A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATOR WORKAHOLIC BEHAVIOUR

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work. I agree to deposit this thesis in the University’s open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

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Summary

There is a necessity for multi-level multidisciplinary research within the field of workaholism research. Disagreement on how to define workaholism and how to measure it prevails. The ambiguity surrounding conceptualisation and the prevalence of quantitative research in the field has resulted in an array of knowledge gaps. Moreover, research has traditionally explored the concept on an individual level, largely ignoring the influence of meso and macro factors. Subsequently, antecedents and outcomes are not fully understood.

This research builds a multi-level transdisciplinary model of workaholic behaviour in higher education (HE) educators through the application of an array of established theories such as self-determination theory (SDT), conservation of resources (COR) theory, rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, microfoundations institutionalism and JD-R (job demands and job resources) theory (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Boxenbaum, 2019; Lewis, Cardy, & Huang, 2019; Markey-Towler, 2019; Staelens & Louche, 2017; Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Hobfoll, 2011; 2001, 1989; Deci & Ryan, 2008; Scott, 2004; Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001; Hobfoll & Lilly, 1993; Deci & Ryan, 1985a). It utilises a constructivist grounded theory approach to data collection, analysis and theory construction. In total, twenty-seven educators within the greater Dublin region, from an array of higher education institutions (HEIs), were interviewed.

Interviews took place from September 2018 to January 2019. 411 initial codes, six categories and twelve focused codes were constructed during the interview and analysis process. Ultimately, the multi-level model encompasses five major categories which explain the workaholic behaviour of educators. The categories were constructed through the iterative process of initial coding, focused coding and memo-writing. Where possible in vivo codes were used to let the data breadth and avoid forcing theoretical fit onto the data.

1. Juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system (Macro and meso-level)
2. Interruptions (Macro and meso-level)
3. Differing goals and aims in life (Meso and micro-level)
4. Looking around at the landscape to get ahead (Macro, meso and micro-level)
5. (Non) compartmentalising (Macro, meso and micro-level)

HE is the foundation of human capital, a key component of the productivity equation in economics. Productivity is related to GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and GDP is a standard measure of well-being across nations. Human capital is cultivated through higher education institutions (HEIs) via the educators within them. Thus, educators play a pivotal role in nurturing human capital. Education is an increasingly globally competitive industry. HEIs not only compete nationally but also internationally to attract and retain the best staff and students. Comparisons are typically based upon rankings. Hence, Irish HEIs compete against institutions operating within different systems. This can create problems, as Irish HE is typically funded by Government. That is, HEIs are reliant on government funding to ensure they have the resources needed to meet the demands of the external environment. Subsequently, macro-level factors influence meso-level factors. HEIs are hierarchical structures with informal and formal constraint. Governments can create formal constraint through policy. Whereas informal constraints are psycho-socially constructed. Both forms of constraint are influenced by macro-level factors. Informal constraints such as rules and norms within the HEI can guide educators to behave a certain way depending on their goals within the institution. Importantly, this underlines the importance of micro variables pertaining to motivation and behaviour. In combination, the HEI and macro environment interact with micro-level factors to influence behaviour at work, which in some circumstances manifests as workaholic behaviour. As such, the research defines the workaholic behaviour of HE educators as an inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli.
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Abbreviations

ABS: Affect Balance Scale
BPS: Biopsychosocial model
BWAS: The Bergen Work Addiction Scale
CBT: Cognitive behavioural therapy
CCI: The Centre for Clinical Interventions
CFA: Confirmatory factor analysis
CME: Coordinated market economies
COR: Conservation of Resources
CSO: Central Statistics Office
DSM: Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
EFA: Exploratory factor analysis
ESL: English as a Second Language
EUA: European University Association
FDI: Foreign direct investment
FFM: Five-Factor Model
HE: Higher education
HEA: Higher education authority
HEI: Higher education institute
HSE: The Health Service Executive
IDA: Industrial Development Authority Ireland
IoT: Institute of Technology
IUA: Irish Universities Association
JD-R: The job demands-resources model
LME: Liberal market economy
NA: Negative affect
NAC: Nucleus accumbens
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OCPD: Obsessive-Compulsive Personality Disorder
OCS: Overstudy Climate Scale
OFF-TAJD: Off-work hours technology-assisted job demands
OIT: Organismic Integration Theory
PA: Positive affect
SAA: Selection-attraction-attrition
SDT: Self Determination Theory
SSI: Semi-structured interview
SUSI: Student Universal Support Ireland
THEWR: Times Higher Education World University Rankings
University and College Union: UCU
USP: Unique selling point
UWES: Utrecht Work Engagement Scale
VLE: Virtual learning environment
VoC: Varieties of capitalism
WART: The Work Addiction Risk Test
WC: Working compulsively
WE: Working excessively
WorkBat: The Workaholism Battery
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study, the research context, the research questions and research paradigm. The focus of this PhD thesis is workaholic behaviour of educators working within higher education institutes (HEIs) in the greater Dublin region. The outcome of the research is a presentation of the organisational and individual factors influencing educator workaholic behaviour. More precisely, how an HEI can influence workaholism and how institutional factors combine with individual factors to intensify the need for workaholic behaviour.

1.2 Context

Everybody has some idea about workaholism; however, these beliefs are seldom grounded in research findings (Kun, 2018). For instance, Hollywood has portrayed workaholism as ‘sexy’ and socially acceptable through its use of youth, attractiveness and ambition in films such as ‘Up in the air’ (2009), ‘Devil wears Prada’ (2006) and ‘The intern’ (2015) (Quinones, 2018, p.880). In the literature, numerous workaholism descriptions exist (Lior & Abira, 2018). It has been described as an addiction, an attitude, a behaviour, a compulsion, a psychological state, a trait, a syndrome and an obsession (Andreassen, 2014; Andreassen, Hetland, & Pallesen, 2014; Aziz & Zickar, 2006; Burke & Matthiesen, 2004; Harpaz & Snir, 2003; McMillan, O’ Driscoll, & Burke, 2003; Scott, Moore, & Miceli, 1997). Thus, researchers tend to disagree on what the main dimensions are in this multidimensional construct (Lior & Abira, 2018).

Several measurement tools serve as the main method of identifying workaholics including the Workaholism Battery (WorkBat), the Work Addiction Risk Test (WART) and Dutch Work Addiction Scale (DUWAS) (Schaufeli, Shimazu, & Taris, 2009c; Robinson, 2000b; Spence & Robbins, 1992). Measurement tools
are grounded in several theoretical models of workaholism, such as the medical model of addiction, the psychological model of addiction, learning theory, trait theory, personality models, cognitive theory, family systems and a combination of various theories to form a biopsychosocial model (Astakhova & Hogue, 2013; Eysenck, 1997; Griffiths, 2005a; Griffiths, 1996a; Marlatt, Baer, Donovan, & Kivlahan, 1988; McMillan, O Driscoll, & Burke, 2003; Robinson & Kelley, 1998). Furthermore, numerous typologies have been presented (Ng et al., 2007). Thence, it is unclear if there are different types or how many types of workaholics exist since empirical evidence is lacking (Ng et al., 2007). Essentially, concrete definitions, outcomes, antecedents and relationships are unknown, which is why further work is needed to advance our knowledge. More precisely, research on workaholism ‘is still in its infancy’ (Andreassen, Schaufeli, & Pallesen, 2018, p. 858).

More recently, empirical research has begun to focus more on organisational variables, which previously, were largely ignored in favour of individual factors (Keller, Spurk, Baumeler, & Hirschi, 2016). For example, scholars in the field such as Schaufelli (2016), Andreassen, Nielsen, Pallesen and Gjerstad (2019), Converso, Sottimano, Molinengo and Loera (2019) and Molino and colleagues (2019) have conducted studies exploring social elements of workaholism. This level of research takes us from the micro-level exploration of individual characteristics to the meso-level work environment such as climate and relationship dynamics (Tóth-Király, Bőthe, & Orosz, 2018). Importantly, studies have found high workaholism rates in HE (higher education) educators (Hogan, Hogan, & Hodgins, 2016; Rezvani, Bouju, Keriven-Dessomme, Moret, & Grall-Bronnec, 2014), when compared against other professions (e.g. Andreassen, Griffiths, Hetland, & Pallesen, 2012; Sussman, Lisha, & Griffiths, 2011). Theoretically, the antecedents of high rates in HE may be attributable to micro, meso, macro or a combination of multilevel factors. For example, the individual, the institution and the socio-economic situation within the country may play a role in workaholic behaviour (Tóth-Király et al., 2018). Therefore, further research within this specific context is needed.
In addition to high workaholism rates, research in the HE field has recorded high-stress levels, problems with reward and progression systems, work-life balance problems and long working hours (Opstrup & Pihl-Thingvad, 2016; Chen, Haniff, Siau, Seet, Loh, Jamil, Sa’at, & Baharum, 2014; Bryson, 2004; Gillespie et al., 2001). These factors left educators questioning their value and desire to stay in the industry (Kinman et al., 2006; Winter & Sarros, 2002). Teaching was a source of strain or dissatisfaction when student/staff ratios and time spent grading was high, and when investment income and student quality was low (Bentley, Coates, Dobson, Goedegebuure, & Lynn-Meek, 2013a; Lackritz, 2004; Winefield, Gillespie, Stough, Dua, Hapuarachchi, & Boyd, 2003). Moreover, when educators had both a teaching and a research role, they had higher levels of strain than others working in their respective institutes (Winefield et al., 2003; Gillespie et al., 2001; Winefield & Jarrett, 2001). Work-life conflict is significantly and positively related to physical and psychological health (Catano, Francis, Haines, Kirpilani, Shannon, Stringer, & Lozanzi, 2010; Coetzee & Rothmann, 2005). Problems in this area coupled with limited social lives can leave educators feeling guilty about not spending time with their families (Paduraru, 2014; Kinman & Jones, 2003). Educators have also been found to worry, have problems sleeping, feel lonely and isolated, become physically and psychologically ill, find it hard to switch off, take leaves of absence and move to part-time loads (Lawless et al., 2016; Jerejian et al., 2013; Winter & Sarros, 2002; Gillespie et al., 2001). Essentially, the working situation for many educators differs dramatically from the public perception of a low-stress occupation (Hogan et al., 2016). These findings, along with my professional experience within the industry are the basis for this research. Again, the antecedents of the outcomes presented above can be on a micro, meso or macro-level.

HEIs are responsible for ‘the social, cultural and economic development of Ireland and its people’ (HEA, 2017). Despite a diverse range of institutes and corresponding missions, all HEIs should support national objectives (ibid.). ‘Access to higher education should be available to individuals independent of socio-economic disadvantage, gender, geographical location, disability or other circumstances’ (Higher Education Authority (HEA), 2015, p.14). Across Europe, the goal of HE is learning and teaching, social inclusion and employability.
HE is a key driver in the development of the Irish economy and society. HE generates new ideas, it supports job creation, and in the globalised world, it creates opportunities across borders (Department of Education and Skills, 2011). Based on published data, more people are now accessing HE in Ireland year on year (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2018).

From the period 2013 until 2017, there was an eight per cent growth in student numbers in Irish HEIs, along with an eight per cent increase in academic staff and a two per cent increase in non-academic staff (HEA, 2019a). Importantly, not only are student numbers increasing, so too is the diversity of students attending HEIs according to the National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030. For example, the strategy seeks to increase participation in HE for those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. With changing student profiles and needs, HEIs need to find new ways to educate whilst enhancing quality (Department of Education and Skills, 2011). More precisely, the demand for third level education is growing alongside the breadth of student needs and with that HEIs must find ways to manage increased demand. For example, inclusive policies, which seek to increase the engagement of disadvantaged communities in HE, require a holistic, person-centred approach (Aontas, 2019). However, the ability to meet such demands considering the student to educator ratios in Irish HE is questionable. For example, during the period of the financial crisis, demand for HE places grew by 17 per cent from 2004/2005 to 2014/2015, whilst staff numbers reduced (Irish Universities Association (IUA), 2016).

In summary, the individual drivers of workaholism can be explored at a micro-level through a multitude of models, as described at the beginning of this section. Through the lens of rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, and microfoundations institutionalism, both micro and meso-level drivers can be explored, as this encompasses informal and formal constraint such as regulations, norms, sanctions and shared conceptions which influence behaviour (Staelens & Louche, 2017; Scott, 2004; Scott, 2003) whilst simultaneously recognising the key role of individual desires, emotions and mental networks in guiding behaviour (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Boxenbaum, 2019; Markey-Towler, 2019). Furthermore, regulative pillars within neo-institutional theory, in
combination with globalised education models, can explain macro-level variables which influence meso and micro factors through rules, funding and standards (Scott, 2004, 2003). The situation within HEIs and the complexity of their structure and stakeholders bolster the need for multilevel exploration of educator workaholic behaviour. Hence, this research model recognises the capacity for different levels to influence one another rather than functioning independently (Tóth-Király et al., 2018).

1.3 Research questions

This study examines how and why educators work the way they do. The objective of the thesis is to explore where workaholic behaviour could be evident in HEIs, based on various tools and theories presented in the literature, rather than to identify and classify workaholics in the sample, which has been the approach of previous research. The rationale for exploration, as opposed to classification, relates to the ambiguity surrounding conceptualisations and measurement tools. By following an explorative approach, the data collection, coding and model building can remain open to numerous theoretical possibilities. Moreover, it avoids forcing a fit onto the data. Support for this approach exists in the literature. For example, Tóth-Király and colleagues (2018) implore workaholism researchers to explore the interaction between attitudes, situations, culture and individual factors. Furthermore, Malinowska (2018) notes that qualitative techniques could produce preliminary data for future quantitative research. That is, the data from a grounded theory could be utilised in future large-scale positivist research. The study is based on two research questions:

1. How does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?

2. How do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators?

The first research question seeks to identify the institutional factors which influence an educator's work behaviour. It analyses the workload of educators
and any changes they believe have occurred recently. It explores relationships between educators and their colleagues in terms of support, how the HEI rewards performance and if the system of reward is perceived favourably. Secondly, it examines the role of individual factors driving working behaviour. To do so, it explores the educator's initial attraction to HE, the aspects of their job they enjoy, what is unenjoyable, their career aspirations and how they evaluate their current position. The combination of the HEI and individual aspects are the basis of the grounded theory in explaining how and why workaholic behaviour presents itself in educators through a three-level model.

1.4 Research paradigm

The study follows a constructivist grounded theory approach. To explore the two research questions identified earlier, semi-structured interviews (SSIs) were constructed. Research requires consideration of methodologies and methods, which are influenced by how we view the world (Crotty, 2015; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013). A paradigm is a basic set of beliefs guiding one's action which consists of ontology, epistemology and methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994a) or as Kuhn preferred a ‘disciplinary matrix’ (Burrell, 1997). Ontological and epistemological assumptions influence the methodological implications and techniques of data collection (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989). Constructivists, which the researcher identifies as, study how questions ‘in a world that is acted upon and interpreted’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 541).

Unlike a positivist who will traditionally use surveys, measurements, scales and questionnaires to collect their data (Crotty, 1998), shared experiences and relationships with participants guide the data creation and analysis (Charmaz, 2014). Hence, this paradigm has aspects of symbolic interactionism, ethnography and phenomenology (Bergin, Wells & Owen, 2010). It combines objectivity and subjectivity. Since constructivists believe individuals construct knowledge from experience and social interaction, which then forms reality (Given, 2008), SSIs with educators are an ideal method of data collection. Moreover, the underlying epistemological goal of qualitative research is to understand complexity rather than isolate variables to identify causal
relationships (Flick, von Kardoff, & Steinke, 2004). Hence, this satisfies the emphasis of constructivism, which is Verstehen (to understand) (Given, 2008).

