across the different reform periods.

This inquiry about time went beyond clocks, timetables and schedules. I examined the time worlds of these individuals through conversations that investigated their thoughts, feelings, practices, and lived experiences of time during this period of educational change. I specifically explored their thoughts about the reform agenda involving time matters. In particular, I investigated time in the context of the everyday
work experiences of teachers and administrators and I sought to understand the complexities of different kinds of social time in the lives of these educators. I also documented the similarities and differences between the time experiences of teachers and administrators.

1.3 Rationale

The present study undertook empirical research about education experiences of time by interviewing a sample of twenty teachers and another sample of three administrators. Historically, the study of time has been a relatively neglected area of teachers' and educational administrators' work. This present research not only explored time in the lives of teachers and administrators, but it also examined the life in their time. In addition, the study investigated how educators' time was being transformed by the social and political context in Ontario during the late 1990s.

There is little question that traditionally schools have functioned in a stable and orderly fashion. They have always operated within the precise economy of time. Just as "clock time" dominates our society, the clock controls repetition and routine in our schools (Giddens, 1984; Harvey, 1990; Castells, 1996). As Thompson (1967) argues, clock-time has particular value when it is viewed as a currency – something that is spent. Time is treated as a commodity - a resource to be used, consumed and invested. Hargreaves (1994) refers to technical-rational time as a finite resource that is regarded by educational administrators as being able to be managed and manipulated. This commodified concept of time can be found in a variety of metaphorical expressions such
as: "I never have enough time", "you have to manage time", "time is precious", and "time is money" (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

The paradoxical dilemmas of change in education (Hargreaves, 1994), the impact of chaos (Gleick, 1987), complexity (Waldrop, 1992), fragmentation (Shapiro & Purpel, 1993) and uncertainty [referred to as manufactured uncertainty by Giddens (1995) and Hargreaves (1996)] bubble to the surface during educational reform in a post-modern society (Doll, 1993). In addition, the prevalence and implications of market-driven principles in education (Kenway, 1995) have made the use of generic guidelines for dealing with educational reform problematic. Time has become a way to define the professional capacity of educators to raise student achievement and to save money.

Teachers and educational administrators are overwhelmed by the hurried pace and magnitude of educational reform. Forced to work harder, longer and smarter, these educators must deal with the pressures and chronic problems related to time on a daily basis. As a result, they are transforming their existing views of time and time practices. Teachers and administrators struggle with time issues in order to make implementation more manageable, to obtain the necessary resources and training, to decrease workload and concomitant stress, to increase meaningful planning time, to improve student learning and achievement, to restructure taken-for-granted time schedules, and to minimize the intensity of change. Simultaneously, they are beginning to shift their own temporal orientations and to understand their own values so that better choices can be made about how best to spend their time – both within school and outside school.
Teachers and educational administrators are caught in a “time war”. On the one hand, they must learn how to respond to government directions that tightly control their time. On the other hand, they must invent ways to use time flexibly in order to accommodate the plethora of changes all around them. There is little question that technical-rational time dominates life in schools. Only by questioning who controls, delivers and imposes the political kinds of rationality that currently exist in schools can teachers free themselves from the time pressures and binds that define their practice.

There are numerous time-specific issues that occur during periods of intense education reform. For example, the socio-political and economic will of the government challenges the pedagogical assumptions, beliefs and values of educators, often resulting in warped and inconsistent practices. The technical-rational time structures in the workplace rarely accommodate the personal needs of teachers and administrators. Time is always a juggling act. It is about finding the best balance among the plethora of time demands in the workplace as well as in personal and family life. When scheduled clock-time and workplace expectations are out of alignment, the costs to teachers, educational administrators and students can be high – in productivity, morale, and health. Uncompromising and deep-seated educational reform can be unsettling and overwhelming. People become frustrated and are forced to cut-corners. When there is insufficient time allocated to covering the curriculum, keeping up with the field, planning learning activities or marking student work, then the quality of student learning and achievement are affected. While being reflective practitioners (Schön, 1987, 1983) is hard work at the best of times, it is essential that teachers and administrators examine
carefully the time in their lives and consider alternative ways of managing the life in their time.

Teachers' and educational administrators' time is increasingly colonized by government policies and school board expectations. This creates many tensions for individuals who must balance their own personal and family life with work commitments. Workplace practices are influenced by this struggle to sort out life and work priorities. Whether time dilemmas are resolved or not resolved, they influence the work and emotions of teachers and educational administrators. Strategies must be implemented to minimize temporal obstacles, thus reducing stress, enhancing organizational learning and increasing effectiveness. The challenge is to maximize everyone's optimal use of time, including the optimisation of student learning time.

Although empirical studies about time and temporality in education are relatively few, issues related to time are moving to the front stage in discussions about educational reform. Werner's (1988) classic study about the role of time in program implementation uses the polychronic and monochronic concepts of time posited by Hall (1983) to show the differences between teachers' and administrators' views of time. Other research such as Clandinin and Connelly's (1995, 1986) work on rhythmical time in teaching, Apple's (1986) work on intensification, and Adelman, Walking-Eagle and Hargreaves' (1997) case studies about teachers' use of time during instruction represent the limited number of influential research studies that are beginning to emerge. In addition, recent work by Bruno (1997) who looks at time as the currency that is exchanged between the classroom teacher and the school organization and Huyvaert (1998) who investigates the
relationship between time and school effectiveness are beginning to unravel the importance of time in the lives of teachers and administrators.

New concepts of time are also gaining acceptance. In their research on secondary school restructuring, Hannay and Ross (1997) challenge educators to think of new ways for using time to support learning. Their idea of time banks, for example, is a novel strategy for meeting the various time needs of teachers. Similarly, Slattery’s (1995a, 1995b) notion of proleptic time - where the integration of time, place and self is a feature of meaningful learning - supports the use of strategies such as integrated learning, holistic models of instruction, and authentic student assessment. Contributions such as these are beginning to extend our understanding of the impact of temporal issues in schools beyond mere preoccupations with altering time schedules. These studies also extend our appreciation of the connection between time and learning. They acknowledge the different time worlds that individuals bring to the workplace; document the complexity of time; validate the subjective time experiences of individuals; and feature time as an emerging process where the past and future are constantly impacting the present moment. In addition, these contributions to the research literature increase our awareness of and highlight how time has come to dominate the current socio-political agenda of educational reform and change.

Despite these research initiatives, there is still a scarcity of research that provides personal and meaningful descriptions of time in education. Empirical research is needed that describes teachers’ experiences of time in contexts of intensification and relentless educational reform. In particular, investigation of teachers’ perceptions of the fast-paced
and wide-ranging curriculum reform in Ontario has yet to occur. Studies about time in the lives of educational administrators are even more rare than those for teachers.

Developing shared understandings of time and illustrating the effects of time in the workplace provide new opportunities for looking at organizational issues that impact quality instruction and student achievement. Given the intensely political nature of time in Ontario, it is even more critical to understand and to document the role that time plays in the lives of teachers and educational administrators. Furthermore, there is a moral imperative to investigate the potentially dangerous misuse of time as a strategy for achieving political purposes when this collides with sound pedagogy and quality education practices.

This study is about time. Time is central to who we are and what we do. It is about what we value. It is about the decisions we make. How we spend our time and how we experience time transcends our work and our personal lives. Finding the right balance of time in our lives enables us to put life in our time. As Harvey (1990, p. 202) says, “In modern society, many different senses of time get pinned together” and “out of such different senses of time, serious conflicts can arise.” The socio-political context and the fundamental nature of educational reform in this province make this study of time imperative. Giving time a voice is integral to providing quality education for the twenty-first century. It is about time to rethink time in education.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study investigates the experiences of time in the lives of teachers and educational administrators who were involved in implementing major curriculum and
assessment reforms during a period of profound and tumultuous educational change. By interviewing a sample of twenty teachers and another sample of three administrators, the everyday, taken-for-granted experiences, perspectives and assumptions about time were made more visible and problematic. In this study I have also been able to demonstrate the impact of a neo-conservative and market-driven approach to education on the uses and meaning of time in schools and educational organizations. The research demonstrates that teachers and educational administrators were experiencing an intense compression of time. They were expected to do more, with less, more quickly. Time compression and intensification are disorienting, frustrating and disruptive. Because time has been used as a deliberate political strategy for achieving educational reform, it is not surprising that public confrontations and labour unrest dominated Ontario education during the last few years of the twentieth century and the first few years of the twenty-first century.

The teachers and educational administrators in this research study lived in a highly political context. Educational reforms were numerous and relentless. The government used the reforms to attack existing educational practices. Implementation was rushed and compliance was expected immediately. Within this hurried culture of change, the very substance of the educational reform was overtly linked to controlling teachers’ time and to exploiting the time economy of work relations.

Through interviews with these teachers and administrators, I have been able to document first-hand experiences that show how individuals respond to the tenacious waves of educational reform that were happening in Ontario. I explored how they made sense of their lives, set priorities and solved daily problems. How teachers respond to the
time binds and the time pressures during such intensive and overwhelming changes has implications for the health and well being of all teachers, the nature of implementation, the quality of student learning, school improvement initiatives and so on. Educational administrators must deal with similar time demands. In addition, however, they are simultaneously caught in the precarious position of ensuring that these challenging educational reforms are efficiently and effectively implemented. Shedding light on the various dimensions of time through the accounts of these individuals should influence the thoughts, feelings and actions of other educators.

Time is relentless, intangible, invisible, and puzzling. In an effort to explain time, a variety of conceptualisations of time have been posited. These help us to make sense of educational praxis and everyday life. In agrarian societies, for example, time was closely connected to the rhythms and cycles of nature and influenced food gathering practices and seasonal time-reckoning. The division of time into days, weeks, months and years corresponds to the periodical recurrence of rituals, religious events and public ceremonies. Time is thus culturally conditioned and socially constructed. Fascination with the duration and succession of time is integrally connected to distinguishing different moments. The emergence of clock time, economic time, and the preoccupation with scientific explanations heralded a technical-rational view of time. This stands in contrast to phenomenological time where subjective experiences and time as an existential form of becoming are featured. The emergence of technologies, high-speed travel, and instantaneous communication has resulted in contemporary ideas such as virtual time becoming part of daily vernacular. Often these different forms of time are in
conflict with one another and result in time pressures and time conflicts. This time
dissonance is something that teachers and educational administrators must deal with
during periods of fundamental reform.

The vast literature on time predominantly comes from writings in philosophy
(Fraisse, 1963), religion (Augustine, 1997; Westphal & Levenson, 1993), the physical
1997) and sociology (Heidegger, 1962; Schutz, 1962; Zerubavel, 1981; Giddens, 1984,
1991; Lyman & Scott, 1989; Harvey, 1990; Castells, 1996; Flaherty, 1999). Although
there are relatively few empirical research studies on time in education - particularly
during periods of extensive and hurried educational reform - a handful of noteworthy
contributions to the literature have emerged over the last several years (see, for example.
Although schools are predominantly controlled by the clock, these studies demonstrate
that time is more than a technical-rational matter grounded in Newtonian science and
socio-economic theories. The organization and understanding of time also represent
important personal and social dimensions of people's lives. Time, for example, comes
alive through subjectively lived experiences, reflecting the collage of characteristics
associated with modernity and post modernity (Friedland & Boden, 1994).

The literature demonstrates that the voices of time resonate throughout all aspects
of our daily experiences. The temporal nature of the world operates on all levels of daily
living. To understand time is to understand the essence of how we perceive and define
reality. Consequently, from the total body of literature, it was possible to develop orienting categories that portrayed different meanings of time as they related to education. Yet, the significance of the present research study goes beyond such a synthesis of the literature.

Specifically, this research study set out to capture the intensity and the implications of time in the lives of a purposeful sample of twenty teachers and an opportunity sample of three educational administrators who were involved in implementing wide-ranging and intrusive curriculum and assessment reforms. Their personal accounts provided meaningful descriptions of the impact of temporal issues on their day-to-day working lives. The interviews explored the nooks and crannies of daily challenges in schools and demonstrated the impact of prevailing time-related structures and routines on these individuals in educational organizations and in their own personal lives.

In this study, the impact of externally mandated policies on the daily experiences of teachers and educational administrators was investigated. An interpretative account of the experiences of these individuals may help others to reflect on their current practice and to create new possibilities for using time in their workplace. Hannay and Ross (1997), for example, describe the creation of alternative timetables, the use of time banks, and the rearrangement of time for testing so that newer forms of assessment can be accommodated. Similarly, Pardini (1999) describes several innovative strategies that are being used in various jurisdictions to address time issues related to planning and professional development. Over the past several years, increasing attention has been
given to alternative structures such as block scheduling and year-round schooling (Shields & Oberg, 2000) and virtual learning. Existing and sacred ways of organizing schools are coming under scrutiny. The challenge is to find the best way to approach planning time so that teachers accept it, it makes a difference to instruction and learning, it is affordable, and it is viewed as a politically accountable activity.

The highly politicised and rapidly changing landscape of education in Ontario provided a context for showcasing current time phenomena and for reconstructing future time possibilities. Since time was made an unequivocal part of the reform agenda, the role of time in education was brought to the surface. What was previously tacit and invisible was made explicit. An opportunity was created for examining the impact of different time boundaries. Cuban (1995), for example, posits five clocks of school reform - media time, policy maker time, bureaucratic time, practitioner time, and student learning time. He suggests that the rapid pace of media and policy maker time tends to focus on the failures of educational reform. Since individuals who embrace these perspectives live within a time boundary where everything operates in a hurried culture, failures become an expedient because they are visible and emerge early during educational reform. Media and policy makers have no patience to wait for and to acknowledge the small, incremental successes that occur, much more slowly, in the daily life of schools.

The discretion of teachers is increasingly being restricted by having to meet more and more externally mandated expectations with fewer resources and less support. The complexity of daily life in classrooms is increased by having to implement new specific
grade-by-grade curriculum expectations, to use new assessment frameworks and standard student report cards, to meet more rigorous standards of achievement, to ensure that students are among the best on provincial, national and international tests, to respond to an increasing number of students with special needs as part of the regular classroom, to respond to public demands for accountability, and to increase the involvement of parents in their children's learning. All of these initiatives must be accomplished with limited resources and less time for planning and professional development. In order to meet deadlines, educational administrators often expect performance - such as marking and staff development - from teachers during evening hours and weekends. Usually administrators are unaware of, or act as if they are oblivious to, the added stress that staff experience and the possible negative impact on their performance in the workplace.

The time dilemmas faced by educational administrators are no less daunting. They too must deal with the large number of educational reforms. Their task is to ensure that implementation of these reforms occurs in a smooth, timely, efficient and effective manner. However, to deal with funding formula restrictions that alter labour conditions, operating conditions and available resources, to respond to a centrally controlled policy agenda and to function under conditions of more public accountability, educational administrators must complete more paper work, undertake additional consultation, and complete mandated plans and other projects. In addition, there is also a press to demonstrate immediate successes when implementing new and complex educational policies and reforms. On top of these challenges, administrators must take more time and care to deal with an increasingly demoralized and militant work force, while assuming
more responsibility for extra-curricular activities, athletics, commencement and community based partnerships.

Individuals who are on different time tracks (Lyman & Scott, 1989) are quite likely to have different perspectives and pressures related to temporal issues. For example, someone who is single, or has a young family, or must care for an elderly parent, or is near retirement may have quite different views of, experiences related to, and commitment to implementing educational reform.

Documenting some of these issues and examining them within the workplace will help unravel the meaning of time and the significant role it plays in daily activities. Situating these findings within the context of the tremendous educational reform that is occurring in Ontario will not only enable the telling of rich and textual personal narratives, but it will also clarify the implications for other teachers and educational administrators as they go about their daily work. By identifying existing time binds and time conflicts, for example, staff can protect valued features of school culture, improve existing structures and revise or resist educational policy. In other words, the findings of this research will enrich organizational events and infuse them with meaning. It will clarify the dynamics of educational organizations by reflecting and shaping change related to temporal issues.

Time is central to who we are and how we act in the workplace. Finding ways to preserve the integrity and well being of the individual must be balanced with the underlying vision and mission, values, goals and effective functioning of the organization (Schein, 1992).
Continuous learning is essential for developing individual and organizational capacity to deal with change and educational reform. Developing this capacity to deal with change must be balanced with respect for tradition and innovation. Tradition enshrines and respects valued customs and practices. Finding ways to amalgamate these in a caring and respectful manner with new ways of behaving builds potential for improvement and learning. As Hargreaves (1996) suggests, capacity building results from supporting teachers as active agents in sustaining their own cultures, learning from studies of teacher cultures that are tragic, and contesting the assault on public education "out there". Fundamental to such learning is our understanding of how time is used and controlled in the workplace.

1.5 Statement of the Problem and Purpose

The problem that this study addresses is that there is little systematic inquiry about teachers' and administrators' time during periods of educational reform. While time is often acknowledged as an obstacle to change, few studies have examined the range of issues associated with time in the everyday lives of educators. In particular, there is a lack of research that examines not only the technical-rational issues of time such as timetables and schedules, but also the lived experiences of teachers and administrators in a period of intense and fundamental educational reform.

The purpose of the study is to show how the struggle to control the technical-rational agenda of time in schools is impacting the lives of teachers and administrators, the productivity of these individuals, and the quality of teaching and learning. The very substance of educational reform is about controlling time in the lives of teachers and
educational administrators. It is shaped by neo-conservative and market-driven policies that deliberately set out to transform the use of and the meaning of time in schools.

This study documented how this transformation of educators' time was shifting and affecting their daily practice. It examined the disruptions, frustrations, struggles, and tensions of increased workload and stress. Temporal issues dominate and shape the lived, day-to-day experiences of teachers and educational administrators. A complementary role of this study was to revitalize the discourse on time as a way to examine the impact of externally mandated educational reform on quality instruction and student learning.

Often we become locked into established ways of doing things because of power relations, job expectations, and historical precedents. It is widely agreed that the world of the twenty-first century will require citizens who must face an array of unpredictable and unknown challenges. For example, today's students require knowledge and skills that will enable them to perform multiple tasks, to be self-directed learners, to understand the importance of lifelong learning, to be resourceful problem-solvers, to be competent users of technology and to understand themselves, their culture and the culture of others. Learning how to think critically, to work in social and emotional contexts, to manage information technologies, to communicate effectively, and to solve problems meaningfully are increasingly accepted as essential graduation requirements (see, for example, Royal Commission on Learning, 1994).

How we view time and how we use time depends on the purposes we wish to achieve. A technical-rational view of time provides limited flexibility in stepping beyond restrictive schedules and mandated instructional time. Implementing sound pedagogy that
focuses on students as resourceful problem solvers, for example, will likely have limited success within traditional schooling practices such as those occurring within fifty-minute classroom periods for specific subjects. Working in the community and/or making the best use of the dramatic changes in technology will be curbed unless ways can be found to rethink the meaning of time in our schools.

Current educational reform and changes that are occurring within Ontario have implications for the meaning of and the ways that we use time in schools. An increased focus on assessment that advocates the use of performance based assessment and demonstrations of achievement, for example, pushes the boundaries of existing time structures. Meaningfully involving parents in the education of their children is no longer limited to visits to the school building – the learning environment includes the home and the community. Working with parents and encouraging and supporting their involvement also mean that teachers must reconstruct their time priorities. Technology also has a dramatic influence on how schools are organised, how teachers teach and how students learn. Since technology is instantaneous and often goes undetected, it generally exceeds our ability to keep up. The time worlds of teachers and administrators are up for reinvention. Coming to terms with increased instructional time, reduced planning time, scarce staff development time, increased workload and larger class sizes continue to be elusive. Using scheduled time more flexibly and knowing what to do when we literally “run out of time” to do everything that is expected of us are perplexing and frustrating time dilemmas.
Specifically, the present research study was designed to explore and compare how an initial sample of twenty teachers and a further sample of three educational administrators described their perceptions and use of time in contexts of extensive reform and educational change. Their accounts and personal experiences were used to communicate understandings and create meanings of time that are situated in the realities of their daily practice. When these individuals find themselves placed in unreasonable time binds such as using a new province-wide report card that refers to a new curriculum and assessment framework that must be implemented in an extremely short timeline with limited resources, then they are living and experiencing time pressures first hand. These descriptions of personal time experiences become a basis for reflecting on current practice, sharing different perspectives, highlighting conceptual and practical issues, and considering the implications and possibilities of time in education.

Five key questions guiding this research study were:

1. How do teachers and educational administrators describe their perceptions of, their feelings associated with and their use of time in the present context of rapid and mandated educational reform in Ontario?

2. How is time in the lives of teachers and educational administrators transformed during the present period of intense socio-political educational reform?

3. How do temporal issues in the workplace and in the personal lives of teachers and educational administrators influence the implementation of numerous
educational reforms in a hurried, controversial and publicly accountable context?

4. What are the similarities and differences between the time worlds of teachers and educational administrators?

5. What are the implications for using time as lens for change in schools during socio-political contexts that involve profound and wide-ranging educational reforms?

1.6 Conclusion

As we begin a new millennium, there are pressures to rethink the purposes of schools and the ways in which they operate as learning organizations. In Ontario, time is part of the educational reform agenda. It is also a pivotal part of the everyday lived experiences of teachers and educational administrators. Stretching our understanding of time can create possibilities and enable educators to make leaps of imagination. By looking through the unaccustomed lenses of time, then we will be able to view anew the relevance of current and emerging practices, the values we espouse, the choices we must make, and the forces we must embrace or resist.

In the next chapter, a comprehensive review of the literature provides an overview of the time landscape that appears in the diverse disciplines of philosophy, science, religion, psychology, sociology and education. This extensive review of the literature on time and temporal issues provides a conceptual overview for the present study. It provides a background and
orientation for interpreting the transcripts of the semi-structured interviews with teachers and the more in-depth, conversation-based interviews with educational administrators. It also complements and enriches the empirical research so that a better understanding of time in education is achieved.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Time is so thoroughly woven into the fabric of existence that we are hardly aware of the degree to which it determines and co-ordinates everything we do, including the moulding of relations with others in many subtle ways. (Hall, 1983, p. 48)

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way. (Dickens, 1949)

How we move through time is, ultimately, the way we live our lives.

(Levine, 1997, p. xix)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the thoughts and findings of authors and writers on the nature and importance of time from a variety of perspectives. In literature, philosophy
and science, time is a well-established preoccupation of writers, although in social
science and educational studies time is a more recent concern. By looking through the
lens of time, we will be able to understand the purposeful way that time is often used in
current educational reform to achieve a political agenda. On the other hand, stretching our
understanding of time can also create possibilities and enable educators to make leaps of
imagination beyond the taken-for-granted and silent dimensions of time that currently
shape our lives.

Educational reform is a global phenomenon that now dominates life in our
schools and school districts (Boyd, 1998; Hahn, 1997). Teachers and educational
administrators in Ontario are reeling from the impact of profound educational reform and
they are struggling to deal with the overwhelming challenges resulting from attempts to
implement the plethora of educational changes that have descended on the province over
the past several years. Centrally mandated changes have fuelled controversy and have
spawned labour unrest, frequently becoming the stuff of newspaper headlines and media
coverage. In many ways, the reform agenda has been about deliberately altering and
controlling time. Increased instructional time, reduced planning time, downloaded
curriculum to younger children, restructured secondary schools from five to four years,
fixed class size limits, and centrally controlled funding formulas - that result in fewer
teachers doing more work - are all educational reforms that have impacted on the
personal and work lives of teachers and administrators. The time worlds of individuals
have been disrupted and altered, resulting in new challenges, pressures and stress.
How we use time is a reflection of the quality of our life and the socio-temporal conditions in our environment. Time is at the heart of all that defines us as we go about our everyday activities. Our views of time and the decisions we make about our use of time are integrally connected to what we value and believe (Freeson & Costa Sr., 1998; Lafleur, 1998). Sometimes, however, we find ourselves victims of circumstance, trapped in time binds that define our day-to-day existence and limit our freedom to be ourselves (Apple, 1986; Hochschild, 1977). Such is the teacher whose time is increasingly colonized for administrative tasks, whose planning time is pared away, who is expected to implement new curricula and assessment procedures with inadequate resources and in-service training, and who is mandated to undertake extra curricular supervision outside of the classroom. Similarly time-bound are principals who must oversee the implementation of mandated, “just-in-time” educational changes, using diminished resources and nominal support within a context of increased public accountability. Today’s educational administrators must also develop new policies, frameworks, and procedures within but a few days, then wait weeks for approval only to witness and endure significant last-minute changes being made to their policies. In all these instances, people’s efforts to practise what they value are warped by time restrictions and pressures.

Time is a complex phenomenon that is difficult to explain. It is the familiar stranger (Fraser, 1987) that remains mysterious and invisible. Time is multifaceted in nature and ubiquitous. We can be free to choose how we spend our time and we can experience flexibility in making decisions. Yet, we can also be captives of time, held hostage to the tasks, demands, routines and schedules of others. Free will and
determinism are woven into the fabric of time. They are explicitly connected to the different experiences and organization of time that all individuals experience on a daily basis.

Trying to unravel the mysteries of time has been the preoccupation of many authors and writers through the ages. In the history of ideas, two main traditions embody philosophical differences about the nature of humanity and knowledge and the nature of scientific understanding. On the one hand, Positivist or logical-empirical views of scientific explanation (Kerlinger, 1969; Kolakowski, 1972) propose that social sciences should adopt the methods of the natural sciences, while proponents of a phenomenological or historical view (Bernstein, 1977; Collingwood, 1956; Outhwaite, 1975; Schutz, 1970), emphasize the unproblematic nature of understanding social phenomena. These different approaches provide the rational foundation for seeing time as an external, objective and linear phenomenon as opposed to time as a subjectively experienced occurrence.

In pre-Socratic discourse, one of the early controversies among Greek philosophers was the issue about “being or permanence” and “becoming or change” (Fraser, 1981). Zeno’s famous paradoxes of motion (for example, the flying arrow) illustrate the view that only what is permanent and enduring is real and that all time and change are unreal. The relation between “being” and “change” became a focus of Plato’s writings where he illustrated that constancy and change are an integral part of the universe. Plato’s concept of time was extended by Aristotle who also introduced the
The concept of measurement, recognizing the directional character of time by focusing on the concepts of “before” and “after” (Fraser, 1981).

Time is also an integral part of many religions (Fraser, 1981). St. Augustine’s concepts of time have endured and influenced current thinking about time in human experience. He puzzled over the question, *Quid est enim tempus?* For him, time was ineffable; it was beyond words. He writes, “What then is time? If no one asks me, I know; if I want to explain it to someone who asks me, I do not know” (St. Augustine, 1997, p. 256). As Fraser (1987, p. 35) observes, St Augustine’s dilemma “is due to the qualitative difference between time felt and time understood”.

St. Augustine (1997) confronts the paradox of time in the following passage:

Where does time come from, by what path does it pass, and whither go?
Where from, if not the future? By what path, if not the present? Whither.
if not into the past. It comes, then, from what is not yet real, travels
through what occupies no space, and is bound for what is no longer real.
(p. 262)

In other words, the nature of time and the nature of the soul are linked to the ontological paradox of the vanishing now. Time becomes an ontological moment, an existential, in our life. Time is ephemeral. People are constantly trying to deal with an evanescent present that constantly eludes our grasp.
While time organizes what we do and gives meaning to our lives, it is ubiquitous and invisible, making it difficult to define precisely. It is not surprising, then, that time played a significant role in philosophical conversations about the nature of the universe and the meaning of human existence.

Finding a rational and scientific explanation of time preoccupied Enlightenment thinkers who believed that time is an absolute, mathematical and rational phenomenon. Knowledge acquired through the natural sciences has historically been applied to the various needs of praxis. Indeed, the reawakening of the natural sciences during the Renaissance and the emergence of modern science in the seventeenth century were important historical developments that enabled social scientists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to apply the methods of the natural sciences to the study of natural phenomena and human behaviour. Kolakowski (1972) demonstrates the preciseness of natural science inquiry.

First, the scientist should submit unreservedly to the facts and sacrifice without hesitation any theory that is clearly incompatible with the facts. Second, scientific investigation can be effective only in the assumption that all phenomena are strictly determined. Third, science is absolutely neutral where philosophical questions are concerned. Fourth, one crucial way of settling scientific questions is the method called counter proof.

(pp. 92-93)
Using Comte and Mill as his main sources Von Wright (1971) clarifies the positivist position.

One of the tenets of positivism is methodological monism, or the idea of the unity of scientific method amidst the diversity of subject matter of scientific investigation. A second tenet is the view that the exact natural sciences, in particular mathematical physics, set a methodological ideal or standard which measures the degree of development and perfection of all the other sciences, including the humanities. A third tenet, finally, is a characteristic view of scientific explanation. Such explanation is, in a broad sense, 'causal'. It consists, more specifically, in the subsumption of individual cases under hypothetically assumed general laws of nature, including 'human nature'. (p. 4)

Based on these assumptions, Newton's conception of time as absolute mathematical time or duration made a significant contribution to the development of modern conceptions of time as possessing linear and objective characteristics. It is this practical quantification of time that renders modern organizations dependent on clock time, schedules and timetables. Technical-rational time is also the foundation for socio-economic views that treat time as money.

This scientific and technical-rational view of time can be contrasted with a more subjective or phenomenological and social view of time. Time is an inner experience that
is connected to who we are and who we are becoming. It is an inter-subjectively constructed phenomenon. The common ingredient of the thinking of those who belong to the phenomenological tradition and those who believe in humanistic social science perspectives, regardless of theoretical differences, is their rejection of the Positivist logical-empirical view of social phenomena and the associated methods of traditional social scientific research (Harré and Second, 1972; Morriss, 1977). Proponents of antipositivist perspectives believe that the actions of individuals can be understood only if personal, situational and cultural meanings are taken into account (Morriss, 1977, p. 5).

From this perspective, the lived experiences of individuals are central to understanding time.

The authors and writers reviewed in this chapter help us understand the complexity and multidimensionality of time. This review of the literature portrays time and temporal issues from a variety of perspectives, not just the two dominant views embodied in the history of ideas. For the purposes of this review, these different perspectives include (a) technical-rational time, (b) temporal regularity and rhythmic time, (c) cultural time, (d) experienced time, and (e) socio-political and socio-economic time. These five faces of time highlight the external predictability of everyday time occurrences; the orderliness of time as well as the significance of natural, biological and social rhythms in our lives; the influence of culture and context; the subjective meaning we give to our daily experiences; and the importance of political and economic factors in determining our temporal experiences. More recent social science perspectives of time, particularly time in organizations, also deserve special consideration. By examining life
in organizations I attempt to show how normative expectations, power relationships and economic policies shape the time in our lives and also shape the life in our times. Although each perspective on time includes research and polemics relevant to education, the review concludes by considering some of the emerging number of studies examining time in the lives of teachers and educational administrators, in particular.

2.2 Technical-Rational Time

The roots of technical-rational time emerged from systematic speculation that characterized Western philosophical discourse. Modern science is based on a world that is founded on lawful, predictable events. The quest of people like Copernicus, Kepler and Descartes, to find universal and timeless truths through their investigation of celestial bodies and mathematical principles has been well documented (Fraser, 1987; Kolakowski, 1972).

Time is an area of serious inquiry in science. Part of the contemporary debate in science revolves around the notion that time has duration and direction. It is like an arrow in flight (Coveney & Highfield, 1990), a river in flow (Novikov, 1998), always moving from the past to the future. Our everyday experiences confirm that this is the case. A shattered light bulb does not transform itself back to a working one. It is comforting to be able to predict and control events in our daily activities. We rely on a view of time that is precise, calculable, ordered and predictable. As Harvey (1990) says, "Enlightenment thinkers sought a better society. In so doing, they had to pay attention to the rational ordering of space and time as a construction of a society that would guarantee individual liberties and human welfare" (p. 258).
Newtonian science provides the scientific basis for our common sense views of predictability. As mentioned earlier, Newton regarded time as a mathematical absolute. His description of motion synthesized the work of earlier scientists such as Copernicus and Galileo and transformed existing views of the universe and subsequently the meaning of time. The idea that time is outside of the individual and has a measurable duration is also a basic tenet of Locke’s philosophy. Locke posited that, “the essence of time was entailed in the measurable duration in terms of regular and equidistant intervals such as minutes, hours, days and years which enables the conception of a past and future” (Watkins, 1993, p. 133).

Being able to predict the motion of the planets in the solar system led to a revolutionary commitment to Newtonian laws of science as a basis for prediction and explanation of world events. This rather deterministic view of the world meant that future and past events could be predicted by the motion of bodies, including atoms and molecules. Although a rather frightening indictment for those who believe in free will, Newton’s view of absolute time enabled the development of many practical strategies such as the invention of the pendulum clock in the middle of the seventeenth century and the development of Greenwich Mean Time in the nineteenth century to standardize timekeeping throughout the world (Coveney & Highfield, 1990).

Canadians have played a significant role in actually developing the concept of precise, global time measurement. Sir Sanford Fleming is the recognized inventor and “Time Lord” (Blaise, 2000) of standard time, the international system that made time manageable and consistent throughout the world. During the nineteenth century the
The traditional way of establishing the correct time was to designate noon as the moment that the sun lay directly overhead. As a result, confusion frequently arose when, for example, train schedules in different towns and cities did not coincide. In response to this dilemma, Sir Sanford Fleming proposed that there should be a prime meridian from which all nations would measure time in 24 standard zones, each covering 15 degrees of longitude. By setting all clocks in each zone to read the same time, a standard form of timekeeping was thus established.

More recently researchers at the Institute for National Measurement Standards (INMS) have contributed to Canada's position as a world leader in frequency and time measurement. Their work on the cesium atomic clock - which can now keep time to about one-millionth of a second per year - is continuing to establish more and more precise ways of keeping time (http://www.nrc.ca/time/english/2.1.2-e.html).

In spite of many achievements, absolutely certain scientific findings eluded Newtonian predictability in electromagnetism, for example. These foreshadowed Einstein's theory of relativity and the rise of atomic theory that presented death knells for Newtonian physics. While Newton's scientific laws still seem to drive most of our common daily practices without disruption, when objects approximate the speed of light, Newtonian science breaks down. This results in curious effects such as "time dilation" where, for example, a moving clock ticks more slowly than one at rest. An extension of this phenomenon is "gravitational time dilation" where a clock ticks more slowly the closer it is to a massive object such as the sun. As Hawking (1988) so brilliantly
demonstrates through examples, relativity theory postulates a radical reconceptualization of both space and time.

Einstein's discoveries showed us that concepts such as "now," "sooner," "later," and "simultaneous" are relative terms. In other words, there is no single, universal, absolute time. The meaning of these temporal terms depends upon the motion of the observer. Hawking (1988) summarizes these ideas when he states: "there is no unique absolute time, but instead each individual has his own personal measure of time that depends on where he is and how he is moving" (p. 33). Furthermore, space and time do not exist separately, only together. Although clearly a physical theory (not a theory of subjectivity), Einstein's theory of relativity "shows that the appearances of physical reality may vary from one frame of reference to another" (Zukav, 1979, p. 149). This concept is a metaphorical lever for looking at complementary explanations of dominant forms of technical-rational time frames in modern organizations.

Lightman (1993) takes us through dreams that Einstein might have had about the nature of time to places where time is conceptually constructed in different ways. In different worlds time is a circle where events repeat themselves, stands still, is like the flow of a river, or is absent altogether. In the novel, The Time Machine (Lawton, 1995), H.G. Wells creates a time machine that allows for travel through time. The time machine challenges established notions of time and encourages the contemplation of what might be. There is a strange sense of synchronicity between his description of time travel and our current response to educational reforms. While the actual length of hours and days
has not changed, our experiences of them have accelerated dramatically. We seem to be increasing our pace as we rush into futurity.

The time possibilities presented by Lightman and Wells stand in stark contrast to technical-rational views of time that structure our daily living. Watkins (1993), for example, uses “time management” as an example to show how linear and clock time are still pervasive ways of thinking about time in our society. Based on the assumption that time flows in a linear fashion and in one direction he says that the objective of time management is to use whatever time is available efficiently. However, just as relativity theory revolutionized Newtonian concepts of time, Watkins suggests that this restrictive view of time management “obscures other dimensions such as human agency, power and the politics of time which are important elements in the study of organizations and planning policies” (p. 133).

Depending on the context, time does move differently for people. Often our experiences of time are relative to our roles and responsibilities in organizations. In trying to understand issues related to program implementation, for example, Werner (1988) suggests that the time experiences of teachers and administrators are quite different. As we shall see later when issues related to cultural and experienced time are discussed, time moves more quickly and is polychronic for teachers, while administrators who are further away from the classroom experience time as monochromatic and moving more slowly. Technology is also cleverly altering our understanding of pedagogy and pushing the boundaries of learning. School bells and allocated periods have little relevance when it comes to learning in real time and virtual time. As schools experiment with the use of
communications technologies and learning at a distance (Ruggles et al., 1982), stealth technology (Schostak, 1998) will continue to challenge the sacred role of clock time in traditionally organized schools and learning.

2.3 Temporal Regularity and Rhythmic Time

There is a certain degree of orderliness in people’s lives. One parameter of such orderliness is time (Zerubavel, 1981). Parameters of time such as duration, sequence, and regularity provide structure and predictability. Duration, for example, dominates life in schools where subjects are allocated to eighty-minute periods, semesters are scheduled for approximately twenty weeks, and the successful completion of a high school diploma typically takes four years. Sequencing provides a framework for determining pace and tempo. Deviations from temporal sequence, for example, are commonly used to identify someone as slow or fast – whether the deviations are from the prescribed norm for completing a doctoral thesis or in mastering particular learning skills. Temporal regularity includes those routines and time patterns that allow individuals to function in an orderly manner.

Bruno Bettelheim (1960) dramatically captures the importance of temporal order, regularity and purpose in life when he reflects on the power of time in the concentration camp in the following passage:

The endless anonymity of time was another factor destructive of personality, while the ability to organize time was a strengthening influence. It permitted some initiative, some planning. (p. 131)
The periodic and rhythmic nature of time provides a framework for time reckoning. As Hall (1983) says, "Rhythm is, of course, the very essence of time, since equal intervals of time define a sequence of events as rhythmic" (p. 153). People and animals are born, live and die. The cycle of life and death are an integral part of human existence. These cycles and rhythms shape our behaviour and actions. For example, a long, dreary, cold winter followed by a vibrant burst of spring weather not only affect the tempo of people's lives, but also the intensity and vitality of their lives.

In the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes (3, 1-8) provides us with an antonymous portrayal of time that reinforces the natural rhythms of life in the following frequently cited passage:

For everything there is a season and a time for everything under heaven: a time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up what is planted; a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; a time to weep, and a time to dance; a time to mourn, and a time to dance; a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; a time to seek, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away; a time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak; a time to love, and a time to hate; a time for war, and a time for peace.
Traditionally, human activities are closely linked to the external cycles and rhythms of nature. These include, for example, the rising and setting of the sun, tidal fluctuations, the seasons of the year, the oxygen and nitrogen cycles, the life cycle of all living organisms, the natural changes in light and temperature and so on. On the other hand, internal or biological rhythms such as heart rate, metabolic rate, temperature variation, maturation, and hormonal variations are integral timing mechanisms that constantly influence how we feel and act. As an illustration, age can affect how people experience time just as disruptions to the biological clock are commonly indicated by sleep disorders, seasonal depression, and jet lag. These external and internal rhythms constantly interact, resulting in a plethora of circadian rhythms that dominate the daily personal and work lives of individuals. For example, sleeping, dreaming, waking, eating, going to work, learning, playing, and relaxing are common cycles of daily living. The social rhythms of collective living such as the day, week and month and the use of schedules and calendars to help structure these daily social events are equally important in providing order.

Watkins (1993) illustrates how the complex cyclical patterns of natural rhythms are linked to biological rhythms as well as socially constructed ones.