Simply put, the goal of this research is to understand how and why educators work the way they do. Through constructivism, how and why questions are answered via interactions between the researcher and the interviewees. Interview data were coded through an iterative process encompassing initial coding, focus coding, axial coding and category construction. The construction of codes in this manner ensures the thesis remains grounded in the reality lived by interviewees, namely educators and not a priori literature. This is critical in constructivist grounded theory to avoid forcing theory on the data (Charmaz, 2014). Instead, theory was used post code construction to provide a theoretical explanation underpinning the codes and categories. To Dunne (2011), the application of literature to the codes depends on the evolution of the project.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis begins with chapter one which introduces the reader to the thesis topic, the context and the philosophical beliefs underpinning the study. It sets out the flow of the thesis to facilitate the sequential development of the study. Chapters two and three discuss the literature reviewed in the formulation of the research questions. Chapter two explores the topic of workaholism. It highlights the various viewpoints within the literature and how little consensus has been reached to date as to how it is conceptualised (Schaufeli, Shimazu, & Taris, 2009c; Snir & Harpaz, 2012; Ng, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2007). Chapter three presents the various literature reviewed concerning the job of educators within HEIs from across the globe. Chapter three concludes with a presentation of the research questions which were constructed based on existing knowledge and gaps within the literature.

Chapter four opens with a discussion of the researcher’s ontological and epistemological viewpoints which led to the chosen methodology, constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). It outlines the recruitment process, data
collection procedures, treatment of data and coding procedures from the initial coding process to the construction of categories. It concludes with an evaluation of grounded theory and methods to improve credibility, originality and resonance as outlined by (Charmaz, 2014).

Chapters five and six describe the construction of focused codes and categories concerning research question one and two respectively. Four categories and five focused codes and two categories and six focused codes are discussed in chapter five and six respectively. These codes form the basis of the grounded theory in chapter seven. To avoid contaminating codes, literature was largely unused in chapters five and six. This strategy enabled the data to breathe without forcing a fit onto pre-existing ideas. Chapter seven opens with a presentation of the grounded theory, a multi-level multi-disciplinary model of educator workaholic behaviour. Literature plays a significant role in chapter seven, explaining the connection between in vivo categories and a priori theory and how this relates to workaholic behaviour. The grounded theory is underpinned by several theories within the psychological and sociological fields, which are described in detail. Essentially, the final chapter provides support for the grounded theory by building upon a priori knowledge, extending existing models and offering new insights into existing phenomena. To conclude, the final chapter evaluates the study, outlines the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions, and finally provides thirteen recommendations for HEIs and areas for future research.

1.6 Research contributions

The outcome of the research has empirical, theoretical and practical contributions. This thesis expands our knowledge of workaholic behaviour. It explores what influences it from a transdisciplinary and multi-level perspective and provides a new definition of workaholic behaviour within a HE setting, which builds on a 2020 definition from Clark, Smith and Haynes. In a field where researchers cannot agree on the various elements, the constructivist grounded theory approach builds a model which reflects the complexities of real-life experiences of educators, which can then be further tested (Kim, 2019; Lior &
Abira, 2018; Kirrane, Breen, & O’Connor, 2018; Malinowska, 2018; Torp, Lysfjord, & Midje, 2018) and it builds knowledge in an area which is ‘still in its infancy’ (Andreassen et al., 2018, p. 858).

Previous research has connected workaholism with individual factors such as personality, including neuroticism, conscientiousness, openness and agreeableness (Balducci et al., 2018; Moore & Jackson, 2016; Andreassen et al., 2014; Mazzetti et al., 2014; Andreassen et al., 2010; Clark et al., 2010; Burke, et al., 2006a). On the meso-level, it has been associated with job factors such as job demands (Andreassen et al., 2018; Molino et al., 2016; Taris et al., 2005), emotional demands (Gillet et al., 2017) and career prospects (Clark et al., 2014a; Burke (2001a). Through an exploration of the HE context, a model of educator workaholic behaviour was constructed (Figure 34) which encompasses macro, meso and micro-level variables. In the model, the interaction between micro and meso-macro variables influences behaviour. The behaviour displayed is dependent on the components at each level and the environment their interaction creates. The exploration of micro, meso and macro-level factors influencing workaholic behaviour unveiled attitudes, situations, culture and individual factors which have been unknown to date (Tóth-Király et al., 2018). As such, the model expands knowledge on the multidimensional variables which researchers have not been able to reach agreement on (Lior & Abira, 2018).

The model is constructed and supported through the application of an array of established theories such as self-determination theory (SDT), conservation of resources (COR) theory, JD-R (job demands and job resources) theory, microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutional theory (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Boxenbaum, 2019; Lewis, Cardy, & Huang, 2019; Markey-Towler, 2019; Staelens & Louche, 2017; Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Hobfoll, 2011; 2001, 1989; Deci & Ryan, 2008; Scott, 2004; Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001; Hobfoll & Lilly, 1993; Deci & Ryan, 1985a). As a multi-level model, the grounded theory not only goes beyond individual factors, which has been missing in the literature (Molino, Cortese, & Ghislieri, 2019; Griffiths, Demetrovics, & Atroszko, 2018; Loscalzo & Giannini,
it is also a transdisciplinary model, which Quinones (2018) argues is needed to bring focus away from disciplinary restraints.

Within specific pockets of the workaholism literature, outstanding questions relate to motivation and self-esteem. For instance, Loscalzo and Giannini (2017) note that individual motivational drivers of workaholism have not been unexplored and Aziz, Zamary and Wuensch (2018) claim that the impact of a work environment on self-esteem and self-efficacy has been largely unexplored. In this study, SDT is a core feature of the theoretical model explaining workaholic behaviour. It connects in vivo data with a well-established typology of motivation. Due to its multi-level construction, it explores the influence of meso-level variables, namely the work environment through the lens of institutional theory, on motivation, thus building a connection between meso and micro-level theory. Furthermore, the study demonstrated that the work environment impacts affect. More specifically, negative affect (NA) and positive affect (PA). It analysed how motivation and the work environment impacted affect and how the combination of elements influenced behaviour through the application of COR theory. Ultimately, the model demonstrates how multi-level multidisciplinary explanations of workaholic behaviour are required. Hence, the model builds knowledge on the mechanism of workaholic behaviour in an organisation, how objective variables influence working hours and working behaviour and how their work behaviour makes them feel (Fontinha, Easton and Van Laar, 2019; Huyghebaert, Fouquereau, Lahiani, Beltou, Gimenes, & Gillet, 2018; Gillet, Morin, Cougot, & Gagné, 2017; Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017).

It is important to note, as an aide-memoire, that researchers, using quantitative methods have been unable to reach consensus on a definition. In fact, Griffiths and colleagues (2018), in their special article on ten myths about work addiction, query the use of the words workaholism and work addiction interchangeably, proposing that both may not be the same construct, as the former is a general term and the latter is psychological. In response, Kun (2018) criticises the simplicity of the argument and suggests that more differentiation is needed. On the other hand, Sussman (2018) dismisses the proposal arguing that a word is whatever it means in the context. This study defines workaholic behaviour as an
inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli. It was built through the transformation of 411 codes into six major categories, which was then underpinned by various definitions within the field. Thus, the definition is therefore grounded in data within a specific context, HE. It, therefore, provides an empirically supported definition, which beliefs are seldom based on (Kun, 2018). Furthermore, it supports Clark and colleagues (2020) definition of workaholism as a motivational, cognitive, emotional and behavioural construct as code construction unveiled motivational, cognitive, emotional and behavioural drivers on workaholism.

Through the construction of a holistic model of educator workaholic behaviour, the study utilises sociological, microfoundational and rational choice processes within institutions to explore behaviour at macro, meso and micro levels. To my knowledge, this is the only study which has utilised institutional viewpoints to explain workaholism and therefore contributes to workaholism research and the institutional theory sphere. Underpinning the model are sociological, psychological and regulative arguments regarding rules, punishment and rewards, individual motivations, emotions, cognitions, information processing, scanning and decision making. All of which, are explained through a transdisciplinary multi-level model including SDT, COR theory, JD-R theory, microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutional theory. Since the model provides a holistic explanation for the behaviour of educators in a HE context, it answers calls for studies examining the role of organisations in promoting or discouraging workaholism (Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017). Consequently, this study offers alternative avenues of research for both workaholism researchers and institutional researchers. Specifically, this research calls for future research to explore micro, meso and macro-level drivers of workaholism. In doing so, scholars should consider the utilisation of microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutional theory perspectives to analyse the role of micro, meso and macro-level drivers of emotions, cognitions, motivations which ultimately lead to workaholic behaviour.
As the research was conducted within a specific context, HE, thirteen recommendations are detailed in section 7.3. Recommendations are subdivided under four categories:

1. Recommendations focusing on student engagement
2. Recommendations facilitating the preparation and delivery of up-to-date material
3. Recommendations assisting early career educators to publish
4. Recommendations fostering a sense of control

According to Molino, Bakker and Ghislieri (2016), practical implications for dealing with workaholic behaviour in a specific context are lacking in the literature. Each recommendation is based on in vivo data and how it relates to behaviour at work. If workaholic behaviour is influenced by stimuli, the institution can set the tone regarding expectations and requirements. Each recommendation considers the social structure of HEIs. Through the lens of institutional theory, several regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars were described by interviewees. These perceptions reflect the elements guiding their behaviour (Staelens & Louche, 2017; Scott, 2004). Ergo, the thesis has practical implications for HEIs.
CHAPTER 2. WORKAHOLISM LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore how workaholism has been defined in the literature, how it is conceptualised, how it is measured, what it relates to, how it impacts individuals, how it is facilitated and where knowledge gaps remain. This will shed light on where future research is needed, hence justifying the study. The process of reviewing extant literature serves as a starting point for the construction of SSI (semi-structured interview) questions. The literature review commenced with a search for meta-analyses and reviews of workaholism in September 2015 via the TCD library database for Google Scholar. The search terms used were “workahol*” AND “meta-analysis” and “workahol*” AND “review”. From there, I reviewed the reference lists and used the forward citation function to identify key authors and areas of disagreement and agreement. This process was ongoing throughout the PhD. To record my reading, I tabulated the literature according to the categories I constructed. Categories constructed divided work based on the type of paper- theoretical or empirical, both quantitative and qualitative. Furthermore, as my knowledge in the area developed, I was able to construct subcategories- stress, burnout, addiction, climate, leadership, resources and demands. Naturally, this evolved over the project and ultimately informed the final division of this chapter to include the various conceptualisations of the construct.

2.2 What is workaholism?

In 1968, Wayne E. Oates, an American Minister and Psychologist confessed ‘I have concluded that I myself have an addiction that is far more socially acceptable than that of the alcoholic's addiction. It is certainly more profitable. Nevertheless, when it comes to being a human being, it can be an addiction as destructive of me as a person as any other addiction. I am addicted to work’ (p.
Thirty years later, Robinson (1998a) described workaholism as the ‘best-dressed mental health problem of the twentieth century’ (p. 260), illuminating its acceptance in society. Hence, the term workaholism stems from an analogy to alcoholism, which has become a part of colloquial language in modern times (Andreassen, 2014).

Workaholism is treated as a work addiction by most scholars (Clark, Michel, Zhdanova, Pui, & Baltes, 2014a). Notwithstanding, empirical research on workaholism is scarce (Schaufeli, 2016; Mudrack & Naughton, 2001). Despite the widespread use of the term workaholism, little consensus about its meaning exists (Schaufeli et al., 2009c; Snir & Harpaz, 2012; Ng, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2007). Authors have described it as an attitude, a trait, a behaviour, a compulsion, a syndrome, an addiction, a psychological state and/or an obsession (Andreassen, 2014; Andreassen et al., 2014; Aziz & Zickar, 2006; Burke & Matthiesen, 2004; Harpaz & Snir, 2003; McMillan, O’ Driscoll, & Burke, 2003; Scott et al., 1997). It has also been portrayed as both a positive and negative phenomenon (Clark, Michel, Zhdanova, Pui, & Baltes, 2014a). Moreover, very little is known about its affective nature or the type of people affected by it (Clark et al., 2014a; Andreassen, Griffiths, Hetland, & Pallesen, 2012a).

Spending a considerable amount of time working is a common theme in most definitions of workaholism (Van Wijhe, Peeters, & Schaufeli, 2014). However, people are often erroneously classified as workaholics solely based on hours worked (Ten Brummelhuis, Rothbard, & Uhrich, 2017). Aziz and Zickar (2006) and Porter (1996) asserted that researchers must not focus on hours worked alone. They argued that this is not a good measure of workaholism as other factors may play a role such as being intrinsically motivated to work long hours due to an inability to disengage. Indeed, Kirrane, Breen and O’Connor (2018) found that lay definitions were multidimensional. More specifically, workaholics defined workaholism in terms of addictions, personal choice and the influence of personal characteristics. Ten Brummelhuis et al. (2017) and Oates (1971) both included compulsion in their workaholism definitions. The existence of two dimensions, one behavioural and one cognitive, is important as it suggests that workaholism is a syndrome. Syndrome, stems from the Greek word ‘sundromē’
and is defined as ‘any combination of signs and symptoms that are indicative of a particular disease or disorder’ and ‘a symptom, characteristic, or set of symptoms or characteristics indicating the existence of a condition, problem, etc.’ (Collins Dictionary, 2018). In fact, Taris, Geurts, Schaufeli, Blonk and Lagerveld’s (2008, p. 154) defined workaholism as ‘a syndrome of working long hours while being unable to detach from work’. This also fits the definition of workaholism offered by Schaufeli, Taris and Bakker (2008) and Schaufeli et al., (2009a, b).

As noted above, one of the major characteristics of workaholism is working long hours (Schaufeli, Bakker, Van der Heijden, & Prins, 2009a; 2009b; Bonebright, Clay, & Ankenmann, 2000; Scott et al., 1997). Ng and colleagues (2007) asserted that this is due to addiction. Accordingly, another key characteristic often discussed in the literature is addiction, as described by Oates (1968), Robinson (1998a) and Andreassen (2014) to name a few. Additionally, some have mentioned low enjoyment at work (e.g. Spence & Robbins, 1992). Characteristics of workaholics might vary depending on the type of workaholic in question. Numerous typologies have been presented, however many of these lack evidence and consistency (Ng et al., 2007). Despite such inconsistency, workaholism likely exists in a variety of forms and not all workaholics possess the same characteristics.

2.3 Theoretical approaches to workaholism

Since Oates’ initial paper on workaholism (1968), various scholars have proposed numerous predictors of workaholism. Most empirical research on predictors has explored dispositional variables, work-related variables and, more recently, contextual-organisational variables (Keller, Spurk, Baumeler, & Hirschi, 2016). Workaholism is likely formed by a variety of factors which encompass all of the variables (Andreassen, Hetland, & Pallesen, 2010; Ng et al., 2007). Griffiths (2005b) suggested that a combination of physiological, psychological, social and cultural rewards associated with a behaviour will impact levels of excessive involvement.
Problems emerge when the frameworks used to explain workaholism are analysed. First, some of the theories and models used to describe it include: the medical model of addiction, the psychological model of addiction, learning theory, trait theory, personality models, cognitive theory, family systems and a combination of various theories to form a biopsychosocial model (Astakhova & Hogue, 2013; Eysenck, 1997; Griffiths, 2005a; Griffiths, 1996a; Marlatt, Baer, Donovan, & Kivlahan, 1988; McMillan, O Driscoll, & Burke, 2003; Robinson & Kelley, 1998). These theoretical lenses influence the tools used when assessing levels of workaholism, which can fail to capture the true meaning of workaholism. As a result, this undermines the attempts of positivist research to be objective and has resulted in calls for researchers to revisit workaholism’s early qualitative roots (Kirrane et al., 2018).

In the following section, a review of the main tools used to measure workaholism and the definitions surrounding their construction aims to establish common ground and identify areas of ambiguity. This is particularly important since tools measuring workaholism are based on different concepts. As a result, researchers must be cautious when discussing proven characteristics and outcomes of workaholism.

2.4 Measuring workaholism

Spence and Robbins (1992, p.162) defined a workaholic as a person who is ‘highly work involved, feels compelled or driven to work because of inner pressures and is low in enjoyment of work’. Subsequently, a workaholic is believed to work beyond organisational or monetary expectations, needs or demands. Accordingly, their workaholism triad, the Workaholism Battery (WorkBat), conceptualises workaholism as encompassing work involvement, drive and lack of enjoyment when working. The WorkBat categorises workers as workaholics, work enthusiasts, enthusiastic workaholics, unengaged workers, relaxed workers and disenchanted workers. However, some authors have criticised the idea of a workaholic enjoying work and instead suggest that enthusiastic workaholics are in fact work engaged (Schaufeli, Taris, & Bakker, 2008).
Robinson (2000b, p. 38) proposed that ‘workaholism manifests itself through many work styles, patterns, and types - from constant working to complete lethargy’. He presented four types; relentless workaholics, bulimic workaholics, attention deficit workaholics and savouring workaholics. In the Work Addiction Risk Test (WART), workaholism is measured through compulsive tendencies, control, impaired communication/self-absorption, inability to delegate and self-worth (Robinson, 1999a). Despite including addiction in its name, the Work Addiction Risk Test (WART) views workaholism as a compulsion and has been associated with Type A behaviour (Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017a).

Schaufeli and colleagues (2009a; 2009b) proposed that workaholism is two dimensional and defined it as ‘an irresistible inner drive to work excessively hard’ (p. 166). The Dutch Work Addiction Scale (DUWAS: Schaufeli et al., 2009c), consists of two dimensions; working excessively (WE) and working compulsively (WC) (Gillet, Morin, Cougot, & Gagné, 2017; Schaufeli et al., 2009a,b). The DUWAS treats workaholism as a compulsion/obsession (Andreassen, 2014).

Other authors such as Scott, Moore and Miceli (1997) have defined workaholic behaviour as spending a great deal of time in work, giving up social, family and recreational activities, persistently and frequently thinking about work and working beyond what is expected. Their definition informs the three elements of their tool; Element A: spending discretionary time working; Element B: thinking about work when not at work, and Element C: working beyond the employer and economic requirements. Furthermore, they consider there to be three different types of workaholic. They are perfectionists, compulsive-dependent and achievement orientated. In doing so, they imply that not all workaholics have the same behaviour pattern. They confirmed that the characteristics are continuous variables and not mutually exclusive, in essence, a workaholic can have one, some or all of the patterns. Moreover, the authors hypothesised that different types of workaholics will have different outcomes, for example, perfectionist workaholics will have lower job performance, lower job satisfaction, hostile interpersonal relationships, psychological and physical problems and stress
(Burke, 1999a). Whereas, achievement-orientated workaholics will have positive outcomes such as job and life satisfaction (ibid.).

Mudrack and Naughton (2001) also believed that workaholism can be measured by the amount of time and energy spent on solitary activities such as thinking about work, but they also postulated that workaholism involves an element of time and energy spent on attempting to control the work of others. In doing so, the scale indirectly overlaps with some of the characteristics of OCPD (obsessive-compulsive personality disorder).

To date, the WorkBat, WART and the DUWAS are the three most widely used scales in studies exploring workaholism. Andreassen, Hetland and Pallesen (2014) investigated the cross-validity, temporal stability and factor structure of the WorkBat, WART and DUWAS, the three main tools. High correlations were found between the drive scale on the WorkBat and both working compulsively in the DUWAS and compulsive tendencies in the WART. This is not surprising as the DUWAS was informed by the WorkBat. The authors confirmed that, in general, scores were too low to conclude that the tools measure the same construct. These results have important implications for future research as it demonstrates that workaholism measures cannot be used interchangeably (ibid.). Notwithstanding, the common characteristic across tools are 1. a compulsion element and 2. a time element, (Clark et al., 2014a). Another problem relates to a lack of empirical evidence supporting workaholism typologies (Andreasssen, 2014). Therefore, it is unclear how many types of workaholics exist or even if there are different types. Hence, the more the literature is navigated the more unanswered questions appear.

2.5. Addiction theories

Workaholics have been called work addicts who are obsessed with work (Schaufeli, 2016; Ng et al., 2007; Robinson, 1989a; Oates, 1968). Similar to a substance addict, workaholics may experience affective relief at work (Balducci, Avanzi, & Fraccaroli, 2018; Robinson, 2000b). In other words, work is their ‘hit’
or ‘buzz’. Like alcoholics, workaholics may crave work and subsequently spend considerable amounts of time at work to soothe the unpleasant withdrawal symptoms they feel when away from work (Robinson, 2000b; van Wijhe et al., 2014; Bakker, Demerouti, Oerlemans, & Sonnentag, 2013). Clark and colleagues (2014a), after conducting a comprehensive meta-analysis on the topic, asserted that most scholars treat workaholism as a work addiction. In support of frameworks classifying workaholism as an addiction, a recent qualitative study found that workaholics seeking treatment referred to themselves as an ‘adrenaline junkie’, that work was their ‘stash’, that workaholism is a ‘disease’ and that they are an ‘addict’ (Kirrane et al., 2018). However, the authors noted personal choice and personal characteristics were also provided by participants as explanations for their work behaviour.

Within addiction theory, the medical/chemical model and the psychological model could be applied to workaholism (McMillan et al., 2003). Addiction has been described as a habit pattern, repetitive in nature, which is associated with personal and social problems and typically characterised by the pursuit of short-term rewards with long term costs (Eysenck, 1997; Marlatt et al., 1988). Griffiths (1996b) proposed that, overall, addiction encompasses six components: salience, tolerance, withdrawal symptoms, conflict and relapse, and that it does not necessarily always involve drug ingestion (Griffiths, 2005b; Eysenck, 1997). Studies have shown that addictive drugs increase dopamine activity in the nucleus accumbens (NAc), a part of the limbic area of the brain. However, it has also been shown that rewarding and punishing stimuli also increase dopamine in the NAc (Eysenck, 1997). A work-related example of this could be a performance and reward management system, however, such a relationship has yet to be explored within the literature.

However, as noted by McMillan et al., (2003), work generated adrenaline is not as easy to isolate as other addictive chemicals such as cocaine or alcohol and this hinders medical theories. Moreover, researchers cannot be sure that workaholism is a habit or an addiction based on the comparison of addiction and habituation by the US Surgeon General (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1964). More specifically, it is unknown if workaholics display
physical dependence and abstinence syndrome when they refrain from workaholic behaviours. No studies, to my knowledge, have explored workaholism, withdrawal and physical addiction, therefore, workaholism cannot be referred to as a medical addiction with certainty. This might explain why workaholism is not formally defined or included as an addiction in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) (American Psychiatric Association, 2017). However, it does share many characteristics with addictions listed in the DSM-5 and III such as tolerance, withdrawal symptoms, attempts to stop, reduction of social or recreational activities, conflict and relapse. This underlines the complexity and ambiguity surrounding the conceptualisation of workaholism. Worryingly, it also demonstrates that core definitions do not accurately reflect the construct.

2.6 Trait theories

Trait theory treats workaholism as ‘a stable behavioural pattern that is dispositional rather than environmental or biological’ (McMillan et al., 2003, p. 172). Interestingly, Scott and colleagues (1997) stated ‘we view workaholism as a fairly stable behaviour pattern exhibited by the same person in multiple organisational settings’ (p. 292). This, therefore, implies that individual factors, rather than external factors, are more likely to influence levels of workaholism. Andreassen (2014) and Burke, Burgess and Fallon (2006) also referred to workaholism as a stable individual difference characteristic. However, there is no evidence to support this approach without longitudinal studies of workaholics across organisations. To further address this question, researchers must focus on what evidence supports trait theories of workaholism and synthesise these findings as part of a broad programme seeking to understand what workaholism is. McMillan and colleagues (2003) discussed generic personality models and trait-specific models, which will now be discussed in more detail.

2.6.1 Personality models

Numerous researchers have tested the relationship between personality and workaholism, however, the results have been conflicting. For example, Jackson,
Fung, Moore and Jackson (2016) found positive correlations between conscientiousness, openness and agreeableness with workaholism in a sample of 464 full-time Australian workers. Yet, the same authors found no significant relationship between any of the personality types on the Five-Factor Model (FFM), including these three, and workaholism in a sample of 105 American workers. Meanwhile, another study found a negative relationship between conscientiousness and workaholism (Andreassen et al., 2014). The authors noted that this finding was not anticipated in their hypotheses nor supported by other studies. In fact, they suggested their finding was a direct result of the tool they used to measure workaholism, the Bergen Work Addiction Scale (BWAS). More specifically, they highlighted that conscientiousness has not been shown to have negative associations with addiction in previous studies. Again, this highlights the implications of how researchers conceptualise workaholism and how they measure it.

Neuroticism and its relationship with workaholism have been given particular attention and seem to be the most consistent finding across an array of studies (Balducci et al., 2018; Andreassen et al., 2014; Mazzetti et al., 2014; Andreassen et al., 2010; Clark, Lelchook, & Taylor, 2010; Burke, Matthiesen, & Pallesen, 2006a). Furthermore, Burke, Matthiesen and Pallesen (2006a) found that neuroticism had the strongest relationship of any personality factor with workaholism and that those with higher levels of neuroticism reported higher levels of feeling driven. Similarly, Schaufeli (2016) found that, of the Big Five personality types, neuroticism had the strongest relationship with workaholism. Other studies have found correlations between other personality traits and workaholism. For example, Andreassen et al., (2010) found correlations between neuroticism, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness, all personality types on the FFM, and workaholism in a study of 661 Norwegians. Moreover, some studies have also explored the relationship between workaholism and narcissism. Clark and colleagues (2010) found that narcissism had a positive relationship with compulsion to work and impatience. In another study, narcissism was found to be positively related to workaholism (Andreassen et al., 2012b).
The varying results, which impact generalisation and replicability, may be attributable to the variety of typologies proposed or the use of numerous scales measuring workaholism, which have different associations with personality traits. Therefore, it is difficult to compare the results from several studies or proceed with certainty regarding any findings. This highlights knowledge gaps in the field.

2.6.2 Trait specific models

Obsessiveness and compulsiveness are regularly included in trait-specific models (McMillan et al., 2003). Workaholics are said to be ‘pushed’ to work (Taris, Schaufeli, & Shimazu, 2010) due to compulsion. Shimazu, Schaufeli and Taris (2010) argued that workaholics are motivated by strong uncontrollable internal drives and not by external influences such as financial problems, a poor marriage, supervisory pressure, or promotional desires. The Health Service Executive (HSE) of Ireland (2016) listed workaholism as a symptom of OCPD. It has also been associated with OCPD in the DSM- 5 and DSM-III (American Psychiatric Association, 2017, 2013). For example, the DSM-5 stated that those with OCPD have a sense of self-derived predominantly from work or productivity and that ‘relationships are seen as secondary to work and productivity; rigidity and stubbornness negatively affect relationships with others’ (American Psychiatric Association, 2012a, p.11). The DSM-III also stated that they are ‘excessively devoted to work and productivity to the exclusion of leisure activities and friendships (not accounted for by obvious economic necessity)’ (ibid. p. 11).

OCPD is a Cluster C disorder. Those with OCPD often have difficulties with circumstantial speech and expressing warm emotions (DSM-III). They are stiff and obsessed with rules and rigidity (Adams & Sutker, 1984). They are extreme perfectionists who follow lists, desire to control people, situations and budgets, and are stubborn ‘control freaks’ (HSE, 2016; Mayo Clinic, 2016; National Health Service (NHS), 2017; American Psychiatric Association, 2012a). They tend to neglect friendships and leisure activities, due to an excessive commitment to work typified by extreme perfectionism, which results in distress when excessively high standards are not met (Mayo Clinic, 2016). Puritanical and bedevilled subtypes might be especially damaging to those near them since they
are associated with extreme judgement, control and conflict (Millon & Davis, 1996). It remains unknown whether workaholics have OCPD or what percentage of those with OCPD display workaholic tendencies. Notwithstanding that, working compulsively has been recorded by physicians of OCPD patients at a level deemed suitable by the psychiatry field for inclusion in the DSM.

Workaholism has also been associated with perfectionism. For example, Spence and Robbins (1992) found that both male and female workaholics had the highest scores in perfectionism. Clark and colleagues (2010), in a study of 323 American students, found that high standards, a dimension of perfectionism, was significantly related to overall workaholism. Burke et al., (2006a) found that individuals with higher drive scores were more perfectionistic. Positive correlations between perfectionism and workaholism were also found in a meta-analysis (Clark et al., 2014a). Furthermore, Pietropinto (1986) found that workaholics tended to be ‘marital perfectionists who regard their spouse and children as extensions of their own egos’ (P.89). Workaholics in Kirrane and colleagues’ 2018 study also described themselves as perfectionists, which impacted their ability to move and caused procrastination. Mazzetti and colleagues (2014) also found higher levels of workaholism when participants were high in achievement motivation, perfectionism and conscientiousness. This might be explained by the sense of self-derived from work in the DSM-5.

In addition, Seybold and Salomone (1994) discussed the relationship between Type A behaviour and workaholism, however, the work presented no empirical evidence. Burke (2000b) also proposed an association between Type A behaviour and workaholism. The proposition was based on the work of Price (1982) who identified three beliefs leading to Type A behaviour. They are a feeling that one needs to constantly prove oneself, that no universal moral principles exist and that we must strive against others to obtain valuable limited resources. Burke’s study found that workaholics scored highest in all three beliefs compared to others in the sample. A meta-analysis also found positive correlations between Type A behaviour and workaholism (Clark et al., 2014a). A study of 175 individuals in Turkey found a positive correlation between drive and Type A behaviour (Ersoy-Kart, 2005). Type A individuals have been called
competitive, aggressive and hurried (Rose, 1987). Type A behaviour is characterised by ‘enhanced aggressiveness and competitive drive, preoccupation with deadlines, chronic impatience and a sense of time urgency’ (Brand, Rosenman, Sholtz, & Friedman, 1976, p. 349). Other studies have mentioned associations between Type A and workaholism (Bakker, Demerouti, & Burke, 2009), however, the authors referred to only two findings in support of this claim, one of which is an unpublished manuscript (Burke, Koyuncu, & Fiksenbaum, 2006a). Consequently, more evidence is needed to support the proposition that Type A behaviour and workaholism are related.

2.7 Psychological theories

Affect, cognition and conation are the three traditionally identified components of the mind (American Psychological Association, n.d.-a). Affect refers to emotions, which can be positive or negative and predispose people to approach or withdraw (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). Consequently, affect can be considered in terms of Positive Affect (PA) and Negative Affect (NA) (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Cognition is ‘all forms of knowing and awareness, such as perceiving, conceiving, remembering, reasoning, judging, imagining, and problem-solving’ (American Psychological Association, n.d.-a). Accordingly, cognition is influenced by an individual’s past, their personality, their attitudes, and all aspects of the environment. The APA referred to conation as the proactive part of motivation connecting affect and desires to behaviour. Taken together, behaviour is a result of NA and PA, desires, and an array of complex individual and social factors. As workaholism is said to have a behavioural and a cognitive element, the consideration of how the components of the mind relate to this is essential.