This cyclical programming is evident in human beings, through the circadian rhythms which conform to a 24-hour cycle. These constitute a biological clock which controls and influences a wide range of human behaviours. These behaviours include the sleep-wake cycle; the rapidity of
the heartbeat; the oxygen intake and body activity. The problem of jet-lag is directly related to a break in the circadian rhythm when the body has to adjust to a new daily cycle. (p. 134)

Similarly, the artificial intrusion of work patterns imposed by regular working hours which are governed by the temporal requirements of an employer can have their effect on and in turn can be affected by human beings’ circadian rhythm. Not only can shift work and 24-hour work sequences have their effect but merely the concepts of punctuality and the mechanical rule of the clock may lead to alienation and other detrimental effects in the workplace. (p. 134)

Increasingly, events in the developed world such as the industrial revolution, advances in medical science, exponential technological growth, and evolving social structures have altered the human lifecycle. Consider, for example, the power of McLuhan and Fiore’s (1967) prediction that electronic interconnections will make the earth a global village.

All media work us over completely. They are so pervasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered. The medium is the massage. (p. 26)
Technology has a stealth-like quality (Schostak, 1998). It already can shrink space and make communication instantaneous at any time of the day, thus redefining the nature of work and routines of daily life. It is no longer necessary to get up at a set time, go to the office to do certain work tasks, pay bills or do monetary transactions during traditional working hours. While our society is preoccupied with being healthy and finding the magic elixir that will extend life, people thrive in a fast-paced society that is dominated by fast-food emporiums and communication technologies that are designed to nurture immediate gratification. Castells (1996) suggests that these "organizational, technological, and cultural developments" are breaking down the "rhythmicity, either biological or social, associated with the notion of a lifecycle" (p. 445).

People's perceptions of time are related to different kinds of rhythms. In our society these rhythms are frequently defined in clock time or calendar terms. Religious rigor and the desire for temporal regularity have "become almost synonymous with monasticism" (Zerubavel, 1981, p. 32). In fact, the unvarying routine, the tight schedules and the daily rhythm of temporal life in modern organizations have their origins in monastic life. The precise rhythmical celebration of liturgical activity with the ringing of bells at appointed hours has its parallel in modern workplace meetings, routines and schedules. In schools, for example, the precise economy of time is reflected in a day also marked by the ringing of bells. Given this preoccupation with appointed times and the significance of the hour, it is not surprising that mechanical clocks were first invented for monasteries in the late thirteenth century. The invention of the mechanical clock conveniently merged time measurement with time reckoning in one timepiece.
As an interesting aside, it is common knowledge that most contemporary clocks that have hands move “clockwise”. The Uccello clock, however, has hands that run counter clockwise. The Florence Cathedral actually has a clock designed by Paolo Uccello in 1443 that displays 24 hours and that runs backward. The clock as we know it today is a technology into which we are now locked (Waldrop, 1992), that could have been designed differently. We have become accustomed to the idea and practice of “clock time” as we now know it. Imagine what life would be like, however, if there were no “clock time”. What would happen to school timetables, plane and train schedules, doctors’ appointments, the cost of long distance calls, and all those daily events that are linked to clock time? How would the rhythms and routines of life be described and controlled? It raises the question of how best to stretch our understanding and explanation of the phenomenon of time using different conceptions of and dimensions of time.

While clock time is designed to document the circadian rhythms of a twenty-four hour day, the capacity to reckon longer time spans is more suited to calendar systems. Linked to lunar time reckoning, evidence of calendrical functioning can be found throughout history. Perhaps the earliest calendar was the Egyptian, although other examples are found during various epochs in other cultures and religions. It is even contended that Stonehenge was a true astronomical observatory and was able to document risings and settings of both sun and moon throughout the year, serving a calendar function (Adam, 1995; Casson et al., 1977).

Calendars are a form of temporal arrangement that also reinforce group formation and identity (Zerubavel, 1981). Largely constructed and sustained by religious groups.
calendars have become universal forms of time reckoning. Jewish celebration of the Sabbath, Christian celebration of Sunday and Islamic recognition of Friday as the holy day of the week are ways that the distinctness of each group is preserved. In fact, the Jewish calendar, for example, is so distinctly different from the present Western world Gregorian calendar that it actually serves to preserve and unite Jewish people around the world.

Calendars provide temporal structure and also give schools their distinctiveness. In most North American school jurisdictions the traditional school year calendar includes ten months of school from September to June with a summer vacation in July and August and shorter vacations in December and March. School is in session during the weekdays and the weekends are devoted to personal, non-school time. The total number of in-school days over the course of a year approximates 180 days (as opposed to more than 200 days in other countries such as Japan). The school day may start and finish at different times and the length of the school day can differ between elementary and secondary schools. Often the start and end of school days is determined by economic considerations and bus schedules rather than a concern with optimal learning time.

Although the two months summer holidays are usually attributed to agrarian and rural interests, this is not necessarily the case in Ontario (Brown, 1999). It is clear, however, that the amount of time children were first requested and then compelled to spend in public schools in the last several decades of the 19th century increased continuously. This represented an "encroachment upon the lives of children and eventually replaced the family's traditional role as educator" (Barreto-Rivera, 1999, p. 1).
In response to the traditional school year calendar, year-round schools have started to appear as a viable way of using facilities and improving student learning. Such schools use a modified calendar that requires students to start the school year earlier and end later than normal. Rather than extend the school year, most districts then redistribute the “lost summer time in vacation blocks throughout the year” (Shields & Oberg, 2000). Although year-round schools had operated in the early 20th century, they were revived in 1969 and the 1970s. By 1999 there were more than 2931 schools using modified school calendars in the United States (Shields & Oberg, 2000, p. 3).

While clock time and calendar time are socially crafted ways to document and regulate cycles and rhythms in our lives, there are numerous examples of other kinds of rhythm in people’s lives. Brand (1999) talks about different world rhythms of change and, as an example, suggests that religious time has a rhythmical pace that includes:

- Time out from personal striving or suffering, time out from the chaos of history. In the sacred place set apart, in the sacred ritual changeless and timeless, in the sacred communion with a higher order, we step out of ordinary time and thereby make life meaningful, or at least bearable. (p. 43)

*History repeats itself* is a common expression that describes the circular repetitiveness of events. Vico (Collingwood, 1956), who formulated the principles of historical method just as Bacon had formulated those of science, posited that nature.
especially human nature, was in a state of perpetual change and suggested that history is a circular repetition. Subsequently, the related conceptualization of society and human nature undergoing recursive transformations has resurfaced in the writings of thinkers like Hegel, Freud, Piaget and Erickson.

An important psychological concept related to social interaction and rhythmic time is the phenomenon of entrainment. Entrainment occurs when two individuals become enmeshed in each other's rhythms and synchronicity (Hall, 1983). The possibilities of exploring the rhythms and temporal aspects of instruction and collaboration in schools, for example, could yield insights that might assist teachers in planning ways to implement significant educational reforms, especially when formal schedules and time constraints are overwhelming.

In order to use time wisely for implementing curriculum and instructing students, teachers and administrators must be aware of the well-established rhythms and routines of school life. Creating optimal learning opportunities for students requires the intelligent use of time. Interruptions by announcements on the school PA system; early dismissal to accommodate bus schedules; and the appropriation of classroom time to administer mandated tests frequently steal prime time from instruction and learning activities.

The extensive work of Clandinin and Connelly (1995, 1986) points to the importance of the cyclical and temporal structure of schooling. The authors illustrate the importance of cycles in curriculum planning and the rhythms involved in the teaching enterprise. Their stories of teachers working in curricular settings illustrate how schools are ruled by "cycles" and "rhythms". Examples from case studies of teachers include
references to the clock on a daily basis, duties on a weekly basis, report cards on a term basis, holidays on a calendar basis, and promotion on an annual basis. Martirano (1997) describes a rather unique action by a school district to reduce student stress by making staff and students aware of the “seasons of a student’s stress” by publishing anticipated stresses that typically occur for each month of the school year. Using a narrative perspective, Clandinin and Connelly are able to portray teachers’ rhythmic knowing of the school year and the rhythms associated with classroom teaching. These rhythms, it should be added, however are still tied to the artificiality of traditionally constructed school calendars and established practices, thereby perpetuating technical-rational time norms.

The cycles and rhythms of the school year in North American jurisdictions have been well entrenched for several decades. Traditional grammars of schools still dominate and control instruction and learning activities. Yet the traditional and year-round models found in North American schools are quite different from those in Europe, for example. In many European jurisdictions, the school day is short and a break often occurs every hour during the school day. In French schools, for example, “children go to school all day Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. They have Wednesdays, Saturday afternoons and Sundays off (Fowler, 1996, p.14). Other countries have other alternative cycles and schedules.

Time as a regulator is not a new concern in education. Time related concepts such as time on task (Carroll, 1963), mastery learning (Bloom, 1976), and opportunity to learn (Stevens, 1993) represent a few of the notable efforts to resolve the impact of time on
learning. Recently, educators have begun to revisit time in this technical sense as a way to
revitalize schools.

Anderson and Walberg (1993), for example, produced a compendium of
noteworthy articles by established educators as a way of substantiating their
recommendations for extending and enhancing learning time. The authors made four
suggestions for extending student learning time: increase the school year; allocate
sufficient time to the most valued subjects; change the way classrooms and schools are
managed; and help students use out-of-school time more productively. In other words, the
authors respond to time concerns by treating time as a limited resource and as a linear
technical rational phenomenon. More is better, even if it means co-opting personal time.
The authors offered five suggestions for enhancing learning time: coordinate curriculum
and instruction with the recurring school cycles; institute flexible scheduling; increase
students' emotional time and investment in which they experience schooling; provide
more continuous learning experiences for students; and use instructional strategies to
involve students in learning and ensure success in their learning. Again, time is treated as
a commodity to be manipulated. However, the natural cyclical rhythms of the school year
are considered and some credence is given to the subjective experiences of time.

Rethinking time in schools has been the focus of numerous articles and papers.
Topics such as learning time (Lofty & Marnick, 1996), scheduling (Anderson et al.,
1996), organizational time (Krajewski et al., 1997), flex time (Daigle & Leclerc, 1997)
and school improvement (Johnson, 2000) predominantly address issues related to
National Education Commission on time and learning (1994), is a major work that views time as a valued commodity in education. This report attempts to break the shackles of time by challenging traditional and accepted timetables and scheduling practices. While not escaping the notion of time as a limited resource, every effort is made to broaden awareness of how best to harness time via strategies that increase instructional and learning time by redefining traditional time barriers. Suggestions include: focused academic learning time, longer school days, year-round schooling and increased access to learning through the use of technology. Once again, time is viewed as a commodity to be controlled and managed. As Hargreaves (1994) says, this type of time is "a finite resource or means which can be increased, decreased, managed, manipulated, or reorganized in order to accommodate selected educational purposes" (p. 96). Since more time or how time is scheduled is no guarantee of educational change, other notions of time are important.

Teachers too are subject to time influences during their career. Like individual developmental stages, teachers experience distinct stages during the course of their career. The struggle to explain these stages by positing the conceptual relationship of a "working unit" in a person's professional career as a function of time, space and content provides a unique way of characterizing and explaining the cycles or career stages in the lives of teachers (Huberman, 1993). For example, time in transition - that is, the evolution from student-teacher to teacher, and possibly from teacher to principal or principal to superintendent - affects many educators (Ben-Peretz, 1990). The unique time binds, time pressures and time boundaries that characterize these transition points have become more
visible, partially due to the media attention given to authors such as Foot (1996) and Sheehy (1974). With the projected exodus of large numbers of teachers who are from the “Baby Boom” generation, there is a complementary increase in younger teachers who are replacing these retiring teachers. Knowing how best to respect and meet the differing needs and time demands of both younger and older teachers is becoming a challenge that faces many education systems.

2.4 Cultural Time

Other cultures may not possess such a concept of time as abstract as that found in Western societies. Telban (1998), for example, investigated temporality among the Karawari speakers of Ambonwari village in Papua New Guinea. He found that there was no word for time or temporality. Whenever he translated the Ambonwari concept of period as season it was clear that, “Season is not something determined by dates or months nor something which has a determinable duration” (p. 51). Instead, these periods of time “are seen, touched and lived.” People grow up to talk not of time in general, but of hunger-times or sorrow-times. The temporality of time periods is related to actual actions and practices.

In our own society, we also use time to refer to key moments in our life histories. For example, I remember precisely where I was and what I was doing when President Kennedy was assassinated. I frequently reference key moments in my own life history such as the time when my children were born or the circumstances around getting my first job. In a similar manner, Ontario teachers might refer to the time when Transition
Years reform, the Common Curriculum, or Grade 13 examinations were prevalent in education.

In most cultures, the notion of time-reckoning (Telban, 1998) not only includes natural cycles such as the rising and setting of the sun and the flowering of plants, but is also intimately connected to recurring social activities and events. As Evans-Pritchard discovered, time reckoning for the Nuer of the Sudan is dependent on the daily cycle of the "cattle clock" and the annual cycle of seasonal activity. The passage of time is also linked to productive tasks and social activities (Gell, 1996, p. 17). For the Tiv of Nigeria, "time was somewhat like a series of enclosed rooms, each containing a different activity," and these "time rooms could not be moved about or shuffled nor was the activity in these rooms to be changed or interrupted" (Hall, 1983, p. 79).

While now for most people in western society means today or at most this week, in aboriginal cultures now is often measured in generations. Preoccupation with the precise measurement of time is simply not relevant. A much larger cycle of change frames the pace of life. These aboriginal cultures are more in tune with the slower pace of ecological and climatic cycles. In contrast, the modern pace of living is increasingly accelerated by stealth technology, market-driven economies and a speeded up socio-political society. We have lost the art of living in the long now and have yet to learn how "to make the world safe for hurry by slowing some parts way down" (Brand, 1999, p. 133).

Hall (1983) suggests that cultures have their own hidden grammar – a set of unspoken rules of behaviour that shapes our actions. This hidden cultural grammar
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provides a lens for viewing the world and is instrumental in determining the basic tempo and rhythms of life. In a similar manner, Tyack and Tobin (1994) provide a specific look at life in schools from this perspective in their discourse on the grammar of schooling.

Hall (1983) uses the life experiences from the Navajo and Hopi to explain the difference between two noteworthy conceptions of time, monochronic time and polychronic time. While characteristic of various cultures, these two distinct approaches to time are also found in different layers or aspects of organizational life.

A *monochronic* time orientation is characteristic of administrators' experiences. It includes:

- doing one thing at a time;
- the number of events in a given period is limited;
- what gets scheduled gets prioritized;
- what is important gets the most time;
- relationships with one or two people are intensified;
- tasks, schedules and procedures dominate;
- context is reduced and we are alienated from ourselves and others;
- time is arbitrary and imposed;
- time is male oriented and alienating to women.

A *polychronic* time orientation is characteristic of teachers' classroom experiences. It includes:

- doing several things at a time;
- involvement is stressed;
an orientation to people and relationships;

- everything seems to be in a constant state of flux;

- being on time is not a priority;

- tight scheduling is difficult, if not impossible;

- there is a high sensitivity to context;

- extremely dependent on leaders to handle problems.

Like monochronic and polychronic time, sacred and profane time (Eliade, 1959) help to explain life in organizations and to make sense of the impact of change. While time provides the anchor for ensuring order and the meaning of social acts in a certain setting, temporal segregation also enables distinctions to be made between the sacred and the profane (Zerubavel, 1981). In schools, for example, sacred time provides teachers with their professional raison d'être. Staff cannot imagine working satisfactorily under alternatives to this time. The absence of sacred time creates disorientation and a loss of professional identity. Daily activities become diminished and a sense of anomie prevails. Changing sacred time is very difficult and if it does occur, the transition is likely to be tumultuous. In Ontario, for example, the mandatory increase in instructional time, the reduction of planning time, and the mandatory involvement in co-curricular activities are seen to be direct attacks on time conditions supporting effective teaching. Profane time, on the other hand, governs behaviour less central to the primary purposes of teaching. While altering and restructuring profane time may not be easy, the task is ultimately achievable. Changing the length of teaching periods or switching the time of day when
certain subjects are taught may cause some initial disruptions, but these changes are manageable ones.

Both sacred and profane times are important. Resistance to change is not a sufficient indicator that sacred time only is being challenged. There may also be equally strong resistance to change involving profane time. It is also worth noting that what may be sacred for one person may not be sacred for another. Indeed, in an era of profound educational reform, one might well ask if anything is sacred. Sacred time is in jeopardy, however, when the cornerstones of individuals' construction of reality are questioned. Without sacred time a chaotic setting, where what is and what ought to be are unclear, prevails.

2.5 Experienced Time

Experienced time is what people live and feel in certain circumstances. A variety of metaphors (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) can be used to describe these subjective experiences capturing moments such as time passing quickly or time dragging. This “internal clock” often shapes who we are and how we behave in a variety of situations.

Subjective, lived time has a rich legacy in the history of ideas and is grounded in humanistic social science perspectives. The historical antecedents of the antipositivist philosophy that emerged in the nineteenth century are more diversified than those of positivism. The influence of Immanuel Kant in Germany can be attributed to his notable departure from the logical-empirical views of Newton and Leibniz (Collingwood, 1956). Kant's philosophy (Harré and Secord, 1972) is based on categories of understanding that
originate from within, not from without. For Kant, time is not something that sustains itself. Rather, time is something that individuals have as a result of their internal experiences. Since phenomena do not exist outside of time, we must see all phenomena in the world as temporal (Fraser, 1981).

Advocates of humanistic social science perspectives believe that the only way to understand what is happening at a particular moment is to understand the meaning the actors have in the situation. Time has meaning when it comes from the social lived experiences of individuals. The philosophical roots of such subjective understanding come from the concept of verstehen. Basically a verstehende approach includes situating phenomena in their larger context, thus giving the phenomena meaning. The very logic of understanding time is embedded in hermeneutics where the problem of understanding and interpretation is increasingly located in the experiences of daily living. Weber made the concept of verstehen central to social science (Outhwaite, 1972) and he emphasized the importance of understanding the process by interpreting human action, rather than merely incorporating human action into a causal generalization. His notion of understanding the subjective meaning of social action formed a significant contribution to the study of human behaviour and provided a conceptual basis for time as a personal and social phenomenon.

Drawing on the work of individuals like Weber (Outhwaite, 1972) and Husserl (Morriss, 1977), Schutz (1962, 1970) subjected their ideas to a phenomenological analysis. Schutz focused the sociologist on the essential features of everyday life, including the relationship between meaning and time. He maintained that social reality is
constituted by the meanings that actors give to their actions and situations. The subjective world of the actor is the axis of social action. The main role of the social science researcher then resides in the domain of description and construction of the key tenets of this subjectivity as it is used to structure the social world. Schutz made it clear that

The problem of meaning is a time problem – not a problem of physical time, which is divisible and measurable, but a problem of historical time. Filled with physical events and having the nature of internal time consciousness, historical time is always related to one’s own life. It is within this duration that the meaning of a person’s experiences is constituted for him as he lives through the experience. (cited in Telban, 1998, p. 6)

Following the translation of Schutz during the 1960's, other significant contributions about time as lived daily experience emerged. Berger and Luckman (1966) for example, completed a theoretical examination of knowledge in everyday life. They posited a sociology of knowledge that views human reality as socially constructed reality. For them, the world of everyday life is structured spatially and temporally. They view temporality as “an intrinsic property of consciousness” and refer to the “inner flow of time.” From their perspective, “the world of everyday life has its own standard time, which is inter subjectively available” (p. 40).
The work of Bergson (1988) and Heidegger (1962) stand out as landmark contributions to the evolving discourse about subjective time. Bergson developed a doctrine of the absolute reality of time. Basically his doctrine is "an insistence that philosophers must recognize the difference between reality as it is lived and reality as it is conceptualized by the intellect" (Barrett & Aiken, 1962, p. 141). For Bergson, time exists only in qualitative terms. He posits two conceptions of time, namely "inner time or durée" and "spatialized time." Inner time refers to an inner succession of conscious states; spatialized time occurs when we arbitrarily convert temporal order into simultaneity and project it into space (Fraser, 1981, p. 24).

Heidegger's (1962) view of the person Being-in-the-world is based on "the interpretation of time as the possible horizon for any understanding whatsoever of Being" (p. 1). Time and temporality are the existential and ontological basis for giving meaning to life. The inevitable finitude of our existence - our continual struggle with life span issues linked to birth and death - gives meaning to life and permeates every present moment. Heidegger’s views that the interpretation of time and its connection to Being transcend our ordinary ways of understanding time, also have implications for instruction and learning. Adam (1995) explains:

From this vantage-point, it clearly makes a difference whether students are ten, eighteen, forty or sixty years old when they learn about the stock-market crashes of the 1930s and 1980s, the destruction of the rain forests, or the rise and fall of the Berlin Wall, since their personal experience
continually impacts on and intersects with what they learn. That is to say, context, biography and the life-span are constitutive of the temporality of education. (p. 76)

For these kinds of learning opportunities to occur, teachers too must consider how best to “merge their own time worlds and that of their subject matter with the multiple time worlds of their pupils” (Adam, 1995, p. 77).

Time as experience is the personal and phenomenological dimension of time (Heidegger, 1962; Schutz, 1962). In this sense, time is integral to understanding the reality of common-sense life and the very essence of our being. The stories of teachers and educational administrators that clarify the quality and texture of these sorts of “time experiences” are essential if we are to understand daily occurrences involving time in education. Meaning-making through narrative provides the substance for this “interpretive turn” in the social analysis of time (Bruner, 1990). Concepts such as time passing and time dragging, compression and expansion of time, intensification, imagery and visualization, caring and emotional time, real time and time as mediated by space are examples of different experiences of time that come alive through people’s stories. These experiences of time are rarely documented in the educational literature. More often, time as a resource and as a way of scheduling and organizing learning are the aspects that are emphasized.
In the following passage, Longfellow not only acknowledges the mechanical, seasonal and permanent aspects of time, but he also connects time to the very essence of who we are as individuals.

What is time? The shadow on the dial, the striking of the clock, the running of the sand, day and night, summer and winter, months, years, centuries - these are but arbitrary and outward signs, the measures of Time, not Time itself. Time is the life of the soul.

Longfellow echoes the historical debate about the meaning of time that contrasts time as mechanical and objective with time as subjective experience - a portal to our inner Being.

2.6 Socio-political and Socio-economic Time

Modern conceptions of time are “located within the fundamental normative position that time is a resource to be used, consumed and invested” (Watkins, 1993, p. 134). Control of time is closely connected to industrial production and the labour power required to run organizations. As such, time is a commodity. Time is something that can be exchanged for economic wealth. Time is a currency; it has monetary value.

Thompson’s (1967) work is a classical illustration of the connection between labour, time and money. He briefly traces the way that labour and time are inter-related. Referring to the familiar landscape of disciplined industrial capitalism, he documents the evolution of the time sheet, systems of clocking-in and the related impact of time-thrift measures on social and domestic life. He also links this preoccupation with the evolution
of the Puritan ethic that stressed the importance of each person's "interior moral time-piece".

When labour occurs in an employer-employee relationship, then expectations of work performance are directly linked to payment for time and effort expended. Thompson (1967) captures the essence of this relationship in the following passage:

Those who are employed experience a distinction between their employer's time and their "own" time. And the employer must use the time of his labour, and see it is not wasted: not the task but the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now a currency: it is not passed but spent. (p. 61)

With the division of labour came a simplification and compartmentalization of tasks as well as a sharper distinction between management and workers. The principles of scientific management became more rooted in the workplace. Taylor's (1947) landmark studies of time and motion were anchored in the objectivity of the stopwatch as a way to develop standard speeds for completing very specific tasks. Once standard speeds were determined, then "management was in a position to exact from workers a certain quantity of work in a given period of time" (Rinehart, 1987). Although the objectivity of the stopwatch was more fictitious than real, an indisputable link between time, the tasks of labour and wages was firmly established. Discipline, obedience and management control.
including control of time, were the keys to the successful implementation of the
principles of scientific management.

The classical functionalist approach to the workplace espoused by Taylor was
based on assumptions of regularity, objectivity, and predetermined cause and effect
relations. In other words, by creating the right situation, the appropriate behaviour will
follow. This rigid view of organizations gave rise to a more humanistic industrial
relations perspective, notably initiated by the work of Mayo and the Hawthorne studies in
particular. As Burrell and Morgan (1979) indicate, the Hawthorne studies are:

Of principal significance, not so much because they focused attention on
“social man” as because they constituted an important landmark in the
application of the systems approach to organizational situations. (p. 132)

In order to better accommodate educational change, thinking about organizations
evolved over time to include systems theory with its concomitant focus on organizations
that are capable of learning. The strategic-systemic view advocated by Evans (1996) is
also based on the transformational leadership literature that started to emerge in the early
1980s (Sergiovanni & Corbally, 1984). In spite of these theoretical developments,
however, many organizations still function practically within a technical-rational
framework. Questioning the taken-for-granted perceptions of time frequently held by
educational administrators, Watkins (1986) creates a tension between different views and
experiences of time. The commodification of time and the technical-rational view of
knowledge that it represents "operate in tension" with "other cultural views of time which are historical, philosophical and aesthetic" (p. 145).

Giddens (1984. p. 3) contends that the basic domain for the study of the social sciences is the "social practices ordered across time and space." He explains the essence of the hermeneutic starting point and the role of reflexivity when he says, "To be a human being is to be a purposive agent, who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons". Being able to critically reflect on the temporal structures and subjective experiences related to time enables individuals to self-assess their impact on their environment.

Giddens (1984) also describes schools as "disciplinary institutions" that operate within "closed boundaries" and "within the precise economy of time". In other words, the architectural character of schools "facilitates the routinized specification and allocation of tasks" (p. 135) so that social encounters can be strictly controlled. The scrupulous parsimony of time is best seen in the timetabled structure and organization of schools where linear, objective and clock-dominated views of time become a necessary organizing device. Time controls life in schools and is a "calculative application of administrative authority" (p. 135). Given these controls, it is not surprising that the basic grammar of schooling (Tyack & Tobin, 1994) has remained remarkably stable for so many decades. Much like the "time rooms" of the Tiv, (Hall, 1983, p. 79), Giddens describes the school and the classroom as "power containers" where discipline occurs through surveillance and decisive control is achieved by teachers ensuring that routines are followed and temporal and spatial definitions are tightly defined. In a similar manner.
the school district and school can also be described as power containers where a particular political agenda is achieved by creating a crisis. For this to occur, teachers and administrators, ensuring that implementation is undertaken and time issues are tightly defined, must achieve decisive control.

Controlling and using time intelligently however, is a complex and challenging task. Both within the school and in our lives outside of the school, spatial and temporal compression is resulting in a “speed up in the pace of life”. Harvey (1990) suggests that this compression sometimes makes the world seem to collapse inward and it is “challenging, exciting, stressful, and sometimes deeply troubling, capable of sparking, therefore a diversity of social, cultural, and political responses” (p. 240). For example, when an “expansion of part-time work, voluntary career breaks, self-employment and home-working” (Giddens, 1994, p. 140) are added to the mix, often for economic efficiency, then additional strain and stresses occur – for the individual and the organization.

Apple (1993) argues that this accelerated pace and chronic increases in workload are eroding working conditions for teachers. This phenomenon, which he called intensification, can be seen in symptoms that range from the trivial to the complex, ranging from “having no time at all to go to the bathroom, have a cup of coffee, or relax. to having a total absence of time to keep up with one’s field” (p. 124). There is less and less time available to do more and more. Such intensification means cutting corners, relying on experts more, letting quality slip, and striving to just get through the day.
In his own work related to this subject, Hargreaves (1994) suggests that such intensification results in:

- reduced time for relaxation during the working day;
- lack of time to retool one's skills and keep up with the field;
- chronic and persistent overload;
- reduction in the quality of service; and
- enforced diversification of expertise and responsibility to cover personnel shortages. (pp. 118-119)

Hargreaves (1994) posits two novel concepts that also serve to explicate intensification. The first is *separation*. Based on an analogy of Hawking's (1994) description of physical properties, where time moves more slowly the further one is away from the classroom, separation characterizes the distance that exists between the time worlds of teachers and administrators. For example, the intense vibrancy of the classroom with its polychronic urgency often gets in the way of the teacher responding to the administrator's single-minded and monochromatic pre-occupation with specific tasks such as developing and implementing a school improvement plan. As a result teachers tend to implement changes slowly (Werner, 1988) and a curious paradox emerges. Hargreaves (1989) explains:

The quicker and more unrealistic the implementation timeline, the more the teacher tries to stretch it out. The more the teacher slows the implementation process down, the more impatient the administrator
becomes and the more inclined he or she becomes to quicken the pace or tighten the timelines still further, or to impose yet another innovation, one more attempt to secure change. (p. 21).

The second concept is *colonization*. Colonization occurs when administrators use teachers’ time for their own purposes. In Ontario, The Education, Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO), for example, is dependent on colonizing teachers’ time, appropriating it from scheduled instructional time, so as to administer province-wide assessments. Increasingly, teachers are being required to do more testing and to undertake more administrative tasks related to externally mandated government reforms. This colonization of teachers’ time is not only occurring during regular school hours, but teachers are being forced to do planning and other related tasks such as marking and report cards increasingly on their own time – often at the expense of personal and family time. In other words, teachers’ *private* time is being usurped and *public* time is increasing – without additional pay or recognition.

Private time and public time serve as functional and structural differentiation in social organizations, mostly from the perspectives of involvement, commitment and accessibility (Zerubavel, 1981). Goffman’s (1959) demarcation of “front regions” and “back regions” in social life provides helpful clarification. Public time is comparable to the front region of a person’s life where people are “on stage” and visible, needing to keep up appearances. For teachers this includes their work in classrooms and other school connected activities such as involvement with parents and professional development
activities. Private time, on the other hand, is comparable to “back stage” areas where individuals have the right to withdraw and relax from their “front stage” performances. Private time traditionally provides an opportunity to be territorially inaccessible.

Separation and colonization become highly political processes that reshape the public time and private time of individuals. They challenge the traditional established boundaries of social accessibility and redefine professional commitment and involvement in organizations, often without any real recourse.

Organizations are people places - settings where individuals collectively pursue common purposes. Consequently, there are certain dynamics such as those involving beliefs and assumptions, relationships, and power that influence and frame how individuals and groups work together. Organizations are places where the collective struggle to develop effective and efficient ways to achieve common goals occur. An important part of the discourse about life in organizations involves the use and control of time. As Schein (1992, p. 105) says:

The perception and experience of time are among the most central aspects of how any group functions; when people differ in their experience of time, tremendous communication and relationship problems typically emerge.

While modern organizations were founded on the principles of scientific management and typify most schools today, there is a tension that permeates current
The Time of Our Lives

thinking about life in present-day organizations. Slattery (1995), for example, argues that there is a "disenchanted and mechanistic worldview that denies the qualities of subjectivity, experience, and feeling" (p. 624). Increasingly turbulence, chaos, complexity, and "zones of uncertainty" characterize organizations and there is a tendency for social systems to be more open and interactive. The strategic-systems perspective (Evans, 1996) stands in stark contrast to the logic, stability and predictability of the rational-structural position. The strategic-systems approach is turbulent, unpredictable, fluid, psychological, pragmatic and adaptable, process-oriented, emerging, people and culture focussed, concerned with meaning and motivation, and committed to purposeful activity. While these shifting landscapes do not diminish the need for order, temporal regularity and routines in the work place, they do illustrate that other forms of time must be seriously acknowledged. There is no denying the existence of subjective time, relationship time, and cultural time in organizations.

Handy (1995) indicates that turbulence and paradox are features of our life. He explains:

The world is up for reinvention in so many ways. Creativity is born in chaos. What we do, what we belong to, why we do it, where we do it - these may all be different and they could be better.... Change comes from small initiatives that work, initiatives which, imitated, become fashion. We cannot wait for great vision from great people for they are in short supply
at the end of history. It is up to us to light our own small fires in the darkness. (pp. 270-271)

Organizations today are complex, unpredictable, deceptive, and ambiguous places (Bolman & Deal, 1991, pp. 25-27). As places where complexity thrives, organizations embody a notion of progress that involves emergent structures - with feedback loops for stability - that were not present in what went before (Waldrop, 1992, pp. 294-299). Since complex organizations possess a kind of dynamism that makes them qualitatively different from static objects, temporal variety beyond mere technical-rational notions of time is an inherent part of daily life.

Slattery (1995a, 1995b) insists that organizations need to work with time. In other words, clock time rarely signals the starting time of real learning. In schools, learning often occurs when teachers and students are ready - when past experiences and the anticipation of future visions are unified in the present moment. In Slattery's terms, we need to understand time as proleptic. In other words, the past and the future have meaning only in the context of the present. For example, having students relate their own personal and family history with a current science, history or literature project and creatively explore future possibilities of how they might, for example, participate in the workplace helps them develop significant connections. In this sense, time offers an opportunity for curriculum to have meaning for students and unfold in an environment of unpredictability, dynamic change and the natural flow of learning activities.
The concept of the learning organization (Cohen & Sproull, 1996; Senge, 1990) has increasingly emerged in the literature as a way of developing organizational capacity, including emergent structures that enable the organization to deal with change. Or, as Watkins and Marsick (1993, p. 5) more clearly write, "To survive in the turbulent environment created by (several external) forces, organizations and their workplaces must be flexible, far-sighted, and able to learn continuously". It is in this context of a learning organization that many of the shifts in thinking about what organizations are and how they can best function in a post-modern society can be found.

Senge (1999) examines the underlying dynamics of "not enough time," a phenomenon that people are increasingly experiencing in the workplace. People tend to feel disjointed and pushed and pulled from crisis to crisis. An accelerated pace seems to characterize life in organizations and individuals have less and less "flexible" time. Senge identifies the time problem in the following passage.

While everyone is busy, the real struggle is being able to prioritize one's own time. Often people's time is so consumed with tasks and goals forced by management, they have little discretionary time to pursue what might be much more important for them, and the organization in the long run.

(p. 68)

Rechtschaffen (1996) also writes about ways to address the "time poverty" in our lives and he reminds us that it is not a just a question of learning how to be more
materially productive by cramming more into our day and by increasing the speed of our life's treadmill. Rather, Rechtschaffen stresses the need to put life into our time and to move toward "time freedom" by becoming more aware of time and our relationship to it. His views are orthogonal to the technical rational approach to time in modern organizations. However, the ability to shift time perspectives, to create time boundaries, to respect ourselves and our emotions, to be in the moment, and to fully experience time opportunities seem like reasonable antidotes to time compression and those frustrating moments in our lives.

The emotions of teaching and the more cognitive aspects of teaching are not always consonant with each other. The potential dissonance between the two involves a temporal dimension. For example, teachers may love children and value teaching, but feel continually frustrated and even angry about their inability to keep up with new educational reforms. There is too much to do, "not enough time", work is becoming stressful and the quality of instruction is slipping. Sometimes pathologies may emerge when this dissonance becomes noticeable and persistent.

The ability to balance emotions and reason is central to the concept of the "effective time-binder" (Weinberg, 1959). In essence, the more closely we become self-actualizing individuals, the more effective time-binders we become. In other words, effective time-binders are problem-centered rather than ego-centred and have a "freshness of appreciation." Weinberg posits, "balanced behaviour at all levels of abstraction is the goal of our ideally effective time-binder" (p. 188). In any workplace, the context of moral choices involves the interaction between the affective and the
cognitive and has an impact on the efficiency and effectiveness of completing a task. The situation affects how we experience time and how we respond to the temporal dilemmas we encounter.

2.7 Implications for Education

Educators are affected by many kinds of time - including, for example, timetables. planning time, report card time, teaching time, professional development time and extra-curricular time. They often construct and make meaning of time differently. Existing structures, however, frequently limit the development of alternative shared meanings of time. The rhythms of schools and teachers are often interlocked. During extensive, mandated curriculum reform it may be necessary to review the nature of time in a school before making changes (Bruno, 1997). Depending on the local circumstances, it might be worthwhile to canvas a range of possible questions to see whether they merit further investigation. For example, what is the best way to maintain teaching and learning time as sacred time and ensure that planning time is also available? What amount of teacher time should be spent on extra-curricular activities - and which ones? What are the implications of intensified working conditions and concomitant stress for introducing new ideas for structuring and using time? How can teachers and administrators reconstruct their existing time to learn new skills and ideas? How can the monochronic view of time often held by educational administrators accommodate better the polychronic framework of teachers? Are there strategies for resolving temporal dilemmas and tensions? How can concepts such as proleptic time be implemented during periods of overwhelming educational change?
Individuals respond in different ways to temporal conditions that shape their very being. Our conditioning to time, our perception of time, and our control over time affect how we adapt to the succession, duration, rhythm, order and pressures of time (Fraisse, 1963). Lubeck's (1989) explanation of how time affects life in schools is that "different uses of time suggest different conceptualisations of time.... time is perceived differently and used differently ... because it serves different purposes (p. 69)."

The concepts of "knowledge felt" and "knowledge understood" (Fraser, 1975), that is, passion and knowledge, provide a useful perspective for understanding existential tension and continuous, irresolvable struggle and conflict within schools. Irresolvable conflicts often have both an emotional and cognitive dimension that creates a temporal dissonance. An example of this dilemma occurs when a teacher is told that the new provincial curriculum and assessment policies no longer support all of the long hours and dedication that she has already devoted to developing performance assessments. When teachers are placed in insoluble "time binds", survival, not quality instruction, dominates their everyday experiences.

The use of teachers' or educational administrators' stories and narratives demonstrates the possibilities of showing the importance of context and texture for explaining temporal issues. Such stories are ways to document first-hand accounts of the meaning of time in the lives of teachers and administrators. They provide opportunities to move beyond mere descriptions and to try and understand the emotions, tensions, and recurring dilemmas faced by educators during periods of profound educational reform.

As Polkinghorne (1988) indicates:
The experience and interpretation of time is a basic and dominant theme of human reality. Narrative is able to structure and organize time according to hermeneutic principles and to present time through multiple levels of interpretation. Time becomes human as it is articulated through narrative. (p. 127)

Aldeman, Walking Eagle & Hargreaves (1997) have honoured teachers’ stories of time and have published nine first-person accounts on the meaning and use of time by teachers. Distinct stages of implementation are used to organize the narratives. The stories of these teachers capture the chronic problems posed by time during planning, implementation and continuous improvement. This publication is one of the few explicit documents that articulate teachers’ experiences with time. The multiple levels of interpretation provide illuminating accounts of subjective experiences of time during periods of mandated reform.

Time affects every person differently. At the same time, however, there are common time themes that seem to emerge at certain points in a person’s life, both personally and professionally. Since organizations are people places, the stuff of relationships, including related power and control issues, become the fabric of time experiences. How people get along and negotiate workplace roles and responsibilities become the micro-political realities of daily life. School politics, for example, can range from issues related to bus duty assignments, on-call arrangements, planning time arrangements, office assistance and so on. As we saw in chapter 1, the notion of
teachers' work being classroom work and time outside of the classroom becoming a competing status claim are examples of very visible issues having micro political significance in Ontario schools.

2.8  A Typology of Time

A number of authors and writers have developed typologies of time. These provide useful frameworks and suggest a possible strategy for capturing the variety of perspectives and research about time in the literature. In an effort to summarize the literature on time and to make connections to teachers' and educational administrators' practice, I have posited a similar working typology of time.