2.7.1 Affect

Workaholism was found to be related to NA, which was related negatively to business growth (Gorgievski, Moriano, & Bakker, 2014). Clark and colleagues (2010) also found that NA had a positive relationship with workaholism as measured by the WART. Meanwhile, PA only had a relationship with polychronic
control, defined as ‘having a preference to juggle and be in control of many tasks at once’ (p. 789). Therefore, workaholism appears to have a relationship with NA and not PA. Watson and Clark (1984) noted that Negative Affectivity (NA), as a mood dispositional dimension, ‘reflects pervasive individual differences in negative emotionality and self-concept’ (p. 465), to the extent that high NA individuals are often distressed, upset and have a negative view of themselves. NA encompasses anxiety, guilt, shame, irritability, anger, sadness and fear (Stringer, 2013). Given previous findings about affect, this implies that workaholics experience negative emotions, which predisposes them to approach or withdraw. However, the source of these negative emotions is unknown.

NA can be considered in terms of states and traits, with states referring to momentary emotion compared to dispositional enduring emotions (Watson & Clark, 1984). Our emotions are influenced by several factors such as personality, the culture we live in or grew up in, our gender and the social environment. Fischer, Shaver and Carnochan (1990) described a lifelong process of emotional development. The authors noted that, from the cradle, we are learning and exhibiting emotions through facial expressions. As we develop, we learn more complex emotions. They emphasised how emotions shape our development since emotions shift our goals. However, problems can occur when a child disproportionately experiences one or more specific emotions as it affects their development. Therefore, emotional experiences have a long-term impact on individuals. Therefore, if workaholism is positively related to NA, then we must investigate earlier life experience such as family and school life.

2.7.2 Cognitive theories

Cognitive theories of workaholism predict that it is a result of core beliefs and assumptions such as ‘I am a failure’ (McMillan et al., 2003). In the cognitive model, an individual’s emotions, behaviours, and physiology are influenced by how they perceive events (Beck, 2011). ‘Core beliefs are the very essence of how we see ourselves, other people, the world and the future’ (The Centre for Clinical Interventions (CCI), 2016). The CCI noted that they form over time from childhood, are impacted by significant life events and we erroneously seek
information in support of them, even if evidence contradicts them. This highlights our bias as human beings. Beck (2011) asserted that an individual’s behavioural response to a situation is mediated by how they perceive the situation. This means that factors influencing perception are very important in terms of how individuals appraise situations. Again, if workaholism is based on core beliefs, then those beliefs and how they are formed should be identified. For example, scholars could explore competitiveness in their household or school, if they were neglected, how they perceive themselves and how they appraise situations. These are questions that might help us to understand more about what happened in their lives and how they see the world around them.

Recent work from Loscalzo and Giannini (2017b), proposed that overwork climates might also exist in the family and not just in organisations. Subsequently, they have called for research in the area. Additionally, Loscalzo and Giannini (2017b) developed an Overstudy Climate Scale (OCS) which assesses ‘studyaholism’, a new term coined by Loscalzo. In essence, the authors believe that situational antecedents must encompass the role of family and school. Importantly, if core beliefs play a role in workaholism, there are modification therapies available which can alter how individuals perceive future situations (Beck, 2011).

2.7.3 Conation

As noted earlier, the conation component of the mind connects affect and desires, which then influences how we behave. Individuals can be motivated by internal and external factors (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000a, b; Deci & Ryan, 1985a). Basic concepts of extrinsic motivation focus on the ‘economic man’ who seeks financial reward evident in Taylorism (Price, 2011). Whereas, intrinsic motivation addresses basic human needs for autonomy, belongingness and competence (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In Self Determination Theory (SDT: Deci & Ryan, 1985a), two types of motivation are discussed, namely autonomous (intrinsic/internal) motivation and controlled (extrinsic/external) motivation (Gagné & Deci, 2005). A sub theory known as Organismic Integration Theory
(OIT) presented a taxonomy of motivation, which divided controlled motivation into four types based on their perceived locus of causality.

At the most external end, lies external regulation which focuses on external rewards, punishment, compliance and reactance. Individuals who are externally regulated are motivated by a reward for doing something or to avoid a punishment for not doing something. At the other end, lies the most internal form of external regulation, integration, which focuses on goals. As such, an employee working long hours to secure a promotion might fall into this category. Essentially, being controlled involves pressure to do things (Gagné & Deci, 2005). For example, the pressure to work more hours to get more pay, a promotion or to finish work within a deadline. In contrast, intrinsic motivation, the internal form of motivation, focuses on interest, enjoyment and satisfaction (Ryan & Deci, 2000a,b). There are no tangible rewards visible. Instead, perceived rewards are deeply internalised, such as higher needs described in content and process theories of motivation.

Motivations typically associated with workaholism are external. For example, high achievement motivation, low self-esteem, striving against others and a need to prove themselves (Mazzetti et al., 2014; Burke, 2000b; Robinson, 1998a). In fact, Van Beek, Taris and Schaufeli (2011) found that controlled motivation was positively associated with compulsive work and excessive work, in a study of 370 people. Additionally, Andreassen et al., (2010) found that autonomy, relatedness and competence, the factors of self-determination, were negatively related to drive. To date, this area remains largely unexplored and unsurprisingly, there have been calls for studies addressing personal antecedents of workaholism such as intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017a).

To summarise, the impact of affect, cognition and conation findings suggest that workaholism is a behaviour resulting from one’s desires to avoid punishment, to obtain goals, to boost one’s ego, to gain approval from others or to self-endorse. ‘The workaholic’s life is an endless pursuit of more and more accomplishment, in an attempt to finally feel of genuine worth, but to no avail’ (Porter, 1996, p.435).
If core beliefs and emotions impact motivation, and they are negative, then it is not surprising that workaholics are motivated externally.

Addiction is a ‘type of behaviour that can be interpreted as constituting a resource for the person concerned; in other words, the behaviour confers certain benefits to the person’ (Eysenck, 1997, p.79). Since workaholics have NA and low beliefs about themselves, they may pursue work to boost their egos and gain approval from others or to feel PA. Robinson (1998b, p.66) stated ‘they medicate emotional pain by overworking’ and Andreassen (2014) stated that unsatisfied needs can be filled through work. In doing so, stimuli increase dopamine in the NAc, therefore, the workaholic gets a ‘high’ from the act of working. To them, this high is a resource. However, organisational goals serve only as temporary boosters to self-esteem since they are external to the individual (Porter, 1996). So, the workaholic is left feeling low once again and ponders what they can do to soothe their inner demons. They decide to repeat the behaviour and begin to invest more hours in work to get the same high as before, similar to increased tolerance in substance addiction (Griffiths, 1996b). This becomes a vicious cycle when they are not working they begin to feel low again and become preoccupied with working to get the next ‘hit’. Following this, their personal lives begin to unravel through increased conflict with those in their circle. Or as Robinson (1998b, p.66) puts it, ‘careers zoom and marriages and friendships falter’. This might be followed by an attempt to curb the behaviour, but inevitably the workaholic relapses since their NA and core beliefs are deeply embedded.

2.8 Familial theories

Robinson (2000b) described workaholism as an addiction which is progressive as a result of psychological needs that have their roots in the family. McMillan et al., (2003) noted that workaholism, in family systems theory, is a family problem as a result of unhealthy dynamics. In a study of workaholics, when asked about family background, one workaholic referred to their father as a ‘holy terror’ for work and implied that his work pattern had influenced the children’s work behaviour (Kirrane et al., 2018). Another female workaholic explained that the
girls in her family were made to feel inferior to the boys and that she had used working hard and doing well at school as a way of seeking her father’s approval. Essentially, the work pattern for this group was established very early on in life and supports workaholism frameworks of familial influence. Simply put, children of workaholics may become workaholics as their parents were workaholics and see the behaviour as normal. In support of this, Kravina, Falco, De Carlo, Andreassen and Pallesen (2014) found that a father’s excessive working was positively related to their adult child’s excessive working. This also supports the family climate proposition of Loscalzo and Giannini (2017a).

In numerous studies, workaholics have been found to have family problems (Kravina et al., 2014; Shimazu et al., 2011; Bakker et al., 2009; Ng & Feldman, 2008; Robinson, 2000b; Robinson & Kelley, 1998; Pietropinto, 1986). In Kirrane and colleagues (2018) study, a workaholic talked about a troubled home steeped in anxiety and control. Robinson and Kelley (1998) found that adult children of workaholics had significantly higher depression scores and a greater external locus of control. They also found that adult children of workaholic fathers had significantly higher anxiety scores. Furthermore, Robinson and Post (1995) noted that some children of workaholics may recreate a dysfunctional family of low intimacy in adulthood, similar to the one they grew up in.

A recent longitudinal study of almost nine thousand participants over 27 years, confirmed that the quality of the home environment in early childhood is a key factor that influences the long-term development of self-esteem into young adulthood (Orth, 2018). This underlines the impact that early life can have on one’s core beliefs, which impact perception and behaviour. Thus, the family background can influence PA and NA and how work is perceived. Given that findings demonstrate the relationship between WA and NA, it is not surprising that low self-esteem is a key motivating force in describing the mind of the workaholic (Robinson, 1998a). Therefore, as a result of the negative environment growing up, children of workaholics may suffer from self-esteem problems, may become workaholics, and may work hard to reduce negative emotions. This is perhaps why the DSM-5 includes a sense of self which is derived predominantly
It must be noted, however, that there has been ‘discrepancy in the literature regarding the relationship between workaholism and self-esteem’ (Aziz, Zamary, & Wuensch, 2018, p. 75). A meta-analysis found that workaholism was not significantly related to self-esteem (Clark et al., 2014a). Meanwhile, Burke et al. (2006a) and Aziz et al. (2018) found a negative relationship between self-esteem and workaholism. Graves, Ruderman, Ohlott and Weber (2012) found that self-esteem was negatively related to drive to work, a component of workaholism. Van Wijhe and colleagues (2014) also found that T1 performance-based self-esteem had a positive lagged effect on T2 working compulsively. Burke (2000b; 2000d) found that workaholism emerged as work behaviour in response to feelings of low self-worth and insecurity. Despite discrepancies, which may be attributable to the use of various scales or a failure to categorise types of workaholics, individuals with low self-esteem feel incompetent and rate themselves low (Aziz et al., 2018). Therefore, workaholics with low self-esteem may suffer from psychological problems and low levels of professional efficacy.

2.9 Learning theories and the organisation

The situational characteristics of the work environment extend the antecedents of workaholism beyond micro-level variables (Griffiths et al., 2018). Tóth-Király and colleagues (2018) propose that norms in the workplace can provide theoretical explanations for workaholism. For instance, descriptive norms, prescriptive norms and dynamic norms inform employees about work hours, expectations and changes over time. Tóth-Király and colleagues (2018) provide an example, a graduate enters a company, he/she soon learns that 09:00 to 20:00 are the working hours (descriptive norm). During their first week, they learn about their supervisors (prescriptive norm) and as time passes, they observe colleagues spending more time working (dynamic norm). The authors claim that this context might aid the development of workaholism. Within the psychological
field, operant learning is relevant to workaholism as behaviours can be established through operant conditioning (McMillan et al., 2003).

Skinner (1963), when discussing operant behaviour, referred to the relationship between the purpose of actions and the utility of behaviour. He described reinforcement and noted that the term operant distinguished between environmental and reflex responses. Simply put, behaviour can vary based on the environment. An array of studies have found a connection between the organisation and workaholism. Therefore, it appears that an organisation can reinforce workaholic behaviour through operant conditioning (Andreassen, 2014; McMillan et al., 2003). In operant conditioning, workaholism is promoted as workers know that excessive working has resulted in positive outcomes such as praise, promotion and salary increases in the past (Andreassen, 2014). Empirical findings support this.

For example, Ng and Feldman (2008) found that work hours were positively associated with salary, promotions, job level and learning opportunities. Clark et al., (2014a) found that workaholism was positively associated with career prospects. Burke (2001a) also found that workaholic behaviour and workaholic components predicted career prospects and promotions. Therefore, the organisation unintentionally may encourage compulsive and excessive work through its performance and reward management systems. Critically, this means that organisations can halt reinforcement of the behaviour. Skinner (1950) asserted that when a response, which was previously reinforced, is no longer reinforced then a process of extinction begins. Eysenck (1997), when discussing addicts, noted that many give up habits when benefits and reinforcements dwindle. If careers of workaholics are zooming, as Robinson (1998b) stated, then organisations are rewarding workaholic behaviour. Therefore, an organisation could curb workaholism if the act of working long hours was not rewarded. However, Skinner (1950) noted that frustration might occur when rewards dwindle. This might trigger the workaholic to seek alternative employment and perhaps this is why some argue that workaholics will take their behaviour from job to job.
Bandura (1971, p.5), when discussing learning through modelling, stated ‘environments are loaded with potentially lethal consequences that befall those who are unfortunate enough to perform dangerous errors’. In other words, when an environment rewards overwork and punishes those who do not, this leads to a hazardous environment for non-workaholics. Some have argued that organisations can themselves be workaholic by employing large numbers of workaholics (Scott et al., 1997). Recruitment activities can influence the type of individuals applying for a job (Barber, 1998). In the selection-attraction-attrition (SAA) approach to climate formation, like-minded individuals are attracted to an organisation and are subsequently hired, which results in a relatively homogenous workforce (Porter, Lawler, & Hackman, 1975). If workaholic employees are responsible for job design and selection of new staff, then they may recruit like-minded individuals, which then makes the organisation more workaholic in nature. This is problematic for non-workaholics as they will find themselves outnumbered and therefore deviate from the organisational norm. Moreover, it is unlikely that an organisation controlled by workaholics will halt the reinforcements which promote workaholic behaviour.

At the post recruitment stage, social learning theory becomes relevant to the study of workaholism. Individuals assimilate into groups through intergroup social comparisons, which creates normative behaviours in that group. The process stems from an individual’s desire to avoid becoming an outlier or ‘black sheep’ in the group, which protects their self-esteem (See: Hogg & Terry, 2000; Stets & Burke, 2000; Turner, 1999; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995; Abrams & Hogg, 1988). In social learning theory, ‘the people with whom one regularly associates, delimit the types of behaviour that one will repeatedly observe and hence learn most thoroughly’ (Bandura, 1971, p.6). Therefore, if an organisation is workaholic in nature, then recruits will be exposed to workaholic behaviour and learn that this is the type of behaviour expected within the company. In support of this, van den Broeck, Schreurs, De Witte, Vansteenkiste, Gormleys and Schaufeli (2011) noted that ‘workaholics may feel controlled by their social environment to invest a lot of time and effort in their work’ (p. 606).
As a result, an overwork climate may be formed since team climate refers to ‘the norms, atmosphere, practices, interpersonal relationships, enacted rituals and ways of working developed by a team’ (Anderson & West, 1994, p.81) and ‘the summated, averaged meanings that people attach to a particular feature of the setting’ (Schneider & Reichers, 1983, p.21). For instance, Keller et al., (2016a) found that the perceived competitiveness of the work environment was related to workaholism. A positive relationship between overwork climate and workaholism has also been found (Mazzetti, Schaufeli, Guglielmi, & Depolo, 2016; Mazzetti et al., 2014). In a recent qualitative study, workaholics described their work cultures as workaholic, where employees were expected to put work before a private life (Kirrane et al., 2018). In other words, employees might be extrinsically motivated to work long hours due to social pressure and the need to comply and avoid punishments. Accordingly, a climate typified by overwork might encourage long working hours for non-workaholics (Harpaz & Snir, 2015; Snir & Harpaz, 2012). More precisely, employees are required to spend considerable periods working due to organisational norms. For example, in Kirrane and colleagues (2018), a non-workaholic explained how Japanese and American organisations ‘expect their employees to work crazy hours’ (p. 14) due to organisational norms. In this case, a lack of choice underlines the effort and time invested. Importantly, it appears that workplace norms, which are ‘mental representations of appropriate behaviours at the workplace’ (Tóth-Király et al., 2018, p. 877) can influence workaholic behaviour.

2.9.1 Job demands

Another organisational aspect which might predict workaholism is the level of demands faced by employees. Some evidence suggests that job demands predict workaholism (Andreassen, Pallesen, & Torsheim, 2018; Molino et al., 2016; Taris, Schaufeli, & Verhoeven, 2005). Other evidence suggests that job demands have a stronger impact on working excessively than on working compulsively. For example, in a Dutch study, job demands explained 44.8 per cent of the variance in excessive working, whereas job demands only predicted 28.6 per cent of the variance in working compulsively (Schaufeli, Taris, & Bakker, 2008). Other evidence suggests that job demands increase hours worked and
have no relationship with compulsion. For instance, in a French study, workload had a positive relationship with a manager’s tendency to work excessively, however, the relationship with the tendency to work compulsively was not significant (Huyghebaert Fouquereau, Lahiani, Beltou, Gimenes, & Gillet, 2018). Some studies have also suggested that workaholism might predict job demands. For example, workaholism was found to contribute to organisational demands (Schaufeli et al., 2009a). However, another study found that work hours were positively associated with job demands, role overload, role conflict, and organisational pressure for performance (Ng & Feldman, 2008). Therefore, it remains unclear as to whether workaholism is fuelled more by organisational culture or individual compulsions to work excessively. As a result of the mixed findings, it is unclear if workaholic behaviour generates more demands and if job demands foster workaholic behaviour. Sufficient evidence does not exist to demonstrate a perpetual negative cycle. Therefore, exploration of what aspects of workaholism, if any, create more demands is needed.

Evidence also suggests that not all resources and demands are equal. For example, Gillet et al., (2017) demonstrated that emotional demands, rather than cognitive demands, predicted the likelihood of very high and moderately high workaholism and that hierarchical support, rather than support from colleagues, predicted the likelihood of moderately high workaholism. One possible explanation for this is that workaholism is more prevalent in managers (Andreassen et al., 2012a; 2012b; Taris, Van Beek, & Schaufeli, 2012), and therefore support from a workaholic manager might result in more demands since workaholics create demands. To date, it is unclear if workaholic organisations promote workaholics as they fit the ethos and if this explains why some organisations are very demanding.

2.9.2 Occupational differences

From an occupational perspective, several fields and positions have been shown to have higher workaholism prevalence. They include managers, entrepreneurs, executives, medical residents (Irish equivalent Senior House Officer: SHO), high-level professionals and HE educators (Clark et al., 2014a; Hogan et al., 2016;
Aziz and Zickar (2006) argued that workaholism is typically associated with white-collar professionals. Schaufeli and colleagues (2008) found that workaholism seems to be particularly high in managers, entrepreneurs, executives and medical residents. They noted that workaholism seems to be more prevalent in ‘open-ended’ jobs where the job is never done. Taris and colleagues (2012a) found that managers and high-level professionals scored higher on workaholism than nurses, social workers and paramedics in a study of 9,160 Dutch workers. Similarly, managers were found to have higher levels of drive than subordinates in a study of 235 Norwegians (Andreassen et al., 2012b). Furthermore, managerial status was found to have a positive relationship with workaholism in a meta-analysis of 97 samples (Clark et al., 2014a). Thus, empirical evidence appears to support the concept that managers are more likely to be workaholics. This may occur when workaholic employees are promoted into senior positions. Therefore, associating workaholic behaviour with rewards. More specifically, it does not mean that a manager’s job specification is workaholic, rather, the environment which decides who should be a manager is workaholic.

For transparency purposes, it is best to compare occupational rates of workaholism only in studies using the same tool. Numerous studies utilising the WorkBat, which measures work involvement, drive and lack of enjoyment when working, have reported prevalence rates. For example, Spence and Robbins (1992), in a US study, found that eight per cent of male and thirteen per cent of female social workers were workaholic. Kanai, Wakabayashi and Fling (1996), in a Japanese study, found that 18.75 per cent of private company workers were workaholic. Burke, Oberklaid and Burges (2004a), in an Australian study, found that eighteen per cent of female psychologists were workaholic. Aziz and Zickar (2006), in a Canadian and US study, found that twenty-three per cent of white-collar workers were workaholic. An Irish study found that twenty-seven per cent of university academics were workaholic (Hogan et al., 2016). Hence, within the education field, high rates of workaholism have been found compared to other occupations. Using the DUWAS, Shimazu and colleagues (2011) found that almost half of female schoolteachers were workaholics (forty-eight per cent) in a Japanese study. A French study, using the WART, also found that thirty per cent
of professors surveyed at Nantes University Hospital were highly work addicted (Rezvani et al., 2014). This highlights the problem of workaholism in teaching, whilst simultaneously reminding the reader that different tools do not measure the same factors.

Researchers cannot be sure why workaholism appears to be higher in teaching than other jobs without engaging with educators displaying high levels of workaholism. To date, empirical work has shown that there is an association between the organisation and an individual’s workaholism, but it is not known what specific aspects of educational work are linked to workaholic behaviour. Teaching involves far more than just teaching, it requires lesson planning, grading, feedback and administrative duties (Ministry for Education Malta, 2019), plus research in universities. Several questions remain outstanding concerning educators and workaholism. For instance, it is unknown if the job lends itself to workaholism. More precisely, the relationship between excessive pressure on educators and the path to success is unexplored. Additionally, it is unknown if workaholics are attracted to the job as it suits their approach to work.

2.9.3 Organisational and national culture differences

Malinowska (2018) asserts that workaholism may be influenced by socio-economic and cultural differences, in particular the East-West dichotomy. Thus, some nationalities may be more workaholic than others. For example, Snir and Harpaz (2009) found that the Japanese worked more hours per week than any of the other nationalities (Belgium, Israel, USA and the Netherlands) in their study. Although, it must be noted that the data was collected by a research team in 1987 and measured workaholism by hours worked controlling for financial needs. Notwithstanding that, Norwegian studies consistently report lower levels of workaholism, whereas Japanese studies have higher rates (Andreassen et al., 2014; Andreassen et al., 2012a; Kubota, Shimazu, Kawakami, Takahashi, Nakata, & Schaufeli, 2010). Tóth-Király and colleagues (2018) propose that Hofstede’s classification of individualistic and collectivistic cultures may explain this. For example, self-submission of an employee’s interests in favour of group cohesion and harmony is typically seen in collectivistic cultures, whereas, self-
fulfilment, personal autonomy and personal accomplishments are seen in individualist cultures (Hu, Schaufeli, Taris, Hessen, Hakanen, Salanova, & Shimazu, 2014). Additionally, others have suggested that workaholism may be more prevalent in organisations with a masculine culture rather than feminine (Ng et al., 2007).

Lior and Abira (2018) assert that workaholism can relate to cultures who place great significance on having a career and working such that professional success determines how a person is treated. This reflects elements of institutional theory, as actions can occur on an individual and organisational level (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002). It can also reflect the VoC theory in economics, whereby countries are categorised according to their form of capitalism. Namely, countries are classified as liberal market economies (LMEs) or coordinated market economies (CMEs), which has implications for employment, training, unemployment insurance and other forms of social welfare, wage bargaining, politics and the role of the state in interventions (Wilkins, 2010; Thelen, 2010; Schneider & Soskice, 2009; Boyer, 2005; Hall & Soskice, 2001; Dore, Lazonick, & O’Sullivan, 1999). Both VoC and institutional theory will be discussed regarding their influence on an educator’s job in the following chapter.

It is necessary to ascertain Ireland’s cultural position concerning most of the empirical research presented in this and the following chapter. As can be seen in Chart 1, Ireland is an individualistic country, which according to Hu and colleagues (2014) means that self-satisfaction is above group cohesion. However, in the country comparison, Ireland has considerably lower levels of individualism than other Anglo countries and is more in line with Norway, Germany and Finland, considered CMEs in the VoC literature. Notwithstanding, Ireland and the two Nordic countries vary vastly regarding masculinity. Ireland’s masculinity is higher than all countries in the sample except China and Japan. A high masculinity score reflects high levels of competition within a society, a society based on success, achievement and winning, which typically commences in school and continues in work-life (Hofstede Insights, 2020). Based on the data, Ireland has more similarities with Germany in terms of individualism and masculinity than its closet neighbour, the UK. This has implications for the meso-
level factors of workaholic behaviour since masculinity is about winning, and individualism is not focused on the group. Hence, educators may work alone to achieve success which can be explored through institutional theory. Furthermore, at the macro level different economic and political arrangements will influence workaholic behaviour such as availability of resources to enhance the chances of ‘winning’. That is, the variety of capitalism has implications for HEIs as they are typically publicly funded.

2.10 Gender and age

Several studies have explored the possibility that gender and age may be associated with workaholism. Harpaz and Snir (2003), found that men had a greater likelihood of working long hours. In Schaufeli et al., (2008), men scored slightly higher on workaholism than women. Balducci and colleagues (2018) found that the relationship between workaholism and job-related NA was substantially stronger for women. Females were found to have higher levels of mental distress than men. However, they also found that the impact of workaholism on blood pressure did not differ for men and women. Other studies have found that levels of workaholism, stress and work-life imbalance are not significantly different between men and women (Clark et al., 2014a; Taris et al., 2012; Aziz & Cunningham, 2008). Van Wijhe et al., (2014) found that younger employees were more likely to have a compulsive work drive. Pereira and Coelho
(2013) found that gender and age were significant moderators in the relationship between work hours and subjective well-being (SWB).

2.11 Biopsychosocial model

In a 1977 article in the journal ‘Science’, George Engel, an American Psychiatrist, called for a departure from the biomedical model of disease. He believed that this framework failed to consider psychological, social and behavioural aspects of illness (Engel, 1977). To be precise, he asserted that its biggest flaw was its failure to consider people as part of the patient-doctor relationship and that what works for a bench scientist is not applicable in medicine (Engel, 1980). As a result, he introduced the biopsychosocial model (BPS) encompassing all factors related to both illness and patienthood (Engel, 1977).

This model has since been cited in workaholism literature as a means to describe the complexity of work addiction (Astakhova & Hogue, 2014; Griffiths, 2011; Griffiths, 2005a). For example, Griffiths (2011;1999) noted that addiction includes biological, genetic, psychological, social and contextual factors such as the nature of the activity. Therefore, if workaholism is an addiction, these aspects must be considered to truly understand what influences it. In fact, Astakhova and Hogue (2014) asserted that the use of models focusing on addiction, behaviour and social factors alone fails to holistically explain complex behaviours. Instead, they applied the BPS model as a comprehensive and parsimonious method of combining biological, social and psychological influences of workaholism. Additionally, the BPS is flexible as it believes that the influence from biological, social and psychological factors can fluctuate (ibid.). For instance, the authors proposed that so-called ‘die-hard’ workaholics would be mostly influenced by biological and psychological factors whereas ‘egoist’ workaholics would be heavily influenced by the social environment.

Given the confusion surrounding frameworks and how this impedes progress, the BPS model enables researchers to consider workaholism as a whole. More precisely, it enables researchers to consider how social factors influence psychological factors such as beliefs and motivation. It considers how behaviour
can be influenced by psychological and social factors and how biological factors, such as addiction, can reinforce certain behaviours. In essence, it encourages researchers to explore phenomena through a wide biological, social and psychological lens.

Interestingly, Loscalzo and Giannini (2017a) recently presented a new conceptualisation of workaholism which synthesises previous definitions and tools, and by doing so, addresses areas of ambiguity surrounding addiction symptoms, obsessions, compulsions, perfectionism, low work enjoyment, individual aspects and situational aspects. The authors propose that workaholism belongs in the DSM between obsessive-compulsive disorders and disorders related to substances and addictions. Therefore, from the clinical psychology viewpoint, workaholism is both an externalising and internalising disorder (Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017a). The authors also suggested that workers should be classified as detached, engaged, engaged workaholics and disengaged workaholics. In other words, they believe that a milder form of workaholic can enjoy work but that a true workaholic does not. They postulated that mixed results from previous studies may be due to a failure to accurately distinguish between real and milder workaholics.

2.12 Conclusion

Over time several models and theories have tried to explain how workaholism develops. Sometimes it is considered a compulsion and sometimes it is referred to as an addiction. However, no agreement on what workaholism is has been reached. A commonality running through most conceptualisations is the inability to disengage or detach from work. It is not known why this happens, as most research has tended to focus on individual variables. However, it is plausible that several variables, beyond the micro-level, could influence this. Given the breadth of the predictors, this research focuses on the role of the organisation in the development of an inability to detach through a model encompassing three levels of theory and analysis. Namely, micro-level theories, meso-level theories and macro-level theories. The research questions are presented in section 3.6.
CHAPTER 3. INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATOR WORKAHOLIC BEHAVIOUR

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will explore how the work environment within an HEI influences educator workaholic behaviour. That is, what aspects within an HEI drive an educator to invest themselves in their work. By doing so, this review can help to identify factors which may promote workaholic behaviour. As noted in section 1.2 and chapter two, confusion regarding what workaholism is remains. Moreover, research has tended to focus on individual factors and not on organisational or systematic factors. In chapter two literature relating to the various workaholism models was presented. In section 2.9, several explanations relating to organisational influences were presented. They included operant learning, the formation of climates and norms and differences on an international level, which reflect micro, meso and macro-level variables. In this chapter, the influence of meso and macro-level variables will be explored through the lenses of institutional theory and VoC theory. More precisely, rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism and microfoundations of institutional theory will be utilised to explain the behaviour of institutions and those within them. The categorisation of Ireland as an LME will then demonstrate the external power of government as a critical source of resources for institutions through funding.

This literature review serves as a contextualisation of the study. More specifically, it will provide a rationale for the study and identify what is already known. As noted by Dunne (2011), engaging with the literature in grounded theory familiarises researchers with concepts and theories in the field, which then can act as ‘sensitising concepts’, whilst also exposing researchers to preconceptions in the literature. In summation, an early literature reviewing process facilitates the
transformation of in vivo initial and focused coding into theoretically sound categories through memoing and constant comparison. Furthermore, the process of reviewing extant literature also serves as a starting point for the construction of SSI questions.

The process of reviewing the literature on working life in HEIs involved eight stages. First, I searched for reviews and meta-analyses under the search term "academic staff" AND "higher education" AND "meta-analysis" through the TCD Google Scholar Database. Then, I reviewed abstracts for relevance. After I read an article, I analysed and tabulated the reference list. As I did this, I was able to identify common authors across articles. Following this, I categorised articles based on the continent and the country where the population was situated to allow for contextual differences. I then specifically searched for Irish publications such as conference proceedings, working papers, journal articles and book chapters. Following this, I separated newer work (2000 to today) from older work (the 1990s and earlier), as the newer period better reflects modern working life in HE than pre-2000 studies. Additionally, I categorised papers as empirical or theoretical. Finally, I conducted forward citations on work to ascertain how the discussion in the field is evolving. In total, 149 journals, books and conference papers were reviewed.