Although previous typologies, such as those posited by Gurvitch (Gurvitch, 1964; Harvey, 1990), Hall (1983) and Hargreaves (1994), provide useful frameworks for understanding time in the lives of individuals, they use conceptual orientations that do not directly address the daily needs of teachers and administrators in a period of educational reform. Gurvitch, for example, is particularly concerned with a framework for thinking about time in the social life of individuals and does not address technical-rational, cultural and political views of time. Hall's approach has a distinctly cultural perspective and also avoids specific references to technical-rational and political time. Hargreaves approach is theoretically innovative and practically connected to educational reform initiatives. His sociological approach to time, however, is particularly concerned with the political impact of educational reform policies and eschews more psychological, rhythmic and cultural issues of time. Before introducing my own typology, I will comment further on these three typologies.
Gurvitch (Gurvitch, 1964; Harvey, 1990) has developed a specific framework that guides our thinking about social time. He posits eight types of social time: enduring time, deceptive time, erratic time, cyclical time, retarded time, alternating time, time in advance of itself, and explosive time. His primary thesis is that certain social formations are linked with a specific sense of time. In other words, every social relation contains its own sense of time. The potential overlap and interaction among these time types suggest a number of possibilities that support particular analyses of teachers' and educational administrators' practices. For example, the notion of enduring time (where established structures and organizational stability are featured) stands in contrast to alternating time (where past and future compete in the present) and explosive time (where radical transformations are commonplace).

Hall's (1983) treatise on time recognizes the multifaceted nature of time. In his map of time he uses the concept of a mandala (a symbol of wholeness – see, for example, http://www.mandalaproject.org) to show the relationships among a number of key ideas. He subsequently identifies eight kinds of time in our lives: biological time, personal time, sync time, micro time, profane time, sacred time, metaphysical time, physical time. In the present chapter, I have examined specifically one of these time dimensions - sacred and profane time. Hall's map of time visually represents these different inter-related concepts of time and readily conveys the pervasive and complex nature of time. The mandala provides a framework that helps begin the difficult conversation about the meaning of time in our lives. Hall explains the existence of these different kinds of time when he writes:
In Albert Einstein's terms, time is simply what a clock says and the clock can be anything — the drift of a continent, one's stomach at noon, a chronometer, a calendar of religious ceremonies, or a schedule of instruction or production. The clock one is using focuses on different relationships in our personal lives. (p. 15)

Hargreaves (1994) presents a framework for making sense of time in education from a sociological perspective. He posits four interrelated dimensions of time, including technical-rational time, micropolitical time, phenomenological time, and socio-political time. Technical-rational time is "a finite resource or means which can be increased, decreased, managed, manipulated, organized or reorganized in order to accommodate selected educational purposes" (p. 96). Micropolitical time reflects the "dominant configurations of power and status" within organizations. Phenomenological time is that dimension of time "where time is subjective, where time is lived, where time has an inner duration which varies from person to person (p. 100)." Socio-political time refers to those particular forms of time that enable administrators to control teachers' work and the curriculum implementation process.

In my own typology, I have included five categories of time to reflect the review of the literature covered in this chapter that best correspond with time in the daily lives of teachers and administrators during periods of educational reform. These include: technical-rational time, temporal regularity and rhythmic time, cultural time, subjective time, and socio-political/socio-economic time. For each of these general categories, I
have identified a few selected key authors and clustered several related dimensions of
time so as to provide a range of similar perspectives. Sample workplace practices clarify
further these categories of time (Table 1).

The intriguing aspect of the table is the explanatory and discursive potential for
exploring individual action and meaning when I begin interpreting the narratives of
teachers and educational administrators. This working typology serves to consolidate a
great deal of the literature about time that appears in a number of different disciplines. I
will use it to explore new possibilities during the interviews with the teachers and
educational administrators and to stimulate the conversation-based interviews with the
educational administrators. As a complement to the empirical research, this working
typology will also provide explanatory power during the analysis of the interview
transcripts. Rather than pre-empt the empirical study, I will use this working typology to
enrich the research process.
<table>
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<th>Evidence in Education</th>
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<th>Time Category</th>
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<th>Time Key</th>
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<td>Early Adolescence (9-12)</td>
<td>Class Time</td>
<td>Course Time</td>
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<td>Middle Adolescence (13-16)</td>
<td>Class Time</td>
<td>Course Time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Late Adolescence (17-21)</td>
<td>Class Time</td>
<td>Course Time</td>
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**Table 1**: A Summary of Time in the Lives of Teachers and Administrators
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Science, above all, teaches us to doubt – to question our conceptions of the world. (Edelson. 1985, 71)

3.1 Introduction

The present research study set out to explore, represent and discuss some of the different ways that teachers and educational administrators reconstruct and interpret their experiences of time in organizations during a period of active and profound curriculum reform and educational change. The research method covered two distinct phases. The first phase involved collecting and analysing data from twenty teachers based on a one-hour semi-structured interview. The second phase involved collecting and analysing data from three educational administrators based on a series of four in-depth interviews over a span of five months.

Since the key questions are concerned with investigating the lived experiences of teachers and administrators, qualitative interviews were selected as the research method. The responses of teachers and the stories of educational administrators provide rich textual descriptions of lived experiences (Van Manen, 1990) and of the meanings of time during intense and often turbulent amounts of change. Everyday experiences of time such as those related to curriculum reform, intensification, values, relationships, control, and
power were explored and implications for practice examined. The way that workplace
time increasingly consumes personal and family time was also investigated.

3.2 Phase 1: Examining the Time Perspectives of Teachers

In the first phase of the study, a semi-structured interview was completed with
twenty teachers. The interview covered a range of topics that included direct questions
related to temporal issues and indirect reference to curriculum reform. Several
researchers who were conducting a multi-year study that was investigating how teachers
implement complex curriculum changes (Hargreaves et al., 2001) cooperatively
developed the overall semi-structured interview protocol that was used in the third year of
the study. During this process, I developed and included several of my own specific
questions on time. Each interview generally lasted an hour and all interviews were taped
and transcribed. While the interview transcripts were analysed from a variety of
perspectives (Earl et al., 1999), my analysis focused on all responses related to the
phenomenon of time.

Sample

The participants in this research study were part of a larger longitudinal research
project examining a specific curriculum reform initiative within the province of Ontario
(Hargreaves et al., 2001; Wilson, 1998). All twenty-nine teachers who constituted the
original sample in the larger research project were invited to participate in the second
round of interviews during the third year of the project in the spring of the 1997-1998
school year. The present research study included twenty of the original twenty-nine
teachers who agreed to participate in the second round of interviews in the larger research
project. The remaining nine teachers from the original group who did not participate either declined to be interviewed or had retired from teaching.

Originally, purposeful sampling (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1980) had been used to select twenty-nine teachers from four school districts for inclusion in the longitudinal research project. These teachers were selected because district administrators identified them as being involved in a serious, sustained and committed way with implementing *The Common Curriculum* - a new provincial curriculum released in 1995. The twenty-nine teachers had proficiency and expertise in dealing with daily experiences related to change and had at least a modicum of knowledge about this particular curriculum reform. As mentioned previously, the rapid succession of reform events meant that the twenty teachers who were interviewed during the third year of this larger study were also dealing with initial implementation of the new *Ontario Curriculum* and other assessment and report card reforms.

**Design**

As previously stated, the twenty teachers were part of wider multi-year research project investigating curriculum and assessment reform. I became a member of the research team during the second year of the research project and remained a member until its closure three years later. While I contributed to the larger research project. I also pursued the present research study on time as a sub-study of the larger research project. Other members of the research team also undertook their own research studies on different topics such as folk pedagogy (Katz, 1998) and organizational context (Wilson, 1998).
As a member of the research team, I helped design strategies for completing all phases of the study. Every effort was made to achieve the overall goals of the study in a collaborative manner while simultaneously preserving the integrity of each person’s unique research interest. Our work together included, for example, getting approval from school districts to continue the research, completing ethical protocols, developing semi-structured interview schedules, sharing the workload for conducting the actual interviews, arranging for transcripts of all interviews, and preparing overall documentation of the total project. We also made several paper and symposium presentations about our work at national and international conferences. In particular, I contributed time-specific questions to the semi-structured interview schedule that was used in the third year of the research project (see Appendix 1) and personally conducted four interviews. The findings from all twenty interviews during the third year of this research project constitute the database for the first phase of the present research study.

A unique feature of the larger multi-year research project was the “holographic” method that was used to describe teachers’ experiences with curriculum and assessment reform (Earl et al., 1999). Basically, this meant that teachers’ experiences with change were examined from different conceptual and research perspectives. In my case, for example, I used time as a lens to understand how all twenty teachers responded to profound educational reform and change (Lafleur, 2000a). Other members of the research team were interested in other specific curriculum reform topics related to pedagogy, assessment, implementation and sustainability.
Although I had negotiated a number of time-specific questions as part of the semi-structured interview schedule, my analysis was not restricted to teachers' responses to these questions only. I chose to examine and analyse responses to all questions in the interview transcripts. In many instances, some of the most significant time issues emerged from responses to the other, non-time specific questions. In other words, using a semi-structured interview that included other research lenses provided rich data related to the phenomenon of time. Teachers were very articulate about the advantages of and challenges associated with implementing profound educational reforms. Nevertheless, there was a distinct advantage in using a less direct approach to exploring the phenomenon of time (Adelman et al., 1997). Since individuals usually know what time is - until they have to explain it to someone else (St. Augustine, 1997) - allowing time issues to emerge and to be clarified in context while discussing the complexity and intricacy of curriculum reform was, in retrospect, a constructively useful strategy.

Instrumentation and Data Collection

The semi-structured interview was used as the primary method for collecting data from the twenty teachers. An interview schedule with specific questions and topics was designed to cover a range of issues dealing with curriculum reform and educational change. As previously indicated, a team of researchers who were part of a more comprehensive longitudinal study developed the interview protocol collaboratively. Since there were five researchers associated with this larger study at the time of these interviews, each person conducted three to four interviews in a quiet office or in another space within the interviewee's school. Each interviewer used the semi-structured
An interview protocol was used to frame and guide their questions. Interviews took about one hour to complete.

Basic interviewing skills (Gordon, 1992) were used to facilitate the collection of information. These basic skills covered all phases of the interview process including the formulation of relevant and motivating questions, the establishment of an atmosphere conducive to communication, the delivery of the questions, the use of active listening strategies, procedures for probing, and procedures for taping and recording information.

The questions in the semi-structured interview schedule focused on a specific curriculum unit of the teacher's choosing and covered daily practices related to curriculum changes. Some of the interview questions covered topics such as assessment, instruction, emotion and sustainability. In addition, several specific questions about time and temporal issues were included. Some of these time related questions included:

- How did you handle time issues in this unit?
- How did you ensure that students had the time to achieve the outcomes?
- Are there any key activities other than the clock that determine how you implement this unit?
- There are occasions when time seems to fly by or drag on. Describe when these happened during the unit.
- Reflecting over the past two years, how have issues related to time influenced your work?
- How do you balance time between work and your personal life?
Although not specifically mentioning time, I also crafted several other interview questions that allowed teachers to make indirect responses to a number of curriculum reform issues. For example, teachers were asked to describe how their job had changed over the past two years, to comment on how much control they felt they had over implementation, and to identify obstacles that they had experienced.

3.3 Phase 2: Examining the Time Perspectives of Educational Administrators

In the second phase of the study, the lives of educational administrators (Goodson, 1992) were the entry point for a series of four in-depth interviews about time in education with each of three educational administrators. The interviews were approached as conversations (Kvale, 1996) about the phenomenon of time in their lives. Each interview lasted about one and one-half to two hours and was taped and transcribed. The purpose of these interviews was to ensure that individuals were heard and that they were given every opportunity to bring their own unique background, experiences and surroundings to bear on the phenomenon of time. In this way, a richer contextualization was achieved, ensuring that the autobiographical, life cycle characteristics, career stages, critical incidents and epiphanies (Denzin, 1989) of educational administrators were blended with their own situational and environmental circumstances.

Sample

Opportunity sampling was used to select three educational administrators to participate in a series of four in-depth interviews over a period of five months. The sample was selected so as to maximize information and represent administrators working in three different layers of the educational community, that is, the school, the school
district and the province. Only those individuals who were actively engaged in curriculum reform and educational change were invited to participate. Gender was considered and, where possible, a balance obtained. In addition, an effort was made to identify individuals who were well informed and motivated to participate in the study so that limited advance time would be spent developing a climate of trust and confidence between the practitioners and researcher. The researcher knew all the individuals that agreed to participate, although none were personal friends. One person was a work colleague, another was a member of my graduate student cohort and the third had been a member of a project task force with me.

Design

The educational administrators participated in a series of four in-depth interviews about the phenomenon of time over a period of five months. These interviews occurred after the twenty interviews with teachers were completed. Initial contact was made in early 1998 and interviews were conducted during the 1998-1999 school year. Each of the educational administrators was approached individually and the conditions of involvement were negotiated independently of the others. The interviews occurred in a mutually agreed upon place and time. In some instances, the interviews took place in the workplace, although in an effort to accommodate people’s busy schedules, the range of sites also included our homes and even hotel lounges.

The interviews were designed to focus on understanding time issues from the administrator’s point of view. Qualitative interviews were particularly suited to the study as they gave each person sufficient opportunity to explain how time is experienced in the
workplace and in their personal lives. Individuals were also encouraged to clarify the meaning of temporal issues that emerged in our conversations.

**Instrumentation and Data Collection**

The interviews with the three educational administrators were treated as an occasion for two persons to speak with each other about the phenomenon of time. The interviews were conducted as conversations with a purpose (Kahn & Cannell, 1957; Kvale, 1996). They were in-depth opportunities (Marshall & Rossman, 1995) to document and interrogate the phenomenon of time. The purpose was to understand the lived daily world from the educational administrator's point of view. As such, the interviews were qualitative (Patton, 1980; Rubin & Rubin, 1995) and intensive (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) in nature. The interviews were informal and were designed to encourage meaning making by narrative recounting (Bruner, 1989).

The interviews approximated an everyday conversation and encouraged stories about temporal issues rather than timed responses to pre-determined questions. The intent was to provide individuals with the opportunity to frame and structure their own responses and to share their own understandings in their own terms. Although no interview schedule was used, the summary time chart that was developed in the review of the literature was available to the researcher as a handy reference for prompts when required.

Progressive focusing was featured as a strategy. For example, at the beginning of each subsequent interview, the administrators were given a verbal summary of the salient issues that they had identified in the previous interview. In this way, participants had an
The Time of Our Lives

opportunity to reflect upon and to comment on some of the issues so that further clarification and in-depth exploration of issues could occur. During the interviews, issues related to time became the specific object of the research. The intent was to capture the phenomenon of time in the natural world of the participants and to obtain multiple instances of it (Denzin, 1989).

The interviews were conducted in a manner that acknowledged the life histories (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995) of the three administrators. Data that emerged in the interviews were influenced by life style and experience, life style in and out of work, life cycle, career stage, critical incidents, and the life histories of educational change (Goodson, 1992, pp. 243-244). In this sense, the research is composed of multiple stories that are contextually situated in the lives of these individuals (Lafleur, 2000b). The stories are not a mere collection of events. Rather, they are narratives that result from the interactions between the researcher and the administrators and they are connected to particular social circumstances and educational reforms during the life histories of these people.

3.4 Data Analysis

The twenty interviews with teachers and the in-depth interviews with the three educational administrators were tape-recorded and transcripts made. Since the interviews with the teachers occurred before the interviews with the educational administrators, the interview transcripts for the teachers were analysed first. The analysis of the transcripts for the educational administrators was undertaken separately at a later point in time.
In both instances, FolioViews, a qualitative software program, was used to assist in the examination of the data. Analysis of the transcripts was undertaken manually, electronically, and in conjunction with the audiotapes. In other words, as I read the transcripts, I made written notes, used Folio Views to electronically categorize responses, and listened to key sections of the audiotapes to clarify the accuracy of the transcripts and the way ideas were communicated.

The analyses of the teachers’ responses proceeded to identify recurring patterns and major themes. Clustering (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was used as a way to form categories and iteratively sort time related phenomenon into those categories. Transcripts were carefully analysed and passages were identified and sorted into the identified categories. This process occurred and re-occurred – progressing much like the completion of a huge puzzle with pieces constantly being sorted and placed until the initial chaos was replaced with a meaningful picture. Subsequently, a typology of time was produced for the teachers based on their responses.

The analyses of the educational administrators’ responses also identified major themes and categories. Where appropriate, the typology of time that emerged from the teachers’ responses was used as a guide to posit similar categories of time that emerged from the interviews with the administrators. The constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), guided the development of a grounded theory explanation and an “emic” approach was used as an initial approach when analysing the administrators’ transcripts (Patton, 1980, pp. 306-307). The meaning of time in the daily lives of the administrators emerged from an inductive examination of the interview transcripts and a paradigmatic
type of analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995, pp.12-15) was undertaken based on their views and
time worlds. A complementary narrative analysis (pp. 15-21) presented a storied account
of the lives of these three administrators as it relates to time in their professional lives
during recent profound educational reform.

The next phase of the analysis involved contrasting and interrogating the
typologies developed from the teachers' views and the administrators' views of time with
the one constructed from the review of the literature. Specific attention was given to the
phases of the interpretative process (Denzin, 1989) that helped to capture, construct and
contextualize the phenomenon of time.

During the analyses of the interview transcripts, I attempted to reserve judgement
as to how responses made during the interviews reflected an understanding of the
phenomena of time. The focus was on describing the phenomenon of time as it appeared
to the participants. In other words, I did not consciously impose the frames and structures
that I had developed from the literature. The focus on issues related to health and well
being, for example, came from the teachers and was described as embodied time. It was
the participants' conceptions of the phenomenon of time that resulted in different themes
and categories.

The rich textures and meaning of teachers' and educational administrators' experiences with time in education emerged from repeatedly examining and interrogating
the interview transcripts. The explanation and interpretation given to the themes and
categories of time are based on the descriptions of the lived experiences of the teachers
and the educational administrators in this study. Their own stories and narratives
validated the integrity of their voices. In addition, the explanations and interpretations were enhanced by comparing the typologies developed for the teachers and administrators with the results of the literature review.

3.5 Limitations

Teachers in this study were selected from a consortium of four school districts in Ontario. Although these jurisdictions included an urban/rural mix and a range of students representing a variety of ethnic backgrounds, no effort was made to represent all school districts in the province. This is true for the three educational administrators as well. As a result, certain problems and resources that might characterize other situations were not considered. For example, geographic isolation, long transportation commutes, limited information technology, and lack of access to taken-for-granted urban amenities that characterize many Ontario jurisdictions were not adequately represented in this study.

No attempt was made to select a random or representative sample of teachers or administrators. The teachers were part of a purposeful sample that had already been selected for a larger study that was already in progress. System administrators had selected these teachers because they were engaged in serious and sustained efforts to implement a new curriculum. The educational administrators constituted an opportunity sample. They had been invited to participate in the study by me. Consequently, some of my own biases could be reflected in these choices. As a result, generalizations about time in the lives of teachers and administrators should be made conditionally. Conceptual generalizations from the findings of this research study, however, are warranted.
The three administrators in the study were well informed and in a few instances quite influential. As such, their information is quite valuable and insightful. They are savvy about current educational reform and have an overall view of organizations, relationships and socio-political issues. They tend to respond well to big picture issues and like the freedom to use their knowledge and expertise. The language they use to convey ideas is conceptually rich. Elite interviewing, however, places extra demands on the interviewer to be interactive and open-ended. A potential disadvantage and possible limitation is that elites can take control of the interview and respond to issues that interest them rather than the phenomenon in question.

During the research study I was responsible for developing and implementing some of the province-wide curriculum and assessment reforms. As a full-time administrator directly involved in some of these changes and as an employee of the Ministry of Education, there was a possibility that some of the teachers and administrators might have been influenced by my role in developing these curriculum and assessment policies. Furthermore, my own knowledge of these reforms may have influenced my own participation in the interviews.

Since "knowing well is knowing in more than a single way" (Shulman, 1988, 23). then the use of only one research method, the interview, can be seen as a limitation in this study. Qualitative interviews were selected as the primary research tool because they are an intentional way of learning about people's feelings, thoughts and lived experiences. The interviews also establish initial themes and patterns from the responses of the teachers and administrators, providing a basis for further inquiry. In addition, qualitative
interviews encourage individuals to describe their lives, providing narratives, stories and metaphors that meaningfully describe the phenomenon of time and how it plays out for them on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the study did not use multiple and complementary methods.

In addition, since there are few rules guiding the use of qualitative interviews, then it is critical that the interviewer have expertise, skills and craftsmanship in conducting interviews. While the researcher has developed and cultivated these qualifications over a number of years in his capacity as a school district researcher, the issue of bias and subjectivity must be recognized as a related limitation and concern.

More closely aligned with the qualitative and interpretivist approach to human inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), this research study was concerned with everyday experiences and meaning. A basic assumption of this study is that all human knowledge is socially constructed knowledge (Berger & Lukman, 1966) and is therefore problematic and somewhat indeterminate. Consequently, foundational criteria such as trustworthiness, credibility, confirmability, meaning-in-context, and authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Morse, 1984) are more likely to be featured than traditional criteria such as validity and reliability when discussing the findings.

3.6 Ethical Issues

In conformity with university requirements, all required ethical review procedures were completed. This included the completion of four forms: the ethical review statement of intent, the ethical review protocol, the ethical certificate and a statement from committee members. In each of the four school districts, clearance from the Educational
Research Advisory Committee was also obtained to approach and involve the teachers. During this process careful attention was also given to the research protocols in each school district and to the provincial Freedom of Information and Protection of Individual Privacy Act.

The nature of the present study involved working directly with individuals and consequently a number of key ethical issues were addressed specifically. For example, informed consent and the rights of participants, concerns such as no harm to participants, no deception, confidentiality, full and frank disclosure, impartiality, risks associated with the publication of research findings, and professional research responsibility were given specific attention. The ethics of doing social science research has been well documented elsewhere (Beauchamp et al., 1982; Deiner & Crandall, 1978; Sieber, 1982; Tri-Council Policy Statement, 1998). Rather than deal with all of these issues here, brief reference is made to informed consent only.

Informed consent is based on the right of individuals to self-determination, that is, to choose what will or will not happen to them. It is the procedure whereby individuals choose whether to participate in the research after being informed about the details of the study. In this study, the research process emphasized co-operation and mutual assistance. Participants were treated as ends in themselves rather than solely as means. More specifically, strategies such as the following were carefully considered to address informed consent:

1. A letter of approval from the university and the school board that identifies the principal investigator;
2. An explanation of the purposes of the research, the expected duration of the participants' involvement, protocols for dealing with confidentiality, and a description of the procedures to be followed;

3. A statement that participation is voluntary, refusal to participate involves no penalty, and that participants may withdraw without any penalty or loss of benefits; and

4. A statement of foreseeable risks and benefits that may be reasonably expected from the research.

Informed consent and other ethical issues were addressed during all phases of the research through respectful communication and collaboration between the researcher and the participants.

3.7 Conclusion

The present research study comprised two distinct phases. The first phase involved collecting data from twenty teachers who were part of a separate longitudinal study of teachers and educational change. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data about a variety of curriculum reform issues, including teachers' views of time in their daily lives. The interview transcripts for these teachers were analysed and a typology of teachers' time developed. In the second phase of the study, four in-depth qualitative interviews were completed with each of three educational administrators. The interview transcripts for these administrators were analysed and a framework of administrators' time was developed. In addition, a narrative analysis was undertaken and a storied account of time in the lives of these three administrators during the present
context of educational reform in Ontario was written. The meanings and understandings of teachers' and administrators' time were critically examined and compared with the summary of key time concepts that were identified in the review of the literature. In this way, documented theoretical approaches were tested against the time themes and categories that emerged from the data in the present study. As a result, an evolving conceptual framework was developed.

In the next chapter, a detailed portrayal of time in the everyday lives of the twenty teachers is presented. A number of time themes and related categories are posited as a typology of teachers' time. Rich descriptions of time in the lives of these teachers are taken from the interview transcripts as a way of representing the meaning of and implications of time during periods of fundamental educational reform and change.
FINDINGS: TIME PERSPECTIVES OF TEACHERS

I think when the dust settles it’ll be good. It’s just, right now, I think everybody feels slightly in chaos and slightly assaulted by all the changes... it’s just kind of a chaotic time.

It takes a great deal of time to embrace change and new innovations such as the report card and student-led conferences.

The time of the year - close to holidays, crummy weather, etc. - seems to contribute to misbehaviour.

Everything is wanted yesterday. There seems to be an unwarranted rush to have everything changed at the same time and quickly.

There are certain times of the year that are more stressful than others.

I just barge ahead and do it... but it’s a bit of a balancing act.
4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the time perspectives of twenty teachers are offered as one way of portraying the phenomenon of time in education. The goal is "to derive meaning from the field" and to listen to what teachers have to say, so as to develop an understanding of the world as they see it (Lieberman & Miller, 1992, p. vi).

Analysis of the twenty interview transcripts focussed on responses dealing with the phenomenon of time. By carefully reading, analyzing and grouping comments in each interview transcript, I identified a number of time-related issues. These issues were then sorted into sixteen themes by holistically considering all of the interview transcripts.

The identification of time-related issues and themes was based on the interview transcripts. The review of the literature and existing conceptual framework, however, were used as a guide to help make sense of the data where appropriate. For example, Giddens' (1984, 1987) view that time is a commodity that is reflected in the timetabled structure of schools supported the decision to use "Scheduled Time" as a theme. Similarly, work by Apple (1986) and Hargreaves (1994) supported the choice of "Intensified time" as a theme. While the literature review and existing theory did not determine time issues and themes, they did provide a guide for selecting and naming similar ideas that emerged from the data. In some instances, the literature review did not anticipate the specific themes that emerged from the data. For example, the theme "Embodied Time" was used to describe the health and well-being issues that occurred when teachers are overwhelmed and stressed by the incessant time pressures created by
numerous and profound educational reforms. In this sense, a grounded theory approach added value to the review.

After a brief outline of the sixteen time themes (see Table 2 for a brief overview of the sixteen time themes), this chapter examines the findings for each of the themes, using numerous references to the interview transcripts as illustrations. The time themes capture the essence of the data that are in the interview transcripts. The data presented in this chapter capture the temporal substance of teachers’ work and show the insidious way that time permeates all aspects of their professional and personal lives. Teachers are overwhelmed and overstretched. Personal time is increasingly being stolen for planning, marking, professional development, and communication. Balancing work and personal life is becoming an increasingly critical enterprise, with dire consequences for those who are unable to manage the associated stresses and pressures.

The time experiences of teachers can be simply represented in two ways. On the one hand, time is the duration of an activity spent doing certain things. It is external to the individual, representing the structure and organization of life-world events. On the other hand, time is the more visceral response to certain circumstances, indicating the person’s lived experience of an event. While the sixteen time themes presented in this chapter can be clustered into these two overall categories, they do represent more complete portrayals of time that quite simply emerged directly from the interview responses. The themes are practical and meaningful classifications of the data and provide a convenient handle for initially making sense of time issues found in the interview transcripts.
The remainder of the chapter presents and discusses specific findings from the interview transcripts for each of the time themes. Concluding comments in this chapter consider how the sixteen time themes relate to the typology of time developed in the review of the literature.

Table 2: Time Themes

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<tr>
<th>TIME THEME</th>
<th>SAMPLE TIME ISSUES</th>
<th>SAMPLE COMMENT</th>
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| 1. Instructional Time | a) The teachable moment  
                    b) Time to teach students the expectations  
                    c) Chunking work time for student success  
                    d) Unplanned time for student discipline  
                    e) Caring time                           | They've got lots to talk about, and they're not there to talk - not during instruction time. You know, any other time, sure, at lunch or in the halls. But, I still believe that they are there to learn, and what happened at the party on Friday night isn't really applicable. |
| 2. Assessment Time | a) Time for assessing every child  
                    b) Time for writing rubrics  
                    c) Time to use a variety of assessments  
                    d) Portfolio time  
                    e) Report card time             | I think I spend more time with the assessment. The teaching part it just comes to me.... I don't know if it's because of the new reporting format. I know it was a personal focus for me over the last couple of years. Just looking at assessment. Looking at doing it differently. So we get more real indication of how the students are doing. |
| 3. Remedial Time  | a) Time for children needing extra help  
                    b) Time spent modifying the curriculum  
                    c) Time for special education students  
                    d) Additional time to achieve outcomes  
                    e) Time for remediation and enrichment | The kids that maybe just need that extra little push to help them get back on track.... they're not low enough, you know? And they're not high enough to survive in the regular classroom. And, those are the kids that are coming in for extra help, that (we) spend time with every day - extra time on our own. |
| 4. Scheduled Time | a) Impact of timetable on learning  
|                   | b) Different impact between divisions  
|                   | c) Timetable as an obstacle to integration  
|                   | d) Rotary keeps teachers apart  
|                   | e) Large blocks of time help teaching  
|                   | There are still some schools from what we can understand doing rotary ... and the teachers don't get together ... we changed the timetable. This is the third year we've had this lump of core time with our own students. So we can have them up to an hour and half at a time. And the implementation has been far easier.... The core time - keeping them settled and yet delivering the same basic material as what's covered when they were out there doing the rotary.  
| 5. Rhythmic & Cyclical Time | a) Behaviour related to time of year  
|                           | b) Certain times of year are more stressful  
|                           | c) Career interests shift over time  
|                           | d) Program reflects teacher's experience  
|                           | e) Impact of age.stage of development  
|                           | There are times of the year that are extremely, extremely stressful in this job.  
| 6. Appropriated Time | a) Supervision time  
|                    | b) Paper work demands unbelievable  
|                    | c) Working during lunch time  
|                    | d) Bus duty  
|                    | e) Personal time appropriated for work  
|                    | At lunchtime the registered nurse ... talked to me and she was very upset about my kids.... So all of lunch hour I spent with her until yard duty time. So I didn't eat my lunch. I went out on yard duty.  
| 7. Planning Time | a) Prep time not part of scheduled time  
|                 | b) Prep time is colonized for other tasks  
|                 | c) Rarely planned to support collaboration  
|                 | d) Prep time coverage is problematic  
|                 | That's a big difference from the last school I was in, to here. I have the same amount of prep time, but I don't have it scheduled with a team, where I did in the last school. Our whole team was released at the same time, and we always met during school time to do our prep. We met after as well, but this gave you the momentum. And, here during the prep time it might be 20 minutes here, 30 minutes there, and it's never time to really get into anything, so all of that has to happen in the evening.  

| **8. Political Time** | a) Teachers’ time regulated by collective agreements  
| | b) Teachers’ time controlled by educational reform  
| | c) Factory metaphor stresses effective and efficient use of time  
| | d) Time is money  
| | I get really fearful as the cutbacks come. I don’t understand how the shift in tax base and everything is really going to impact on the school in terms of dollars and cents. And our classes get bigger, and “time” … there are more things you’re asked to do, and less professional - less support…. than I’m able to do that with. I worry. |
| **9. Professional Development Time** | a) Sharp learning curve with implementing reforms  
| | b) PD is double jeopardy re time issues  
| | c) Need to “sneak” time for PD  
| | d) Hard to keep ahead of students  
| | e) PD involves formal study time  
| | I hate it when people don’t treat me as an adult…. to sit through six meetings to get what you could pick up in an hour, is not very effective…. I resent the way at times information is given to me…. Usually a lot of the things they want to give us require a lot of time outside the classroom. There’s no permission for it anymore, supply teachers aren’t available - so there goes the day sessions. So, now you’re doing it after school. |
| **10. Collegial Time** | a) Lack of time with other staff  
| | b) Little time to plan collaboratively  
| | c) Importance of team time  
| | d) Impact of collaboration on discipline  
| | e) Staff room time disappearing  
| | And, of course, the fact that teachers worked together as a team has helped as well. Because what we do is we divide the workload - for example, if we're writing a unit in a specific unit, and we want to integrate the different subject areas, one teacher will focus on ‘ok, we're going to integrate language into this, what are the different learning outcomes we want?’ and she’ll go and pull them. And someone will do that for social science, so it’s not like one person sitting down trying to write a unit on his or her own. |
| **11. Parent Time** | a) Time to communicate with parents  
| | b) Increasing pressure from parents  
| | c) Time to involve parents  
| | d) Lack of parent time for their children  
| | e) Time to educate parents  
<p>| | Occasionally, I phone home and chat to parents - we have a lot of parents in and out of the school. I always make sure the kids are doing really well especially the kids that I make a point of talking to the parents about how well they’re doing. |</p>
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<tr>
<th>12. Experienced Time</th>
<th>a) Time as a precious commodity</th>
<th>Time is always flying by for me. I never find it dragging. I'm just torn in too many different directions.</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Time as visioning and feeling right</td>
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<td>c) Time as ebb and flow</td>
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<td></td>
<td>d) Emotional time</td>
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<td>e) A time for everything</td>
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<tr>
<th>13. Intensified Time</th>
<th>a) Fundamental reform is a chaotic time</th>
<th>Everything's always got to be done yesterday and there's always a sense that I'm doing it but could I be doing it better or more in depth.</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Pace of change is overwhelming</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>c) The immediacy of mandated change</td>
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<td>d) Difficult to implement so many reforms</td>
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<td></td>
<td>e) Need time to get a handle on changes</td>
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<th>14. Personal Time</th>
<th>a) Lack of time for me</th>
<th>I am finishing the principals' course this weekend, so it is tough to juggle what I do. And, in some ways what I find as I get older, I don't have the energy that I had before. Not only do you get conservative, you don't have the energy. And that is what I find difficult because it is an ongoing battle between having a life and trying to do the work that I want to do.</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Importance of journal time</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c) Little time for reflection</td>
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<td></td>
<td>d) Time for personal activities hard to find</td>
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<td></td>
<td>e) Setting time priorities is important</td>
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<th>15. Family Time</th>
<th>a) Time and impact on young family</th>
<th>I feel guilty sometimes about ... time I don't spend with the family. Sometimes that hits on me and I feel like a rat.</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Balancing work and home demands</td>
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<td>c) Marking/report card time comes home</td>
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<td>d) Sandwich generation time demands</td>
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<td>e) Support from family required</td>
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<th>16. Embodied Time</th>
<th>a) Pace of change causes stress</th>
<th>I don't do all the things I know I should do. I've read a lot about meditating and about handling stress. And I do try to meditate at night. I always say I'm going to do it in the morning too, but there's</th>
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<td></td>
<td>b) Increased work load debilitating</td>
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<td>c) Lack of resources &amp;</td>
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4.2 Time and Teachers' Work

Teachers teach. It's as simple and as complicated as that. Their main job is to help groups of students learn. The power and legitimacy that teachers have as professionals come from their knowledge, expertise and skill in crafting learning experiences for students. The context and reality of teaching, however, are changing.

We have all been in classrooms and seen what teachers do. From our perspective as former students, teachers do indeed teach; however, for most of us, these perceptions are based on selective memories frozen in time, often 20 or more years in the past (Hargreaves, 1994). Some of us also see teachers' work from our role as parents, usually based on fragmented and infrequent communication from school staff and often moulded through the eyes of our son or daughter. In addition, we are bombarded on a regular basis by media events that highlight the shortcomings of our education system and the teachers in that system. We rarely see clearly beyond these filters. We fail to see the increasingly complex technical and logistical aspects of teaching today (Darling-Hammond, 1999). The complexities of teachers' work and the changing reality of teaching are neither clearly communicated nor understood.

Several time themes explicitly relate to what happens in the classroom.

Instructional time, assessment time and remedial time not only refer to what teachers have always done, but they also represent the specific focus of the current educational
reforms. New curriculum and assessment policies have totally changed the substance and direction of learning in classrooms. In addition, centrally controlled funding formulas have reduced staff and resources available to assist students with special needs. Increasingly, it is the responsibility of the classroom teacher to work with special needs students in the classroom. As a result, time pressures and increased workload are having a profound impact on daily life in schools.

On a daily basis, teachers plan lessons, provide instruction, organize learning activities, observe and assess students, report on student achievement and provide extra help for students. In most classroom groups, students represent a diverse range of backgrounds and abilities. In addition, there are usually students with special education and/or behavioural needs. Students with English as a second language or who require English literacy programs are commonly found in urban schools. In today’s context of fundamental educational change, diminishing resources, fewer central office support staff, and a centrally controlled funding formula, teachers are in the precarious position of doing considerably more in their classrooms with considerably less support.

Instructional Time

Teachers usually bring a set of assumptions about epistemology and pedagogy to the classroom and these have time parameters and properties built into them. Consider, for example, this teacher’s underlying beliefs that relate to time.

I really believe in an integrated approach to teaching and to learning. We don’t learn in little pockets of regimented time, and so on. That balance is
really important. They have to see learning within a context, and I think it brings it alive for students, and it brings it alive for me. It's just so much more meaningful when you put it in a context like that.

More than quantity only is at stake here. Creating an environment that supports quality learning means that sufficient time is required so that a variety of instructional strategies can be used.

Effective instruction and learning often rely on creating "teachable moments" (Woods & Jeffrey, 1996). In the following passage, we get a glimpse of how "staying with the flow" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) may, indeed, lead to that teachable moment. Moments that come from within the child and that are emotionally based and spontaneous are often the real stuff of learning.

Sometimes you scrap the whole plan.... I did that often. I would have a list of ... five kinds of learning activities or I (would) have this lesson ... and it was not realistic on a given day. It wasn't going to happen. But I am much more prepared now to just go with the flow. Great stuff happens anyway, so you catch up the next day.... They'll come in with things from home that are related, or maybe not even, to something that we're studying at the time, and they want desperately to share that. And, we have a lot of time for some of that, but a lot of the time you just have to go with it. It's more important ... the how of learning - than what's in the daybook and so on.
So, I've really learned to let go of that, you know, not be too worried about what's on paper and what's actually happening. As long as it's good learning.

Another teacher makes a similar point when she says that affording time for key issues means not interrupting the flow of classroom activities.

(I made time for things) whenever I thought I could afford it. I wasn't concerned about spelling during that point in time - however, I am concerned about spelling and editing. I am concerned about that as an issue. But not to the extent "we better stop this - it's really rolling - because we have to turn to page x". I don't do that.

Staying with the flow is not always something natural and spontaneous that hurried time structures spoil or interrupt. Teachers must take the initiative to deal with change forces and to create opportunities. The flow of the teachable moment needs organizing, structure and planning. As one teacher explains, professional judgement is intricately connected to the context and the appropriateness of the teachable moment.

I guess you have to feel for what's right at the time as well. Let's look at multicultural issues. In (my community) that's really not an issue yet. We can deal with it, although I wouldn't deal with it in the way the Common
Curriculum is laying out, as though it's a full-fledged issue, because it wouldn't make any sense to the kids – they're not ready. So I would use some professional judgement as to whether an issue is actually ripe and ready to be dealt with, or whether it will just be given a bit of lip-service and then moved on. But I would make sure that other teachers knew I was doing that; I wouldn't hop-scotch something in secret, I don't think that's fair to the kids.

Sometimes teaching involves dealing with unplanned problems, misbehaviour and relationships. Conflicts, fights, teasing, bullying and rule-breaking are the stuff of daily interactions that frequently require teachers' time. Consider how the following teacher foregoes her planned instruction to respond to a class of grade 8 students.

Yesterday was a day that the Grade 8s let me down as a group. We had planned electives ... I sat and had a long talk with the Grade 8s about why they seem to let people down. So teaching disappeared, oh around - that was just before lunch yesterday - at 11:00. Teaching disappeared and we started talking about Grade 8 attitude ... Why were they not taking part? And then we went through and spent a half hour doing that at recess.

Yesterday morning at 10 o'clock a few of them decided that because there were supply teachers in the school they could break a few rules and they helped themselves to the use of the gym. So I had a list of names ... to deal
with at ten to ten because there was no administration present. So I had a
list of people who had broken the rules and they knew they had broken the
rules. They know there're consequences. I have not had the chance yet to
deal with the consequences of that.

While being overwhelmed by the job of teaching is a perennial complaint,
there are added pressures when time cannot be found to become familiar with
mandated curriculum and assessment policies. As one teacher indicated, while a
new curriculum might make imminent sense and reflect good pedagogy,
difficulties remain in finding the time to go through it.