As the process of reviewing literature is perpetual and the construction of codes in constructivist grounded theory is iterative, involving induction, abduction and deduction, I returned to the literature reviewing process post data analysis to explore what overarching theory could explain the in vivo data. It became evident from the original literature review and the in vivo data that institutional and market influence impacted working life in HE. To explore both influences, a review of institutional theory was conducted. Institutional theory has both microfoundations, which explore psychological and sociological propositions, and macro-level phenomena (Boxenbaum, 2019). Additionally, it has evolved into a complex dynamic theory which enables researchers to explore how social contexts influence and are influenced by individuals, organisations and professions (Lewis, Cardy, & Huang, 2019). As such, it is a useful overarching theory which synthesises an array of psychological and sociological concepts.
addressed in chapter two, in addition to addressing several categories constructed in the data analysis.

The search terms “institutional theory” AND “meta-analysis” and “institutional theory” AND “higher education” were used at first. This enabled the researcher to identify different strands of institutional theory through the TCD Google Scholar Database, which will be discussed in section 3.2, and to narrow down institutional theory’s application in the HE. Following this, searches on “institutional theory” AND “individual behaviour”, “institutional theory” AND “wokaholism”, “sociological institutionalism” AND “workaholism”, “rational choice institutionalism” AND “workaholism”, “institutional theory” AND “organisations” AND “higher education” and “institutional theory” AND “organisations” AND “behaviour” were conducted. Abstracts and introductions were reviewed to ensure they included the keywords within them. In total sixty-eight journals and books were reviewed.

3.2 HEIs as institutions

To address the limitations of institutional theory, which will be discussed in this section, Alvesson and Spicer (2019) call on researchers to clarify what an institution is and is not. The answer to this question and what shapes behaviour within them remains an area of debate (Peters, 2000). The concept of institutions has its roots in political history (Goodin, 1996). Institutions can be studied under institutional theory, of which, several categorisations exist. They include old institutionalism (the 1940s and 1950s), new institutionalism (1970s and 1980s) and a variety of perspectives (1990s onwards) (Cai & Mehari, 2015). Within institutional theory, an array of sub-theories and beliefs exist including the normative approach, rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism, empirical institutionalism and sociological institutionalism (Schmidt, 2014; Peters, 2000). And more recently, a focus on the microfoundations of institutions has appeared in the literature (Lewis, Cardy, & Huang, 2019).

From an economic perspective, institutions are manmade constructs designed to reduce uncertainty through informal and formal constraint such as property rights
granted to merchants (North, 1991). Politically, institutions are shaped by rules, regularities and structures (Schmidt, 2014). Sociologically, institutions, as systems, produce meaning, stability and order (Scott, 2003). Hence, they provide a framework for ways of doing things (Coburn & Talbert, 2006). Crucially, Heugens and Lander (2007) note, ‘there is no singular institutional approach to organisation studies’ (p. 5). Accordingly, institutionalism means different things to different people (Peters, 2000). Furthermore, it is multilevel with a wide variety of research streams (Lewis et al., 2019).

HEIs are influenced by political, economic and internal factors. As such, universities and colleges are examples of ‘complex institutions, where different organisational and governing models exist side by side’ (Larsen, 2001, p. 324). Consequently, HEIs can be viewed through an array of institutionalism lenses including historical, rational choice, sociological and a combination. For example, historical institutionalism focuses on macrostructures and the processes behind an institution’s persistence, sociological institutionalism on the social construction of rules and norms which guide appropriate behaviour and rational choice on self-interested motivation (Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012). Essentially, the three forms, which are considered neo-institutionalism, cover the structure and processes within an institution, the formation of norms and the strategic action of actors within them (Schmidt, 2014).

This section will explore the topic of HEIs as institutions through the lens of institutional theory. In particular, it will discuss how schemas, rules, norms and routines guide social behaviour and what regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars exist in HEIs. Section 3.3 will then discuss in more detail the economic and political influence on HEIs. By doing so, section 3.2 recognises that ‘institutions are not pawns of external forces or obedient tools in the hands of some Master’ (Olsen, 2009, p. 4). Instead, they have an internal life and subsequently there is an element of independence from external decisions. This enables researchers to explore micro factors within institutions. Simultaneously, section 3.3 recognises that HEIs are influenced by external forces through funding and industry norms. More precisely, sections 3.2 and 3.3 acknowledge that decisions in HEIs are shaped by the political environment, which places
demands on them, but also constraints within the HEI through stakeholder influence on choices made (Kaplan, 2006).

Historically, ‘old institutionalism’, focuses on how organisations become institutions (Heugens & Lander, 2007). In this approach, Selznik (1997) describes institutionalisation as a process by which organisations become infused with values, which subsequently influences attitudes, decisions and forms of organising. Critically, the institution evolves from an engineered block of bricks to a social organism. Since the breakdown of classical bureaucratic theories of management, theorists have moved away from the rational conceptualisation of the firm to a non-rational cultural system underpinned by the role of human relations within an organisation (Mitchell, 1995). Mitchell (1995) argues that in trying to explain human behaviour, explanations became so complex that new theoretical and empirical approaches emerged, namely, new institutionalists. Their work sought to address shortcomings in classical and contemporary management theory. Although, it is not to say that uniform agreement has been reached to date.

New institutionalism is concerned with the role of rules, environment, agency, power, entrepreneurship and strategic responsiveness in institutions (Heugens & Lander, 2007). Greenwood and Hinings (1996) refer to this as neo-institutional theory. It represents a shift in focus to ‘rules, scripts, schemas and cultural accounts’ and the impact of individuals as singular and collective actors on the institutions that ‘regulate the fields in which they operate’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 218). As such, scholars in this field may be classified as sociological institutionalists (Schmidt, 2014: Amenta, 2012) or organisational institutionalists (Cai & Mehari, 2015). As ‘sociological institutionalist explanations are arrived at inductively rather than deductively, they can lend insight into individuals’ reasons for action’ (Schmidt, 2014, p.2). Critically, institutional theory provides explanations for social behaviour through the widespread acceptance of schemas, rules, norms and routines built into the social structure of an institution (Scott, 2004). In addition, rational choice institutionalism can provide an array of reasons why actors behave a certain way, by exploring incentive structures within an institution which can be associated with likely outcomes (Schmidt, 2014). For
example, it views actors as rational beings responding to incentives within the
structure which maximises their preferences (Schmidt, 2014; Peters, 2000). Both
rational choice institutionalism and sociological institutionalism have
generalisation limitations, with the former being quite fixed at the micro-level and
the latter focusing on meso-level cultural routines at the expense of individual
action (ibid.). In fact, new institutionalism has been criticised in general for being
‘overly structuralist’ and failing to ‘grant purposeful actors a proper role’ (Olsen,
2009, p.3). Perhaps, this is why scholars from the microfoundations school of
thought critique the view of individuals as mere followers of rules and instead
implore researchers to consider social interactions and purposeful actions of
those within institutions (Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014).

Markey-Towler (2019) states that institutions ‘cannot have a hold on our mind
and determine our behaviour unless it overlaps with our motivational complexes,
especially emotion’ (p.7). Hence, when microfoundations scholars explore why
individuals behave the way they do, they turn to human agency. For example,
Boxenbaum (2019) discusses attachment metaphors, performance metaphors
and fantasy metaphors, which guide behaviour and cognition. These conceptual
metaphors are said to help individuals attach themselves to an institution. In this
school of thought, when institutions are viewed as determinants, they shape
behaviour through rules which prescribe what emotions should be expressed and
proscribe what emotions should not (ibid.). Simultaneously, when individuals are
viewed as determinants, they may invest energy in institutions where ‘payoffs’
can be realised (ibid.). That is, they pursue goals and the likelihood of success
drives behaviour.

According to Voronov and Weber (2020), behaving in a certain way involves
the social self and not simply following behaviour rules. That is, the person develops
a stake. To exemplify, the authors refer to an academic who aligns themselves
with a desire to be perceived as a good teacher. Through success, their desired
self is realised. As such, the institution may have rules and norms, but the role of
individual desire is not redundant. Hence, a form of internalisation occurs which
connects the individual to the institute (Boxenbaum, 2019). Therefore, to guide
behaviour, the institution must be internalised within an individual’s mind.
(Markey-Towler, 2019). This is quite complex as goals can be highly internalised and derived from past experiences such as the achievement of a desired self (Voronov & Weber, 2020). Problematically, this form of decision making can be flawed as perception, information processing and decision making are organised through an individual’s mental network (Markey-Towler, 2019). In addition, Cardinale (2018) also highlights the role of pre reflection in the decision-making process, which essentially brings together arguments within institutional viewpoints regarding passive and active actors. He believes that different actors in the same position will appraise differently due to historical differences between them. Therefore, educators should evaluate their situation and how to behave differently given their history. Hence, the role of family, school and friends as noted in chapter two can influence how we appraise information.

Another difficulty relates to the movement of individuals from one institution to another. Peters (2000) claims that structures persist as individuals leave, which implies that individuals have very little impact on an institution. Moreover, the author proposes that through socialisation, new members can be introduced to the institute’s values. Thus, under rational choice institutionalism, the structure can be designed with predictable behaviour in mind (ibid.). This aligns with the norms and modelling behaviour discussed in section 2.9 and the concept of institutions as determinants of behaviour (Boxenbaum, 2019). However, as Markey-Towler (2019) argues, behaviour can only be determined if institutional rules are encoded within an individual’s mental network, which is perpetually evolving as our world extends. They assert that ‘a web of a perceptual apparatus’ is needed to call ‘rules to mind when the appropriate situations are recognised’ (p. 6). Simply put, behaviour is influenced by processing rules which are highly internalised yet influenced by externalities. Furthermore, it must also be noted that as people move from institution to institution their sense of self does not simply change according to the institution (Voronov & Weber, 2020). Rather, they maintain it and thus they can influence the institution. Ultimately, this leads to a cause and effect argument within institutional theory.

Building on the concepts discussed, institutional theory can be organised under regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars (Staelens & Louche, 2017;
Scott, 2004). Thence, it explores if individuals or collectives follow rules because of obligations, potential rewards or morals (Scott, 2014). Regulative constraints can influence behaviour through rules, surveillance and sanctions, whilst normative and cultural-cognitive factors include social obligations and shared conceptions respectively (Scott, 2003). This suggests that forces external to the individual can guide their behaviour. It also demonstrates how the rules and sanctions within can be associated with incentives driving maximisation behaviour of actors in rational choice institutionalism. Interestingly, this demonstrates the power of HEIs to change incentives. However, it fails to explore the deeper individual drivers of the behaviour. At the micro-level, Creed and colleagues (2014) explore the role of emotions as drivers of behaviour. They suggest that surveillance mechanisms of the social unit individuals belong to, underpin feelings such as shame which then guide action. To be precise, they describe felt shame as a ‘discrete emotion experienced by a person based on negative self-evaluations stemming from the perceived or actual depreciation by others owing to a failure to meet standards of behaviour’ (p.280). Furthermore, they claim that systemic shame is based on shared rules of shameful behaviour, but that shame cannot have power unless the shared rules can evoke a sense of shame. Importantly, this means that a motive behind the action must exist. The authors argue that motives to behave in a praiseworthy way within the institution can stem from a fear of losing connection with the social unit and thus losing meaning in their life. Critically, this underlines the complexity of emotion and cognition within institutions.

Notwithstanding, the variety of foci in institutional theory, it is a popular explanation for actions on an individual and organisational level (Dacin, Goodstein, & Scott, 2002). More precisely, it describes how people within institutions create values which infuse the social organism. It outlines how they influence rules, lobby for change and create standards. Importantly, Goodin (1996), suggests that differences amongst the fields of institutional theory should be harnessed to avoid a ‘straight jacket’ definition (p. 1). Similarly, Peters (2000) suggests we should ‘accept the inherent ambiguity of this body of theory as it currently exists, and indeed to revel in that diversity rather than deploring it’ (p.6). With that, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) provide a framework connecting the
various strands of institutional literature. As such, they discuss the role of individuals in institutions in relation to how they affect, transform and maintain an institution, whilst highlighting the key role of diffusion in institutional theory. Specifically, they explore how individuals, especially those with power or key resources, influence strategy, institutional entrepreneurship and lobby for change and action. By doing so, they see individuals as rational workers bound by sets of practices, resources and knowledge expected to maintain the institutions. In combination, the institutional viewpoints view organisational behaviour as a product of social structure and or agency within the organisation (Heugens, & Lander, 2009).

Within institutions, routines, identities, beliefs and resources can facilitate change and stability (Olsen, 2009). Importantly, all institutions are organised differently and change over time through periods of struggle, demolition and renewal (Scott, 2010). Despite differences, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) note that institutions typically model themselves on similar institutes which they see as more successful. They propose that institutions become homogenous through three types of isomorphism; coercive, mimetic and normative. Coercive isomorphism is driven by political influence and legitimacy, mimetic isomorphism is driven by uncertainty and normative isomorphism through professionalism. HEIs exhibit the interplay between the pillars of influence which Scott (2004) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) refer to. For example, Ireland, as a small open economy (SOE) and European Union (EU) and European Monetary Union (EMU) member is internationalised. HEIs operate in an increasingly international model and as Peters (2000) notes competition between institutions has implications for survival. Competition in the HE market can be intense and the level of intensity can depend on the availability of alternatives (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2010). These factors can drive isomorphism. More specifically, institutions can ‘actively look at what their neighbours are doing and use this information in their evaluation and learning processes’ (George, Baekgaard, Decramer, Audenaert, & Goeminne, 2020, p. 17). Hence, institutions may turn to league tables to identify institutions they can model. Building on the various arguments presented thus far, this will then shape the norms within the institution at the meso level and
through micro-level information processing and surveillance, individuals within will behave in a certain manner.

Additionally, several government actors can influence isomorphism, namely the HEA, QQI (Quality and Qualifications Ireland) and the Department of Education and Skills. As George and colleagues (2020) note, coercive pressures can include formal regulations and specific standards. This could include the amalgamation of three IoTs in Dublin into one technological university (TU) under the Technological Universities Act 2018. Ultimately, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue that external actors play a role in how an institution changes over time and that pressure to change can stem from cultural expectations and government mandates such as standards. Again, the construction of TU Dublin exemplifies this as its goal is to ‘meet the challenges facing us as an economy and a society’ (Government of Ireland, 2019). Thus, the internal and external environment plays a role in how institutions operate (Scott, 2010). The following section will explore the impact of external influences on institutions in more detail. Specifically, it will discuss how economics and globalisation influence HEIs.

3.3 Economic pressures on HEIs

According to Quinones (2018), workaholism is hard to imagine in a non-capitalist society. Thence, she claims that workaholism ‘cannot be understood without the socioeconomic context in which it emerges’ (p.881). Within the VoC theory in economics, competitive market arrangements in LMEs are driven by the laws of supply and demand, thus interaction between actors in society is low (Hall & Soskice, 2001). In CMEs, interaction between firms and actors including the government and trade unions is more commonplace (ibid.). The classification of LME and CME has implications for HEIs, as LMEs traditionally favour general skills, whereas, CMEs prefer specific skills (Schneider & Soskice, 2009). Due to the demand for non-specialist skills in LMEs, the risk of unemployment and the need for strong social nets is less prominent than in CMEs, where the risk of unemployment coupled with low transferable skills requires high taxation to ensure financial safety for its population (ibid.). Ireland can be classified as an LME (Andreosso-O’Callaghan, Lenihan, & McDonough, 2016). Other LMEs
include the UK, USA and Australia, meanwhile Germany, Finland, the Netherlands and Norway are CMEs (Hall & Soskice, 2001). Thus, Ireland from a socioeconomic perspective is an LME with higher masculinity scores and lower individualistic scores than other LMEs. However, Ireland as an LME is somewhat ambiguous. For example, Ireland has invested considerably in specific training through programmes such as Springboard, which reflect more CME style policies (HEA, 2019b). Additionally, Ireland is a member of the EU and EMU, which means that legislation and monetary policies must be adhered to as set by a centralised government in Brussels and Frankfurt. This erodes the so-called free market benefits of LMEs as outlined by Schneider and Soskice (2009).