I think that what is in the Common Curriculum is common sense. I don't
think that what is in there should be a threat to any teacher. whether
they’re in their last year of teaching or in their first year. What’s in here is
good pedagogy and what’s in there is good variety, ... for the teaching
strategies, for multiple intelligences, it’s all recognized in there. And, if I
hadn’t taken the time to go through it, maybe I wouldn’t be quite as sure
that I was on board. I doubt that people, if they really give it a good look
will say, “Well, I’m not doing that.” But maybe what it behooves people
to do is take a closer look at what they’re doing, and to maybe change
their focus slightly. For example, in math – problem solving is
everywhere. We weren’t sure in our board whether we were going to have
that as a separate strand, or as one of strands ... but as long as everyone is addressing the issue of problem solving, and teaching strategies for problem solving, you're not going to have a teacher doing a good job or a bad job. So, I feel that although the document may scare some people, as long as they have a good tour guide through it, they can realize that it's not as different as they thought.

The job of teaching is extremely time consuming. In addition to working with twenty to thirty young learners in a confined classroom area for several hours each day, there are numerous persistent obstacles. Implementing curriculum change is a huge undertaking that exacerbates the daily pressures of teaching. Teachers need a little recognition for the effort and time that they invest in trying to make educational reform work. They also desperately need assistance. This passage captures some of the frustration.

Time, time, time. It's just trying to take it all.... I just try to little by little to implement whatever I can. But, it's a matter of .... Hey, I have to get into the car, and I've got to drive out there and I've got to get these things. I just wish that somehow the Board would shine down on teachers at times and say, "Yes, we know your job is overwhelming. We know you're over-worked. We know that you don't have time to do it all. So, here are these nice little packages. Merry Christmas" ... That's what I would ask for -
actual things to come to us - instead of saying "Here is the new Geography program - read this binder". With the binder, give us that little package that has resources - those wonderful dynamite resources that we don't have to look for, make up, search for.... It takes so much time to develop all those things yourself and to find them and to search them out and go to the teacher store and go to these various places to borrow the resources, or even to look them up in catalogues and order them yourself. And, there is always the financial aspect.

As teachers struggle with their own planning, there is a sense of professional pride as they help students develop time management skills. The following passage provides not only a glimpse of the teacher's classroom work, but also some of the anxiety that students experience when they too must meet deadlines.

I gave the kids a planning period, and they had to work through all the steps of the planning, and I laid out the framework for planning. Did all of that. And then the next day when they walked into the class, the materials were all there, they picked up the materials, they had 80 minutes to complete their plan. Well, you would have thought I had asked them to commit a crime, or something. But, what if we can't get it done in this time ... and I kept saying, the finished product is part of it. But, you know. I laid it all out ahead of time; this is what your group’s going to end up
with an A+ if these are the planning things that happen. These are the products that happen. Oh, man, it was interesting. It was really tough for some of them and not just weak students necessarily but strong students who would wander and meander. I kept saying to them “There are times when your boss says I want this delivered on such and such a date and your team leader or manager says I want this delivered by such and such a date. And, that person’s not kidding”.

Another factor impacting on teachers’ experience of instructional time is mobility. For a variety of reasons, many teachers move from one grade level to another grade level or from one school to another school. When teaching circumstances change, it takes a lot of additional time to prepare. As an example, one teacher explains the challenges of changing grade levels.

Each time you change grade level it's another adjustment. You know, to try to get out some of your golden pieces that you've kept for that grade level or that area that you haven't given away and then updating and trying to get units together, always takes time. It takes a couple of years at least to get them ... and to find more and build on them each time. So, last year the change to 3/4 was a big adjustment again. I like changing grade levels. I don't mind it at all, but it is a lot of work when you hop from one to
another because again, putting units together for 3/4 class took a lot of
extra time.

When changing grade levels and/or schools occurs during a period of educational reform, then teachers may not be able to use previous units or resources. In these instances, implementing new curriculum expectations and assessment policies requires additional planning and preparation.

The job of teaching is time consuming. And, the time to do everything just isn’t there. Finding and then using instructional time wisely is a monumental challenge. This is particularly true when teachers are being asked to do more and more.

In The Common Curriculum, classroom assessment focused on the use of a variety of approaches, including portfolios and rubrics. In the Ontario Curriculum, every curriculum document contains an Achievement Chart that specifies key categories and criteria that must be used when developing and using classroom assessment tools and strategies. Using the Achievement Chart as a guide to develop assessment rubrics and other assessment activities is a new skill for many teachers. Developing performance assessments or designing and implementing formative and summative assessments require initial training, basic knowledge and time for developing assessment activities. For many teachers, instruction tends to come more naturally than assessment and reporting.

Consequently, it is not surprising that “Assessment Time” emerged as a theme.
Assessment Time

Assessment reform in Ontario heralded new ways of doing business. Rigorous standards, achievement levels (with their emphasis on performance criteria and rubrics), and the introduction of standard student reporting procedures put extra time demands on teachers. Learning about and implementing these new assessment practices and reporting methods constituted a major hurdle for many teachers. “Getting it right” is essential for the educational well being of students. As this teacher indicates, assessment does not come naturally.

I think I spend more time with the assessment. The teaching part it just comes to me. You know, I can be driving into work - oh wow! There’s a great thing. Why don’t we do that? And then I have to think, “How am I going to assess and where does it fit in?” That sort of thing. So, I probably spend more time thinking about that – plus, I think I am more conscious of that now than I used to be. I don’t know if it’s because of the new reporting format. I know it was a personal focus for me over the last couple of years. Just looking at assessment. Looking at doing it differently. So we get more real indication of how the students are doing.

The emphasis on criteria-based assessment and the use of rubrics demands careful planning. As this teacher indicates, the use of rubrics takes time, not least because it must be integrated into the language and thinking of students. Since rubrics are a relatively
new form of assessment, it becomes necessary to develop rubrics from scratch and to teach students how to use them.

Rubrics are wonderful and I think it delineates things very well. But, sometimes I think it’s in a language that the kids find a little bit challenging. It sounds too educationese sometimes - the way the rubrics are designed. So I also try to design rubrics for kids to self-mark - so that it was really clear ahead of time, which really hadn’t been done before. So, that has been my focus this year - to develop all of my units that way so that the kids understood initially what was going to be expected and how it would be broken down - and how they would be assessed and how they would self-assess.

A realistic sense of perspective is therefore required so that time is not wasted trying to convert every assessment activity to a rubric or one stereotypical method. Planning and developing rubrics could, in principle, be carried out in perpetuity. Rubrics, however, tend to be very useful for summative evaluations or larger tasks or learning activities. One teacher explains.

I find it’s a lot more useful if the students know that this is the performance indicator we are looking at. What would “Excellent” be? What did they think “Good” would be? What would “Satisfactory” be?
What would "Needs Improvement" be? So, the students are having input into that ... so that they can internalize it. But, for something that's only going to last 40 minutes, I don't do rubrics. I don't have time to do a rubric for that. If I get a rubric for everything, I would be doing nothing at home but writing rubrics. I wouldn't have time to sleep. But for all major activities, anything that's longitudinal we always have a rubric.

Finding strategies to make students comfortable with rubrics requires a degree of expertise and persistence. It is tough for students to get the hang of rubrics. And, it takes time to help students use rubrics well. The following passage indicates some of the intricacies of making rubrics student-friendly.

You see, there is another problem with this - using the rubric for an assessment. The kids are still having a tough time buying into it, like understanding. They still want to know, when you give them a rubric for the beginning of the unit, is this an A? Is this a B? Is this a C?" and that's what they try to work towards. So that's going to take some time, on their part, to get used to. Like, when I introduced the rubrics with the kids a couple of years ago, it was like - what I did was, I said. "OK, we're going to plan a party, and we're going to make a rubric for the party. And, what does a really good party look like? And, what does a really awful flop look like?" Then we set down the criteria, like the music, the food, the
chaperoning and so on. And, they seemed to sort of get it when they saw it in those terms.

Assessment has always been an integral part of pedagogy. However, the use of percentage grades for reporting purposes juxtaposed against the use of criteria-based achievement levels to describe how well students are achieving the curriculum expectations have resulted in confusion among many teachers. The roles of formative assessment and summative assessment have also been unclear. Unravelling these "assessment dilemmas" takes time - both in planning and when communicating with colleagues, students and parents. Consider the following teacher's uncertainty as she describes the tension between assessment, achievement of curriculum expectations and the assigning of marks.

Outcomes really don't fit marks and that's our dilemma. Generating marks becomes the problem and I'm not sure there is a right or wrong. We can't figure out the right or wrong answer to that. They just quite frankly don't really fit well. So, what we do is, as a group, we collaboratively decide what components of what project, of what essay, of what myth, of whatever will be weighted to what extent. And that's developed collaboratively and then within the term mark, the various components are also developed collaboratively but they don't, I mean they really do not fit with the thrust of the curriculum we are using.
The mixing of assessment paradigms is paradoxical and frustrating. At the very least, a little confusion may indicate some understanding of the dilemma. Clearly, however, it would have been easier and less time consuming for teachers if assessment and reporting had been developed within the same paradigm. But which approach to assessment and reporting is appropriate - normative, criteria-based, ipsative (developmental), or, perhaps a combination? And, which set of assumptions about knowledge should best represent the goals of public education?

The assessment and reporting procedures are designed to tell students and parents how well students are achieving the curriculum expectations. In the past, however, assessment and reporting have not always focused on content and performance standards. As a result, teachers are still faced with the assessment dilemma. One teacher explains.

Feedback on the provincial report cards is that parents want grades on them. Parents want letter marks on them and they want to see $A = 80 - 100$. So, you’re kind of caught in a conundrum as to what The Common Curriculum says and what parents are saying. Do you get confused? No. You cross your fingers and hope that you’re doing the best all round at this point in time and really that’s all you can do. It is my opinion, that we have not been very honest with parents over the last few years. I mean, “Has the kid reached the outcome? Yes or No?” There’s sort of a bottom line on this. Not that they’re well-behaved in class. They’re nice kids in class. They’re helpful and all that. But, have they really achieved that?
There's still the dilemma that if they haven't achieved this, where do they go? What do they do? Do they continue on?

It is time consuming not only to apply many of the complex teaching and assessment strategies of today's curriculum, but also to learn them and become expert in their use. This is not only a question of skill, but also of purpose, identity and values.

The impact of assessment and reporting on student learning and achievement is not always clear. Do some assessments disadvantage certain groups? Are there certain types of performance assessments that motivate and engage students in further learning? One teacher, for example, wishes for more time to be actively engaged in her own learning about such questions by doing some action research. In the following passage, she describes the kind of inquiry that interests her.

I've noted that parents of nice little girls tend to give their girls higher marks than maybe the content or the process actually warranted. And, that kind of backs up another theory that Grades 7 & 8 teachers have, that girls in Grades 4, 5 & 6 who are nice, compliant and well-behaved tend to get reasonably good marks that don't always hold up in Grades 7 & 8 when you have to perform at a slightly different level. So, that's an aside. One of those interesting things I'd love to follow up, if I had the time.
When teachers make the time to do action research about their practice, then the possibilities for improved student achievement are enhanced (Schmoker, 1996; Schmuck, 1997). Often, however, the realities of classroom life make it difficult to undertake such inquiry. Since classrooms are places where twenty to thirty young people are actively engaged in a variety of learning activities on a daily basis, even under the very best circumstances, a teacher can only devote a few minutes to each student for one-on-one tutorial learning. When class groups include students with diverse learning needs that require accommodations and modifications to the curriculum and the teaching-learning process, then teachers are pressed even further to find creative ways to use their time.

Remedial Time

Within regular classroom time, teachers modify the curriculum, and make accommodations in their instruction and assessment strategies, as a way to meet the diverse needs of students. Sometimes, however, teachers wonder why they spend so much time modifying the curriculum - especially when reporting and promotion policies fail to support students whose programs have been modified. As this teacher laments - there is a contradiction that gets in the way.

I guess the other major issue, and we haven’t really figured this one out either, is that we are doing such a great job of programming curriculum and, I guess, teaching for kids who are quite weak and are quite low academically or their skills are not developed, that we haven’t
quite figured out how to assess them because actually if they go to (the
next teacher) they are in a sense technically according to their mark
failing. But according to the adapted curriculum they are not failing. We
modify the curriculum because that's where they are at, they can
successfully achieve the curriculum that has been modified, but at a "grade
8 level" they are failing and we haven't figured ... we don't have the
answer to that. Because on the one hand we think this is good for kids,
they feel successful, they are learning, they are improving their skills, but
on the other hand because of their mark, they need to fail and the flip of
that is also that these kids who are quite weak, all, have decided they are
collegiate material.... and that's another dilemma, that's not a dilemma, but
it's a contradiction because, yes, we are helping these kids be successful
but their perception or their parent's perception of how they are doing ....
kids who are really quite weak skills are saying I'm going to a collegiate.
sir, and there's not very much we can say. So that's the other inconsistency
and I'm not really sure where the answer lies.

One strategy for providing remediation is to set fair time lines and to build on the
strengths that students bring with them. For example, using classroom time to encourage
students of different backgrounds to develop an area of competence based on previous
experience is one strategy that the following teacher uses to help all students achieve the
required curriculum expectations. She explains how this approach adds resiliency to and complements the learning of these students.

I always give them enough time to be successful ... a lot of the activities are very open ended. So, the students that would normally finish up a pencil and paper task, in say, 5 minutes they stick with it and push themselves very far. When my ESL students (are) working on the same activity, obviously, you know, they are not going to get the same out of it. For example, ... I made sure that my two ESL students got a structure they had seen in their home country. For example, one of the boys is Egyptian. So, he got the pyramids. He’s seen them. He’s got pictures of them. He can explain in Arabic things about them. So, he has that background knowledge. Whereas, my other kids at the other end of the spectrum, they got some really obscure structures where they had to really dig for the information. So, you know, with open-ended activities like that, they are all working on the same thing. They are all going to the same presentation of the structure for the timeline, but they are all able to experience success in their own way.

In the following instance, one teacher describes how she has accepted responsibility for a group of students needing remediation and enrichment assistance. As
she explains, however, those students requiring remedial help demand most of her time and attention, making it difficult to do enrichment activities with the other students.

There is actually a lot of remediation in this (unit) right now, considering I do also have, not only the LS kids in this group, but I've purposely put the lower end. the struggling kids, in my group, because (my teaching partner) wanted an independent group to do "I am David" so she could concentrate on "I am Rosemary". But, as for enrichment, it's, I hate to say it, it's to the point where it's getting impossible to do enrichment. I'm finding that my time based on the group really dwells on the remediation and the extra help and I, it's really, really hard to come up with enrichment.... Usually the kids that need the tutoring are the kids that are identified with the behaviour component.... and the EA is fantastic too, I mean that is another form of remediation too. I have her all morning; she's just fantastic.

Classroom teachers rarely deny students extra time for remedial assistance. Diminished flexibility over how instructional time can be used, however, means that teachers have few options beyond the classroom. In the following passage, one teacher identifies the timetabled structure of the school day as placing real time constraints on remediation efforts.
Ah, time. Well, a lot of kids do get remediation. A lot of enrichment is done through the kids themselves in terms of dealing with them to work at a different level and to explore different possibilities. But time constraints are still, are always, an issue as long as you've got a period organized day where the kids have to move on to something else. You do the best you can under those circumstances. And hope that you're addressing the variety of issues, and needs. Except I think sometimes what you end up doing is going the middle of the road so that at least you cover most ends.

Giving students extra time to study and to work on the curriculum is a common approach used by teachers. The purpose, where possible, is to have all students achieve the curriculum expectations and to make sure that parents are involved. In some instances, accommodations such as extra time are not enough to help children achieve the grade level expectations. In these situations, the curriculum expectations must be modified and an Individual Education Plan (IEP) is developed. Consider, for example, this teacher's comments about the need to not only accommodate (by providing extra time), but also to modify the curriculum expectations for those children who are struggling.

For the kids who struggle with that kind of work, they are given more time. Also expectations are lowered or decreased so they are not expected to do as much work and are given a longer time. So, in that sense, the kids
who struggle do well.... Work that's not done needs to be done. Nobody misses it at home and they come in early before school, they stay in after school and generally that is really not an issue ... if they are falling behind then their parents are aware.

When extra remedial time is required outside of the classroom, then teachers usually use their own planning or personal time. For example, one teacher provides additional time opportunities after school and at lunchtime for students with low marks.

If any of the marks are in the 50's or lower I certainly encourage all the kids to be retested and my stipulation for them is that they should show me some desire to improve. They can stay in and work with me and I will help them. Remedial time is from 3:30 - 5:00 and/or recess or noon hour. And they do. They stay in and get the help and improve. And then I retest them again. And, as long as they are getting the concepts and are able to handle them, I'll change their marks.

There is urgency and a political will to implement sweeping curriculum and assessment reforms in Ontario. While classroom based implementation of these reforms is a complex undertaking at the best of times, it is further complicated by the lack of time for planning and development, competing assumptions about learning and assessment, inadequate professional development
opportunities, and limited resources. When the goal is the achievement of curriculum expectations for all students, then finding time for remediation so that the needs of all learners are met becomes a recurring challenge. Teachers are forced to make daily decisions about what can be accomplished in their particular context with their particular group of students. Simultaneously, teachers are also members of a school community and have a responsibility to the school as an organization.

4.3 Time and School Life

Organizations are social settings with a purpose. People are the intellectual capital of organizations. As such, organizations operate as people places where relationships and differentiated roles and responsibilities are an essential part of the culture. Consequently, in addition to teaching groups of students, teachers have an obligation to follow the goals and procedures of the school as an organization.

Organizations as we have come to know them are changing (Senge et al., 1999; Hesselbein et al., 1997). Today’s stressful workplace is symptomatic of something new emerging (Osborn et al., 2000; Woods et al. 1997). Diverse staffing arrangements, including part-time teaching, represent a rising trend in many schools (Young & Grieve, 1996). In addition, technology is redefining the scope and meaning of organizations, as we have known them. With the advent of information technology we are no longer restricted to finite space and time. Meetings can occur in a variety of formats such as teleconferences, videoconferences and online chat rooms, making both location and time variable for all participants. Virtual organizations, for example, are already a reality and
learning at a distance is already a feature of high school and university programs. In education, the task is to understand these emerging educational changes and school reforms and to shape their direction.

In spite of these changes to organizations, schools still operate in rather traditional ways. Schedules regulate daily activities. Timetables, semesters, 110-hour courses, and the traditional school year calendar still characterize life in most schools.

Scheduled Time

Within existing school organizations, teachers are still prisoners of space and time. Timetables, a specified number of minutes for classroom instruction, scheduled meetings, and routines dominated by the clock control how activities within schools are organized and how space is allocated. Teachers are “boxed in” to a way of life that is regimented by the clock and the calendar. The way organizations schedule activities often warps teachers’ efforts and forces them to walk backwards into the future.

Paradoxically, what is not specified in the timetable becomes problematic for teachers’ work. For example, instructional time is a legislated requirement that defines the amount of time teachers must spend in the classroom. Scheduled instructional time does not include time for planning classroom teaching and learning activities, time spent supervising students, time spent on extra-curricular activities, time responding to administrative directives, time spent being publicly accountable, and time spent in professional development activities. It also does not include time for contributing to the maintenance and functioning of the school as an organization.
The timetable communicates how knowledge is constructed and valued. It does this by dictating the amount of time allocated to certain kinds of knowledge and the way that knowledge is compartmentalized. The timetable often supports the separation of disciplines rather than the integration of disciplines. In other words, the timetable is seen as an obstacle to integration and sends students to specific people and places for activities such as gym and art.

As captives of time, teachers and students come to realize that there is a time for everything - not in a philosophical way, but in a very pragmatic scheduled way. As one teacher in an open space school indicates, there is a very apparent and expected structure that is controlled by time.

In this school, there’s a spelling program, there is a time for math, there is a time for music, there is a time for art, and you do it when the other people are doing it in your open area. It doesn’t lead to the same type of creativity. It doesn’t lead to that.

The segmented and chopped-up nature of the timetable impacts the way that knowledge and learning frequently remain unrelated and fragmented. The inability to offer an integrated program is illustrated in the following passage.

I haven’t worked through any real integrated units this year at all ... because our time tabling is so segmented, so chopped up.... the grade 6, 7
and 8 teachers, all of us, were feeling we weren't getting our own kids enough ... there were gaps in their learning as well.... (the students) were getting more Phys Ed than they needed and more music then they needed and not enough math and language. So little by little the timetabling has evolved and we are getting our kids a little more often now. But, it's just very segmented.

This quotation not only demonstrates the segmentation of teaching and learning, but it also illustrates what knowledge this teacher has come to value. In Ontario, for example, there is an increased focus on core subjects. Provincial, national and international testing confirms that the primary purpose of schools is to deal with "math and language" curricula. It is disturbing to this teacher that students "were getting more Phys Ed than they needed and more music then they needed and not enough math and language".

Being captives of a rotary timetable also creates problems for students. Trying to adjust to the different teaching strategies and personal characteristics of several teachers during the day, as well as shifting gears to handle different bundles of knowledge, requires at least a small amount of skill and organization. One teacher believes that it is an unnecessary burden for students.

I find with these kids, a lot of them have difficulty handling the rotary; they have a lot of difficulty handling 6 or 7 teachers. I would say a good
third of them would be better off with one teacher most of the time. They need the stability. I'm finding that more and more with the children.

Since school resources are often limited, it is necessary to plan certain activities in a space and at a time when resources can be accessed. The issue is one of organizing students within the school - that is, ensuring students get booked into a science room or computer room, for example, which has the necessary materials and facilities. As one teacher indicates, time must be scheduled in advance.

When we did the cooking part of the unit on New France, the butter and the bread making, we had to make sure we timetabled it so that we could get into a Family Studies room, or the staff room where there was an oven available. Things like that. Any activities that you want to do in the science lab you have to book well in advance, because other classes use it, and things like that.

Large blocks of time can enable teachers (who teach several key subjects) to work within the overall day schedule, rather than within periods only, in a more flexible way so as to meet the needs of students. While scheduling may be a given in schools, how it occurs can just as easily support, rather than inhibit, more flexible use of time that benefits the needs of students and teachers. The use of substantially large blocks of time enables teachers to respond better to the diverse learning needs of the students. The
following teacher indicates how large time blocks allow her to respond to the different needs of students at different times in the day.

We have 80-minute blocks at the beginning of the school day and at the end of school day. So that allows us a lot of freedom. We tend to stick with integrated studies. We flip-flop morning to afternoon, so integrated studies isn't always morning or always afternoon, because kids are different, at different times of the day. So having an 80-minute block allows us, we feel anyway, sufficient time. I mean, we're always running out of time, but it's better than a 40-minute revolving door thing. So we're quite happy with the 80 minutes.

Having sufficient time to use a variety of instructional strategies helps teachers achieve that balance in the classroom. As the following teacher indicates, particular kinds of "time chunks" can support the natural flow of teaching and learning.

I'm lucky. I have my class a little bit more than the other Grade 8 teacher because of the core setup. So, I can flow for 3 and 4 periods at a time to work and then maybe leave it for a day when I don't have them and come back to it. So I'm fortunate with the large chunks of time.
Teachers do experience time differently from each other and also from other members of the public. Teachers in Grades 1-6, for example, report having more flexibility and opportunity to control and alter routines and schedules as a way of responding to the learning needs of children than do teachers in Grades 7 and 8 who are more captive of timetables and rotary schedules. As compared to the intermediate level, the timetable at the primary and junior level is more flexible and not overly disrupted by interruptions. More time can be devoted to one task, if necessary. There is more "flex" time at the primary and junior levels. The difference between junior and intermediate levels is particularly dramatic in terms of flexible use of time for learning activities. There is more imposed time in the intermediate division and time is more constrained. The lack of flexibility at the intermediate level and the constraints imposed by a fixed amount of time for learning are captured in the following quote.

I think the main thing is the difference between teaching intermediate and junior. In intermediate you're stuck in a specific timetable. You know, you may have the kids for 40 minutes. You may have them for 80 minutes, but there is a cut-off. They have to leave and someone else is coming into your room. Generally, you are teaching specific subjects. I know. I had math time and I had integrated studies time. And when we got our new administrator at the school he was (now how do I say this diplomatically) not well versed in curriculum. And he did not understand why we needed big chunks of time. And what ended up happening is that our integrated
studies time, which at one point was probably two thirds of the day, kept decreasing and decreasing and decreasing. Ending this year at 100 minutes, which is nothing. It is not enough. And, that is all for the language stuff, all the self and society stuff, and some of the math, science and technology outcomes. And they have 100 minutes for that? That’s just ridiculous. It was really hard to integrate them because there was a different teacher for so many of the subjects. It was harder to assess students too. Because portfolio assessment using rubrics, performance assessment, and reflection, all takes more time. Especially to train the students - to show them how to do it. And when they are leaving every 40 minutes or 60 minutes, you just don’t have the time to do it.

In addition to schedules and timetables, a variety of less formalized but highly consistent routines and rhythms define life in schools. Whether it is the ringing of bells, recess-time, report cards, or holidays these sorts of predictable events influence what happens.

Rhythmic & Cyclical Time

The rhythm and cycles of schools have been well documented (Bruno, 1997; Clandinin & Connelly, 1986; Huyvaert, 1998). Life in schools revolves around holidays, examinations, parent interviews, and special events. Daily routines are acknowledged by a system of bells and rituals, including morning announcements, homeroom periods and assemblies. Traditional school calendars, for example, are seasonally determined and
holidays are linked to these seasons. This means, for example, that many teachers have chosen teaching as a career because it affords them a certain amount of time away from school, e.g., during the summer vacations, that can be spent in personal and family pursuits. Educational reform that alters these sacred norms (Eliade, 1959) forces many teachers to re-examine their reasons for teaching. To extend the school year or the school day by mandatory policies or increased workload would challenge even the most dedicated teachers.

While some parts of the year occur in a predictable way, other less visible cycles also exist and influence what happens in schools. As one teacher indicates, “There are times of the year that are extremely, extremely stressful in this job”. Student behaviour is also related to the time of the year. Crummy weather, for example, can spawn unwelcome behaviour. Consider the following teacher’s comments:

Maybe this isn’t the best time of the year to be talking about them, but it just seems like even the last month or so, there’s been sort of, ah. I don’t know, an escalation of pushing and shoving in the locker bay by our intermediate students, a lot of bad language in the hallway, even though some of the kids know they’re within earshot of a teacher. Challenging teachers, things like that. It’s just a decline in overall respect, but I think it can be attributed somewhat to the fact they are excited about March Break - the weather’s been so crummy, they’ve been inside a lot, with rain and the weather and such.
The age of teachers is another factor that seems to influence how teachers respond to their job. Like most workers, teachers pursue a career (McLaughlin & Yee, 1988), negotiate career choices and deal with structural constraints (Aker, 1999), and progress through identifiable career stages (Huberman, 1989; Sikes, 1997). The characteristics of each career stage can be described in terms of a redefinition or reordering of interests, commitments and attitudes.

During the last few years, the demographic profile of teachers has started to change dramatically. In his discussion of the boom, bust and echo generations, Foot (1996) anticipates the demographic impact of these individuals on future societies. As more and more teachers from the Baby Boom generation approach retirement, their teaching behaviour will alter as they begin to address new personal needs in their lives. At the same time, an influx of younger teachers will bring a renewed energy and passion for teaching. For them, current educational reforms will be the status quo. This bimodal demographic effect, with large numbers of teachers in their initial career stage and large numbers of teachers in their final career stage poses real challenges for education and the implementation of educational reform. In Ontario the exodus of retiring teachers will likely continue until 2010. As McIntyre (2000, p. 22) indicates, “More than 46,000 of this year's Ontario-qualified teachers will likely retire from the profession by 2005 and 78,000 may be gone by 2010”. This projected exodus of many older teachers will significantly deplete school districts of experienced teachers, system leaders and corporate memory.
For older teachers, the students always seem to be the same age. There is an overall sense of perspective and it is easier to learn from your mistakes. One teacher provides us with a glimpse of how getting older influences her behaviour:

The older I get, the easier I find it to be corrected. Looking back, the younger, not that I'm old, but maybe there's something about wisdom and age. I take correction. I can learn from my mistakes easier than I could, say five or six years ago. I'm beginning to realise that criticism can be positive.

The enthusiasm and excitement of beginning teachers sometimes overwhelms older teachers who are perceived as being somewhat out of touch. As one teacher says, “There was a teacher here before, who was here for a long time, and (her class) had a kind of traditional image”. Sometimes older teachers just run out of steam. For example, one older teacher just wants to settle down a little. She explains, “I am getting old now, so I just can't handle all the changes anymore. And, I'd like to do a better job in one spot rather than halfway good here, there and everywhere”.

In some respects, teachers are ill-prepared for change. Teachers are generally “profoundly conservative” (Marris, cited in Evans, 2000). Constant change is not readily accepted as a natural part of the workplace and it is rarely seen as an opportunity to enhance current practice or increase job satisfaction. Rather, change often introduces
unsatisfactory elements, resulting in defensiveness and resentment. A sense of loss and lower morale often occur (Evans, 2000).

For older teachers, the challenge to change their approach from established instruction, assessment and reporting practices is a shift that could undermine their professional integrity - it raises questions about the validity of what they might have done in the past. The possibility that they may have disadvantaged students' learning and achievement is a chilling indictment. To reach the end of your teaching career and then have the purpose and form of assessment change substantively can create a "time panic" (Lyman & Scott, 1989, pp. 46-49). For example, older teachers may legitimately ask, "What potential harm have I done to my former students by using normative and limited assessments?" Consider this teacher's observations.

A lot of our teachers have been around for a long, long time, and especially this report card was a real wake-up call, because gone is the 'A'. 'B', 'C', 'D', you know? And to try and make the shift over to the 'E', 'S'. 'N', 'G', has been a real problem. And that's why we've had to look at our assessment totally differently. You can't just rely on 4, 5, 6 tests, at the end of term average them out, and there you go.

In search of a lifestyle that enables individuals to find a better balance between work and family life, many people accept part-time jobs. The substantial increase in the number of part-time teachers across Canada has resulted in a significant flexible work
force (Young, 2000; Young & Grieve, 1996). For those teachers who have shifted to part-time teaching, time has a different meaning. In the following example, half-time teaching means that more time, beyond the contracted time, is devoted to planning. As the following teacher indicates, the privilege of working part-time comes with a price.

Well, I must say I have a huge luxury this year, in that I’m working half-time (Laughs). But, that could mean that I could spend the whole other half of the time in prep and planning, and some days I do. Like Mondays, there are two Mondays in the month when I just stay all day, because I have quite a drive, so I just work all afternoon.

Another teacher stresses the unfairness of working part-time. In her opinion, part-time teaching is really a full-time job with less salary:

(My principal) encouraged me to go full-time. He always said I was 0.4, but really a 0.8. And then you travel all the way there - it’s not that much more. And the salary’s considerably more.... You know, the only thing that was 0.4 was the salary. You’re expected to do a lot more. And, whether you’re part-time or full-time ... you’re expected to do the same. I don’t think it’s (fair).
In the past, educational reform and change have come in cycles, usually related to the election of provincial governments. There has always been an aura of \textit{déjà vu} or “here we go again” or “if I wait long enough this too will go away”. Current approaches to educational reform represent an international trend (Boyd, 2000; Helsby & McCulloch, 1997; Lingard et al., 1993). There is a real sense that this round of school and curriculum reform is for real. It’s not a question of “tinkering” with change. The educational changes and mandated reforms are now relentless and immediate. They do not only target the substance and structure of schools as we have come to know them, but they also put actual jobs in jeopardy. Associated with educational reform that focuses on standards are feelings of anomie, frustration, anxiety and uncertainty. Overload, burnout, poor implementation and early retirement have been linked to neo-conservative mandated reform (Hargreaves & Evans, 1997). Consider the following teacher’s comments.

I think the rate and degree of change that the government, or the board to a certain extent, continues to impose or suggest within a very, I think, unrealistic time frame is very anxiety provoking. People don’t really know what is going on. Teachers sort of struggle to get a handle on something, then all of a sudden it is changed again.

The pace and intensity of change has a dramatic impact on teachers as they try to do more with less. Trying to keep up usually means that work is done outside of traditionally scheduled work hours. Quite often the workday is
stretched and candles are burned at both ends. In addition, the regular work day is taken up doing work for other people, whether it is the completion of administrative forms, the administration of provincial tests or attendance at meetings with parents or seminars explaining the new curriculum, assessment and reporting policies.

**Appropriated Time**

Administrators, government agencies and other non-profit groups routinely appropriate teachers’ time for a range of non-instructional tasks. Optimal learning time is consistently interrupted and time is stolen from the core purposes of schooling. This is how the school functions. Whether it is school announcements, lunch or bus duty, administrative paperwork, the administration of provincial, national or international tests, or the completion of research questionnaires, teachers’ time is commandeered in a variety of ways. In most situations, this colonized time is often expropriated from teachers and rarely does it contribute directly to the value-added nature of teachers’ work in the classroom, especially as defined by instructional time and student achievement.

Lunchtime is one of the most common time periods that is usurped. As one teacher indicates, “At lunchtime, we had to sit and do our consumable order for next year”. For another teacher, her lunch was hijacked for a meeting with the principal and used to reply to students’ journals.

Then it was lunch, which was a meeting … and I was meeting with the principal - we’re applying for a new technology thing that has to be in on
Thursday if we’re to get it, and the chat message just came out yesterday. so it was just a quick meeting. Then during lunch I also respond to the kids’ journals – I find that a really interesting way to see what they’re up to and keep in touch.

Tackling change head on is one potentially productive, yet painful strategy for dealing with mandated reform initiatives. Getting involved in the piloting and field-testing of the new provincial student report card, for example, provides early involvement and advance awareness and understanding of the scope and implications of implementing this mandated reform. As one teacher reports, however, it comes with a high personal price.

When I found out that these report cards were coming out and we could be involved in the field test, I said, “I wanna do that”. With a hell of a lot of work.... What did I get myself into? What was I thinking? I mean student-led conferences for 3 quarters of an hour to an hour each. I had 32 of them. And then we still had the reports to type up afterwards and get them sent home and so on. That was just an incredible time-consuming process. I was here every night pretty well throughout November and December. And then I was still trying to plan my program, do all kinds of other things. The new report cards - I had no idea how long they would take to type them up. It is 2 pages. All pretty well anecdotal. And then I started
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realizing that some of my anecdotal comments weren’t organized in the best way because I had been doing it the way I’ve always done them.

Well, they didn’t fit the reporting process. I had to go back and change all that.

Public accountability is an integral part of educational reform. Increasingly, teachers are being required to provide evidence of student learning and achievement. This evidence becomes the basis for targeted intervention strategies and school improvement plans. As a result, new demands are being placed upon teachers. Consider, for example, one teacher’s plea for an opportunity to just teach, free of all administrative paper work.

If you could just teach and never show anyone what you were doing, that would save a lot of time. But having to write up everything, and having to have outcomes matched, and going to find them, and do a cut-and-paste idea to really show your unit at the end – that’s not really what is the necessary part of the teaching of it, but it’s the necessary part for the admin and the people that pay you.

In Ontario the recent establishment of the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) has meant that teachers’ time is also appropriated for administering annual provincial assessments, often several days in duration, to students in Grades 3, 6, 9 and 10. Getting ready for these assessments and then analyzing and using the results in
school improvement plans also take additional time from the teacher's primary task of teaching students. Proposals by the government to expand the provincial testing program will only exacerbate this situation. In addition, the completion of questionnaires and other administrative forms required by the school and school district take time away from other classroom and school activities.

Implementing educational reform and continually striving to improve student learning and achievement on a daily basis means that time must be found for preparation.

Teaching seven out of eight periods a day and managing the myriad of interruptions and other demands on your time while at school often means that planning time is at a premium during regular working hours. When government policies and union contracts collide, then instructional time, planning time and time for co-curricular activities become focal points for controversy and heated discussions.

**Planning Time**

Planning time amongst teachers is one of the most controversial and targeted areas of public conversation and labour unrest in Ontario. When it does occur, preparation time that is collaborative can enhance learning (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991) and build capacity in schools (Lambert, 1998). As Fullan (1993, p. 17) says, "People need one another to learn and to accomplish things". Scheduling collaborative planning time, however, is difficult within existing legislation and collective agreements. It is the exception rather than the norm. More often, planning time gets scheduled for individuals. When this occurs, it often gets appropriated for other school related activities such as on-call coverage, communication with parents and the completion of administration forms.
In one school board, the elementary teachers’ contract stipulates that each teacher is entitled to 150 minutes of planning time per week. This time cannot be banked; it must be used within the specified week. In practice, most teachers have their planning time assigned in about forty minute blocks (although it may be as low as twenty minutes). The reality is that much teacher planning for instructional purposes occurs before or after school or at home. Scheduled planning time is neither rarely sufficient nor appropriately scheduled to support classroom work such as the development of lessons or the marking of student work. And, frequently it is commandeered for other tasks. Consider one teacher’s comments.

Planning time is just on the fly – over lunch and so on. Having my teaching partner... that’s a challenge. I mean you’re accessible or you’re not. So we grab whatever time we can to discuss student progress and what we’re doing to make sure we’re on track, and our programs dovetail, and communicating to parents, all that stuff.

In Ontario, Bill 160 required teachers to spend more time in classrooms. The amount of classroom or instructional time is specified by this legislation. For elementary teachers the amount of instructional time is 1350 hours per week and for secondary school teachers the amount of instructional time is 1250 hours per week. With the more recent passage of Bill 74, the average aggregate instructional time of 1250 minutes for secondary schools was repealed and replaced with an average aggregate assignment of
6.67 eligible courses. Planning time, along with supervision time and extra-curricular time, are not included in instructional time. While acknowledged as still being an important part of a teacher’s day-to-day duties, planning time must be found outside of the allocated hours for instruction.

Although collaborative planning time is uncommon, it certainly does occur. Depending on the school and circumstances, this planning or “prep” time can be scheduled to support collaborative planning. This teacher explains.

I don’t know, I find that there are a lot ... not a lot ... but certainly opportunities are made for teachers to plan together. For instance, the prep time I do get is blocked as a double, so that I can choose to make plans to work with one of my partners, lets say they’re available as well. Here’s another for instance: a unit of study that we’re going to be doing in April, we have already had meetings as staff, and we have been offered up a chunk of time where we can meet as a group to do this planning, and its wonderful.

While the parameters of planning time are guided by legislation and collective agreements, how planning time is allocated varies from school to school. By virtue of their size, larger schools have more flexibility to schedule blocks of planning time for two or more teachers to plan collaboratively. Of course, administrators must be willing to do
so. The difference in scheduled planning time that can exist between schools is illustrated by the comments of one teacher who moved schools during the year of this study.

That's a big difference from the last school I was in, to here. I have the same amount of prep time, but I don't have it scheduled with a team, where I did in the last school. Our whole team was released at the same time, and we always met during school time to do our prep. We met after as well, but this gave you the momentum. While here during the prep time it might be 20 minutes here, 30 minutes there, and it's never time to really get into anything. So, all of that has to happen in the evening.

Teachers are beginning to wonder where their planning time has gone. Because instructional time has been so precisely defined, scheduled planning time is being used for a variety of other school related functions such as on-calls and supervision. As a result, getting things done means finding and using whatever time is available, whether it is designated as planning time or not. The notion of prep time seems to have blended into the everyday reality of doing the job and having school level responsibilities. As the following teacher indicates, planning time seems to have vanished.

You know what? I don't think a prep time exists anymore. This is what a lot of teachers are - hung up - that, um, you're ... on my prep time ... I don't think of prep time as prep time anymore. I think of it, as I don't have
a class. Can I get something done? Or, we've got a split 6/7 class up stairs this year. So, what I did last time - I had a few extra minutes with the kids. I grabbed the Grade 6s out and I taught them a private lesson in math by themselves. This being hung up on prep time has never been one of my big concerns. I try and make it fit. And when my time permits, it fits; if it doesn't, then we carry on with the rest of the day.