The economic position of Ireland is particularly complex concerning HEIs. Firstly, the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) assesses a country’s expenditure on tertiary education based on its GDP (Gross Domestic Product), which in Ireland’s case, can be inflated due to transfer pricing, intellectual property and royalty transfers (OECD, 2020; Irish Fiscal Council, 2014; Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), 2006). Hence, in 2015, Ireland was listed as spending only 0.6 per cent of its GDP on education compared to 0.8, 0.9, 1.14 and 1.09 per cent in 2014, 2013, 2012 and 2011 respectively (OECD, 2018). However, 2015 was a particularly problematic year for Irish GDP as growth rates of 26.3 per cent were reported (OECD, 2016). This exposed limitations in GDP as a solid measure of growth and brought the spotlight upon Irish taxation policies (OECD, 2016, CSO, 2019a). Notwithstanding, an alternative measure of government spending on HE provided by the CSO (Chart 2), also shows a steady decline in spending on HE over the period 2008 to 2016 (CSO, 2019b). Thus, we can conclude that during the period student numbers were increasing, as discussed in section 1.2, whilst funding per student was decreasing. It must be noted that CSO data does not include the post austerity years of 2018 and 2019. For example, the 2019 Budget allocated an extra €57 million to HE and in 2019 the Department of Education and Skills (DoE) announced an increase of over €153 million in funding (DoE, 2019; IUA, 2018). However, despite a 25 per cent increase over the period 2014 to 2019 (DoE, 2019), the IUA (2019) state that this merely facilitates treading water since the ‘bulk of the money is ring-fenced for specific purposes and does not deal with the core funding gap’. Essentially, this
statement from the IUA, which represents their seven member universities, underlines that funding remains an issue post austerity.

*Chart 2. Real current public expenditure on HE per student at constant 2015 prices (CSO, 2019b).*

Unlike the LMEs of the UK and the USA, third level education up to Level 8 on the National Framework of Qualifications (NFQ) is funded through taxation, hence HE is not left to the laws of supply and demand in relation to pricing, although as noted above funding was decreasing per student for an extended period. In neoliberalism, the state creates and preserves private property rights and free markets, but should not intervene in markets, instead prices serve as market signals (Harvey, 2015). Within an educational context and under neoliberalism, fees should dictate the demand for courses and supply will naturally converge with demand to create equilibrium. Neoliberalism treats education as an economic concern (Bullough, 2014). Hence, HEIs act as producers of human capital which satisfies consumers, the students, and increases productivity in the country (Mankiw & Taylor, 2011; Keynes, 2008). ‘Almost all states, from those newly minted after the collapse of the Soviet Union to old-style social democracies and welfare states such as New Zealand and
Sweden, have embraced, sometimes voluntarily and in other instances in response to coercive pressures, some version of neoliberal theory and adjusted at least some policies and practices accordingly’ (Harvey, 2015, p. 72). Despite different levels of marketisation and state funding in different countries, the literature paints a similar picture (Hamilton, 2019).

Ireland, like other countries, has undergone an array of changes often discussed in terms of neoliberalism (Power, O’ Flynn, Courtois & Kennedy, 2013). Universities and IoTs have faced financial constraints for many years as shown in Charts 2 and 3.

*Chart 3. Public spending on HE as a percentage of GDP (OECD, 2018)*

In 2015, very few EU countries had lower public spending levels than Ireland, namely, Italy, Hungary, Luxemburg and the UK (OECD, 2018). Many have blamed this lack of funding for reduced international rankings and larger classroom sizes (O’Brien, 2017). During the austerity period, workloads were increasing in Ireland, which saw educators carrying out more grading, more teaching and more pastoral care (Kenny, 2015). As a result of economic contraction, HE in Ireland underwent numerous changes such as reduced staff numbers, reduced salaries and funding, increased working hours and workload under the Croke Park (2010) and Haddington Road agreements (2013) (Lawless et al., 2016).
In Italy, recent reforms in areas such as research evaluation have increased pressure and competition within universities (Converso et al., 2019). Consequently, academics face competing roles and demands such as the need to attract research funding, perform at a high standard in a competitive environment and teach more (Converso, Loera, Molinengo, Viotti, & Guidetti, 2018). The UK HE sector has also undergone significant changes in relation to the casualisation of labour, increased demands from external bodies, increased accountability and reductions in funding (Tytherleigh et al., 2005). Clarke and Knights (2015) note that academic institutions in the UK ‘have become dominated by a neo-liberal culture where there is an unadulterated faith in deregulated market competition that is perceived as a solution to all economic if not social ills’ (p. 1866). In Kinman and Jones’ study (2003), one participant described their workload as ‘trying to run up the down escalator, an escalator that is moving ever faster’ (p.25). This relates to increased administration, teaching and research requirements. As a consequence of this workload, educators worked longer hours (Kinman & Wray, 2013; Kinman et al., 2006). In one study, the workload and time invested created a ‘totally abnormal lifestyle’ for one lecturer (Bryson, 2004, p.45). However, Hamilton (2019) notes that there have been small improvements due to the introduction of fees, which have reduced student numbers, and the growth of permanent contracts, which improve student to teacher ratios. Notwithstanding, pressure still exists for academics concerning changes in teaching delivery and the commercialisation of HE (ibid.).

In Australia, university operating grants declined from 1994 to 2000, whilst student numbers increased over the same period (Winefield et al., 2003). A demand-driven system was introduced in 2012, which sought to increase participation in HE to meet labour market needs, however, real funding, adjusted for inflation, per university place grew by less than one per cent each year between 2009 and 2015 (Universities Australia, 2017). In December 2017, the Australian Government announced that 2018 and 2019 funding under the demand-driven funding system would be set at the 2017 rate, which equates to a $2.2bn cut according to Universities Australia (McGowan, 2018). Unsurprisingly, some Australian universities are using trimesters, work
placements as part of the programme and IT facilities to offer blended and online learning to optimise their resources (James, French & Kelly, 2017).

To conclude, HE is highly internationalised, thus country policies, economic factors and internal institutional factors are not the sole driver of HEI policy. ‘Globalisation is a process which exposes social actors to a wide array of interactions and institutional influences, that intermingle in defining the identities and cognitive resources actors can have access to, in order to pursue their objectives and to be integrated in their social contexts’ (Delmestri, 2006, p. 1517).

In a globalised world, markets are expanded beyond the territory of Ireland or the EU. Thus, in the Emerging Global Model (EGM) of the 21st century, HEIs competing internationally for students, faculty and funding, perform intense research (Mohrman, Ma, & Baker, 2008). International rankings are an important source of information for the worldwide reader as they enable benchmarking (Baty, 2018). This is especially important in terms of attracting international students, worth €1.55 billion per annum to Ireland, and exporting graduates as part of the Dept. of Education and Skills strategy ‘Irish educated globally-connected, an international education strategy for Ireland, 2016-2020’. Rankings also form the basis for marketing Ireland as a destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) for government agencies such as the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) Ireland. For example, IDA Ireland (2018) advertises that Ireland’s education system ranks in the top ten globally. Information such as this is used to attract companies and executives to relocate to Ireland, thus, boosting employment and revenue for the exchequer.

This internationalised context brings students and staff from a variety of societies together, thus the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars which guide behaviour, along with maximisation behaviour of actors, interact with internal economic and political policies to create a micro-meso-macro model influencing educator behaviour. Importantly, this makes HEIs, workplaces with very demanding tasks and a critical psychosocial environment (Converso et al., 2019). Furthermore, the internationalised context alters the structure of HEIs as they are required to invest in public relations at a local and international level to market their offerings and grow their share of the market (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka,
Ultimately, marketised HE has become a combination of ‘rational choice decision-making; inter-institutional competition; customer oriented-attitudes; marketing-led management of HE institutions; and the importance of external relations’ (p. 2), which the author agrees with. In addition, the author believes microfoundational approaches to institutional theory further explain the mechanisms behind sociological and rational choice theories on behaviour within institutions. Therefore, microfoundational, sociological and rational choice theories can provide an overarching explanation for workaholic behaviour through norms, emotions and desires.

3.4 Aspects of the job

The HE sector has undergone significant changes in relation to increased demands from external bodies and increased accountability (Tytherleigh et al., 2005). In Australia and the UK, educators are stressed by levels of competition, changing goalposts, are unhappy with research quality and believe an excessive emphasis on research is at the expense of teaching (Mark & Smith, 2018; Bo & Liying, 2012; Paduraru, 2014; Kinman et al., 2006). In Australia, the UK and USA, educators have reported pressure to publish, which relates to the requirement of publications for promotion (Mark & Smith, 2018; Miller, Taylor, & Bedeian, 2011; Archibong et al., 2010; Kinman et al., 2006). To some, it is akin to a ‘ball and chain’ as scholarly production and direct outputs are perceived as barbaric (Marston & Brunetti, 2009). When institutions integrate publishing outputs into their performance management metrics, it is important that educators are supported to reach these goals. Importantly, an inability to conduct research is an organisational demotivator, whereas, the ability to conduct research is a motivator (Kızıltepe, 2008). For example, the availability of research time is very important to academics (Bentley et al., 2013a). Moreover, difficulties in relation to funding have been identified in several studies (Mark & Smith, 2018; Archibong et al., 2010; Winefield & Jarrett, 2001; Gillespie et al., 2001). This pressure is due to reductions in funding over the years or a lack of grants (Ssesanga & Garrett, 2005; Tytherleigh et al., 2005). For example, Lackritz (2004) found significant positive correlates with grant money and emotional exhaustion.
Numerous studies in Ireland, the UK and Australia have found that educators experience pressure to manage their workloads (e.g. UCU, 2016; Kinman & Wray, 2013; Winter & Sarros, 2002; Dua, 1994). They are time-poor due to the breadth of activities and inflexible deadlines (Kenny, 2015; Kinman et al., 2006; Gillespie et al., 2001). These problems stem from the mass expansion of HE in the 1990s and 2000s (Hamilton, 2019). More specifically, Winefield and Jarrett (2001) attribute increasing workloads to funding cuts. It appears that regardless of location, educators have numerous components in their jobs to manage simultaneously (Lawless, McGuinness, Carthy, & McSweeney, 2016; UCU, 2016; Gillespie, Walsh, Winefield, Dua, & Stough, 2001). It also appears that duties have been widening and demands have been increasing, which creates serious problems for educators (UCU, 2016; Kinman & Jones, 2003). This is exacerbated by the non-expansion of deadlines to meet expanding workloads (Kenny, 2015; Gillespie et al., 2001). These issues outlined influence the quality of the job.

Holman (2013) presents several job factors which have been related to high job quality. They include work organisation, wages and payment, security and flexibility, skills and development, and engagement. Hence, empirical evidence demonstrates that job resources, job demands, hindrances, opportunity to voice opinions and having a permanent contract all play a role in a job’s level of quality (ibid.) Holman also refers to the classification of jobs under the job demands−control theory of job design (Karasek & Theorell, 1990 as cited in Holman, 2013). He notes that active jobs ‘combine high discretion and high demands; high-strain jobs combine low discretion and high demands; passive jobs combine low discretion and low demands, and low-strain jobs combine high discretion and low demand’ (p. 478). Based on this classification, academic jobs traditionally could be classified as active jobs, as demands and discretion are high. However, macro-level pressure and its influence on the fabric of an institution could be argued to erode discretion. Furthermore, it could place additional demands on the job. Thence, jobs which were once active could be reclassified as high-strain jobs. For example, Clarke and Knights (2015) discuss the impact of neoliberal new managerialism on how academics behave. They refer to careerism, performance measures, competition between colleagues,
departments and universities, connections between identity and performance and gaining power. Essentially, neoliberalism encourages educators to work alone and compete. Moreover, the performance metrics symbolise success and those with career aspirations will behave in a manner which bolsters their chances of success, as defined by the institute and the industry. Thus, the macro-level elements impact meso-level factors, which then interact with micro-level variables such as behaviour.

Based on institutional theory’s adaptation, conformity and convergence of an institution’s environment towards homogeneity, Ituma and Simpson (2009) argue that career management practices are influenced by social rules and norms within an institution. For example, in two studies, educators reported an internal pressure to publish articles in peer-reviewed journals and work long hours as they saw it as necessary for their careers (Miller et al., 2011; Bryson, 2004). Hence, their work behaviour was influenced by their wishes and what they needed to do to be successful. In contrast to a resource-rich environment, a climate where working long hours is expected and required to meet goals promotes overwork and is associated with workaholism (Mazzetti et al., 2014). Therefore, expectations within an HEI can encourage a type of working behaviour. Since this is influenced by macro-level variables, it is plausible that both levels influence micro-level working behaviour.

3.4.1 Teaching issues

In Ireland, the UK, other European countries and Australia, class sizes appear to be growing along with student numbers, which causes dissatisfaction for educators (UCU, 2016; Gavrilyuk, Loginova, & Buzovkina, 2013; Kiziltepe 2008; Ssesanga & Garrett, 2005; Lackritz, 2004; Winefield & Jarrett, 2001). These issues appear to stem from political influence as noted by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). In some Irish and Australian studies, even though staff numbers have decreased, student numbers have been increasing, this contributed to heavier teaching loads (Kenny, 2015; Gillespie et al., 2001). When the student/staff ratio increases, educators have more students to assess. A UK study found that workload in relation to grading assignments has been increasing for teaching-
focused staff (UCU, 2016). This had negative implications on the ability to engage in work positively (Lackritz, 2004). In a 2016 UCU report, time spent on student consultations had been increasing and changing, and student expectations were seen as a serious problem.

Educators in Australia have reported difficulties in relation to the changing nature of students due to customer-focused agendas, as this requires spending more time with students (Gillespie et al., 2001). Teaching is an emotionally intensive job and has been discussed in terms of emotional labour in an array of studies (Näring, Briët, & Brouwers, 2006; Constanti, & Gibbs, 2004). Emotional labour requires individuals to suppress authentic feelings to create an atmosphere deemed positive by the customer, service user or student such as making a classroom feel safe (Hochschild, 2003). Therefore, teachers invest physical and mental resources as part of their job. This becomes problematic when employees ‘become estranged or alienated from an aspect of self’ (Hochschild, 2003, p.7) or have too much to do and not enough time or resources to complete it (Leiter & Maslach, 2003; Maslach & Leiter, 1997). To be more specific, exceeding human limits regularly can lead to problems with exhaustion (Leiter & Maslach, 1999), which leads to disengagement or burnout.

Another teaching issue relates to reward management. Clarke and Knights (2015) claim that preoccupation with ranking has led to the neglect of teaching and students since research and publishing are measurable outputs. Based on institutional theory, research and publishing could influence behaviour through surveillance of outputs (Scott, 2003). More precisely, an HEI can indirectly encourage educators to spend more time on certain aspects of their job at the expense of other tasks such as teaching. This implies that educators must decide in light of the information available to them. The work environment provides that information through feedback and social rewards in addition to the individual’s sensitivity toward the reward (Ceschi, Demerouti, Sartori, & Weller, 2017).