Increasingly teachers are trapped within the insidious paradox of having to spend more instructional time in classrooms while having less scheduled time to plan for this instruction. As a result, teachers increasingly steal their own private time to prepare for and sustain classroom learning and assessment activities. Since teachers are part of the school organization, they also have responsibilities that transcend their classroom-teaching job. In order to do a variety of school tasks such as on-calls or the completion of various administrative forms or surveys, the limited planning time that teachers are assigned often gets conveniently appropriated for other duties. To further complicate matters, teachers are also members of the larger school community and the school district and therefore belong to a number of social groups, each with their own expectations and time demands. In such a context, planning time becomes a proxy for the micro politics of the school as an organization. As Sarason (1990, p. 7) indicates, schools are “political organizations in which power is an organizing feature”. As such, the use
of all formal and informal power by individuals represents the micropolitics used by individuals and groups to achieve the goals in the organization (Blase, 1998).

**Political Time**

The culture of the school, community, and school district each operate within its own local polity. Policies and procedures shape and influence what happens in schools; they can have a profound influence on the quality of teachers’ work lives. On the one hand, teachers’ work is regulated by their collective agreement that specifies salary, working conditions and other requirements of employment. On the other hand, the provincial government controls the development and funding of educational reforms. Teachers must make daily strategic decisions about the best way to teach and function within the micropolitics of their school (Blase, 1998). Although teachers ultimately implement mandated changes, the reform agenda has effectively altered the scope of the collective agreement, directed the work of teachers and refocused the learning of students.

The narrow, technical view of recent policy changes stands in stark contrast to the enormous intellectual and energy demands required of teachers on a daily basis. This "technocratic rationality" (Habermas, 1971) legitimates the distribution of fragmented parcels of time to subjects, students and teachers. The clockwork organization is perpetuated through the "factory metaphor" that calls for the more effective and efficient use of time (Taylor, 1947) as the key way to improve student achievement. The overt control over clock time is an attempt to regulate schools, teachers and students. Beneath
the surface of these changes, the very personal and professional “time tracks” of educators have been substantively shaken and transformed.

In particular, the ramifications of Bill 160, Bill 74 and the introduction of a centrally controlled funding formula have dramatically changed the definition of instructional time, reduced and altered planning time, redefined the length of the school year, eliminated five professional development days, reduced the hours of work of support staff, increased the size of classes, and intensified the work of teachers. All of these changes have a perceived effect on teachers’ ability to do their job (Report of the Impact of Government Reforms on Education, 2000).

Losing the right to determine these sorts of temporal issues and related working conditions such as class size effectively diminishes the scope and effectiveness of locally determined collective agreements (Bascia, 1998). In other words, the working lives of teachers are being determined and controlled by policy makers far removed from the local circumstances affecting students, teachers and communities. Consider, for example, one teacher’s unease.

I’m beginning to have concerns. The last two summers my older daughter has lived with friends of ours and worked for Sony in San Diego. And, so, we’ve spent a lot of time out in San Diego in the last few years. They went through much the same changes in school structure and cutbacks and everything, about 10 years ago. And the results have been disastrous! They are now hiring teachers right, left and centre to diminish class sizes in K to
and to more than 20 kids to try and get kids back on some sort of numeracy, literacy kind of track. I get really fearful as the cutbacks come. I don’t understand how the shift in tax base and everything is really going to impact on the school in terms of dollars and cents. And our classes get bigger, and “time” ... there are more things you’re asked to do, and less professional - less support.... than I’m able to do that with. I worry. I hope. somewhere, somebody’s got a handle on all of this.

As this teacher clearly says, “Time is money”. The educational reforms are not just about a return to the basics. They are not merely a technical-rationalist way of doing business. They are capitalistic. By controlling and altering time, the government is controlling teachers’ work and the conditions of that work. The government is controlling money and shifting the tax base in the province. Paradoxically, the establishment of the Ontario College of Teachers gives teachers professional recognition, develops standards of teaching practice, and regulates professional development programs.

Established in 1996. The Ontario College of Teachers has the potential to provide an infusion of professional pride and purpose in teachers. An opportunity exists to go beyond the mere production of criteria for teacher certification, standards for dismissal and guidelines for teacher behaviour. Such a self-regulatory body can establish the professional worth and integrity of teachers by refocusing professional learning on the knowledge, skills and processes to be
active change agents. Legislated educational reform is challenging teachers to move beyond their initial anxiety and discomfort with being mere pawns in the process and to re-examine how they can/must become more politically pro-active in determining their responsibilities and using their time to lead change. As part of its mandate, The Ontario College of Teachers identifies and accredits professional learning programs that support the standards of practice for the teaching profession. In April, 1999, the college recognized the importance of professional development by publishing a Professional Learning Framework for the Teaching Profession.

**Professional Development Time**

In a period of far-reaching educational reform, time is required to refocus professional learning - to keep up-to-date with all of the curriculum, pedagogical, assessment and technological changes. Informed professional learning also requires teachers to understand how they can be critically involved in shaping and leading change that improves student learning. Teachers insist that more time is required for training, planning and implementation if the quality of education is to improve or be maintained. The paradox that has been created by this government, however, lies in the apparent contradiction that the very substance of the mandated change requires teachers to spend more instructional time in the classroom implementing new curriculum. Yet, the very definition of instructional time excludes time for planning and professional learning. In fact, the number of professional development days previously available to teachers has been reduced.
Sometimes, it is difficult to focus on the task of implementing educational reforms because everything seems to be on hold. Policies are announced, yet the specifics of the reforms are not communicated until some considerable time later. There are contradictory time imperatives - hurry up and wait. Waiting for curriculum policies and direction as well as related support in the form of targeted training and resource materials creates uncertainty. As this teacher says:

Right now I’m waiting. I’m in this holding pattern. Like I said before, I’m waiting to bring it to a level because how can I explain it to the student or the parent? How can I explain it to the parent? I do understand it - being in teaching, but that doesn’t mean I can transfer it to where it belongs.

Implementing mandated educational reforms necessitates new learning. Daily challenges result in an exponentially steep learning curve, especially when the changes are complex and substantial. As one teacher says, “I’m on a huge learning curve. right now - I’m adjusting and re-evaluating, and reassessing what I’m doing all the time”.

In addition to learning about curriculum and assessment policies, teachers must keep abreast of societal changes. Keeping up with advances in communications and information technology, for example, can be a mammoth undertaking. The world is in constant flux and teachers need to be able to bring the vibrancy of new ideas into the classroom on a regular basis. For one teacher, making learning time an integral part of implementation is essential. Dealing with constant change requires constant learning.
There are more things that you can do, and kids change all the time, especially with the technology. What I'm learning in my Internet course has always terrified me - "Now what?" Because for me, that's the ultimate. And I keep thinking, "How can I possibly manage that, and encourage the kids to use it, and keep it a safe learning environment, and still know what's going on?" Because, you really do loosen the grip on the reigns.

Implementing fundamental change depends on teachers acquiring the necessary knowledge about the changes - be it new curriculum, assessment, or reporting requirements. Planning appropriate instruction and monitoring the impact of implementation requires careful planning as well as targeted and sustained training. Implementation is a process that occurs over time and it is a process that requires pressure and support (Fullan, 1991). Keeping up with changes and particularly an outcomes-based curriculum can be frustrating. As the following teacher indicates, it requires a lot of effort and time to implement the mandated changes.

We've certainly been affected by the use of outcomes ... and that was also very frustrating for teachers trying to come to terms with that and the changes that were constantly, you know, like evolving the whole time.

Coming up with the indicators for the outcomes is a lot of hard work, long
hours, trying to figure it out - and practically giving up at times. Thinking, you know, like it is a lot of work to come to terms with all of that.

Implementation is a complex undertaking at the best of times (Fullan, 1991). In Ontario, teachers were implementing many new educational reforms simultaneously. For example, the rapid development and release of the Ontario Curriculum for all subjects and grades, plus a provincial report card within one school year made the demands on classroom teachers a terrifying and formidable task. This was complicated further by the requirement to use The Ontario Curriculum for some subject areas and The Common Curriculum for other areas. While a significant shift in teaching practice was required to implement a rigorous, standards-based curriculum and criteria-referenced approach to assessment, the conditions to support implementation did not exist. Major labour unrest, restrictions on teachers’ time, limited resources, and lack of support for professional learning actively discouraged any systematic efforts at implementation.

The magnitude of the task was also obscured by the uncertainty, lack of vision and inability to sustain the implementation efforts associated with the Common Curriculum, now being replaced with the Ontario Curriculum. Consider one teacher’s experience with trying to cope with new initiatives.

Find me a big scale and I’ll weigh all the packages of information I’ve been given. Maybe once stuff comes out for sure, as for sure as it ever gets in this province, I’ll maybe be able to make it all fit. It’s just right now it
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seems to be coming at us from a whole lot of directions. We were given a
binder about three years ago - it has to be this thick - (our school district’s)
outcomes. Pages and pages - I spent a day going through this and
highlighting what outcomes we were already teaching and I don’t think
we’ve ever, ever, reconciled where we’re over-teaching.... We highlighted.
we underlined, we put together - and it all went for naught. It never went
anywhere. Nothing was ever compiled out of it.

One way of managing the use of time under these difficult circumstances is to
have a vision. It puts things in perspective and gives teachers permission to work around
things. As Hammerness (forthcoming) indicates, teachers who have a vision and
understand the underlying assumptions and beliefs of their work are better able to handle
inevitable setbacks and discouragement as they pursue their goals. This might be a real
cue to dealing with the hectic pace often associated with mandated change or the feeling
that there is never enough time. One teacher comments on the value of visioning in the
workplace when she says, “I don’t think about time as much. I sort of think about here’s
where I want to be. And then, I just start to plan around where I feel it would be
sufficient”. Making sense of all the changes becomes problematic when those changes are
neither connected nor consistent with a clear overall direction and vision.

While having a vision provides a sense of perspective for one teacher, the “art of
the long view” for another teacher comes from the natural ebb and flow of events.
Everyone accepts the daily “juggling act” that is required.
There's an ebb and flow. Some things happen a little quicker than I thought. So, if we plug something else in, I always find they take longer especially with the teaching style and the assessment. You know, throwing in portfolio time and reflection time - it always takes longer than you planned. And then, you know, there's all the other incidental things happening in school. We have a fire safety presentation tomorrow. The grades 6s are getting ready for French café. We start our drug education program on Friday. So, the police come in and work with the Six's. So it's a juggling act. That's basically what it is and the kids are really good with it. You know, they've got their stuff; they know that even though in their timetable it says math, science and technology, they know that sometimes they might be doing integrated studies. Sometimes it might be yanking them down to the gym to do something down there. And they are wonderful with it. No one complains. Nobody whines. And I think part of it is because they really enjoy what we are doing. They're really excited. So it's good.

Teachers acknowledge the magnitude of the challenges they face. Making time to reflect on and to ask some fundamental questions about their teaching practice is essential. Classroom based inquiry that puts students at the centre of learning can provide a sense of perspective (MacFadden & Lafleur, 1998). As one teacher indicates, time for reflection is part of the process.
I’m really a lot more reflective about why I’m doing something a certain way.... (I’ve) maybe slowed down a bit and now I really think “why?” “Why are we doing this?” And the bottom line is, “Are the kids learning?” “Are they happy?” “Are they making the best progress that they can?” And, sometimes just letting go of the big master plan because it’s not going to happen (Laughs). So, I don’t know - it’s mellowed me out a little bit. That’s for sure. So it’s different. It is different.

Another teacher is concerned about her impact on students and wonders how she can make improvement a continuous focus.

I have so much to learn. I mean. I look at what I’ve done so far this year.
And I’m already reassessing and re-evaluating what I’ve done. I’m wondering how I’d go about doing it another time around - and what I might do differently and what I’d like to improve. It’s ongoing.

Reflection, however, is not something that all teachers enjoy. Reflection takes time and can be hard work. It is not just a moment’s respite from a busy day. Reflection about initial implementation activities that are not yet accepted nor understood can be particularly unsettling. As one teacher says, “It upsets me to reflect at this point. It’s not a good (idea). I’m not in a frame where reflection makes me feel good about what I’m doing. So, I tend to not do it”.
Teaching in a context of turbulence and significant educational change is rarely straightforward and clear. Problems are often complex and lack “right answers”. Skilful professional practice usually depends upon teachers understanding the assumptions and scope of the educational changes, mastering new and technically complex skills, and developing a sense of competence related to implementing the changes. In addition, teachers must develop the capacity to reflect critically before taking action (Schön, 1982, 1987). As Hargreaves et al. (2001) indicate, “Making sense out of complex educational change agendas is intellectually demanding”. The authors describe the enormous importance of the intellectual work of change.

Without time to engage in serious thinking, without the staff development (especially of a job-embedded nature) to know what to think about, and without colleagues who are willing to discuss and clarify ideas, the sheer conceptual and intellectual challenge of deciphering the clutter of policy demands can be overwhelming. (p. 134)

Implementing educational reform involves learning to change. Learning to change involves embracing educational reform intellectually and emotionally. While the work of change can be undertaken alone, communicating with others enhances our capacity to learn and to be successful. Planning collaboratively, working on common projects and engaging in conversations are strategic ways to improve our practice and to learn about the effectiveness of our efforts.
4.4 Time and Relationships

When time to engage in conversations is limited or negligible, then the education system and the schools lose their capacity to learn, to collaborate and share, to respond well to centrally mandated policy changes, and to develop (Lambert, 1998; Fullan, 1993). The focus on system, school and student improvement is placed in jeopardy. Consequently, teachers and systems have a professional responsibility to ensure that adequate time is available to communicate with other teachers, parents and students (Lieberman & Grolnick, 1998; Nias, 1998). If fragmentation and alienation are to be avoided, then teachers must have more control over their own teaching and professional development. The social organization of schools must be designed to support teachers’ function as collaborative learners (Rosenholtz, 1989; Smyth, 1998).

Collegial Time

Teachers predominantly teach in isolated classrooms with groups of students. With the exception of scheduled staff meetings or divisional/department meetings, teachers tend to meet in a random manner in the staff room, often at lunchtime. The hectic pace of implementing new curricula and assessment policies exacerbates the fact that time is a precious commodity in schools. Life is just too busy and teaching occurs primarily as a secluded activity behind the classroom door with students. In the following passage, one teacher indicates that there is insufficient time during the school day to spend with other staff.
I don't see a lot of the other people on staff because we are so busy. Before morning we're tutoring and at lunchtime we're usually in our classrooms planning. After school, I'm rushing off, or whatever. That's the one unfortunate thing about the timetable - just being so busy. Not that we don't talk. I mean we will in passing, but it's not the same. Like, one teacher I worked with for two years, quite closely, I just found out last week she's moved to Detroit and has sold her house. Excuse me? I had no idea. But, you just lose touch. She's working downstairs. I'm working upstairs now. Our paths never cross. Or, if I don't see anybody for a while, the standing joke that I use is, "You still work here?" (Laughter). You know, it's just a very busy school. A lot of the teachers are involved in very many things with the kids.

Another teacher concurs that this was the norm at her previous school. However, in her present school, collegiality and "adult contact" are valued and time is made to meet with colleagues. While teaching still appears to be an isolated activity, the staff room chatter and support are important parts of her day.

At my old school, I can probably count on my hands the number of times I sat in the staff room in 6 years. (In this school) it's rare for me not to be in the staff room. If I'm not in the staff room people come hunting me down. "What's wrong? Have you had a bad day?" Whatever. There's a real
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feeling of camaraderie. People really support one another. And, I don’t
know if that was a goal that the administrator put in or when people new
came they kind of get pulled into that or it just happened. But it sure as
hell didn’t happen in my old school. That really gives you that time with
the adults. That’s one thing I found really difficult in my old school. I’d
spend all day with kids, and then I’d go home. And, depending upon what
I was doing that evening, I may not have had any adult contact. Whereas,
there’s always a good chunk of your day where there’s interaction with
adults. I think a lot of teachers don’t get that. No wonder we go nuts.
Everyone is getting stressed out, long-term disability; you know and stuff
like that.

While many teachers value working collaboratively, they tend to work alone.
While working with others can result in support and the sharing of ideas, sometimes it is
simply more efficient and effective to work by your self. As a result, there is often a
tension between a teacher choosing to work with others and spending time working
alone. The following passage illustrates how a school that deliberately sets out to use
advisory groups to promote sharing actually causes one teacher to retreat to a more
private and removed teaching style. In this case, the teacher is reluctant to share her work
because she believes it may not suit the other teachers and their particular group of
students.
I think teachers (in my school) are really pulling together. I think there
have been retreats, as I keep using that word, into isolation. But you are
almost forced to work together now. And that’s good. However, there are
times when it’s simply more effective to do your own thing, with your
own style. It’s kind of interesting. We’re setting up these advisory groups.

And the first thing is - it’s only 20 minutes once a cycle. But I said the first
week the kids are all coming together for the first time so it should be a
sort of team building. So a couple of people wanted me to write out a team
building activity that everybody could do with everyone. I refused. I said,
“If this is your advisory group, it’s your personality and their personality
working together. You need to look at that list of kids. You need to look at
yourself, and do something for 20 minutes that’s you and them. It’s not
something I’d write on”.

In the next passage, another teacher basically removes himself from conversations
with his colleagues. In this instance, the teacher suggests that certain kinds of
collaboration are more valuable than others. Sharing ideas, planning and being creative
are fine. These kinds of activities merit making time to work collaboratively. However,
meeting merely to clarify information that can be obtained by reading documents is of
little value. Since this teacher already has a reasonable knowledge of the curriculum, it is
easy for him to set priorities about how to spend time working collaboratively.
I think we're all dependent on others for ideas, for planning, for the creativity that comes through, and just to build on each other's ideas. How dependent am I on others for understanding the common curriculum? I suppose at one time I had a lot of good leadership with administrators who were keen on the document. At this point, I don't think I'm dependent at all on others. I do give in-services myself. I do not think I know it all, but I don't think I would read something and then need to ask what it meant.

While these passages show two teachers being selective about embracing collaboration, this is not always the case. In fact, many teachers plan and share ideas and strategies as a routine way of coping with the overwhelming number of new teaching and assessment requirements. One teacher describes the proactive stance that she and her colleagues proudly undertake in their quest to do quality work.

Not only do we work collaboratively, but we actually like each other. It does make a difference. And when we work late at night we try to make it a little pleasant. We have wine and a nice dinner. But also, we recognize that we do good work. And I think part of it is sort of the professionalism of this group - we do good work and we need to work. And this is the work we need to do in order to do good work.... people aren't doing what we are doing. Like nobody is team planning. Like nobody is doing that or rubrics or assessment or portfolios or have community meetings or any of
the things we are doing.... a lot of schools, not all, but many schools just
aren't there. So that sort of reinforces the pride or the satisfaction that
people feel about putting in the hours.

Working as a team enables some of the workload to be shared. When everyone
contributes to the writing of a specific unit, then not only does each person contribute
their own unique expertise, but an opportunity is also created to talk about strategies that
help improve student learning. One teacher explains how being a member of a team
helped her.

And, of course, the fact that teachers worked together as a team has helped
as well. Because what we do is we divide the workload. For example, if
we're writing a unit in a specific unit, and we want to integrate the
different subject areas, one teacher will focus on "OK, we're going to
integrate language into this. What are the different learning outcomes we
want?" And she'll go and pull them. And someone will do that for social
science, so it's not like one person sitting down trying to write a unit on
their own.

The following teacher is a strong advocate of working with a team, especially in
her present school where working alone is the norm.
I really believe that anything I ever achieved in the past, I achieved through working with a team. My grade 8 team last year was a group of 8 teachers including the librarian, and the resource teacher, and a consultant. Here I’m a team of one. And, I’m not a better teacher than the teachers around me, but it’s a different setting (in this school) altogether.

Making time for leadership teams is seen as a priority for another teacher. Time devoted to these sorts of activities is energizing and provides ongoing professional development.

Our school is organized into a number of leadership groups - they’re called leadership teams. And everyone is on one team or another. Some of them are just lip service. The last PA day there were two leadership teams that we presented. One was technology and they’re focussing on using Internet - stuff like that. And the other one was literacy. I’m officially on the technology team. And I do a lot of stuff with technology. I was one of the three people that spent all the time designing our school web page.

In some instances, time is seen as an obstacle to planning collaboratively. This teacher clarifies why lack of time is often an impediment, preventing teachers from planning together.
Time, the lack of preparation time (is an obstacle to planning collaboratively). The principal has been unable to work it out so that the intermediate teachers, at least, have one prep at all the same time to get together. And it’s very difficult to do it at lunch because the intermediates also tend, the teachers, tend to be the coaches. That would be the biggest glitch, I think, is being able to find the time to get together and not take it away from family time as much as possible. (My colleague) is great in the sense that she did put in to get us half days and we did fortunately win that time and have supplies come in. She was great that way and she is family orientated and does her best not to infringe on family.

In other situations, however, “opportunities are made” to support collaborative planning. When collaboration and teaming are school priorities, then teachers will make time to meet, especially if principals support and celebrate their efforts. As instructional leaders, principals have a responsibility to use planning time creatively to schedule teachers together as teams and to make efficient and effective use of staff meetings. One teacher explains.

I don’t know, I find that there are a lot, not a lot, but certainly opportunities are made for teachers to plan together. For instance, the prep time I do get is blocked as a double, so that I can choose to make plans to work with one of my partners, let’s say they’re available as well. Here’s
another for instance - a unit of study that we're going to be doing in April.

We have already had meetings as staff, and we have been offered up a chunk of time where we can meet as a group to do this planning, and it's wonderful. Because that's the most difficult thing - it's not that you don't want to, but to hash that out together.

While finding time to work collaboratively with colleagues can be difficult, the same is often true when it comes to communicating with parents. In addition to traditional parent-teacher interviews, it is becoming increasingly important to support parent involvement in their children's learning by talking with and meeting with parents. Since communication cannot occur during scheduled instructional time, then it must occur during scheduled planning time or outside of school time - during teachers' own personal time.

Parent Time

Traditionally, parent-teacher interviews and student report cards have been the primary vehicles for communication between teachers and parents. Many of the educational reforms have opened new doors for extending the liaison between teachers and parents. Assessment policies, for example, have encouraged the use of portfolios and the increased use of parent-student-teacher conferencing. With the advent of school councils and standardized testing, parental involvement has become a major focus of many schools. Since teachers must also explain the new curriculum, assessment and
reporting policies, more time for preparation and communicating with parents is required.

One teacher explains.

I spent a lot of time doing our student conference in the fall. I spent a lot of time beforehand, educating the parents. I sent home a monthly newsletter. And in one of those, I focussed on performance assessment and I gave them specific tasks that the students would be doing – so that they knew. I spent two newsletters talking about portfolio assessment. I even sent a specific portfolio assessment letter home. This is what we are doing. This is why we are doing it. This is how you can assist your child. I encourage them to call me. I encourage them to come into class and observe while these things are going on - so they can become more comfortable, more familiar with it.

Communicating with parents takes time. One teacher says, “Occasionally, I phone home and chat to parents - I make a point of talking to the parents about how well they’re doing”. Initial communication with parents begins early in the school year.

So each semester, all staff members are required to send home to parents, a letter, a cover letter, stating what the language outcomes will be for each of the areas - language, the arts, self & society, math/science/technology, and that’s of course how it’s laid out as per the common curriculum. So.
this then becomes, in effect, our assessment tool. I mean these are the things we are assessing in first term. So when they receive their first term report card, we are making comments to this effect - you know, how proficient they are in these areas, language and music and so on. So, its all very closely met, and I must say that it's a pleasure for me, being the new person on staff, to come into such a finely tuned, you know, planning process - the planning here is really outstanding.

Another strategy for communicating about the program involves the use of monthly newsletters to parents.

So the parents have this, it's just a given that this is to go home. We also send home monthly newsletters. And in those monthly newsletters, we sort of brag about what we've done - what the kids have done, but it also explains again the program.

In some schools, parent visits to the school are encouraged and organized throughout the year. As the following teacher indicates, initiatives are being taken to bring parents into classrooms and to become more aware of student work.

Every staff member is required to have an invitation to parents to come in to view the program in action basically and it can be at the end of a unit or
just as a "come in and share." It can be something from very informal to a much more formal presentation. And we had one of those days in November, and we chose to have it pre-report card. It gave us some time to get a feel for Grade 2 and what we were doing and just be a lot more confident with that. We shared a lot of what kids were doing with parents. And they'll be invited a couple of more times throughout the course of the year.

Some teachers try to make themselves accessible to parents, involve them in school activities and engage in conversations. Consider for example, the following two excerpts.

(Parents are) welcome at any time in my room and I've had them and they're great and I sort of have a line up of them waiting to come with me on field trips and they back me with any extra help I've ever asked. I don't think I've ever had any problem with a phone call at home. I even have phone calls in my own personal home from parents that haven't been able to get me through the school hours either.

I was here for seven years, it doesn't frighten me if parents have a different feeling about things than I do, I just set them down as nicely and tactfully you know, gently as I can and we talk things over. If there is any question
and generally I have never really been questioned, but if anything has ever
come up and way back when, just to talk it and to say well these are my
reasons and generally that's enough.

Over the past few years there has been a deliberate attempt to empower parents in
the education process. The establishment of school councils and the establishment of a
provincial parent advisory committee are some of the formal structures that have been
established in Ontario. Questionnaires that have been administered during the provincial
testing of students have gathered data on parental involvement. Research documenting
the educational value of parental involvement (Moore & Laskey, 1999) supports these
initiatives.

Not all communication with parents, however, occurs smoothly. As the following
teacher indicates, the involvement of parents is becoming more adversarial and often
involves formal approaches to the Principal.

One of the things I've noticed in the last, even two to three years, there
seems to be a lot more parent involvement. And, I don't always mean in a
positive way. I find the parents in the past they were very supportive, like
they quite often - most often, go right to the teacher if there was a
problem. Now, more and more we see them phoning the principal directly,
as opposed to trying to resolve the conflict with the teacher.
When parents approach the Principal rather than the teacher, then additional time is required for formal meetings and written documentation. Parental involvement becomes more like an accounting and explanatory process rather than a mutually supportive partnership.

The everyday work of teachers is defined and structured by the precise economy of timetables and schedules. The micropolitics of the school and system further shapes the time world of teachers and introduces further time constraints. Within this context, teachers must decide how best to implement numerous mandated educational reforms, instruct and assess students, communicate with colleagues and parents, undertake professional development, and juggle numerous competing time demands on a daily basis. While there is a semblance of regularity and predictability in teachers' daily work, there is also an undercurrent of ambiguity, uncertainty and even turbulence. As a result, teachers experience and respond to the routines and external time demands in their workplace in a variety of ways. Knowing that there is only a certain amount of clock time available, the struggle to make wise choices about what is strategic and manageable is based not only on external, technical-rational issues of time, but also subjective experiences of time.

4.5 Time and Texture in the Lives of Teachers

It seems somewhat obvious to say that the reality of everyday life is situated within a temporal structure - usually characterized by the clock or calendar. This objective form of time is a socially agreed upon convention for providing order in our
lives. What seems less obvious, however, is to acknowledge that individuals experience and respond to time differently. This inner dimension of time is rooted in the subjective, lived experiences of time. All individuals have only a certain amount of time for the realization of their personal or professional projects, and the knowledge of this affects their attitude to those projects (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). We consequently feel and respond to these projects differently. As individuals we are in a continuous stage of becoming (Shutz, 1962). Our lived experiences of time occur in a specific context and they are related to who we have been, who we are and who we are becoming.

**Experienced Time**

Timetables and bells tightly regulate schools. Often perceived by teachers as external regulators that control their lives in schools, these clock times have actually been subjectively defined and structured by individuals. In many instances, for example, schools have chosen to begin classes at 8:00 AM rather than a traditionally later start and have determined the length of periods for various subjects and activities. As another example, I remember two adjacent elementary schools agreeing to alter their clocks by five minutes so as to avoid congestion when buses converged on the schools to transport students. In other words, time structures are established and altered by people to suit their own purposes.

These scheduled times and less formalized rhythmic times are experienced by teachers in different ways. For example, subjectively experienced time may seem to fly or drag when compared with clock time. For one teacher, one of those times where “time just flies by” happened “when kids got into it, everybody got into it - and it wasn’t until
we were late and somebody else was knocking on the door of the classroom that we
realized that we had gone overtime”. Another teacher recalled a similar experience,
indicating that time flies “When it's hands on, because everybody needs you at the same
time” and, as a result, “when it was lunch we thought it was recess – so it was really
quick”. In contrast, this teacher experiences time drag when “no-one is asking for
anything”. She explains, “If they’re working just for five minutes it seems like half an
hour, because if I’m not engaged with them, then I find it really pokey”.

Some individuals experience the pace and pressures of educational reform in a
variety of ways. For example, panic, stress, confusion, anger, and withdrawal are typical
responses to the intensity and relentlessness of current changes. One teacher refers to
time as a stressor when she says, “I guess (lack of) time has made me panic more, if I felt
I was running short of it, and then it just led me to feel quite stressful. I don’t think it’s
changed what I was going to be, I just think it might have gotten me less pleasure
sometimes”. Another teacher indicates that he feels “a lot more harried and frenzied this
year” because of the new curriculum expectations and particularly the new assessment
and reporting requirements.

The hurried pace of mandated change adds complexity and intensity to
individuals’ lives and pushes the margins of an already tight schedule of activities. As the
following teacher indicates, the rush to do things quickly also raises self-doubt about
whether she is doing the best possible job.
Everything's always got to be done yesterday and there's always a sense that I'm doing it, but could I be doing it better or more in depth? And, maybe that's hard on yourself because things have to evolve and yet you have to have a comfort level. It's like my new house. I want it all decorated and done now because I'm having company this weekend.

One teacher expresses exasperation when she says, "I find I'm very, very frustrated. Last year it started to get to me a lot and now it's not worth taking it home. It's not going to make any difference what we do anyways". In contrast, another teacher seems to be more accepting when she says, "I enjoy my teaching. I mean some days are horrible, but life's like that". Getting ready for this interview caused another teacher to panic about having to spend time gathering materials.

I took a phone call from your colleague at OISE, which sent me into panic because I thought 'oh, I'll have to whip around and get all these things ready' because I thought it was just an informal interview.

Marking and planning have always been an integral part of teaching. Increasingly, however, many teachers are taking more of their marking home. How it enters the front door and how much time is required varies. The following scenario, however.
demonstrates how personal time is increasingly arrogated by work matters - and not just in the evening.

From 9:00 to 10:00 or 11:00 PM, I do, depending on what's going on, some marking. And, if there's any time left over, sometimes I'll watch the news. Or, if I have a neat article I want to read, one of my science magazines, I'll do that. And, if I have a lot of marking to do I go to bed at 10:00 PM and get up at 4:30 AM the next morning and then do the marking. Well, if you don't get it to the kids back fast enough they get teed at you.

The pressure to keep up by sneaking more personal time can become an accepted way to survive. It can also become debilitating. Deliberately making time to recharge your batteries becomes a necessity. As private time is increasingly being taken over by work related tasks, there comes a time when it is necessary to draw a line in the sand and say, “Enough is enough”.

Usually by 10:30 PM I'm into bed. And, that marking might take an hour, an hour and a half, might even be two hours. And that's it. That's not every night, that was last night. There are other nights where I'll just recoup.

And, I'll say “That's it. This is my time.” Because, you can't give (inaudible) all the time. You can drain yourself. The way this system is set
up - you can drain, very quickly. And I think that's one of the harder things for young people to realise. I hear about energy levels, in the ministry, and I have to chuckle. It's not a matter of energy levels; it's perseverance and resilience. If you don't have those in place all the energy is meaningless. It's how you use what you've got. And on the weekend, most of the weekends, I'm now starting to put aside time for myself, to catch up on things - which I hate doing, because I shouldn't have to catch up in my private life. But you do.

In many instances, debilitating feelings arise when the intensity of the changes overwhelms individuals. Work overload stretches the working day and erodes personal time, often with dire consequences. Teachers are forced to cut corners and choose strategies that enable them merely to survive from day to day. When intensification (Apple, 1986) erodes established ways of teaching, then teachers often end up using their own time to plan and to complete tasks such as marking and reporting. As a result, teachers have less time to keep up with their field and to develop the skills needed to implement new curriculum and assessment policies.

**Intensification and Change Time**

The pace of mandated educational change and school reforms in Ontario is occurring in a very rapid, hectic and controversial manner. Keeping up is not an option. Teachers are expected to implement a completely rewritten standards-based curriculum. a
complementary criterion-referenced assessment approach, and a standard student provincial report card in a political context that features tight government control of policy and capital. There is an urgency to introduce a wide range of reforms in a short time. New governance structures, restrictive funding formula, and new structural changes to secondary schools are quickly re-defining the way schools do business. As a result, there are fewer resources, little or no central office support, fewer professional development opportunities, increased public accountability for higher standards, less preparation time, and disruptive labour conditions. The lack of clarity and support as well as the fast pace of change has resulted in much personal stress, anger, anxiety and confusion.

While many sectors of the community are being restructured and reformed, there is much public evidence and personal testimony to substantiate the intensity of teachers' work during this period of intense educational change and school reform. Teachers are clearly expected to be the conduits of externally mandated change. In many instances, however, they are also its victims.

The following special education teacher comments on the increasing paper work that has now become part of her job.

The paper work is unbelievable. I had to present 27 cases, which writing up 27 special education forms. I started my testing in October and then I had means to present them in January. Well, the paper work was unbelievable.
Saying no and setting limits seems to be a survival strategy, especially as teachers get older. Since many teachers belong to the baby boom generation, the impact of a hectic and urgent educational reform agenda is not something that many older teachers wish to accept or to accommodate. Their passion and energy are expended more selectively. One teacher summarizes this sentiment.

I think, I think that they'd love us to do more. I stopped. I don't take a lot of things home anymore. I used to do two or three hours of marking a night. I've finally managed to do the split and this is my home life and this is my work life. I cannot do what I was doing before, where I would be taking things home (and) phoning parents till 8:30 at night. No, I will not do that anymore. My time after 4:30 is mine. (I am) so very protective of that.

Global economic trends, increased diversity, demographic and socio-political trends in developed nations, and a plethora of indicators characteristic of a "socially toxic environment" such as family breakdown and child neglect, have placed public schools under a great deal of scrutiny (Boyd, 2000). Teachers have been made scapegoats for many of the ills in education. The history of reform in places like England and Wales, New Zealand and the United States have, in varying degrees, identified teachers as the main reason for introducing educational reforms (Lingard, et al., 1993). In Ontario, the government agenda is about controlling the work of teachers to achieve the educational
reforms. As the following teacher indicates, the resulting workload for teachers is unreasonable and stressful.

And I think what kind of drives me crazy is that when I think of the hours of time we need to spend to do all of the curriculum for three classes. I think that as a Board or even as a Province, it is a tremendous waste of time of teachers to devote so many hours when we in fact could be doing better assessment, better programming for special needs and so on and so forth. I'm not sure how long teachers can keep this pace up. I mean I think at some point people are just gonna, they're gonna be filling the hospitals. I think the Board should have been doing this. I mean if we talk, if we say integrated curriculum is what we want to head towards, then by God, the Province and the Board should have been providing integrated units that are linked to the Common Curriculum and not expect teachers individually to do it.

There is just too much to do. As this teacher indicates, the time just is not there to do what is being asked.

You think of portfolios. You think of multiple intelligences. You think of all these different things. Like everything! And you know, reading workshops, writing workshops, different ways of learning, different
approaches. Get the kids doing Audio Visual. Get them on computers.

Learn about computers yourself first of all so that you can teach them. The environment is important - make sure that they are into recycling and they are doing this and that. Make sure they are behaving properly. Make sure their desks are tidy. Don't forget about ABC, 123. It's just, you know, the time isn't there. We are really being asked to do far too much.

The intensification experienced by teachers is having a dramatic impact on the quality of teachers' efforts to implement educational reform. Teachers do not have enough time during the working day to cope with the additional demands of implementing new curriculum and assessment policies while coping with the restrictions resulting from other reforms such as those involving increased instructional time and tightly controlled funding formulas. As a result, many teachers are forced to embezzle time from their private lives in order to meet the demands of everyday work. As the school day is stretched to accommodate the pressures associated with the changing face of teaching and learning, new challenges appear outside of regular working hours as teachers try to find that elusive balance between being a professional during regular working hours and preserving the integrity of personal and family life.

Personal Time

The current pace, scope and substance of educational reform are challenging the boundaries and very nature of teachers' work and personal time. As the demands and
pressures to do more increase, teachers find themselves stealing time from their personal lives to keep up. Personal time is shrinking to accommodate the need to do more classroom work outside of regularly scheduled school hours. Personal time is becoming increasingly scarce for teachers outside of school. The following teacher provides an example of how after-school time gets used for school related matters.

At 3:15 I have a few kids stay in to complete work. I go to a meeting - from 4:00 to 5:00 PM, which is, I guess, a mentoring group. And then I come back and work ‘till 7:00 PM because I am at a meeting writing reporting statements on Tuesday. And then I go home and I mark for an hour or two. Then I collapse.

Unearthing time for personal activities is a challenge. The right balance between work and private time rarely occurs without careful planning. Sometimes personal activities fall victim to incessant workplace demands.

I play tennis two or three times a week. And Friday night and Saturday is always, not always, but I try to plan that as personal time. And then Sunday is usually a couple of hours anyway planning for Monday. So yeah, at the moment it is very tough and in some ways I need to find a better balance in terms of a personal life. Part of it is the stuff I enjoy. Like I enjoy your committee. I enjoy writing outcomes. I am actually helping to
revise the promotion process. That is kind of interesting. I find that
interesting. So, part of me doesn't want to give that up 'cause I find it
interesting and intellectually challenging. I like those challenges that you
get with being on committees. On the other hand, the cost is that I do not
have as much free time as I may otherwise.

With the increasing demands to do more beyond scheduled instructional time,
teachers are finding that their own time is being used to meet additional deadlines.
Making time for yourself comes with an emotional price tag. It has the potential to
overwhelm, increase fatigue and influence day-to-day performance in school. Consider.
for example, the following scenario.

I don't have much time for myself. I think that's a pretty common
complaint. I skate competitively on a precision team, an adult team. but I
find even that, the demands of that, are - it's a big time commitment. And a
lot of the skating that we do is past midnight. So, if I skate, let's say
Tuesday night until 1:00 in the morning, I go home, go to bed, get up. I'm
not my best. But it's something I like to do. But then it affects school, and
it affects home, and everyone at home.

When the day is stretched to accommodate daytime activities, then there is a
danger that the health and well-being of individuals will be affected – both physically and
emotionally. As the following person indicates, the pressures and demands of keeping up with all of the changes and educational reforms are placing a strain on her relationship at home.

It's been a very big strain. Very big! I often do wonder if (my) marriage will last. I hope it does. So does he. But I often wonder if teaching will win and take us over. We're discussing me going half-time. I need to get out of it, as far as I'm concerned. I love teaching. I absolutely love teaching. I just don't love what teaching has become - again thanks to the government with the cutbacks.

Stress and tension also arise from staff perceptions. Some staff need to see you planning and completing schoolwork such as report cards outside of the mandated instructional time. Perhaps, it is a "misery likes company" philosophy. While most individuals are not at all concerned, lack of visibility does seem to generate suspicion in some that you are not pulling your weight.

So I found I was spending a lot evenings here - well, mainly because my computer at home isn't compatible with the template I have to use here. But, that was a very stressful time for me. The other teachers are sort of split. Half of them think that if you're not here, you're sitting somewhere having a coffee. The others think, "If she's not here, she must be doing
something important”. So, you don't really have the support that you really need at that sort of time. So, that was a real constraint - trying to be in two places and do two things at once.

Like all individuals, teachers need lives beyond their workplace. Knowing when to stop working and say, “It is time for me and my family”, becomes a necessary strategy for not allowing work related tasks to take over personal, private time.

My day is used up too much with school. The private and the public overlap too much. And I know that with other people it's the same. It's very hard to separate. You have to make a very conscious decision that this time is not school time. And after a while, it works out well. I can't see any other way around it. I think teachers end up doing teacher-like things too much in their spare time. Sometimes you just have to say, “No”.

Since time is about imposing order, about exercising control over one's perceptions, it is not surprising that teachers are making difficult decisions about just how much they can do. The following teacher, for example, describes how time pressures have forced him to limit what he does in the classroom.

I don't have the time anymore to spend the hours I use to on creating individual programs and neat things for kids to do that sort of expanded or
extended outcomes. I just don’t have the time. I kind of regret that. So, what I have come to accept as a coping (strategy) is that I can no longer have the showcase class that I would have had a couple of years ago. Also, what now I am getting better at is delegating, and saying “Okay, you are doing that, you are doing that”. And just leave it at that. And just accept that.

The pressure to reassess what can be done in the classroom comes increasingly from the need to protect and separate our personal lives from workplace demands. The blurring of work time and private time is a confluence that can be pathologically disruptive to the well-being of individuals and their families. We live in an era where the “socially toxic environment” (Garbarino, 1995) and the breakdown and fragmentation of families are pervasive. Teachers, like all others in society, have a responsibility to maintain and sustain the well-being of their families.

Family Time

Teachers come from diverse ages and backgrounds. For those who have young children, there are never-ending demands and pressures such as arranging child care, getting children to and from school, making sure children get to piano lessons or sporting events, and on and on. The impact of a young family often dictates how teachers participate in and contribute to education. One teacher explains.
When I didn't have kids I was far more involved in leadership things. I could do more seminars and workshops for principals when I was teaching music and computers. But with kids, and the ages that they are at, and the activities that they're involved in, I backed off of that role. I just can't do both. I can't teach, do the Mother thing, and then do presenting, and do each of them well. I make time for my family. I think in the last couple of years I decided that my family was going to come first. And, I probably think it's been the hardest decision for me to make because I always had teaching as really, really important. Not that my family wasn't. They were of course. But, I tend to leave earlier than when I used to. I used to stay until 4:30-5:00 PM. I don't and can't do that anymore. I take a lot of my stuff home to (work on) - when the kids are in bed or when they're doing their own homework.

Many teachers are members of the sandwich generation (Foot, 1996). In addition to their day job, they have to take care of their own children and also one or more of their parents. The erosion of personal time and time with family by the increasing demands of schoolwork poses an unwelcome pressure. The following scenario provides a glimpse of one teacher's life after classroom instructional time is over.

I was back in (school) from 3:30 'till 4:00 PM. Kids were in and they were talking. They had some social problems and I helped them with that.
We talked something out and had some fun together. The kids left by 4:10 PM and I pattered around and prepared some work for one of my students who is off to India today for a month - getting a package of work for her ready. From 5:00 PM to 7:00 PM I prepared for a meeting that we had last night - getting the overheads ready and doing the videos and getting lists ready to talk to the parents about the health problems. And then from 7:00 - 8:20 PM we had the meeting here in the classroom with the grade 7/8 parents. And then my husband was here too because he is involved in that as well. And then he left to pick up our daughters from the symphony they were at. Then they picked me up. I got home at 9:00 PM. I didn't even see my Mom - she was already in bed. You know, I hardly saw my own daughters they just disappeared to do their homework. A friend phoned. I talked for about half an hour with a depressed friend, and then I did my consumable order. This is still schoolwork at 9:30 PM! Then I got my letter for my parents with the emergency numbers and such. And then, at 10:00 PM I read over the memo for today for you. So, everything is always by the seat of your pants. So, that was last night. And just reading this and trying to figure out what you were going to be asking me and if I had to prepare in anyway. That's reality! A friend dropped by and (was) with us from 10:00 to 12:00 PM talking. We ended up talking about teaching a lot. By the way, there is that job still at home to do. I read from 12:00 (midnight) to 1:10 AM and woke up at 6:00 AM this morning. So
that's it. The job does go home. Not every night. But I do stay late regularly just to try getting things done.

As the following passage indicates, the end of the day is often family time and personal time. Intertwoven between time with the kids, story time and "hell hour" is course work on the Internet and preparation for a presentation the next day. Exhaustion wins in the end.

And then it was time to pick up the kids. My son needed a haircut, and then we ended up at (the) mall because when my husband comes home it's his birthday and we don't have a gift yet (Laughter). Then it's story time, bedtime, homework time, and hell hour at home. And it was supposed to be nice. But it just didn't work out so great last night. And there was a lot of tension there. And, I'm taking a night course on the Internet with my principal and we have our big presentation due Wednesday. So, I was doing homework for that. It's not a normal day yesterday! That's about it. Then I died.

Having to work on course work during family time is intrusive, particularly when the work is not trivial and requires focused attention to complete. As the passage indicates, making time for family members (especially young children) and job related activities can be exhausting. Most people try to find just the right balance between
personal life and work life. For another teacher, having support at home makes a
tremendous difference in finding the right balance.

I get a lot of support and stuff too. You know, give and take all the time.
My husband has a very busy schedule and he does a lot of service work
and community work and church, and all this sort of thing, plus family.
We're, you know, the 'sandwich' generation right now, so to speak
(Laughs). Some times are hairier than others. But it's the give and take
that really makes it work.

Friends and neighbours who also need assistance may also complicate the reality
of balancing work with a home life that includes children and older parents. Consider the
following teacher's comments.

We have many friends who have become unemployed or have lost their
homes. One couple lost their home. That affects me and it really affects
me a lot personally. And I find that drains my time on the other end when I
do get home, trying to be a shoulder and an ear to these people.

While finding the right balance between home and work seems to be an absolute
necessity, there are no guaranteed recipes.
It's not a question of I should do more of this, or I should do more of that. I don’t really know that a full-time job and a full-time parent do that. If you want to do a great job at both of them, you try to balance. But, I don’t know that there actually is a balance out there.

It is not surprising that the pressure of daily time demands eventually take their toll on the physical and emotional well being of teachers. It is not always possible to juggle time pressures and to find the right balance between professional and family responsibilities. especially when educational change and expectations continue at an unprecedented pace. Attempting to find the right balance between work and home life can be exhausting and debilitating.

**Embodied Time**

Unrealistic time demands can have an impact on the health of individuals. The intensity of dealing with the daily workload is becoming a debilitating experience for some teachers. There is a feeling of being overworked and overloaded. Responding to all of the substantial educational changes is becoming overwhelming. The following teacher indicates how the heavy workload has impacted her health.

We're asked to do too much by other people especially by administration and from the board office as well. Way too much! And whilst I had time, I would say, "Yes, we'll work on that", but I've come to realize (that I can't
do everything). Last year I also got sick a lot more than I ought to (by past standards anyway) and I started to say no.

Another teacher says she feels much older because of the intensity and pace of educational change in her workplace.

I'm much, much older than I was two years ago. I know this. I'm still very keen about my job. I still love it a great deal. But I find it just as overwhelming as I did back two - three years ago. And, I'm sure I said that the last time we spoke, that it is a heavy load. And I don't feel that it's certainly any lighter. It's harder - the age thing. I still stay here longer than other people, but that's because I have extra holes in my head or something.

Teaching in a context of urgent and hurried educational change can be overwhelming. As the following teacher says, the pace is frustrating. There is just too much to do and there is a sense of powerlessness to control what is happening.

When I speak to my peers, I generally hear first of all they are all pretty well, pretty well without exception, very overwhelmed with the job - which they have in common with me. And they feel very frustrated by all of the smaller parts of the job that have to be done and never do seem to
get done. I feel that it has been out of control as far as the time element is concerned. There is just so much. I mean it goes on and on. All of these things are important whether it's about the environment or about portfolio assessment or about drama in the classroom or whatever it is. I mean there is just so much. It's just so wide open that to try to take it all in and to implement it all is very difficult. It's not possible.

There is a limit to the amount of time people can give. And it is not always possible to keep a proper perspective. Sometimes it is important to set boundaries. The question, however, is what happens when teachers are unable to determine what is manageable? Do teachers have the ability to say no and not feel guilty? This teacher acknowledges the survival stance she must assume when it comes to coping with the added pressures.

I need a kick in the butt at times to keep moving. But at times I also say no. I've done this much or this is all I can do. And, understandably so. We hear all these things and they are coming down the pipe, all at the same time, and it's really hard. And you have to deflect some of them. You just can't do it all.

Not receiving the necessary support to implement the curriculum and assessment reforms is causing undue stress and anxiety for many teachers. There is a real sense of
time being devoted to preparatory work that should have been done by board or ministry staff. For the following teacher, the expectation that teachers will develop curriculum outside of classroom time is an unrealistic one that is having an effect on people’s health.

And I think what kind of drives me crazy is that when I think of the hours of time we need to spend to do all of the curriculum for three classes. I think that as a Board or even as a Province, it is a tremendous waste of time of teachers to devote so many hours when we in fact could be doing better assessment, better programming for special needs and so on and so forth because I’m not sure how long teachers can keep this pace up. I mean I think at some rate people are just gonna, they’re gonna be filling the hospitals.

Implementing mandated reform could be debilitating, confusing and discouraging. At the outset there is rarely time to do something that you can celebrate. Teachers are feeling bombarded with massive changes and unrealistic time demands. The following passage from one teacher’s interview captures her sense of reality.

There’s a strange sense of self-retreat right now, and people just don’t want to hear one more thing they have to do. And they want time to get a handle on what somebody’s already told them to do. I would say it’s a less dynamic place in the last couple of years. A lot of people are demoralized
by the whole media focus on teachers and especially the government’s attitude - we’re gonna mess with your heads and mess with the system.

And, a lot of people are getting very, very discouraged. And that translates into, very much into a sort of energy. People are getting worn out - much earlier. People are getting sicker. People are getting exhausted. It’s a different place. And I think the board’s cutbacks, and the government’s cutbacks, and ... have had a great impact on people.

The pace and scope of mandated change has also left many teachers feeling relatively helpless and powerless. Self-efficacy is under attack. There is a sense of social anomie about the magnitude and rapidity of change. Teachers feel that there is very little that they can do to influence the plethora of educational reforms and changes that are happening so quickly. This teacher displays distrust and cynicism about the future.

I see real concerns that in Metro we’re going to get shafted. Just because of the make-up of the schools and the kids. I just have a feeling that we’re going to get shafted and it’s going to be hard on our teachers. I think there’s a concern with teachers and this is why they get frustrated and some of them buck change. Because they just see so many things coming in - that they can’t really influence.
Teachers increasingly have to plan and prepare instruction and assessment activities in their own personal time. Preparation time is not considered to be part of assigned instructional time and therefore teachers are often pushed to burn the candles at both ends. One teacher indicates the debilitating impact of limited preparation time.

I think that time would be far less a factor if we had more preparation time. I am very spitful about that. The burnout level, just speaking with my colleagues is just incredible. The number of teachers I know that are on leave right now. With the strains of the large numbers and the lack of time, I shed many a tears over it, the frustration.

Time is viewed as a scarce commodity. There is never a sufficient amount of time to accomplish everything that needs to be done. Time is precious. To start something new involves making time to become familiar with the changes, to study and learn about the changes, to plan and implement the changes and then to monitor and improve the changes. Time for new projects, however, must come from what is already valued and what works well. It may be safer to move slowly or wait until the changes demonstrate their value elsewhere. As one teacher comments:

Time’s too precious. You’d need to convince me that the time that I would take away from other things, that I think need to be taught in order to
prepare for high school, can be sacrificed. You'd have to convince me of that.

Another teacher describes how she copes.

I tend to let ride, until I know for sure. I take one step at a time. I'm not going to get all worked about something that may never materialise. That's probably my coping strategy. I've seen things come and go. I guess because I've been around long enough that I've seen things.

The work of teachers is being redefined and transformed. Although mental stress is a fact of life for teachers, there is evidence that certain factors such as ambiguity, work overload, and isolation contribute to increased stress (Dinham, 1993). In Ontario, the pace and intensification of educational reform is contributing to feelings of being overwhelmed, sheer exhaustion and rising stress levels. The well being of many experienced teachers is at risk. While some teachers are adapting and altering their past practice in order to survive, others have become victims of change. As older teachers burn out and rush to retirement, new, younger teachers will replace them. As Troman and Woods (2000) suggest, teaching careers will continue to be under stress and the career paths and expectations of teachers will evolve differently than in the past.
4.6 Conclusion

Time permeates every aspect of our lives. Whether it is the time we spend doing things or the way we experience time, the reality is that each one of us lives in a world that runs on time. From birth to death, from waking to sleeping, from the arrival at school to our departure from school, time can be viewed as a limited resource that each of us allocates to certain activities in our lives. In some instances, we try to jam a lot into a day. Or, we have to endure some circumstances longer than we wish. In every situation, we live and feel time in such a way that it shapes who we are.

In this chapter, sixteen time themes emerged from an analysis of the interview transcripts for the twenty teachers in this study. Most of these themes are complementary to the typology of time developed in the review of the literature. While most of the time themes empirically acknowledge the five areas in the typology, there were some time concepts that emerged as a value added contribution to the literature. In all instances, the interview transcripts provided practical details and specifics of time in the lives of these twenty teachers.

In presenting and analysing these time themes, it was clear that externally mandated reform had a profound impact on the lives of teachers. When governments develop policies that overtly and sometimes subversively affect the work and lives of teachers, the impact can be devastating — for teachers and student learning. When teachers’ time is appropriated, then established patterns of working must be reconstituted. Externally mandated policies alter not only
teachers’ work and productivity, but also their working relationships, their health and their personal lives – in ways that rebound backwards on the work itself.

In all instances, the time themes identified in this chapter were based on the lived experiences of the teachers in our sample. The time themes were also connected to identifiable emotional and personal responses to time in the professional and private lives of these teachers. Teachers felt the intensity and magnitude of the educational reforms and experienced a range of thoughts and emotions that impacted their work, relationships and well being. Simultaneously, the time themes were directly connected to the deliberate political agenda represented by the government’s educational reform initiatives. For example, while teachers’ work in classrooms is shaped by the new curriculum and assessment policies, a centrally controlled funding formula and other legislation that regulates instructional and planning time control the conditions under which teachers must operate. The political nature of the educational reform also diminishes opportunities for cultivating professional relationships; keeping up professionally with their field and acquiring desperately needed resources. Teachers are forced to use their personal time to plan and keep up with everyday activities.

Schools are still dominated by timetables and schedules. While this technical-rational approach to regulating life in schools is still framed by government policies, the way that scheduling occurs is still largely influenced by local policies and procedures. How time is scheduled and structured, for example.
can support the use of optimal learning time, collaborative planning and the work of teachers during school time.

While schools and teachers respond to numerous cycles and rhythms as a natural part of teaching, one of the notable issues to emerge in the findings was the changing career patterns and demographic profiles of teachers. The swelling numbers of older teachers and the concomitant influx of younger teachers raise some fascinating questions related to how teachers at different stages in their career are responding to intensive educational reform. In a context of continual change and uncertainty, traditional expectations and rites of passage associated with established career stages seem to be in doubt as the professional lives of teachers are constantly redefined and negotiated.

The impact of persistent, hurried and substantive educational change on the health and well being of teachers is a finding that received cursory attention in the review of literature. While the impact of global neo conservative educational reform on teachers’ morale over the past decade has been documented, the enormity of the problem became readily apparent in the comments of teachers in this study. Teachers were often frustrated, anxious, debilitated and stressed by the magnitude of the educational reforms. The feeling of guilt and diminished self-efficacy that occurs when teachers have difficulty keeping up or when they become aware of the potential damage they might have done to students using previous assessment methods, for example, is a frightening indictment. While it was expected that teachers would experience time subjectively, the gravity of
these lived experiences on the physical and emotional health of individuals was not anticipated.

Time in the lives of these twenty teachers includes many of the issues identified in the review of the literature. Noteworthy, however, was the intensity of teachers' experiences with time during a period of significant educational reform. The time themes that are presented in this chapter were derived from and substantiated by specific examples provided by teachers. Based on the findings, it would appear that the government's reform agenda is having a profound impact on teachers' productivity, professional work, relationships, personal life and health.

In the next chapter, an in-depth examination of time in the lives of three educational administrators will be presented. After an introduction of each individual, five time categories based on the interviews will be explained and several time issues will be discussed from the perspective of all three administrators. These time categories will also be related to the time typology developed in the review of the literature and the findings that emerged from the teachers' interviews.
CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: TIME PERSPECTIVES OF ADMINISTRATORS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to capture the intensity and pervasiveness of time demands and pressures in the lives of three educational administrators in the province of Ontario. Just as teachers are overwhelmed, overworked, hurried and stretched, so too are administrators. As management, administrators must ensure that controversial and time intensive policies are implemented and institutionalised, often without the necessary resources and support. It is their job to be advocates of educational reform that not only mandates what teachers do, but also controls the conditions and circumstances that repeatedly restrict teachers from doing their work effectively.

Through a series of in-depth interviews, the realities and paradoxes of time in the lives of these administrators are unravelled and explored. The resulting narratives provide first-hand accounts of the time demands and time pressures faced by these individuals as they implement far-reaching and penetrating educational reform policies. By examining the impact of prevailing structures, educational reform policies, and daily practice and routines, the portentous way that time challenges and impacts the lives of these three persons is described.

The interviews were especially concerned with examining issues related to time in intensely political circumstances when the development and implementation of policy
were pursued within highly compressed timeframes that placed administrative staff at all levels under inordinate pressure. The stories of these educational administrators are used to analyze how daily practices are warped and twisted by unreasonable time demands that are exacerbated by educational reform policies that have been deliberately designed to control the life in the time of both teachers and administrators. In this chapter, time in the lives of administrators surfaces in a variety of circumstances involving intensification, stress, compression of time, increased curriculum expectations, school renewal, short implementation time lines, centralized control of policy and funding, reduced planning time, unremitting change, lack of professional development time, fewer resources, and intrusion into private time.

5.2 Participants

The three individuals upon whose practice the analysis of time is based were over 45 years of age and represented different levels of administration. Two were female and one was male. One worked as a senior staff person in the Ministry of Education; another was an experienced Superintendent of Schools in a large urban school district; and one was an experienced Principal of a large secondary school in a rural community. Each person was actively involved in developing and implementing curriculum and assessment policies as well as other current educational reforms. All were known by the researcher and readily agreed to participate in the study. Although we were not personal friends, I did work with Julie, took post-graduate courses with Sarah, and was a member of a task force with John.
Data were derived from transcripts based on four in-depth, qualitative interviews that occurred over a period of three to five months in 1998. Unlike the semi-structured interview used with the twenty teachers, these qualitative interviews did not have a predetermined protocol. The qualitative interviews were treated as conversations so that opportunities were created to explore and understand the life in the time of these administrators and not just the time in their lives. The typology developed in the literature review was used as a reference to stimulate discussion and to guide probing comments during the interview sessions. Although pseudonyms are used in this research study, each of the three participants is aware that some transparency might occur when sharing their data. For the purpose of the present study, the names of these three individuals are: Julie, Sarah, and John.

Julie

At the time of these interviews, Julie was a senior staff person in the Ontario Ministry of Education. Her task was to facilitate the development of a rigorous new provincial curriculum for Grades 1-12 and a new provincial approach to assessment and evaluation including a standard method of reporting student progress. Julie had been appointed to this position two years earlier, following a successful tenure as Director of Education for a large metropolitan school district. Prior to this time she had been a Superintendent of Program, a Secondary School Principal, Vice-Principal, English Department Head and Teacher. Julie was just a few years away from retirement.

Julie had a career that was characterized by change and a variety of experiences. She experienced time in many different places and in many different roles. After her
initial year of teaching in her hometown, Julie moved to teach for two years in another city. Following a sojourn in Africa and some time in the United States where she worked as a systems analyst and computer programmer for an insurance company, Julie returned to teach part-time in Canada. During this period she also had a child and then became a single mother. Julie explains what happened after she returned to Canada:

I came to Toronto and I taught part time in a Jewish school which was a wonderful experience because they picked my brain, and I picked theirs - about cultural things that were of interest to both of us. That was very fine. I quite enjoyed that. So, I had all these pieces ... of a career. It involved a great deal of change and a lot of it was through personal, very trying times.

It was not until Julie accepted a teaching position in the middle 1970s that things seemed to fall into place. The random and fortuitous evolution of her teaching career echoes Acker's (1999) research that says, the careers of teachers "combine elements of chance, intention and experience" (p. 155).

Julie devoted an inordinate amount of time to her work. While she thinks it would "not be healthy" if her staff tried to work the same number of hours, she still expects extraordinary commitment and effort from her colleagues. Without question, however.
she places family and personal health as top priorities, as evidenced by her concern for her staff and the time she devoted to her aging mother and her son and his family.

Sarah

Sarah grew up in southwestern Ontario. At the time of this study, she was a Superintendent of Schools in a large urban school district. She had been a Superintendent for several years and had spent time as a high school Principal, Vice-Principal, Department Head, and Teacher. She had about four years to go before retirement.

I first met Sarah in one of my doctoral classes a few years ago. We were members of a student cohort that had decided to pursue graduate studies while still holding down full-time jobs. At that time she was a superintendent of schools in one of the largest school districts in the country. When I interviewed her she was still in that job and was intricately involved in implementing new ministry reform policies as well as managing daily operational issues in her school district.

Sarah works relentlessly, often beginning her workday with breakfast meetings and ending with late evening meetings. This is not something new for her. She recalls vividly the time, energy and enthusiasm that she committed to teaching from the very beginning of her career.

I think that from the time that I began as a teacher, I've always devoted a large number of hours, if you want to put it in that way, to the work. I think of the number of hours you had to work as a beginning teacher in order to just survive in a classroom. Within those days there were 36-
minute periods, 8 of them a day - so many in English Literature, so many in English composition. one free period a week plus lunch. And I thought it was a great job. I regularly remember being up at 1.30 in the morning preparing lessons. I lived by myself in an apartment. So I had the time. I didn’t have the wide social network or anything like that. And (I remember) spending hours preparing for stuff that didn’t work, that died in the first 3 minutes of the classroom.

As a beginning teacher. Sarah remembers being overwhelmed by the task, threatening to quit, only to be brought into line by her Father’s reprimand.

I can remember going home, saying to my parents, “I should have gone to graduate school. I’m going to quit at Christmas”. And, my father said to me, “Oh no, you are not.” And I said, ”No. It’s legal. It’s within the contract”. And it was my father, a wonderful man, a working gentleman, who said, ”That was not the commitment. You don’t sign up to be a teacher and quit in December”. And I said, “Okay”. I went back and took the course until the end of July.

Like many individuals, Sarah spends a lot of her time with family and enjoys a variety of activities such as going to the movies, theatre, music and the “Y” - for fitness workouts. Reading is a passion as evidenced by the following
comment, "My husband has told me, my God you're reading cereal boxes. And I don't know how that happened. If there's something in print, then I'll pick it up and read it". So, like most of us, Sarah tries to balance her time between work, family and personal activities.

John

John came to Canada from England when he was twelve. At the time of this study, he had been a Principal for five years in a large secondary school and was in the process of transferring schools. His entire teaching career had been spent in one large rural school district in central Ontario. After teaching for fifteen years, John became a Mathematics Department Head. He spent about nine years in two different high schools as a Vice-Principal for before becoming a Secondary School Principal.

During his career, John worked in a variety of local and provincial mathematics tasks. He spent several years on a major ministry project known as the Ontario Assessment Instrument Pool (OAIP), taught Mathematics at a Faculty of Education for one year and also spent several months at the school district office implementing the results of a major system-wide mathematics review. He also wrote mathematics "correspondence courses from beginning to end" and has written chapters in several mathematics texts. John describes his orientation to his life and work in the following passage.

I look at my life, my career, and my job in terms of tasks, bundles, and packets. I'm not sure what they are, but there's a beginning and an end to
them. And then, after those are done, there's that time between that has to be filled somehow. And, if it's not productive time, in other words I'm not doing something with it, then I guess it's a waste of time. I'd have to explore that one because not all of my life is task oriented. There are other things that I like to do. I like to try to fit in. There is a point in my life where I just like to do nothing. And I feel that's productive because I'm trying to catch up on my situation - my sanity too, a lot of times.

Like Julie and Sarah, John’s family is an important part of his life. Both of his sons have completed their schooling and his wife continues her career as a nurse. Although he likes to sail, his preferred out-of-school activity is puttering around the house and doing odd fix-up projects. Having recently moved to a large home in the county, John finds solace in his home, both in the never-ending maintenance required as well as the comfort that comes from connecting with nature.

5.3 The Time Categories

Following careful analysis of the time issues that emerged from the interview transcripts, five time categories were identified to help focus and frame subsequent discussion. These time categories reflect everyday praxis as well as the additional temporal conditions associated with implementing unrelenting educational reform in a turbulent socio-political and socio-economic context. While the five time categories are not mutually exclusive, they do provide a framework for examining the responses of
individuals. The five time categories also complement the findings from the teacher interviews and reflect many of the issues considered in the review of the literature.

The analysis of the interview transcripts captured each person's perspectives about time and lived experiences with time over the course of their life histories. Personal accounts emerged from unstructured qualitative interviews that were conducted as conversations between the researcher and each administrator. The resulting analyses provided enriching and insightful insights about the impact of educational reform policies on the time world of these individuals. Time is viewed as a scarce and precious commodity, a necessary regulator of daily life, an elusive and formidable antagonist, a usurper of private time, and a controversial indicator of educational change. It is all-pervasive and influences productivity, relationships and emotions. Time is not merely something to be managed, but it is something to feel and to acknowledge when sorting out what is valued and worth pursuing.

None of the administrators advocated active resistance to the government’s agenda to use time as a deliberate strategy to dominate and control education. While each person expressed concerns about some of the educational reforms and related time issues, there was a focused effort to work diligently to make implementation occur. In addition, little compassion was shown for the plight of teachers facing similar time crunches in the schools. While in retrospect this might be considered a research design limitation, the purpose of the qualitative interviews was to allow the participants to explain the meaning of time in their lives. Since the qualitative interviews were basically unstructured and focused on each person's own experiences with the phenomenon of time, the interviews
did not impose a structure or set of questions. The intent was to understand the meaning of time from the perspective of the participants in their own context.

Before examining each of these five time categories in more detail, a brief synopsis is provided.

1. External Time

External time includes all those activities undertaken in the individual's environment. It represents time in spaces beyond the person. For example, external time includes time spent doing things in the workplace, time spent in relationships with others, and time spent in the home and community. External time also encompasses those technical-rational aspects of our life that organize and control our daily routines. Furthermore, it encompasses more political aspects of our lives related to power and control exercised by others over our day-to-day activities.

2. Internal Time

Internal time is most closely associated with how individuals think about and experience time spent doing certain activities. It includes not only reflection and thought about time experiences, but also the visceral and subjective responses to the time-world of individuals. This experienced or lived time includes moments of short or long duration. It occurs individually or with others in a variety of situations. Thought and emotion are an integral part of how people show their experienced or lived time. Feeling overwhelmed and bombarded by the intensity of daily activities is usually manifested in internal experiences of time. The notion of the "vanishing now" and reflective questions about "Who am I?" are issues related to subjective, phenomenological time.
3. **Embodied Time**

Embodied time refers to the physical health and well being of individuals. Time spent nourishing and maintaining the body or time spent in stressful and debilitating circumstances are part of embodied time. The physical condition and/or well being of the body have an effect on how people deal with time related issues. Often the issues of embodied time are identified by default when individuals acknowledge the importance of embodied time and bemoan the fact that they fail to make it a positive part of their everyday experiences.

4. **Rhythmic Time**

Rhythmic time includes all those cycles and rhythms that dominate our lives. Rhythmic time cuts across internal time, embodied time and external time. The world around us and within us reveals itself in rhythmic forms - the seasons of the year, the stages of our own individual development, and the different phases of our career. It encompasses our own biological existence, including functions such as heartbeat and respiration. Even our organic functions such as walking and running as well as eating and sleeping are examples of rhythmic time in our lives. Morning rituals, daily routines, regular meetings, supervision, staffing and holidays are all examples of the rhythms and cycles that influence our thoughts and actions in the workplace.

5. **Biographical and Historical Time**

The finitude of our existence is a given. As persons, we have a limited number of years to grow and develop – as individuals, members of social groups, as professionals, and as members of communities and society. The administrators in this study were all
experienced educators who had passed through several career and life stages. They were able to reflect on their experiences over time and comment on the time in their lives from the perspective of individuals who were approaching the end of their career. They were able to look backwards and use their own histories to explain the meaning of time in the present.

The comments from the interview transcripts capture the practical issues in the everyday realities of these three educators. The time categories represent the various ideas and topics that resulted from my analysis of the transcripts. Many of the time themes identified by the teachers in this study are also represented in these categories. In many ways, these five categories connect "time" with the dualistic legacies of our past such as those that sought to separate mind from body, reason from emotion, analysis from intuition, the visible from the invisible. These time categories invite us to revisit epistemological, ontological and axiological issues that help explain and understand the nature of daily practices related to the meaning and praxis of time.

5.4 External Time

External time comprises all those things that individuals do in their lives. It traverses space. It reaches out to every nook and cranny of a person's life. Time issues emerge in the workplace, in the community, at home and in relationships. In many instances, external time issues co-exist with issues related to internal time and embodied time. For example, trying to juggle daily activities, respond to planned and unplanned meetings, and complete tasks in a hurried and hectic workplace often produce a range of
emotions from excitement to anger and frustration. Sometimes these feelings become overwhelming and result in emotional and physical fatigue and stress.

Trying to manage the myriad of tasks, educational reforms and expectations that occurred everyday seemed to dominate the thinking of the administrators. The overwhelming workload and pressures to deal with a steady stream of demands influenced their perceptions of time. Time was frequently seen as a series of events, a commodity, a scheduler, and a limited resource. In some instances, time was a weapon and a device for disrupting the lives of individuals. In other instances, time was an elusive, indefinable and invisible thing that permeated every aspects of living, yet had a life of its own.

All of the administrators were busy people. Their daily, weekly and monthly calendars were booked with meetings and deadlines for a variety of projects. In addition, they were involved in a plethora of operational issues (involving staffing, budgeting, transportation, meetings with parents and community representatives, special education, appeals and litigation) as well as curriculum and accountability issues.

Time beyond the traditional workday was accepted as part of the job. While external time demands could be overwhelming and exhausting, time was not perceived as an obstacle. All three individuals accepted the extra ordinary time commitments that were associated with doing their jobs. Sarah’s matter-of-fact approach to her job, “Let’s just get on with it. Let’s just do it” was like a mantra, an oath of office, that each accepted.

Traditional working hours were often convenient ways to meet other colleagues and other staff during the day. In addition, however, early morning time or extended daytime in the
office were common strategies for dealing with administrative paper work. Evening
meetings such as board meetings and public community forums were accepted as a
necessary part of the job.

Unlike the other system administrators, John talked about wanting to control more
what was happening around him, not just the educational reforms, but also the day-to-day
activities in his school. There was a need to manage all of the educational changes and
the day-to-day operations of his school while simultaneously developing a quality school
community and learning environment (Day et al. 2000). John rarely felt connected to the
development of government policies and the reform agenda. He thought that he was more
of a conduit of change, rather than an active change agent. The intensity and significance
of the reforms also contributed to a sense of anger, confusion and frustration within his
school, reactions that he in turn had to manage. John rarely felt fully empowered to move
things along. He not only felt powerless to influence the educational reforms that were
developed and mandated externally, but he also felt unable to motivate his staff to
implement all of the changes. For example, there seemed to be no ready solution to
building a cohesive staff team when teachers were overwhelmed and bitter about all of
the changes. Keeping staff and students constantly moving forward was extremely
problematic.

There has to be a semblance of control in order to move forward. And
that's really important. And I don't think I'm a control freak, but I
recognize that we've got to move along here folks. We've got to make
some decisions. We’ve got to adopt some visions. We’ve got to move forward. I often feel that in the school setting that decision-making is impeded by so many factors. Like personnel issues, building issues, student issues, parent issues, various organizational issues, major changes, and board and ministry issues that impede decision-making.

Sarah identifies a paradox related to the notion of control. As she reflected on her career movements from teacher to school administrator and superintendent, Sarah initially thought that the ability to control her own time would increase. At first blush, it seemed as though educational administrators have more freedom than teachers, since they can move about more easily and they have the ability to choose and schedule meetings. As a result, they have more control over their daily activities. As we see in the following passage, however, this was not the case for Sarah.

As a teacher I pretty much had my day planned. You know. I knew when my classes were. I knew what I was going to be doing in the so-called group areas. What would happen after school, you know, if there was a meeting or there was a rehearsal? And. I was pretty much in charge of how I spent my day. I can remember someone asking me, “What was the biggest change you found in being a vice-principal?” and I said, “Boy, it was the things that happened that you had absolutely no control over.” A parent who arrives in the office hasn’t called in advance to make an
appointment. He wants to see you right now and often with a head of steam behind him. So, whatever you had on your list of things to do simply drops off the table. I can remember driving up to work the first day I was going to be a vice-principal, kind of looking down beside me at the daybook and kind of thinking, “I don’t have the day planned! I mean I may end up doing nothing. Like, how did this happen to me?” And, not only did I keep busy, the day just filled up with things. Teachers came and knocked on the office door and said, “Have you got a minute?” If I had a dollar for every time somebody said to me, “Have you got a minute?” I could retire. Because whatever it is, when they come to see you, that’s the first priority on their list. It may be 25th on yours, but that’s their first priority. They don’t drop into the vice-principals office for a chat.

The daily life of administrators is complex and unpredictable. Responsible for implementing a variety of policies and procedures, administrators also manage a myriad of operational, supervision, accountability, political, budgetary, legal and public relations issues. As indicated in the previous quotation, many of these issues appear in an unplanned manner.

Since chaos is how many educators might describe their workplace, I was interested to see that this issue emerged in some of our conversations. Although chaos is a complicated issue, as Julie explains there is an underlying order.
Chaos is a question of not seeing the order. Or, the order is so complex that it can’t be readily grasped. Chaos is not the absence of order. It’s a different brand of order. So, I attempt to find principles that in fact give order and justify the allocation of time.

In a similar manner, John also perceived “a semblance of order” beneath the hurried and hectic daily events of life in secondary schools. He believes that the order is predictable and enduring. It is part of his role to sustain that order in an efficient and effective way.

Sometimes life can be like a revolving door - you just seem to keep going round and round. Without a plan or a list of things to do, things just don’t get done. In her job, Sarah thinks that she is a captive of schedules and meetings. She confesses to organizing her workday with lists of to-dos. It is her way of surviving each day and achieving a sense of accomplishment.

I make lists. And I will project over periods of time, you know, “Must get the following things done, by this time, by that time ” and then go back and check that list every once in a while. There’s a great deal of satisfaction derived from taking that pencil and running it through the thing that you’ve done. And actually you schedule a lot more than a day. The schedule is sometimes months in advance, in terms of thinking where you have to be and what has to be done.
The *shape shifter* was another metaphor that Sarah used to explain how some events seem to surface quickly and become “in your face” jobs that demand immediate attention. For example, an event that was far in the future is suddenly just around the corner - it has now arrived on the scene. It has been moving so slowly. And now the past, present and future seem to be colliding. Suddenly, it is no longer slow motion and far away, it is right here. It is abruptly right in front of you.

You know I’ve been doing some thinking. And, I thought of a decent metaphor, a decent set of words, to describe the things that are very up-close, that are sort of in your face. Very demanding. Present tense. Must be done now, kind of stuff. And the long distance kind of approach to time that’s involved in the struggle. The piece that I can’t describe yet, that I’m struggling with, is how that shifts. It’s like a shape shifter. Do you know what I mean? You’ve read some of the literature where in some cultures there are shape shifters that can become many things and change themselves. There’s a point where you’ve got the "what’s in your face" and the "long distance". And ultimately the "long distance" becomes the "what’s in your face", because you move through it.

One way to manage and allocate your time on a variety of tasks and activities is to set priorities. As Julie indicates, “allocating time with purposes” is a daily challenge.
That's a very significant layer, or aspect of the way I've always dealt with time. I always think, "well how much time does this enterprise deserve?"

And that's how much time I'm giving. Not more. I won't allow it to consume time that doesn't belong to it.

In this sense, time is a precious commodity. And, as Julie says, "it becomes less valuable if it's overspent on the wrong things".

Sorting those things that need to be completed from those that can wait is not always an easy task. Sometimes, the urgent usurps the important; sometimes your own personal items get displaced. John introduced the notion of "strategic abandonment" as a necessary way of letting go of some items so that others can be accommodated. In other words, certain tasks are strategically cut loose from an overcrowded schedule to make room for other more important activities. Establishing priorities acknowledges those mandatory parts of the job such as implementing educational reforms and completing budgets so that necessary funding gets approved. It also means making time for those items that you personally believe will make a difference to student learning. At the same time, it may require establishing time boundaries or keeping tasks such as administrative paper work in perspective and responding to urgent (but not important) matters with respectful aplomb.

In the Ministry of Education, a phenomenon, known as "hurry up and wait", frequently occurs, interrupting people's schedules and planned activities. Usually initiated by a political request for immediate information, often in the form of a briefing
note or comprehensive report on a controversial issue, staff are expected to drop all current projects and rush to provide the necessary information. There is an inordinate pressure to complete the task by a specified deadline, usually within unrealistic timelines. The urgency is frequently in response to controversial media events or political deadlines that have suddenly appeared (Cuban, 1995). When deadlines are met and reports submitted, another crisis has usually intervened and the completed submission is put aside to wait for a more convenient time to be considered. The product is sometimes left unattended for days or weeks and remains off any apparent critical path. Julie comments on this phenomenon.

"Hurry up and wait" has that sense of urgency that forces you to do things that you value in ways that may make them less valuable to you. In other words, you do a bad job. And then having done the bad job the product is snatched from your hands and you wait in a vacuum for it to return so you can perhaps do it better. It's, you know, it's that sense of losing time rather than spending it on other things, if you haven't wrapped your mind around the fact that those other things want time spent on them. Now, interestingly enough in a political circumstance where I was closer to the political process, that is in a school board situation, I had much less difficulty with this because there was a fairly intimate connection between myself and the political process. I had more sense of what it was. I had more sense of the people, what was important to them, how they were
relating to one another so that I didn’t have that same sense of time lost on
that process. It was real. It was peopled with individuals that I could reach
out and touch and speak to. They were accessible. And therefore, I was
dividing my time instead of losing it.

One of the metaphors that Sarah used to capture a very similar phenomenon
comes from the work of Beckett (1954). To illustrate how educators were anxiously
waiting for the government’s new reform policies, specifically the new funding formula.
she cited his play, *Waiting for Godot*. Her reference to Beckett’s play seemed to be a way
of sharing her concern that education was caught in an “unending present” - a long,
extended and ubiquitous wait, with no past or future in sight. In Sarah’s opinion, waiting
is a deliberate government strategy to destabilize the system.

Clearly, the people who are the current policies makers don’t mind that it’s
de-stabilizing this system. So, in that sense it’s deliberate. You don’t hear
them apologizing; you don't hear them expressing any kinds of concerns
for the effect that it’s having. It's like, “Suck it up guys. Get tough.”
That's what it's like in the real world. Whatever, it's just sort of a contempt
for the people who are doing all every single day and not knowing what
they're gonna be expected to do or even if there's gonna be enough money
to have them doing what they're expected to do.
Whether intentional or not, many of the educational reforms are a source of conflict and confusion. The assessment policy, for example, mixes normative and criterion-referenced paradigms, causing the implementation of assessment practice and the reporting of student achievement to use different sets of assumptions. Sarah identifies a time paradox that juxtaposes new curriculum reforms with traditional school timetables. She questions how an outcome-based curriculum can be implemented when time is treated as a dependent variable rather than an independent variable - since policy, practice and timetables still specify a set number of hours as a credit requirement.

We haven't done away with time as the organizer - time still drives the system. It isn't outcomes. Now, we do have prior learning assessment to a smaller degree and that's a little chip away at time running everything.

The student will be able to step up and challenge a course and take an exam or do some sort of assessment that says, "Okay I can meet the outcomes of grade 11 Math so give me the credit." Right? But it isn't just saying, "Let's move kids through and as they meet the outcomes they're on their way out the door." It is still grades. It's still 30 credits at 110 hours of classroom instruction. It is still driven by time. We are still captives of time.

Prior to becoming a Principal, John had an opportunity to work for several months at the school board office developing a plan for implementing the recommendations of a
mathematics review. In the course of our conversation, he commented on the regimented structure and routines of schools as compared to the more relaxed expectations at the board office. It was like he had entered a different world. The transition to another type of workplace organization was quite problematic for him.

Well, at school there's this hustle, bustle and all the characteristics of a very busy environment. I'm always trying to somehow make sense out of that environment. And, also accomplish something at the same time. And then, moving from that environment into a very quiet setting (at the board office) where you weren't told what to do and you didn't have that hustle and bustle. Everyone was in offices or wasn't even on site. And I found that quite eerie for the first while. And, I was very conscious of time - and what I was doing.

A credibility gap also confronted John. Almost instantaneously, he realized that the support staff didn't seem to understand that his job involved time commitments beyond the office and that traditional working hours did not define his work activities. When he went to a meeting at three o'clock, for example, John had the distinct impression that support staff thought that he was going home early – he was not pulling his weight. He says, "They just see you come late and leave early, not realizing that you've been to breakfast meetings and then to two evening meetings". John explains further.
There's really no accounting of your time. At a school, it's very structured. People see you first thing in the morning. They see you during the day. They see you at the end of the day. They see what you are doing and know all of the things that you have to do. Whereas, the job at the board office was very different.

Sorting out where and when to complete work projects is something that each individual must determine – not just to help support staff understand your job, but more importantly to develop a sense of competence, self-efficacy and clarity of purpose.

In an effort to make sense of how she allocated time to work and family, Sarah developed her own philosophy and strategy for managing external time commitments in her life. Sarah's *one-third, one-third, one-third model of time* reflects her desired way of apportioning time to sleep, family and work. Her model assumes, however, that this ratio is determined over the course of one year, 365 days, rather than on a regular five-day workweek or school year. For educators who have relatively long vacations, this view challenges the sacred right to their working year and vacations. It means those summer holidays, for example, should be devoted to work related activities and professional upgrading. For Sarah, "A third of the time is for sleep; a third of the time is for family; a third of the time is for work".

Sarah thinks that the work ethic of her parents may have been responsible for her views. Both of her parents worked outside the home. As she explains, "I have no memory of my mother not working. It was natural for me to see people who went to work and then
also accomplish everything that needed to be done at home - without thinking it as being onerous or taxing”. In other words, everyone works together to get everything done. Her one-third, one-third, and one-third approach is spread over seven days a week – “not a third of only 5 work days”. As she indicates, her time breakdown is based on the entire calendar year.

I’ve always (included) the summers. I think that’s partly due to the fact that I married someone not in education. So my challenge for the time off in the summer was not where are we going? What great trips will we do? Or, a cottage or anything like that. It was, “What am I going to do with my time?” I generally went to school. I took courses - even when our son was very young. I've always taken the theatre Ontario course. I went somewhere and increased my skills so that I came back every September knowing something I didn't know when I left in June. That's been a bit of a challenge for me, a personal thing for myself.

In a similar manner, John recognizes that it is important to separate work and private time. He says, “There are other things that I like to do. And I try to fit them in.” Finding that right balance is elusive. Knowing how to juggle time for events at work and at home is not easy. In spite of the challenge, he says, “I’m trying to catch up on my situation - my sanity too, a lot of times”.
Even at the best of times, it is difficult to know how to apportion time equitably to a range of events, meetings, relationships and activities. When the context becomes confused, unclear and unpredictable, then knowing how best to use your time is a difficult undertaking. In Julie’s case, her workplace was often characterized by a lack of information. This resulted in delays, confusion and frustration. As she explains, there were many moments where situations were extremely unclear because no one would provide an opinion or additional information about curriculum and assessment policies submitted for approval.

I can’t deal with just no information, no relevant information about the other forces that are at play. A murkiness is even worse than arbitrary nastiness. It’s pervasive. It’s all encompassing. I can deal with somebody saying something stupid - that appears stupid to me. But they’re in a position to say it and I have to do it. Well, you know, have a drink. Get over it. Go back tomorrow. But, day after day when I don’t understand what’s influencing the situation. That’s debilitating. That’s crazy. It seems to stretch endlessly. At least individual crazy acts, you know, are kind of contained. You can disagree with them.

Trying to squeeze more and more tasks into an already overcrowded working day can be a daunting and debilitating undertaking. Stretching the day to accommodate more and more tasks during personal time has become an expedient way for coping with the
demands of work, often with dire personal consequences. John has a real sense that there are practical limits to the number of tasks that he can accomplish during his day. There is only so much that can be achieved.

I think that the day is limited in terms of what you can accomplish. Given what I do, you do end up having to almost force time into your day so you can do things other than task-oriented, work-oriented sorts of things. I look at my life, my career, my job in terms of tasks, bundles, packets. I’m not sure what they are, but there’s a beginning and end to them.

While a beginning and an end may bound the daily activities of administrators, these lived experiences provide us with the substance for making sense of our lives and understanding who we are in these situations.

Although the substance of external time differs from the school-based activities of teachers, many of the same time themes exist for administrators. Although less visible and noticeable, scheduled time (whether it is recorded in day timers or in lists of things to do) organizes many of the projects, meetings and activities of administrators. In addition, more senior staff, elected officials and members of the public, often appropriate administrators’ time. An already overcrowded agenda becomes even more stretched. And, as a result, valued time is stolen from personal commitments and family time.

We derive meaning from the lived experiences of time we spend in different circumstances. As indicated in the review of literature, “The problem of meaning is a
time problem" (Telban, 1999). How we experience and process time becomes an integral part of who we become as professionals and as persons.

5.5 Internal Time

We live and experience the time in our lives on a moment-by-moment basis. Time is subjectively experienced (Schutz, 1972) and this lived experience provides the foundation for how we understand social situations. The meaning that individuals give to their actions in different circumstances is directly linked to the way they experience time (Heidegger, 1962). People respond with a range of emotions and thoughts about such situations as intimate moments with students, supervision with marginal teachers, persistent calls form the press about violence in schools, meetings about educational reforms, conversations with irate parents about school safety issues, pressures for increased public accountability, preparation of budget submissions, involvement in litigation, deadlines for completing administrative forms, evening interviews for hiring new teachers, and tightly controlled labour conditions. In a period of rapid change, chaos, and uncertainty the optimal use of time can be a challenging and complex undertaking.

The underlying complexities, ambiguity and debilitating turbulence of educational reform greatly affect the quality of work and the experienced duration of administrators' daily work life. Although there is a traditional structure that frames the routines and schedules of schools, the structure is less evident for administrators whose busyness often involves face-to-face meetings with a range of stakeholders, a high degree of mobility to different schools and places in the community, and always being on-call and in the public eye. The intensity of their work, the hurly-burly pace and the unpredictable political
climate often destabilizes established ways of doing business, resulting in tension, frustration and exhaustion.

With the hurried pace of change and the knowledge that more educational reforms were looming on the horizon, John frequently found himself caught between the anger and distress of teachers and the lack of direction from senior administrators who wanted to withhold information and action until appropriate implications of the reforms were clarified. For example, how additional instructional time is implemented has implications for teacher workload, class size, budget and contracts. One solution could involve all secondary teachers being required to teach seven out of eight courses. Restrictions such as other forms of teacher involvement with students not counting as instructional time made it difficult to apply ingenuity to the problem solving process. Considerable confusion and turmoil existed - not only from the lack of clarity in the initial policy, but also from the strenuous objection voiced by the unions. Being caught in the middle often made John uncomfortable and uncertain about how best to respond.

Julie spontaneously shared a symphonic metaphor to explain the intensity and turbulence of time in her day. The symphony metaphor represents the hurried pace, the sustained thought and the overall impact of time. And, as she notes, the music is also created by the silences. In her metaphor, it is interesting to note that she is the conductor, not one of the many musicians on the stage.

Supposing you took a symphonic score that had all of the lines written into it and you thought about your day as that kind of a score where you know
some of the time was kind of staccato punctuation and some of it was a sustained line of thought. You always have thought in the background. It's like a computer with a foreground and background. So, you have that and you know then there are intervals of silence in other projects throughout the day and you're always striving, I guess, to create what the score has created. And it's something that will fit together with all of these lines. They're all kind of working their way along and somehow you know that you, as the conductor, have to raise your hands and lower them for the final note. It's an interesting thought. I think I'll get a score and sort of look at it and think about whatever event I'm going to bring.

When Julie first explained the music metaphor, I asked her if I would enjoy listening to a score that was reflective of her day in the workplace. She indicated her days were much more symphonic, in the romantic and modern sense, than in the Baroque sense.

Well, in Baroque music you have lines that interplay with one another. If you listen to Glen Gould, for example, that remarkable left hand work, where you know the right and left hand have a life of their own. But, each has an economy and yet it's a complementary economy, you know? Whereas, when you start to get into later symphonies, some of the big symphonies, you get layers of things. You get chords developing. And
lines. They're all layered in different ways. The kind of music I'm thinking of is like that where every section plays but they have different rhythms.

The intensity, pressures and unpredictability of developing provincial curriculum and assessment policies were “like the nastier minutes of symphonies that have the whole orchestra and fifteen extras on stage”. Julie’s preference was “to reduce my days to a string quartet”. The string quartet is clear and understandable. She says, “There’s a kind of connectedness. I mean the obvious intricacy and connectedness is so important”. A string quartet in much more “manageable” and “understandable”. She clarifies, “I mean, it’s very clear that the cello drives the rhythm and the first violin drives the intonation. You know what they’re supposed to do.”

In his treatise on the time of music, Kramer (1991) validates Julie’s observations in her metaphor.

People who have learned how to listen to tonal music sense constant motion: melodic motion, motion of harmonies toward cadences, rhythmic and metric motion, dynamic and timbral progression. Tonal music is never static because it deals with constant changes of tension. Even when there is a passage of suspended harmonic motion, we listen expectantly for the desired resumption of progression. (p.25)
The more deeply we listen to music in vertical time, the more thoroughly we enter the timeless now of the extended present. But, however, much we become part of the music, we do not totally lose contact with external reality.... Music in vertical time can provoke intense and unusual responses, but it does not destroy the temporal continuum. Rather, it offers an alternative. It gives us the means to experience a moment in eternity, a present extended well beyond temporal horizons, without forcing us to lose our grip on reality. (p.376)

Resolving time dilemmas often means knowing how to respond well to ambiguity. In attempting to summarize her views on time in education, and perhaps more specifically her own job as a superintendent, Sarah highlights the importance of knowing how to live with ambiguity, uncertainty and paradoxes. In doing so, she returns to the central core - her values and purpose for being in education.

You must be comfortable living with ambiguity. You must be comfortable within paradox. You must be comfortable with contradiction, uncertainty, with all those things that that implies. How do you become comfortable with that? I think it’s understanding that that’s the way it is right now and that it is okay. It’s not because you’re not doing something right - that you haven’t got it nailed down or that you haven’t found the one right answer that we don’t have stability. You see I don’t think it’s a paradox, Clay, that
leaders in education are responsible for creating a kind of stability in which change can take place. Or, at least in which the changes that we are going to go through and we are currently experiencing can be understood – or even managed or described or articulated in ways that other people can understand. Our job as educational administrators and as leaders, is to say to people, “Oh, yeah. This is what we would expect. This is what’s going to happen. What do you think we can expect to have happen next? What might be any of the 6 or 8 things that might be coming?” So, even in the midst of all the change, you are creating a sense of stability. Now it sounds like a paradox, but I don’t think it is.

In Sarah’s opinion, “It is getting back to the values piece”. It is about knowing the purpose of our work. Knowing our beliefs and values provides us with a framework for appraising events or situations in our environment, thus enabling us to pursue goals with persistence and confidence. In a way, it is the foundation for being adaptive and resilient when the going gets tough. As Sarah says, “It does not mean that you want to drive your head through a wall because the wall is there. But, I think that if you can come back to the values piece, you can remain quite centered in the midst of all this other nonsense that’s going on”. From Sarah’s perspective, it becomes important to step outside of the everyday rituals, to look with wise eyes, and to base your decisions and actions on what you believe and value. Making time to constructively and critically examine how you are spending your time becomes an important activity.
I think it's the million and one different tiny decisions that you make every day. I said that to you before. And it's that brush-stroke, that little tiny brush-stroke. It takes days, months, weeks, and years of that for people to see the whole portrait like the Sistine Chapel. And it's been very hard work and all of that kind stuff. And you don't get to climb down from that very often to have a look up and see how it's going. But you do have to make those times. I'm not sure - you know there are fewer and fewer opportunities for that sometimes these days than there used to be. To be able to get outside your work - to climb down and look at how the painting is going. And it is what you had in your mind - the values, the vision, whatever that is, that is what's being put out there, how you treat people.

During the recent periods of fundamental change and disorientation. Julie's values have been relatively enduring and have acted as a beacon during trying circumstances. They have given her assurance and direction.

Whenever you find yourself in these circumstances you're forced to re-examine your values and see if they fit all over again. And I find that very satisfying. I like to know what I believe in. And those periods force me to think very carefully about what I believe in because when you're in new circumstances you have to make a lot of decisions based on minimal information. And one of the things that you do know is what you believe
fundamentally. So, sometimes belief takes the place of extensive
information in these circumstances.

Julie's values give her strength and a sense of confidence. Imbuing moments with
purpose and meaning offset the tragic reality that each of us must resolve as we come to
terms with our own mortality.

All issues of time have to do with the continuum from the permanent to
the very fleeting. And so, something like beliefs has a natural alliance with
permanence. It makes the passage of time powered. I mean the passage of
time is fundamentally tragic. We're all proceeding to an end. And you
know, the imbuing of moments with meaning is what counteracts the
tragic.

Julie's awareness of the range, depth and breadth of her preferences, conditioning
and beliefs (Hodgkinson, 1991, 136) provides her with a thorough realization and
understanding of her values and the crucial role that they play in her life. She believes
that time has value and as a consequence people are able to create meaning in their lives
by the choices they make.

I see time as having value. It's what allows one to create meaning. The
thought of not creating meaning with passing time is very upsetting. And
in an environment like I am now, my traditional sense of creating meaning by creating products that I’m directly invested in or results, if you will, that I’m directly invested in through my own processes of deciding “This is what I want to do” has been augmented with a sense of political purpose - which I have to adopt. And the political purpose is intrusive upon those things that I have traditionally valued. It reshapes them in ways that I can’t control and it forces me to undervalue them by robbing me of time to pay attention to them - both the capital people and the small people that are in the organization. That’s a very complex relationship to time. But that’s how I feel. You know this too. You can’t do this yet because the necessary corporate and political processes haven’t taken place. And, instead of saying to myself, “Gee, I’m investing time in those corporate and political processes” I say, “I’m losing time for the things that I have traditionally valued.”

How we use time is a reflection of the quality of our life. Our views of time and the decisions we make about our use of time are integrally connected to what we value and believe. When our efforts to practise what we value are warped by time, then tension, anxiety, frustration and stress become common features of our lives. In a context of rapid economic, political, social and educational change, the future is no longer as predictable as it used to be. During such circumstances, time can be the compass for defining who we are and who we can become. By understanding better how we use our time, we can add
renewed purpose to our daily tasks. As a window to our values, time becomes a lens for improving our personal and professional lives.

Hodgkinson (1991) suggests that all educational administrators have a responsibility to engage in self-reflective practice, to assess their own value inventory and to take stock. An awareness of our own values and how they interact with those of another or the collective ethics of the external environment be it the school, board or community has the potential to improve our individual decision making practices about the time in our lives.

In her comments about *Waiting for Godot*, Sarah illustrates how waiting affects her work and her feelings.

We were talking about the pressure of waiting. And, that is work too. And it's, I believe, a conscious de-stabilization and deliberate strategy to have people waiting for everything. Anticipating. It is very de-moralizing to be expecting the funding formula, to be expecting secondary school reform, to be expecting documents that are suppose to have been released and come up and to be told that it's not coming or we've decided to do it differently.

The reference to *Waiting for Godot* is appropriate in that Godot (the new funding formula) never comes. And, as a result, all of the inter-connected webs of schedules get backed up and life becomes even more complicated, hectic and frustrating. The daily
work doesn’t disappear; it just gets compressed into smaller time frames. In this context, time is a deliberate strategy for disrupting the status quo, increasing workload, and demoralizing educators.

It’s a domino effect. So you start to see this compression of work. And then you know what that does to people? It makes them frantic and it makes for more mistakes. It makes for people to be less kind to one another. You know, when they get into that kind of pressure-cooker situation.

When I asked Julie to indicate how she performed in such a context and how she coped with that perpetual time delay and uncertainty that comes from no information, she said:

I don’t know. I can’t deal with it. Just in terms of personal vibrancy. I think less well. I act in a less timely way. I reflect less imaginatively. It just blunts the edge. And, it’s like I imagine my mother must feel, getting old. Knowing that acuity she had is no longer there, but remembering what it felt like to be acute. And so, I’ve often said in my role at the ministry, I’ve forgotten to do things that I know how to do perfectly well, that are second nature to me. But I haven’t done that. And I’m not talking about any great grandiose things, but I forget little things.
After talking about all of the changes that he has to deal with on a daily basis, John revealed how pressured he feels. In the following passage, he talks briefly about his feelings and then describes how one of his colleagues responds on his way from one meeting to another:

I feel incredibly pressured because I tend to be a little on the perfectionists side and I would like to have everything in order. It’s just absolutely bizarre how busy it is. And, we were all feeling under pressure and it was hot and we were all very sweaty and we all raced down to (one meeting). But it took longer then we had expected and we got back to (our other) meeting late. And so here’s (my fellow Principal) driving up the highway at 140 KM/h trying to get back on time. And it just seems our lives are like that all the time.

Shifting from the incredible pace and polychronic nature of life in a secondary school to the slower pace and undefined routines of life as a Project Co-coordinator in the school district office resulted in a range of emotions for John. Feelings of disorientation, guilt and frustration were initially overwhelming reactions to the lack of structure and direction.

I felt guilty. I mean here I am and not really accomplishing much. All those emotions running through me. And trying to extract direction from
(the superintendent) was impossible. I'd walk into his office and try to provoke him into telling me what it is I should be doing. And I would not even get a response from him. And I'd end up saying, "I guess I'll just do it the way I figure it should go". And that is really the way I got a handle on that job.

John was uncertain and anxious about his future. He seemed to have lost some control and found time to be an "incredible juggling act". He says, "There are things that are sort of sitting, simmering in the background that I'm not having time to get to". His feelings of anxiety relate to planning and sorting out priorities for the future.

I guess one of the things that has been bothering me is just the planning for next year. I don't think I have a good handle on planning for next year - including some of the things that I need to look at long term. I guess my point is that I'm dealing with the short term more and more and very little with the long term. And I am getting less and less time to focus on where are we going. I have no real idea what it is we're trying to accomplish. What are the priorities I should be dealing with long term?

As a result of being overly preoccupied with his immediate day-to-day activities, John had not made time to plan for his own future. Although he and his superintendent had talked about accepting a principal position at another secondary school, John was
unable to contemplate the move and seriously consider the implications for his own career. The pressures of his job were just too overwhelming. John used the metaphor of the undertow to explain his anxiety about all of the changes in education and the lack of time for dealing with all of the work demands. The following exchange captures the intensity of John's feelings about the overwhelming impact of educational reforms.

John: I'm having a hell of a time getting out of the undertow. I'm feeling more and more as if I'm losing the battle between the undertow and myself. And feeling more and more dragged down. And I'm gasping for air at times to get above the water. I can hardly see where the hell I'm going. I'm fearful that I'm going to get dragged under. I thought I was a really strong swimmer. I thought I could cope with it. But I am losing my strength.

Clay: I don't know whether you were aware of it, but when you were talking about the undertow you just took a deep breath.

John: Well, I thought it through several times and I thought, "What describes my feelings right now the best?" And, of course you think of storms and hurricanes and monsoons and all that sort of stuff. I thought of the undertow because I love swimming. I love the ocean. But it can also be the enemy. And you have to be so careful.

Clay: The waves can be huge and the water deceptive and treacherous.
John: And the undertow is unbelievable. And I'm a strong guy. And I remember panicking once. I know that you have to go with the undertow, rather than fighting it. In real life, however, if I were to go with it - that would be regressive. And that would not be appropriate.

Clay: You mean you'd surface further back?

John: Right. I'd be further behind and I'd have to, at some point, provide more energy to get back to where I started.

Clay: And when you're caught in the undertow the sand...

John: It's stirring up.

Clay: It's stirring up and there's nothing to grasp. It becomes more turbulent and elusive.

John: So the whole metaphor really makes sense. And turbulence is a good word. Turbulence - not being able to see where I'm going. Not being able to know how I get out of this. How do I make it easier for myself?

Clay: And the sense of panic.

John: Exactly. How do I stop expending this energy? How do I make it more efficient to get out of this problem?
The fear of being "dragged down" and the sense of panic that John experiences during turbulent conditions comes from the frenetic pace, long hours, frustration and debilitation that result from his lived experiences of time. Responding to the complexity and intensity of his everyday duties as a Principal, compounded by significant educational reforms, John’s well-being is constantly being pushed to the limit. In the next section, the concept of embodied time will be examined.

5.6 Embodied Time

Embodied time refers to those situations that impact the physical health and well being of individuals. During periods of intense and overwhelming educational reform, the health and well being of individuals is placed in jeopardy. Busy administrators who not only embrace the busy and frenetic pace of their jobs, but also accept the additional expectations of implementing relentless reform are vulnerable to work overload and concomitant stress. Embodied issues and the lived body are beginning to emerge in the literature as important sociological topics (Shilling, 1993; Williams & Bendelow, 1998). The stress caused by educational reform and the adaptations required have also been examined (Troman & Woods, 2000). In general, the health and embodied sense of well being of the administrators in this study was affected by a number of circumstances, including situations that placed undue pressure on individuals, including the inordinate use of personal time to complete work projects.
People require a certain degree of physical and emotional well being in order to do their work well. During the interviews, a number of references were made to the impact of intensification (Apple, 1986) and time demands on the health and embodied sense of well being of individuals. Whether it was feeling totally overwhelmed, debilitated, stressed, physically sick, or not finding enough time to take care of one’s physical and emotional health, these references to the body merit attention. People do not want to work in conditions that contribute to poor health. At the same time, organizations quickly realize that “time is money” when employees are absent and insurance claims increase dramatically.

Intensification and the pressure of implementing mandated reforms, for example, can make people respond in ways that cause mistakes, diminish work effectiveness, affect the quality of relationships, and limit efforts to implement new reforms. As the following passage indicates, the added pressure and increased workload had an impact on John’s body and his overall embodied sense of well being.

It’s just a strain trying to meet all our commitments. We’re pushing the margins. And as a result, it’s affecting sleep. It’s affecting decision-making. I’m feeling fatigued. All of those things are coming into it right now.

Paradoxically, when Sarah attended to her well being, she felt guilty. Time seems
to sanction personal worth when it is linked only to productivity. When she stays home to take care of herself when she is physically sick, she cannot help but view this as "lost time".

I was very rarely sick, but I can remember a day where I had to stay home sick, ill, cold, who knows, I don't remember. And I was sleeping and not feeling very well. And I can remember getting up around three o'clock and looking at the clock and saying "My God, it's three o'clock already. If I'd been at school, think how much I'd have done by now!" Whereas this is lost time – I've been all day at home, done nothing. There's an equation for many of us between time and productivity. That we think of how much we would have done or accomplished or put out or something. I don't know. But I thought, "Boy, that's a reason I don't like to stay home much." Or, I don't get the same sense of accomplishment or productivity.

Since administrators do work many hours outside of the traditional workday, it is a constant challenge to find ways to balance time spent on work activities with time spent doing family and personal activities. Part of being healthy is to ensure that we strive to sustain a private life, separate from the workplace. Having acumen and perspective in the workplace are important. As Sarah indicates, sometimes good mental health involves walking away from some of the chores that can be done later.
Work can be intrusive, but over the years I have developed, I believe, the capacity where I can get up and just leave it the way it is. I’m not compulsive about somebody walking by my office and seeing five piles of paper that didn’t get sorted and filed and put away or whatever. I don’t have that kind of compulsivity. Because if it’s time to go because my son needs me, or something like that, then I can get up and walk away. That’s essential to real mental health. You know what? That nursery rhyme or fairy tale that we used to read about the little gnomes that made the shoes for the old man and the woman at night? They don’t come out and do your work for you.

Such decisions, however, do require some consideration for others. Walking away from work chores does not mean leaving key issues unresolved or others in a jam.

You can’t leave people hanging. If I have a distraught parent upset because their son or daughter is not in school, or whatever, I can’t let that hang. I can’t let her go home on a Friday night without some hope for a solution for Monday morning. So these pieces can’t hang, but paper pieces and some of those other things, I think they can hang every once in a while.
Sarah was also convinced that perfection was not part of the job, especially in such an imperfect and sometimes chaotic and uncertain world. She accepted the ambiguity and messiness that characterized her daily work in educational administration and believed that there is no one right way to do things. While her motto is, "Get on with it", she realizes that it is important to "understand that we may have to undo some things that we've done behind us".

John finds the daily pressures constantly take away time from his personal life. In particular, he believes that he is neglecting his physical health.

I'm finding it really hard to get some physical exercise. And, I think that's important. But I haven't been physically active now for a month. Like I was walking every day, getting up every day and walking. I was really enjoying the early morning and the quiet. I was walking with my wife and we did that every day. Then our lives just became very busy. We were getting tired. We were getting up early in the morning - that was another issue. We were going to bed earlier at night. I was really feeling cramped for time in the evening. There was just no time for me.

After a hard day at the office, so to speak, John really feels the need to relax and seek out different spaces to settle down and re-energize him.
After a day which was just filled with things coming at me all day long - people running at me, expectations being made of me, tasks that I have to do. I become a bit frazzled. I often feel that to get rid of that frazzled feeling I have to do something completely different like walking out the back, or whatever. It is so hard to get, in my life right now, that time where I am able to turn off my career, turn off my family, turn off all of the demands on me, and simply have space in time where I don't have to think about anything. And it's such a wonderful feeling. And I get that by, I guess, going for a walk or going outside, or I guess being alone. That's where I get that refreshment of energies. And also it is often with my wife. Sitting with my wife. Talking with my wife. Sharing those kinds of things with her.

Although neither Julie nor Sarah referred to slowing down because of their age. John confesses that his “lost youth” may be part of the fatigue factor that he experiences after a full day.

I guess maybe with me getting a little older, recovery time is a little slower than it used to be. I'm needing that more. And I think that's probably part of the reason we moved out into the country rather than remaining in the
city because I was beginning to feel that there was no time to commune
with nature and to have a place where there is some solace.

Sometimes there are certain times of the week or month or year that are more
stressful. These moments are likely associated with recurring scheduled activities such as
regular staff meetings, board meetings, budget deliberations or cyclical reviews or system
audits. As the teachers in this study indicated, it may just be the time of the year – when
everything is due simultaneously, the weather is rotten and vacation days are in the very
distant future.

5.7 Rhythmic Time

Rhythmic time includes all those cycles, routines and rhythms that regulate our
lives. There is little question that schools still operate according to set schedules and
timetables. Bells regulate the school day, subjects are allocated specific numbers of
minutes per day, routines define when certain events occur, and teachers are told how
much time they must spend on instruction. In this sense, schools operate quite differently
from other organizations.

In fact, many teachers chose teaching as a career because of the holidays and
predictable working conditions - as well as the nature of the job. When these working
conditions change because of government policies, then readjustments in life style may
be required. As Julie explains, she chose the job first and then crafted a lifestyle that
provided time for parenting.
I chose a job first. And, the other pieces I put together. I mean, the housing I put together purposely because I thought that would be good. I did not want to spend too much time traveling at that point. I simply needed time for parenting. So, you know, we were quite busy, because my son had a lot of activities.

Although there were few overt references to rhythmic time in the lives of these administrators, it was clear that certain routines and predictable cycles of activities did occur. Although these routines are often invisible and less obvious than the schedules that govern life in schools, they do exist. In school districts, for example, weekly meetings of senior staff and department groups as well as routinely scheduled meetings for groups such as the Board, Principals, the Special Education Advisory Committee, School Council Chairs and other project specific meetings constitute the plethora of regularly scheduled activities. Routine visits to schools by superintendents, time for supervision, staffing and hiring cycles, and regular professional development sessions are samples of the entrenched rhythms in the lives of these individuals.

Julie used her musical metaphor to talk about the rhythms and tonality of her workplace. She makes a distinction between several different types of rhythm in a school district. For example, a strategic rhythm is designed “to get things done” over the long term, while an organizational rhythm focuses on things “that have to get done” on a more regular basis. In her opinion these rhythms are totally different.
(Organizational things) have a yearly rhythm, things that you have to get done by a particular time. And you know things that you have to get done before the winter break, and things that you have to get done before the spring break.

Sometimes there are *issue-driven rhythms* associated with completing specific projects or addressing specific issues.

Well that's more an issue driven rhythm. Let me take the most stunning example in (my previous school district). You want to reorganize the program department. Because of whole variety of reasons the department doesn't seem to be effective. The person power devoted to it did not seem to yield as much benefit as one would want from that kind of investment. So, you prepare for it. You develop reports. I mean you structure it and in the end it's operational. It leads to a particular result. It has a culmination.

Another kind of rhythm is the *operational rhythm* of the school year. Julie explains, “You know, there’s a certain time in the year when you have to do certain things.” Operational cycles provide a degree of regularity and predictability. She explains in the following passage:
The operation rhythm has to have predictability. You have to know that in November and December you’re going to be interviewing for principals and vice-principals, that you’re going to form your shortlist, that you’re going to place people in January, that you’re going to conduct a transfer process for teachers. People will feel secure because it’s announced. They can prepare. They know how to deal with it. And if you’re dealing with advocacy organizations like unions who have the interests of a certain group in their mind, then at least they know when they’re going to be able to speak up and have their say.

From another perspective, John believes that the predictability and routine of school life provides teachers with a sense of security and direction. So much so, that if he was to leave, everything would carry on without him.

I often think, “If I were to walk out the door for a month, what difference would it make?” I’m sure the classrooms would still continue, the kids would still come to school and they would still go to those classrooms and the teachers would still teach them. Now what difference am I making there? Well, I think the difference that I’m making is that I’m trying to keep that structure going efficiently. And I think that without me there, not me personally but me in that position, I think things would begin to
unravel. I think that there is a need to provide the teachers with a pretty sound structure. They like working within structure. They like to have order. And I think that’s part of my role there.

The rhythmic complexity of time seems to permeate life in school districts. Julie once again returns to her musical metaphor to illustrate.

I remember when my kid went to the conservatory and I used to have him beating out rhythms. Like with one you’d have to be, you know, 3/4 time and then some exotic rhythm with the other hand. And you’d have to juxtapose those rhythms. And, I guess that my metaphorical sense of that with my time has become more deepened.

Increasingly, schedules, meetings and the infrastructure that provides systemic order, are communicated silently and instantly through an extensive intranet system. In addition, there are numerous specified procedures and processes that must be followed, often outlining the cycle of activities. When implementing new curriculum, for example, the cycle of development, implementation and review has been well established in Ontario jurisdictions.

While stages of career development represent a type of rhythm in the lives of educators, the frequent references that these individuals made to their own career
occurred as reflections "over time". Their comments often referred to their lived experiences of time at different points in their own development. Consequently, I have posited a category that captures this phenomenon.

5.8  Historical and Biographical Time

The administrators in this study were all experienced educators who were at the sharp edge of retirement. They had the advantage of using their own life experiences to reflect on the impact of time on the development of their own careers. As Sikes (1985) indicates, each career stage seems to be associated with "a redefinition and/or re-ordering of interests, commitments and attitudes, frequently in response to events and experiences not directly connected with the work situation" (p. 29). Julie, for example, reflects on the beginning of her professional career. As she indicates, it wasn't until she accepted a permanent teaching position that things seemed to fall into place.

I learned from all of (these experiences); it was like collecting experiences randomly. The right times are those things, when the randomly collected, suddenly take shape and you say, "Aha! This is how it was meant to be ordered". Those years were more like the collecting years. And then, when I went to (the school district), it was more like the shaping years. So, they were very interesting years, but they had the sense of being separated from one another, they were like little beads on a string.
The randomness of the shaping years stands in stark contrast to the sudden realization that the time had come for Julie to look more carefully at her life and her career. Serious reflection caused her to reach out for an opportunity to take charge of her career.

I kind of woke up one morning and I said, "You are 37 years old. You have a child. You have a mortgage. This is your life. You are not getting ready for life. You are in it. So, if you are in it, what do you want to make of it?" And although I was never a person who sort of set a schedule out in front of me ... be here by then, and there by some other time. I never built a time into the future, but I did know that there was a path to be made.

Acknowledging that she began her career late, Julie made an intriguing comment about the tension she created when she pushed her career so that she was always on the edge of her own knowledge and abilities. There seems to be an adrenaline rush by creating moments of "bare readiness". She explains this phenomenon in the following passage.

Pressing time is also another way of creating a tension in my circumstances. Always being on the edge. Always knowing that the
experience you’ve had and the knowledge you’ve accumulated is barely sufficient for the next step. Never waiting until it’s consolidated. Always just moving on at the moment of bare readiness.

Once a commitment had been made to dedicate her life, or “at least great chunks of it”, to a professional life, Julie “couldn’t figure out any other way to carry on a professional life, except full tilt”. What she chose to do well was considered important and worth lots of her time and energy.

In a similar manner, John came to the realization that planning his career in five-year intervals was essential if he was going to have a career beyond classroom teaching. He explains:

When I was a teacher and I looked at my life at that point and I thought, “Okay, if I want to move up my career by making this decision, where do I want to go and how long is it going to take me to get there?” I needed a time-line in my life because I felt if I didn’t I would run out of time to reach my goals.

I looked at other people around me who had taught in the same room, same school for thirty-five years and I thought, “Uh-uh, I can’t do that. I’ll go absolutely crazy.” So, at that point I thought to myself, “Well, I
guess I'm going to have to start initiating some changes in my career."

And I was looking at my family too. And decided well, five year chunks look pretty good. If I can get to a head job in the next five years and then five years beyond that and so on. And I did fairly well.

John realized that there is a given amount of time to plan and achieve career goals. And, although he created a certain amount of pressure for himself, he thought it was a worthwhile strategy.

It put an incredible amount of pressure on me. I began to feel I was creating my own pressures. And maybe that's good because it spurred me on in my career. But I remember thinking to myself, "If I don't make it in five years, what am I going to do?" And that worried me a little. But I also felt by immersing myself in different experiences that it was rounding me out a little more in terms of moving into a different career and a different challenge. I've had, I think, a fairly interesting career up to this point. I've been able to move around to different schools, in different positions. And I've really enjoyed that. And I've met a lot of people and learned from those people, and picked up on their experiences.
Julie believes that she has had a singular run of luck, when things just seem to have walked by when she was ready to do something. It is more like a concentration of events that you look for and apply order to. It is a question of being ready, prepared and in the right place at the right time.

That's what I mean by luck. And it just seems to fit. Now in some ways I certainly don't consider myself lucky. In most ways I do. And, certainly professionally. I mean for a person who, you know was born female in 1941, and we didn't really think about a career beyond the classroom until I was past thirty-five. And then to, you know, have a succession of challenging jobs that would allow me this kind of public interaction that I seem to enjoy, it's quite extraordinary, I think. I didn't plan that passage of events.

5.8 Conclusion

As I analyzed each person's narrative, I tried to capture meaningful references to time and temporal issues. At the same time, I tried also to be respectful and engaging. The stories within each person's narrative, the metaphors, and the commentary provide helpful insights about time in the lives of these individuals. The descriptive nature of these stories and the insights are essential for mobilizing meaning.

The stories of these three educational administrators provide rich descriptions about time that is contextualised and situated within the daily realities of dealing with
fundamental policy reform and educational change. These individuals shared personal accounts indicating how schedules, routines, mandated policies and the hectic pace of implementation keep them prisoners of time. They also, however, offered personal stories and metaphors about time that show how unrealistic time pressures and constraints influence the quality of their work, their health and their relationships with their family and others. The results show how government and management are increasingly colonizing school and teacher cultures. Externally mandated policies and taken-for-granted structures often warp the actions of teachers and educational administrators and often create time warps that impede quality learning and achievement. In addition, these three individuals illustrate how the rapid pace of policy maker time and bureaucratic time tend to focus on the failure of educational reform by overshadowing the small, incremental successes that occur - much more slowly - in the daily life of schools.

By understanding issues related to time, a complementary convergence between theory and practice is possible. In this phase of my research, time perspectives are used to make the taken-for-granted experiences of educational administrators more visible and problematic. The qualitative nature of this research and the focus on time contributes new knowledge that should influence other educators' thinking and acting in their workplaces. Using time as a lens for examining practice adds rich new perspectives that enhance our understanding of the impact of educational reform initiatives.

Documenting the time experiences of these three educational administrators and examining them within the workplace helps to unravel the meaning of time and the
significant role it plays on a daily basis. Situating these stories in the context of the
tremendous educational reform that is occurring in many jurisdictions not only enables
the telling of rich and textual personal narratives about what it is like to implement
mandated policies, but it also provides a window to see the insidious, chaotic, debilitating
and often harmful effects of time in education.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This study set out to address the problem that there is little systematic inquiry about teachers' and administrators' time during periods of educational reform. Few studies had examined the range of issues associated with time in the everyday lives of educators and there was a lack of research that examined the lived experiences of teachers and administrators during periods of intense change.

Initially, I described some of my own thoughts about time and summarized my own changing circumstances as a newly appointed manager of standards and assessment policy development for the Ministry of Education. I also described the context for the study by outlining the neo-conservative and market-driven reform policies that were transforming the use of and the meaning of time in Ontario schools. Since Ontario had experienced considerable labour unrest as a result of the government's efforts to control the economic and technical-rational agenda of time in schools, an investigation about time in the lives of teachers and administrators seemed particularly appropriate and relevant.

A feature of the study was the extensive review of the literature about time and issues related to temporality. By examining time from the perspective of a variety of different disciplines, I was able to present an extensive analysis of documented thoughts
and findings about time. As a result, I developed a comprehensive typology of time in education.

Most importantly, this study investigated empirically teachers' and administrators' perspectives of time in their lives. It explored time issues in the everyday activities and routines of the workplace, examined how the meaning of time was changing and subsequently affecting daily practice, investigated the implications of increased workplace demands on efficiency and productivity, and considered the impact on individuals' private lives. As well as describing adjustments to everyday practice, the study portrayed the frustrations, struggles, tensions and stresses encountered by these educators as they attempted to implement educational reform.

The stories of the twenty teachers and the three educational administrators in this study provide rich descriptions about time that is contextualized and situated within the daily realities of schools and school systems that are dealing with fundamental policy reform and educational change. They provide personal accounts indicating how schedules, routines, mandated reform policies and the hectic pace of implementation keep them hostages to time. These educators share personal accounts and metaphors about time that show how increasing time pressures and constraints influence the quality of their work, their health and their relationships with students, colleagues, friends, and family. The results show how government is increasingly colonizing school district, school and teacher cultures. Governments that mandate education reform are becoming the new Time Lords of education – controlling and often warping the actions of teachers and educational administrators and consequentially impeding the quality of learning and achievement. The
findings also reveal the insights and strategies that these individuals use on a daily basis to overcome the persistent and pervasive time constraints as they provide quality instruction and learning opportunities for students and make deliberate, incremental successes in the daily life of schools.

6.2 Why Time Matters

Time is everyone's companion. Although invisible, time is omnipresent. It is simultaneously incessant and ephemeral. Time frames everything we do. In his introduction to the work of Sir Sanford Fleming, Blaise (2001, p. 3) describes time as:

invisible and indescribable, endlessly fascinating and universally compelling.

Time is everywhere; thus nowhere. It animates the world, yet nothing survives it. We can only guess how it started, or when it will end. It is our intimate assassin. One thing it lacks, however, except in Greek myth is a compelling narrative.

While I was fascinated with the universal appeal of time, particularly because I was approaching the last decade of my own career, this study was motivated by my interest in the intense and unfolding drama of time as a political lever for introducing change in schools. As a school district researcher and as an individual responsible for developing some of the provincial policies that were contributing to a hurried curriculum and increasing workloads, I progressively came to realize that time is not only in short supply, but that our experiences of time affect people in different and powerful ways.
The time worlds of individuals are partially determined by the roles and responsibilities of their job. While time in the lives of teachers and administrators can be characterized by many similarities, there are also some notable differences. Since few studies have investigated time in the lives of administrators, I was interested in considering time in their lives as well as in the lives of teachers. Since each person brings their own unique personal situation with them to the workplace, people's time worlds include workplace and non-workplace issues. Time in their private lives is shaped and twisted by personal circumstances involving a daily schedule of household duties, caregiving arrangements for young children and aging parents, attention to personal health and well being, pursuit of interests and hobbies, involvement in community activities, and participation in leisure activities. As Julie indicated, time is basically tragic. We do not have enough time in our lives to do everything. We must make choices and become increasingly ingenious and ingenious in how we allocate scarce time. Unless we protect valued time boundaries in our lives, we run the risk of creating time deficits in many areas of our lives.

As well as parcelling out the time in our lives to certain events and activities, the findings from this study made it abundantly clear that time is experienced subjectively. Our lived experiences of time influence who we are and who we become. Our thoughts, emotions and body give expression and meaning to the time in our lives and shape the life in our time. A moment can fly by or take an eternity to finish. Our experiences of time shape the very fabric of our identity and survival – both professionally and personally.
Even under ideal circumstances, the everyday time demands of teachers and administrators are intense and problematic. Teaching groups of children every day is an onerous and complex undertaking. Meeting regularly with a variety of stakeholders, solving operational problems, dealing with staffing concerns, and ensuring quality implementation are time-consuming and demanding responsibilities. Nevertheless, most teachers and administrators accept these pressures and thrive under such conditions. Their work offers a sense of accomplishment and pride as they strive to offer caring and challenging learning opportunities for young people. However, when mandated policies or other individuals tightly control time, then commitment and professionalism can be undermined.

Intense and penetrating educational reform adds additional pressures to the lives of teachers and administrators. Externally mandated changes can be disruptive and debilitating. Radical educational reform often alters established working conditions, introduces substantive changes in curriculum and assessment practices, accelerates the pace of daily activities, introduces new policies that challenge existing pedagogical beliefs, and produces tension and stress. Predictable and known ways of doing business are often dismantled and individuals must develop new strategies and find creative ways to keep up with their field. As a result, the tyranny of work (Rinehart, 1987) begins to dominate many aspects of the lives of teachers and administrators. Frustration and alienation start to emerge. This is particularly evident when the government chooses to exercise power over teachers and administrators in order to achieve its own agenda and labour unrest becomes an option for voicing objections.
When the time in our lives is manipulated and controlled by outside forces, then our own sense of self-efficacy is diminished. When time becomes a constraint in our professional work and an intruder in our personal lives, then our overall adjustment to life is affected. In this sense, time becomes a force that challenges our beliefs and acts against our interests. While time demands and time dilemmas in the workplace can be deeply personal, they do not just affront the inalienable rights and expectations of individuals. They also challenge the goals of the organization and have the potential to influence the overall efficiency and productivity of the workplace.

The findings of the present study support a discourse (Bacchi, 2000) about issues related to time in education. The study demonstrates empirically that the everyday time demands of teachers and administrators are intense and never-ending. By providing an empirical portrayal of temporal issues and their profound effect on the lives of teachers and administrators, the findings from this study become a resource to influence the evolution of ongoing practices related to the recultivation of the meaning of time in the lives of educators and the structuration of time in the organization. In this sense, time becomes a critical lens for examining praxis, implementing change and for understanding the impact of educational reform policies.

The five key questions guiding this research investigation provided a framework for investigating the phenomenon of time from the perspective of teachers and administrators. The findings of the present study demonstrated that technical rational time and rhythmic time still dominate life in schools and that the lived experiences of the educators in this study have been exacerbated by the government's educational reform
agenda. Teachers and administrators indicated that they have felt overloaded, unsupported and exhausted. In particular, appropriated time has increasingly stretched the working day and diminished individuals' private and family time. The unremitting and rapid pace of educational reform, the intensity of the changes, and the inability to keep abreast of their field has made implementation a constant struggle for teachers and administrators.

6.3 Revisiting the Study's Key Questions

Time is a complex phenomenon that is already woven into the complicated web of people's lives (Hall, 1983). In this study we have also seen how time is also an integral part of the fabric of the workplace. Since organizations are people places, the use and control of time (Schein, 1992) are foremost issues that must be resolved. Influenced by the marketplace and political ideologies, and very little by texts and public discourses (Gale, 1999), the Conservative government in Ontario has used time as a strategy to achieve its educational reform agenda. As a consequence, this study has shown that time in the lives of teachers and administrators has become even more complicated. A cursory review of the findings for each of the five questions will set the scene for consideration of the implications of this study.

Question 1: Perceptions of Time

The first question set out to document how teachers and educational administrators describe their perceptions of, their feelings associated with and their use of time in the present context of rapid and mandated educational reform in Ontario. In general, both groups indicated that they have limited time to do all that is expected of them. They felt overworked and overwhelmed. At the same time they felt unsupported, often having to
locate or develop needed resources on their own. Professional development opportunities were either non-existent or extremely limited. Increasingly, teachers used before-school time, after-school time and evening time to help students, to plan for instruction and learning activities, to prepare assessment tasks, to complete school work such as marking, and to complete standard student report cards. The initial use of the electronic versions of these new report cards, for example, frequently came with a guaranteed frustration quotient as teachers spent inordinate numbers of hours - of their own time - trying to use flawed and emergent electronic versions of the report cards. In a similar manner, administrators who were constantly overwhelmed with their regular day job, also had to deal with the excessive demands of educational reform. On top of daily tasks such as keeping up with operational and staffing issues, administrators were now the government’s enforcers, ensuring that implementation of new policies and procedures such as the funding formula, new curriculum and assessment expectations, and large scale testing occurred smoothly and efficiently.

Educational reform is not slowing down. Even as these concluding paragraphs are being written, educational reform continues unabated. Teacher testing and standardized testing in every grade have recently received further endorsement by the government. This means that all teachers will likely be required to take upgrading courses (on their own time) and instructional time will be appropriated for imposed testing activities and administration. The government appears unaware or unconcerned that teachers are already on overdrive and are burning out.
Teachers and administrators are becoming time challenged. Teachers need more scheduled planning time. Additional time is simply not available for teachers to prepare for and sustain quality instruction. Administrators require additional implementation support. Curriculum materials and resources need to be readily available and strategies need to be found that make professional development accessible and relevant. Teachers and administrators must make hard choices about how best to allocate scarce time. Unlike the administrators in this study who tended to accept the extra ordinary workload and time demands as part of their job, teachers are looking for creative ways to eliminate tasks unrelated to their primary task of providing quality instruction and learning opportunities for their students.

Teachers and administrators are experiencing an excessive workload and are feeling tension in their workplace and personal lives. Working days are getting longer and the extra time required to keep up is bankrupting individuals' private and family time. Teachers and administrators are overwhelmed, frustrated, confused and exhausted by the government's reform agenda. Intensification is affecting the health and well being of teachers and administrators. Some are being pushed out, some are burning out and some are dropping out. While more collaborative planning time, professional development time and resources are required to implement educational reform initiatives, the reality is that even if these necessary supports become available, they too will become an additional burden because of the extra time required.
Question 2: LivesTransformed

Question 2 focussed on how time in the lives of teachers and educational administrators is being transformed during the present period of intense socio-political educational reform.

The educational reform policies are about controlling time. As a result, teachers and administrators in this study found that they had more to do and considerably less scheduled time to plan, to keep up and to remain current with their field. In addition, their time was constantly being appropriated - in the workplace and in their own private lives. Appropriated time was constantly stretching the workday, increasing stress (sometimes causing ill-health) and affecting productivity. It was also unpaid time. Since extra time was required for such things as preparation, marking and remedial work with students, teachers found it difficult to maintain the quality of instruction and learning. In addition, administrators found it increasingly difficult to work within prescribed funding formulas and to provide the necessary resources and training to support implementation.

Dearborn's dictum (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 518) says that if you want "to understand the relation between the developing person and some aspect of his or her environment, try to budge the one, and see what happens to the other". In Ontario, the government has introduced a number of centrally controlled policies, including legislated instructional time and clearly articulated curriculum and assessment expectations. The centralization of control and authority has started to diminish the professionalism of teachers by controlling their expertise and time. Teachers' power over their own professional capacity to educate students has been diminished. As Apple (1993, p. 123)
indicates, "there is no better formula for alienation and burn-out than loss of control of one's labor." By controlling time and by increasingly systematizing and standardizing curriculum and assessment, we may cause teachers to become "alienated executors of someone else's plans". Similarly, the development of centrally mandated policies may force administrators to become the government's quality control agents rather than encouraging them to use their own leadership expertise and time to balance power with caring (Sernak, 1998).

Teaching has always been a complex and challenging profession. Increasingly, however, teachers and administrators have had to contend with a plethora of new policy expectations and constraints. As a result, they found themselves having to respond to a number of different time binds. In this study, the teachers and administrators tended to respond to these dilemmas by changing their own behaviour, attempting to change the environment, or leaving the situation altogether. In most instances, however, individuals modified their own time schedules and allowed their own time to be colonized in order to keep up. They did what they felt they had to do and they did what was manageable. Occasionally, corners were cut and modifications made to instruction and assessment activities. In some cases, teachers chose to teach part-time or to embrace early retirement.

Hirshman (1970) identifies similar options that are available to individuals who are dissatisfied with an organization. He talks about options that he designates as exit, voice and loyalty. The "exit option" is neat and involves leaving the organization. With the introduction of the early retirement option in Ontario, large numbers of teachers and administrators are choosing the exit option and are leaving the system (McIntyre, 2000).
The "voice option" involves the expression of dissatisfaction and is often messy because "it can be graduated, all the way from faint grumbling to violent protest; it implies articulation of one's critical opinions ... it is direct and straightforward rather than roundabout" (p. 16). Ontario teachers, most noticeably through their unions, are on record as having selected to articulate their criticisms and to engage in political action. In this study, some individuals and groups voiced their opinions and then proceeded to articulate their concerns by taking action to refine some of the curriculum and assessment approaches in their classrooms and schools. The ministry-based administrator seemed to be very proactive and her positional power gave her the chance to transform her ideas into action and policy, frequently succumbing to more powerful political will along the way. The school and school district administrators in this study tended to do their jobs loyally, acting as agents of the government's reform agenda.

As time pressures increase, casualties increase. Larger numbers of teachers are absent due to ill-health and the number of teachers and administrators on long-term disability is also increasing. This is not only disrupting to the education enterprise and the learning of students, but it also becomes an economic issue - since time is also about money. Educators unable to deal with the changes are pushed out or burn out. Some choose to cut back and work part-time while others drop out through early retirement incentives. As experienced teachers and administrators exit the system, experienced leadership will be in short supply, resulting in new systemic challenges for training and support.
Question 3: Making Implementation Work

Question 3 examined how temporal issues in the workplace and in the personal lives of teachers and educational administrators influenced the implementation of numerous educational reforms in a hurried, controversial and publicly accountable context.

This study found that technical-rational time and rhythmic and cyclical time are still very dominant in schools. While teachers appreciated the predictability and security of schedules, existing timetables, calendars, and routines, the way schools are organized frequently limits the flexibility of teachers for meeting the learning needs of students. Optimal learning time was frequently jeopardized because scheduled instructional time was often out of alignment with the learning needs of students. The length of periods, rotary schedules, bells and announcements, and bus schedules, for example, interrupted and fragmented learning activities. In addition, the ministry, school district and school increasingly colonized classroom instructional time for a range of events such as the completion of province-wide tests.

Teachers have been legislated to spend more instructional time in classrooms. Boxed into these learning situations comes at a high price - most notably less scheduled planning time. Teachers are still expected to do school based chores such as lunch duty, yard duty, bus duty and a host of administrative tasks. Extra-curricular activities are also about to be mandated. In addition, teachers are expected to participate in school improvement activities – above and beyond scheduled instructional time. Teachers are literally running out of time.
As Werner (1988) found, educational administrators often find themselves at a distance from the classroom and see the implementation of a new curriculum from the standards of their own administrative context. Their singular, monochronic view of time often results in more immediate expectations for implementation that frequently do not match the realities of classroom life. Teachers, on the other hand, experience the chaos, unpredictability and excitement of classroom life on a daily basis as they try to deal with numerous demands of students. Their polychronic view of time usually means that external demands to implement curriculum expectations are not viewed with a similar urgency.

While these different views of time still appear to exist, there seems to be more urgency in ensuring that implementation of the new curriculum expectations occurs. With the advent of large-scale testing, standard student report cards, new assessment policies and standard curricula, both teachers and administrators are being held publicly accountable to align the planned, taught and learned curriculum so that all students achieve the curriculum expectations. As a result of this pressure to be more accountable, the administrators and teachers in this study seemed to be searching for a common time track that would allow them to work more collaboratively together on school improvement initiatives.

Implementation is a complex undertaking at the best of times. In Ontario, teachers must implement many new and fundamental policy reforms simultaneously. Such an undertaking can be debilitating, confusing and exhausting. When time is in short supply, implementation becomes even more complicated. As Hargreaves (1998, p. 13) says:
Time, in short, is short within teaching already. To cut it back further threatens to weaken the professional communities on which high standards of classroom learning depend.

Teachers and administrators in this study demonstrated a professional commitment to their work. Although grumbling and frustration were evident, many simply got on with the job. Relying on their knowledge and skills to deal with everyday implementation issues, they kept up with the additional reform demands as best they could. Some were motivated by their vision and desire to improve student learning. Others had beliefs and values that became a guiding beacon and handy reference for helping them make instantaneous and difficult decisions. A few indicated that they had a philosophy or framework to guide their action. Others had the ingenuity (Homer-Dixon, 2000) and problem solving skills to set priorities and allocate their time. A form of time triage seemed to be emerging, where professional expertise was used to establish educational priorities by identifying the most important and urgent items.

While individuals can usually make the best of complicated situations, when it comes to providing quality learning for students, relying only on individual efforts seems rather fortuitous. Building organizational and system capacity seems to be required so that a coordinated approach to learning and achievement occurs. Alignment of system policies and procedures, budgets, transportation, facilities and program are required if student learning and achievement are to be improved (Fraser et al., 1995). It may also be important to “strategically abandon” established behaviours so that time can be better managed. As
Drucker (cited in Caldwell, 2000) indicates, institutional success may require organized abandonment of things:

- Which were designed in the past and which were highly successful, even to the present, but which would not be designed in the same way if we were starting afresh today, knowing the terrain ahead;
- Which are currently successful, and likely to remain so, but only up to, say, five years – in other words, they have limited shelf ‘life’; or
- Which may continue to succeed, but which through budget commitments, are inhibiting more promising approaches that will ensure success well into the future. (pp. 324-325)

In this study, the teachers and administrators were committed to implementing the educational reform initiatives to the best of their abilities. In fact, many individuals had developed individual strategies that enabled them to overcome time constraints and time pressures. Few individuals, however, seemed to be actively involved in school or system strategies to address the time dilemmas confronting educators.

**Question 4: The Time Worlds of Teachers and Administrators**

Question 4 was concerned about the similarities and differences between the time worlds of teachers and educational administrators. Although both groups had similar subjective experiences related to the persistent and unrelenting changes that were part of the government’s educational reform agenda, there were also some notable differences.
Both teachers and administrators appeared overwhelmed and worn out as they did their best to do their jobs and keep up with the numerous changes. Increasingly personal time was being appropriated for work related tasks. This meant that teachers and administrators had to find ways to juggle, co-ordinate and balance time in their professional and personal lives. While finding the right balance of time in your life is common to all individuals, the number of educational reforms, the hurried pace of implementation, the problems arising from inadequate training and resources meant that these educators were experiencing unexpected and incredible pressures to steal personal and family time to keep up with the changes. For those individuals who have young families, or older parents to care for, or other personal circumstances to manage, then finding the right balance becomes a real challenge. Something has to give. In some cases, the well being and health of individuals is placed in jeopardy. In other instances, productivity and morale suffer.

The teachers in this study seemed to have difficulty accepting the government’s reform agenda, believing that the changes were politically motivated and imposed on them. Fuelled by the controversy surrounding the government’s public strategy to “create a crisis” in education, teachers believed that the government did not consult adequately with the education community or demonstrate any real care for sound pedagogy. It was their belief that the government used its authority to exercise power over them to achieve their goals, essentially using them as conduits of centrally developed change. As a result, continued labour unrest has occurred during the tenure of this government, with time being one of the key areas of contention.
The three administrators responded differently to the government's reform agenda. As a recent member of the teachers' union, the secondary school principal was able to empathize with the teachers. While he felt disconnected from and frustrated with the reform policies, he also felt uninvolved in decisions by the senior management in his own school district about how best to implement these educational changes. Caught between both worlds, the principal's understanding of teachers' time was juxtaposed with his own lived experiences that involved considerable time in his school and also in the school district office. Ultimately, however, his mandate was to ensure that educational reform policies were implemented in his school. The superintendent worked closely with principals and other senior staff in her school district. Although very aware of the educational reform and the nature of the changes, she appeared to offer little systematic resistance to the reforms and appeared to implement the changes as a part of her job. The roles and responsibilities of the administrator in the Ministry of Education were substantively different. She had a considerable amount of positional power. She was in a strategic position to initiate changes that were in the interests of broad segments of Ontario society. As part of her job, she voiced numerous objections to many of the political directions about curriculum and assessment, but always worked within the democratic system to influence policy development.

Overall, each of the three administrators accepted the extra ordinary workload, including extended workdays that included regular evening meetings with a variety of stakeholders. While teachers too had their working days extended, there was general agreement that work outside of school hours was necessary, but intrusive and unwelcome.
The rush to implement so many policies that were not adequately supported with adequate training and resource materials generally frustrated both teachers and administrators.

Timetables, schedules and less formalized rhythms defined time boundaries within the school. Although the school day was highly structured, teachers (including the principal) seemed to like the predictability and security found within the school structures. The polychronic nature of teachers’ work meant that classroom life was very busy. It was here, however, that teachers had the maximum degree of freedom to control their time and activities within the school and school district. While the administrators appeared to have the most freedom to structure their time in their workplace, they were always on call – to respond to unforeseen incidents, the demands of political and/or senior staff, and to meet the needs of a variety of stakeholders – often at a moment’s notice.

Question 5: Time as a Lens for Change

Question 5 was concerned with documenting the implications for using time as lens for change in schools during socio-political contexts that involve profound and wide-ranging educational reforms.

During the course of the study, it became clear that reform policies and procedures shape and influence what happens in schools. Tinkering with change was not an option. The changes had a profound influence on the quality of teachers’ work lives. Beneath the surface of many of the educational reform policies are fundamental changes to technical-rational time, which in turn substantively reconfigure the personal and professional time tracks of educators. The definition of instructional time, with the resulting ramifications of
lost jobs, reduced planning time and labour unrest, has become the symbol of this government's commitment to centrally control the work of teachers.

The assumption in the current wave of educational reform in Ontario is that teachers are not working unless they spend the majority of their time in classrooms. As a result there is little or no scheduled time for planning, marking, reflecting on their work, collaborating with other educators, improving their knowledge and skills, and meeting with parents. Without acknowledgement that teaching requires scheduled time outside of the classroom and away from students, then there will always be a time tension amongst teachers. When workload is increased and support is limited, then the quality of teaching and student achievement may be jeopardized.

While individuals are ultimately responsible for the choices they make about how to allocate their time, the infrastructure of the workplace and the relations within the workplace affect those decisions. In an increasingly hurried culture, the time tracks and time pressures in our workplace and in our personal lives often clash. Losing the right to determine issues related to time and related working conditions such as class size effectively diminishes the scope and effectiveness of locally determined collective agreements. In other words, the working lives of teachers are being determined and controlled by policy makers far removed from the local circumstances affecting students, teachers and communities. In such a context, time is a lens that must be used to examine change.

Using time as a lens for examining practice adds rich new perspectives that enhance our understanding of teachers' and administrators' lives, educational reform and
implementation. If we truly focus on ways to redefine the meaning of time in education, to look at the impact of existing time structures and to support a public discourse about these issues, then perhaps a way can be found to negotiate political, labour and education imperatives. In the next section, some of the conceptual issues about time in the lives of teachers and administrators will be examined. While most of the time categories identified in the review of the literature emerged during this study, a few additional value-added concepts were identified.

6.4 Conceptual Basis of Educational Time

In this section I present a revised conceptual framework about time in education. Building on established concepts identified in the literature, I introduce five value-added concepts based on the empirical findings of this study.

Following an extensive review of the literature, I developed a typology that identified five time categories. Evidence of at least four of these categories was found in the findings from this study. Linear rational time (Coveney & Highfield, 1990; Giddens, 1984; Senge, 1999) dominated teachers’ lives in schools, as evidenced by timetables and scheduled meetings. Administrators constantly dealt with time as a limited resource and relied on linear rational views of time to manage and organize their numerous meetings and appointments. Temporal regularity and rhythmic time (Clandinin & Connelly, 1986; Zerubavel, 1981) also provided order and stability in the lives of both teachers and administrators. For example, teachers and administrators used calendars to identify recurring activities or holidays and cyclical events such as report cards or budget deliberations. Subjective time (Adam, 1995; Heidegger, 1962; Schutz, 1962) showed how
teachers and administrators were influenced by their lived experiences of time. The strength, passion and meaning of time came from these personally situated experiences. 

Socio-political time and socio-economic time (Giddens, 1984; Hargreaves, 1994; Slattery, 1995; Thompson, 1967) were seen as major forces behind the government's educational reform agenda. In this sense, time was used as a strategy to control the work of educators to limit the labour force and to control and redistribute expenditures.

Overt references to cultural time (Gell, 1996; Hall, 1983; Schein, 1992; Telban, 1998) did not emerge in the findings. While this conclusion depends on how one interprets the data, it is my belief that individuals made little mention of "the way we do things around here". Nevertheless, some of the references to collaboration and life in organizations do suggest that cultural time as a category merits consideration in subsequent research. Based on the findings of this study, however, I have chosen to omit this category from my revised conceptual framework.

In addition to linear rational time, temporal regularity and rhythmic time, subjective time, and socio-political time and socio-economic time, this study identified five value-added categories. While these five categories were discussed in the review of the literature, the analysis of the teachers' and administrators' interviews demonstrated the value of including these value-added categories in a revised conceptual framework. Appropriated time was referred to as colonization (Hargreaves, 1996) in the review of the literature. During the present study, this concept emerged as a serious concern for both teachers and administrators. Time was being appropriated from classroom instruction and from workplace activities on a regular and increasing basis. More importantly, the
The working day was being extended and time was being siphoned from the private and family time of both teachers and administrators on a routine basis. *Intensification* (Apple, 1983; Hargreaves, 1996) was one of the main consequences of persistent and unrelenting change. Individuals were being overwhelmed by the monumental task of implementing profound educational reform and changes that seemed to be never-ending. Without adequate scheduled planning time, resources and professional development, the task of keeping up was almost impossible. The pace was hectic, the workload excessive, and there was just too much to do. *Embodied time* (Shilling, 1993; Williams & Bendelow, 1998) was crafted as another time category because of the numerous references to lived experiences of time that resulted in frustration, tension, debilitation and stress. As a result of intensification and appropriated time many individuals felt that their health and sense of well being were at risk. Others made deliberate efforts to protect their private time that was devoted to maintaining physical fitness and well-being. *Historical and biographical time* (Goodson & Walker, 1991; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995) emerged primarily in the rich descriptions and reflections during the interviews with the administrators. Their observations are directly related to the life in the time of their own lives. As Schutz says, "It is within this duration that the meaning of a person's experiences is constituted for him as he lives through the experience" (cited in Telban, 1998, p.6). Finally, *private time* (Daly, 1997; Goffman, 1959; Zerubavel, 1981) is included as a separate time category because educators are constantly juggling the time pressures and demands of their public work life and their private life outside of work. In this category, private time also includes
personal and family time. Private time and public time serve to functionally and structurally differentiate time.

A brief overview of the implications of each of the nine categories in this revised conceptual framework appears in Table 3.

Table 3: Implications of Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME CATEGORY</th>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Linear Rational Time (Scheduled Time)</td>
<td>When an event is scheduled, then it is deemed to be important and usually gets done. Schedules are predictable and provide order, structure and a sense of security.</td>
<td>Schedules and timetables are often restrictive and can limit flexibility and creativity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Appropriated Time</td>
<td>Additional time is provided for urgent and important activities. When time is taken from other activities, then individuals are forced to evaluate how they value their time.</td>
<td>Power over individuals is usually used and can result in alienation. Time bankruptcy occurs in other areas. Work overload, confluence, tension and ill health may occur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intensification</td>
<td>Provides a sense of self-efficacy, increases level of participation, improves implementation, makes the organization dynamic, and improves productivity.</td>
<td>People are often overwhelmed and become debilitated. Quality of work may suffer. Burnout and disillusionment are likely to occur. If intensification and a hurried pace are persistent, then individuals may dropout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Embodied Time</td>
<td>Maintaining good health and well being supports workplace efficiency and productivity.</td>
<td>Exhaustion, stress and ill-health result in reduced efficiency and productivity. Absences and long-term disability can occur and these have financial implications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Temporal Regularity and Rhythmic Time</td>
<td>Respects the natural rhythms and cycles in life. Predictable and important part of culture. Facilitates the celebration of significant events and sacred parts of our lives.</td>
<td>Rhythms and cycles may clash with linear rational time. Some may also be stressful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Subjective Time</td>
<td>Lived experiences of time can be enjoyable and enhance meaning in our lives, positively influence our identity and provide a sense of confidence.</td>
<td>Some experiences can be frustrating and debilitating and challenge our self worth. Emotions can overwhelm and impact our sense of competence and adversely affect our involvement and productivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Historical &amp; Biographical Time</td>
<td>Increases understanding and supports personal narratives. Reflection over time provides perspective and renews vision and practice.</td>
<td>If time is ahistorical, then there is no sense of the past, there is an inability to learn and benefit from previous accomplishments, and to build on existing knowledge and skills.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Time of Our Lives

| 8. Socio-political Time & Socio-Economic Time | Tasks and expectations become clear, setting time boundaries for certain activities. Funding and public accountability are aligned with policy expectations and time priorities are established. | Centralized decisions are removed from local context and time expectations clash. Workplace and non-workplace time are colonized, without remuneration, to achieve policy expectations. |
| 9. Private Time | Finding a balance with work is essential for personal and family well being. | When usurped by work, personal and family well being are diminished. |

6.5 Conclusion

It was time for educational change in Ontario. In many ways, the changes that have occurred are "about time". The current pace, scope and substance of the changes are challenging the boundaries and very nature of teachers' and administrators' work. The centralization of policies and procedures results in mandated structures and procedures that increasingly define the work of teachers from a distance. As the demands and pressures to do more increase, teachers and administrators increasingly find themselves stealing time from their personal lives to keep up.

This study has demonstrated empirically that time is about more than clocks and schedules. Time is intricately connected to our lived experiences of time. It defines our very being and existence. When the government uses time as a political expedient and as a strategy to introduce educational reform that effectively controls the work of educators, then the professional and personal worth of those educators is challenged. As such, teachers and administrators must respond. The findings of this study and the resulting conceptual framework provide an informed way of critically voicing concerns and taking positive action.
This study has comprehensively examined the conceptual landscape of time and empirically investigated praxis in the lives of teachers and administrators. The taken-for-granted lived experiences of teachers and educational administrators were made more visible and problematic. The qualitative nature of this research contributes new knowledge that provides conceptual starting points for further investigation.

Time impacts every aspect of our lives. It is personal. It shapes our professional identity. As such, time merits our attention. As Mistry (1997) shows, time is something that each person must understand.

What an unreliable thing is time—when I want it to fly, the hours stick to me like glue. And what a changeable thing, too. Time is the twine to tie our lives into parcels of years and months. Or a rubber band stretched to suit our fancy. Time can be a pretty ribbon in a little girl’s hair. Or the lines on your face, stealing your youthful colour and your hair.” He sighed and smiled sadly. “But in the end, time is a noose around the neck, strangling slowly. (p. 599)

The findings of this study helped to unravel the meaning of time and the significant role it plays on a daily basis. However, the time has come for all educators to collectively reconstitute the meaning of time in their lives and to critically consider how best to make time their ally. Leadership is also required to ensure that the infrastructure of
the workplace and the relations within the workplace respect the time boundaries of all individuals. Time must be carefully aligned to support the roles and responsibilities of individuals as well as the goals of the organization.

During the course of this research there have been a number of publications about time in education (Adelman et al., 1997; Bruno, 1997; Flaherty, 1999; and Huyvaert, 1998). There have been continuing and dramatic political changes to legislation related to time issues in education. These increased public conversations about time and education make the stories of teachers and educational administrators uniquely relevant.

It is my hope that the ideas and the research presented in this study encourage renewed conversations about time in education. Perhaps the invisible and taken-for-granted meaning and practices that involve time can become more visible. Just as researchers explore the nooks and crannies of their data and creatively interrogate their data to understand better the phenomenon they are examining, I would encourage educators to reconsider critically how time influences the stuff of schooling. It is becoming clearer that rethinking time in education is integral to providing quality education for the twenty-first century.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX 1

TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1998 Follow Up (Year Three – Second Interview)

Preamble to Teacher Interview
Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed again. Like last time we are going to tape your comments, but you can ask us to stop the tape if there is something that you don’t want recorded. As we mentioned in the letter, your responses will be confidential and you will not be identified in any reports unless you give written permission.

We hope that this follow-up interview will give you a chance to reflect on what has happened for you in teaching over the last couple of years. We want to gather some information about how you feel and what you think about The Common Curriculum reforms now that you’ve had some time to work with them. This is not an evaluation of you. We want to know both about what you are and what you are not doing and why. Your responses will be analyzed along with the other teachers’ responses in the study to try to understand how teachers are experiencing the changes and responding to them. We will consider all that we have from the group of teachers that we are interviewing to prepare a report and will send you a summary when it is done, probably next year. We have left the interview format as unstructured and open as possible so that we can explore the issues from your perspective. Like last time, I will also ask you to describe a unit that you have done, in some detail. Since I do not have a lot of time with you, I may interrupt and redirect you along the way.
Interview Protocol

I'm going to start with some questions about your assignment and your class this year. (Note - move through this section fairly quickly, as a warm-up.)

Class Demographics

1. What grade level and subjects are you teaching? (Probe: i.e., rotary program, and split grade or straight)

2. How many students in your class(es)? (Range in rotary)

3. What is the gender split in your class(es)?

4. What is the racial, ethno cultural, linguistic makeup of your class(es)?

5. How would you describe your students in terms of range of academic abilities?

6. Are any of your students receiving additional support? (Probe – ESL, special education, peer tutoring).

7. How is your classroom physically organized? (Probe – rows, centres, eclectic)

Specific Curriculum Unit

One of the most interesting parts of the last interview was your description of a unit that exemplifies your approach to teaching and to assessment. I'd like you to do the same thing again. Pick a unit that you have done that you think worked well and is a good example of you as a teacher. Describe it for me, in detail. Tell me about what you as the teacher did in this unit (probe – what instructional strategies did you use? What resources did you use?)

8. What aspects of The Common Curriculum do you think this unit addressed?

9. What outcomes did it address?

10. What about curriculum integration?

11. Overall, how consistent do you think this unit is with The Common Curriculum?

12. What was not consistent with The Common Curriculum?
What did you look for as evidence to decide how well your students had met the outcomes? (Probe – How do you know what the students have learned? How did you know, as a teacher, what you were doing was working?)

How did you assess the learning in this unit? (Probe – What assessment approach(es) did you use? Why did you use these? How did you know they were successful?)

How consistent was this assessment with The Common Curriculum?

Is there anything you did that wasn’t prescribed by The Common Curriculum?

Did you use any student self-evaluation? Peer evaluation? If yes, describe.

How did your students do in relation to the outcomes covered in the unit?

What percentage achieved the outcomes?

How did you communicate or report progress to the students in this unit? To the parents?

How did you handle time issues in this unit? (Probe – What about timetables, prep time, homework, e.g., work done outside of school?)

Are there key activities other than the clock that determined how you implemented this unit?

There are occasions when time seems to fly by or drag on. Describe when this happened during this unit?

How did you ensure students had time to achieve the outcomes? (e.g., enrichment, remediation)

Why do you think this unit gives us a good sense of you as a teacher? (Probe – What is it are you proud of? What was particularly effective? Why?)

Looking back at the unit, is there anything you would have done differently? (e.g., in terms of instruction or assessment; in relation to The Common Curriculum)
The Time of Our Lives

The Bigger Picture of The Common Curriculum

Now that we’ve talked about a specific unit I want to ask a few questions about the bigger picture of The Common Curriculum.


28. How is what you’re doing now different with what you were doing two years ago?

29. To what degree are The Common Curriculum reforms compatible with your own attitudes/beliefs about the teaching/learning/assessment process?

30. To what degree are The Common Curriculum reforms incompatible with your own attitudes/beliefs about the teaching/learning/assessment process?

31. How do you think this affects you in terms of implementing The Common Curriculum?

32. Are your attitudes or beliefs significantly different from other teachers/administration/parents/board?

33. Do these influence or impact your own attitudes and beliefs in any way?

34. How much control do you feel you have over the implementation of The Common Curriculum?

35. How dependent are you on others for implementing reform initiatives?

36. How do you make The Common Curriculum reforms fit with the many other reforms that are occurring at the same time? (e.g., safe schools, equity) (Probe – How do you decide what gets implemented and what does not within your classroom?)

Description of a Teacher’s Day

In this section I’m interested in your relationship between home and school. I’d like to ask you to describe a day in your life for me, so that I can get a feel for what a day in the life of a teacher includes.
37. Even though it may not be a typical day, describe your last teaching day for me. Feel free to editorialize, tell me how you felt about the day and about individual events or activities within it, what was on your mind, what worked and what didn’t work, how you handled situations that arose. Pretend I’m a diary and you’re trying to capture your day in words and ideas and feelings. So, just start with getting up in the morning and walk me through the day, step by step. (Probe – including out-of-school, full day, no gaps. What happened in classes; how did you feel?)

This School and Your Place in It

The next few questions are about your school and your place in it.

38. Describe your role in your school. (e.g., in terms of leadership, decision-making, assignment)

39. Has it changed over the last two years?

40. What kind of place is your school?

41. How are you controlled/limited in what you do in terms of time demands imposed by the school or other people?

42. Describe your relationships with students/colleagues/administration/parents.

43. Can you talk openly with your administration?

44. Do teachers work in isolation or do they pull together?

45. How do students interact with each other in the school?

Reflections

46. Looking back over the past two years, what obstacles have you experienced during implementation of The Common Curriculum in terms of instruction? In terms of assessment? (e.g., materials, organizational, political and human barriers in your work)

47. How have you tried to overcome these obstacles?

48. How did you feel about these obstacles? (positive and negative feelings)
49. Again, in retrospect, what has been a support for you or facilitated what you had wanted to do? (Probe – Where did you get your knowledge for assessment strategies? outcomes?)

50. Who has provided leadership?

51. What about staff development (Probe – any teacher collaboration?)

52. What support would you have liked that you didn’t get?

53. Have you found any particular personal coping strategies to be effective in dealing with these changes?

54. How would you describe yourself as a learner?

55. What keeps you learning?

56. Reflecting on the past two years, how have issues related to “time” influenced your work? (e.g. time for preparation, professional development time for reflection, inquiry)

57. What do you think your principal believes are the key ways time influences your work?

58. Have there been any changes in your personal circumstances that have influenced your work during the last few years?

59. How do you balance time between work and your personal life?

60. Describe the relationship of your work to your life interests and commitments (e.g., interest in children, commitment to life-long learning, commitment to family, interests in the arts, music, sports)

61. What positive/negative feelings do you have about all the changes you experienced in the last two years in your work?

62. What positive/negative feelings do you have about all of the changes you experienced in the last two years in your personal life?

63. Is there anything you’d like to add about your experience with The Common Curriculum reforms that hasn’t been discussed? (e.g., concerns about The Common Curriculum, recommendations, etc.)
Thanks for being willing to talk to me. As we mentioned in the letter, we may also send you a short questionnaire before the end of the school year.
Dear <name>,

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for agreeing to participate in my research project about time in education. As you know, this research is being undertaken as part of the thesis requirements for my doctoral studies at OISE/UT. The purpose is to describe educators' perspectives about time during periods of profound educational change.

During this phase of my research I will interview you, and two other administrators, four times over the next two-three months. The purpose of these interviews is to describe your daily encounters with time and thoughts about temporal issues in your workplace. It is my intent to make time human by writing a narrative/story about your experiences with and interpretations of time in education.

The interviews will be conducted as conversations between you and me; each interview will last about one and one-half hours. Let me confirm the times and places of the interviews that we have scheduled:

Interview 1: <date>
Interview 2: <date>
Interview 3: <date>
Interview 4: <date>

Let me take a few moments to clarify some issues that I believe you must consider before participating further in this phase of the research study. I would like to ensure that these issues are addressed in our first meeting together and that we continue to discuss any related concerns as they arise.

*Informed Consent:*

The interviews will be conducted as a purposeful conversation. All interviews will be tape-recorded and transcripts of our conversations prepared.

These transcripts along with any other information that you provide will be used by me to tell your story about your experiences with, your perspectives of and your interpretations of time in your day-to-day activities. As such it will be important to capture the
The uniqueness of who you are. Your thoughts and feelings about time, as well as your experiences involving time, will be an important part of the data collection and the narrative that I write.

Since this is your story, I will provide you with opportunities to read and comment on my draft writings based on the interview transcripts. In this way you will have an opportunity to help me craft the final product. My intent is to prepare a narrative that describes the personal meaning of time in education that is uniquely yours.

**Confidentiality:**
It is likely that the interview transcripts will be shared with members of my dissertation committee as required. They will not, however, be shared with any other person without your consent.

Working closely with you I will select a pseudonym and make necessary changes to protect your identity as much as possible. It should be noted, however, that the unique nature of your job might make it difficult to guarantee total anonymity in any written account, especially the completed dissertation.

**Voluntary Participation:**
I want to stress that your participation is voluntary. A decision on your part to withdraw during any phase of the study will be respected.

**Potential Risks:**
The greatest potential risk that I foresee is the difficulty in ensuring total anonymity. While I will work closely with you on this matter, it is important that you recognize the implications of this possibility.

The above issues are a few areas that must be considered at the outset. Given the challenging task of writing a narrative about your ideas and experiences, it is my belief that respectful communication and collaboration between you and me are the best ways to proceed.

In addition to clarifying some of these issues, it is my hope that our first interview on <date> will provide some general background information about you and your current work. I am looking forward to our conversations. Once again, I am most grateful that you have agreed to join me on this part of my dissertation journey.

Sincerely

Clay Lafleur