3.4.2 Autonomy and control issues

In a Canadian study, Gopaul, Jones, Weinrib, Metcalfe, Fisher, Gingras and Rubenson (2016), found that external pressures and commercial expectations
placed pressure on levels of autonomy. Importantly, professional autonomy and intellectual freedom influenced why some educators in the USA chose the profession (Sanderson, Phua, & Herda, 2000). When individuals have high autonomy in their jobs, they have a sense of responsibility for their outcomes (Hackman & Oldham, 1975). According to Pennebaker, Burnam, Schaeffer and Harper (1977), a person will feel higher levels of control over their environment when differences between actions and outcomes are more apparent. That is, effort must result in something more than the input. Autonomy and control are considered job resources which trigger work engagement (Bakker, Hakanen, Demerouti, & Xanthopoulou, 2007). Work engagement is positively associated with higher levels of job satisfaction (Van Beek, Kranenburg, Reijseger, Taris, & Schaufeli, 2014), probably because they value the work and enjoy it for its own sake (Van Beek et al., 2011). Based on numerous studies, engaged employees appear to be productive, profitable, safe, and healthy (Wollard, 2011). Dedicated staff members report a sense of significance, enthusiasm, inspiration, pride, and challenge (Van Beek et al., 2011; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a). However, in a 2019 UK study, academic staff were found to have lower perceived control at work compared to non-academic staff (Fontinha, Easton, & Van Laar, 2019).

To manage the changes in HE, educators tend to work longer hours. This, however, could be argued to serve no economic purpose, as working beyond certain thresholds results in diminished productivity (Pencavel, 2015). That is, there is a limit regarding how many hours an educator can work without becoming unproductive. Work hours in the HE industry were found to be higher than other occupations (Gopaul et al., 2016). Based on the literature, educators across the globe work more than forty hours per week due to their workload, which some consider overload (University and College Union (UCU), 2016; Kenny, 2015; Kinman & Wray, 2013; Slišković & Seršić, 2011; Sun, Wu, & Wang, 2011; Kinman, Jones, & Kinman, 2006; Bryson, 2004; Winter & Sarros, 2002). To cope with the workload, regular evening and weekend work is widespread in the UK (Kinman et al., 2006; Bryson, 2004).

Many educators reported little choice regarding their work hours (UCU, 2016; Kinman & Jones, 2003). Socially, the expansion of work hours leads to time
poverty, which leaves educators time poor for non-work-related activities (Warren, 2010). To Garhammer (1998), time famine is a major social problem. Work-life balance, social connections and subjective well-being are noted as important factors influencing well-being in the OECD’s framework for measuring individual well-being (OECD, 2015). Like any employee, educators are susceptible to the repercussions of ‘wear and tear’ as described by Adam Smith (1999,1776). ‘Wear and tear’ reflects what Smith describes as the continuation of the race. That is, the ability of employees to raise a family, live a decent life and avoid illness. All workers need rest to maintain their vital force in addition to time to satisfy their intellectual and social requirements (Marx, 1990, 1867, p. 341). Yet, ‘the current working situation for many academics differs dramatically from the entrenched public perception of academic work as being a low-stress occupation’ (Hogan et al., 2016, p. 460).

Jobs in academia were previously considered low stress, flexible, autonomous and secure, which is no longer the case (Fontinha et al., 2019). Yoo (2019) believes the way time is measured in ‘achievement-mad’ academia’ fails to consider lives or enjoyment (p.6). She believes time is spent on activities which are measured and performed, and life is spent on accumulating badges and avoiding time-wasting. A flexible work schedule was an influential factor for educators choosing this career path (Sanderson et al., 2000). However, flexible hours coupled with the open-endedness of the job can contribute to excessive workload as educators struggle to find time to complete their work within a traditional working week (Kenny, 2015; Kinman & Jones, 2003). For example, in Kinman and Wray’s UK study (2013), only 18 per cent of educators had an ideal score for work-life separation and sixty-seven per cent said that their working time was always or often flexible. Thus, the flexibility of the job coupled with technological advancements in the last twenty years facilitates working from home at any time and therefore facilitates workaholic behaviour. Indeed, the introduction of new technologies was found to be the main source of stress in Gillespie and colleagues (2001).

Over 70 per cent of educators said the pace of their work was rushed in Kinman and Jones’ (2003) study. Educators in Europe, Australia and the USA do not have
enough time to prepare for classes, engage in scholarly work or keep current in
their field (Paduraru, 2014, Bentley, Coates, Dobson, Goedegebuure, & Meek,
2013a; Kinman et al., 2006; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Gillespie et al., 2001).
During the teaching term, finding time to conduct research is particularly
problematic (Marston & Brunetti, 2009). The lack of time leaves educators
engaging in research in their free time (ibid.). Hence, significant teaching hours
and teaching loads, email volume and red tape create a demanding job with tight
timeframes and flexible working hours, can erode their personal time (Mark &
Smith, 2018; Kang & Sidhu, 2015; Kenny, 2015; Paduraru, 2014; Jerejian, Reid,
& Rees, 2013; Liu & Zhu, 2009; Kızıltepe, 2008; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; He, Li,
Shi, Mao, Mu, & Zhou, 2000).

3.4.3 Administration issues

According to numerous studies in Europe, Australia, Asia and North America,
administration load is problematic for many educators (Mark & Smith, 2018; UCU,
2016; Gavriliyuk, Loginova, & Buzovkina, 2013; Paul & Phua, 2011; Archibong et
al., 2010; Kızıltepe, 2008; Lindholm & Szélényi, 2008; Bryson, 2004; Lackritz,
2004; Kinman & Jones, 2003; Winter & Sarros, 2002). In previous studies,
administration has been perceived as mundane, a threat to research time and
detrimental to teaching (Kinman & Jones, 2003; Winter & Sarros, 2002). Some
questioned why first-class UK departments with huge turnovers do not operate
like businesses with similar turnovers (Kinman & Jones, 2003). Effectively,
educators questioned how their time was being spent (ibid.). To one interviewee
in Winter and Sarros (2002), this was due to funding cuts. In a 2013 Australian
study, administration processes had high correlations with communication,
collegiality in decision-making and relationships with administrators (Bentley &
colleagues, 2013a). Therefore, a lack of communication can create more
administrative issues such as increased time spent on administration, which is
correlated with time stress (Lindholm & Szélényi, 2008). This time stress coupled
with flexibility in the job can facilitate workaholic behaviour by taking work home.
Perhaps unsurprisingly, some educators can consider leaving their jobs due to
increased bureaucracy (Kinman et al., 2006).
3.4.4 Management and communication issues

A lack of control and bureaucracy may stem from management and communication problems. In previous studies, poor management was related to perceived favouritism, abuse, misdirected anger, disingenuousness, lack of trust, lack of transparency, perceived lack of support, being overly bureaucratic, not understanding employee needs and non-dissemination of information (Mark & Smith, 2018; Lawless et al., 2016; Langford, 2010; Dondon & Teichman, 2011; Marston & Brunetti, 2009; Kinman & Jones, 2003; Gillespie et al., 2001). For example, in several Irish, UK and Australian studies, universities had problems with communication and managers (Mark & Smith, 2018; Lawless et al., 2016; Kenny, 2015; Langford, 2010; Kinman et al., 2006; Winefield, Gillespie, Stough, Dua, & Hapuararchchi, 2003; Gillespie et al., 2001). Due to poor information dissemination from management, some participants in Paduraru (2014) and Dondon and Teichman (2011) believed that vital information was not communicated. In Gillespie and colleagues (2001) study, some reported a lack of consultation with educators, hence, their input was non-existent. Whilst, others believed management was disingenuous and had no intention of considering their feedback or making changes to decisions made (ibid.). When managers lack knowledge about their subordinates’ jobs, educators perceive this as avoidance of issues, which leaves them feeling unsupported (Mark & Smith, 2018).

Good relationships with direct managers result in satisfaction (Ssesanga & Garrett, 2005; van Emmerik, 2002). In contrast, a sense of management unfairness causes job dissatisfaction (Catano et al., 2010). Dissatisfaction can promote disengagement and thus reduce the effort educators invest in work (Kahn, 1990). In Langford (2010), Australian universities had the lowest scores in cross-unit cooperation, processes, management, recruitment and selection, achieving organisation objectives, results-focus, work-life balance and facilities. In the literature, promotional opportunities have also been associated with significant working hours. For example, in Kinman and Jones’ (2003) UK study, an educator spoke about promotions only being given to those who live for the job. Therefore, those who want ordinary lives will not progress. Chances to

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develop in their field act as organisational motivators for Turkish educators (Kızıltepe, 2008). When educators believe their efforts are not recognised, they start thinking about resigning or disengaging (Khebbeb, 2006). In contrast, when educators had been recently promoted, they were statistically and significantly more satisfied with their jobs (Bentley et al., 2013a).

3.4.5 Contractual issues

Another HE issue discussed in the literature is casualised labour and fixed-term contracts. Kenny, (2015), Tytherleigh and colleagues (2005) and Winefield and colleagues (2003) note how the Irish and UK HE sector has changed in relation to the casualisation of labour. From the period 1998 to 2004, perceived job insecurity had significantly grown in the UK (Kinman et al., 2006). As a result of job insecurity, some educators considered leaving their jobs (Khebbeb, 2006; Kinman et al., 2006). Crucially, job security is considered an important aspect of the job (Bryson, 2004). Having a precarious employment contract can be a driver of stress for educators (Mark & Smith, 2018; Gillespie et al., 2001). Coetzee and Rothmann (2005) found that job security is positively related to psychological health in their South African study and Opstrup and Pihl-Thingvad (2016) found it to be highly significant with stress levels in their Danish study. Thus, contract type can cause stress, thoughts about leaving and poor health. Importantly, stress results in depersonalisation (Leiter & Maslach, 1999), which inhibits work engagement and may lead to poor outcomes for students and colleagues.

3.5 Micro, meso and macro-level factors influencing workaholic behaviour

This chapter has outlined that funding issues, past or present, have a relationship with dwindling job resources and increasing demands such an international competition. In a HE setting, resources can include available time to conduct research, collaboration and recognition from colleagues, good working relationships, autonomy and opportunities to progress (Opstrup & Pihl-Thingvad, 2016; Bentley, Coates, Dobson, Goedegebuure, & Meek, 2013a; Bo & Liying, 2012; Dondon & Teichman, 2011; Kızıltepe, 2008, Coetzee & Rothmann, 2005;
Siegall & McDonald, 2004). Compared to job resources, job demands have a negative association with job satisfaction and positive correlations with psychological distress and burnout (McClenahan, Giles, & Mallett, 2007).

Institutional resources have been associated with job satisfaction, psychological health and stress or demotivation in their absence (Kang & Sidhu, 2015; Bentley et al., 2013a; Kiziltepe, 2008; Khebbeb, 2006; Tytherleigh et al., 2005; Coetzee & Rothmann, 2005; Gillespie et al., 2001; Winefield & Jarrett, 2001; He et al., 2000). Hence, the absence of resources has negative outcomes, which according to Lawless et al., (2016) and Lenzen, Blossfeld and Vereinigung der Bayerischen Wirtschaft (2014), have been dwindling as each year passes. Importantly, when educators were stressed by job demands, they considered leaving their jobs (Gavrilyuk et al., 2013; Kinman et al., 2006).

Educators believe working hours have been increasing, causing the job to become unmanageable in a normal working week (UCU, 2016; Kinman & Wray, 2013; Slišković & Seršić, 2011; Kinman & Jones, 2003). They have felt obliged to take on more work without a reduction in their teaching loads, which has turned what was once a ‘satisfying job into a nightmare’ (Bryson, 2004, p.46; Kinman & Jones, 2003). Overall, they are stressed, some report discrimination, some lack progression opportunities, some have contractual issues and others are under pressure to perform (Bo & Liying, 2012; Dondon & Teichman, 2011; Archibong et al., 2010; Bryson, 2004; Winefield et al., 2003). Taken together, it is unsurprising that psychological distress is higher in HEI studies than levels found in non-university studies (Winefield et al., 2003).

Problems with management such as lacking transparency, office politics, bureaucracy and interpersonal problems were sources of strain for educators (Mark & Smith, 2018; Lawless et al., 2016; Langford, 2010; Kiziltepe, 2008; Kinman et al., 2006; Kinman & Jones, 2003; Gillespie et al., 2001; Dua, 1994). Compared to other staff in HEIs, academic staff reported lower job satisfaction (Winefield et al., 2003). The volume of work, hours required and its spillover into educators’ personal lives left educators reporting dissatisfaction with their jobs
Dissatisfied educators considered leaving their jobs or the industry entirely (Kinman et al., 2006; Siegall & McDonald, 2004).

To manage significant workloads, some educators in Fredman and Doughney’s (2012) study prioritised tasks which carried more weight in the workload allocation models (WAM). These models are regularly used in education as a means of allocating teaching, research and other service aspects of the job (Hewett, Shantz, & Mundy, 2019). Prioritising certain tasks implies putting less effort into others. Depending on the workload model, this could have implications for other areas of the HEI. ‘Over commitment to work’ is an internal drive, which could involve spending considerable hours engaged in work-related activities, which erodes personal time and all the benefits associated with that (Mark & Smith, 2012). Importantly, workaholic employees are less productive than work engaged employees and experience negative feelings (Clark et al., 2014). In Hogan and colleagues (2016), they put in more effort than other types of educators and they had the lowest psychological well-being and highest work-life conflict.

Hence, an educator’s endless pursuit of excellence can leave them ‘like a dying engine that is about to choke’ (Yoo, 2019, p. 2). More precisely, the limitless late nights to meet the HEIs and personal goals reflect a work behaviour which can lead to psychological and physical injury. This is amplified when holding a non-permanent position. For example, Yoo (2019) presented at work, found ways to hide illness and soldiered on, all because she needed to be paid. Therefore, internal and contextual factors interact with one another to influence workaholic behaviour. Thus, the HEI, through its policies and practices can foster workaholic behaviour but this is exacerbated by personal desires or characteristics.

3.6 Conclusion

The review of the literature in chapter two and three has informed a set of questions to be posed to educators in the interviews, which will explore what they like about their jobs, what they do not like, how much time they spend working, why they work the hours they do, the climate within their institute and how they
feel about professional development opportunities. These investigations aim to answer questions on how educators approach their jobs, how do family and social life impact the work behaviour of educators and how do educators feel about their jobs, career and work behaviour. These investigations aim to answer question one and question two of this study:

1. *How does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?*

2. *How do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators?*

The set of SSIs and the prompt questions related to the two research questions can be viewed in Table 2.
CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 Introduction

This study investigates the experiences of educators working within HEIs across the greater Dublin area, particularly their perceptions of workload in relation to energy and time they invest in their work. To do this, it explores institutional as well as individual factors which influence workaholic behaviour. This chapter outlines the ontological and epistemological beliefs of the author and details how those beliefs guide methodological decisions. More specifically, it presents a rationale for using constructivist grounded theory. The research sample is described including how the sample was recruited and the methods of data collection employed. It details the stages of coding and how this ultimately leads to theory construction.

4.2 Ontological and Epistemological Considerations

When writing my literature review on workaholism, I faced the same problem time and time again, disagreement about what workaholism is. To fill the knowledge gap, researchers would call for more research, so the academic community could reach a consensus. Paradoxically, this was typically followed by a quantitative study utilising a tool which conceptualised workaholism as an addiction or compulsion based on the literature. Papers rarely departed from the hypothetico-deductive approach. Considering that methods are influenced by our world views and how we understand (Cohen et al., 2013), this approach implies a positivist realist stance throughout the literature. Realists strive to understand the world objectively as reality is independent of consciousness and social interactions (Given, 2008; Crotty, 1998).

Positivists avoid contaminating results with values and biases by inquiring through a ‘one-way mirror’ (Charmaz, 2014; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Importantly, studies in the topic, deemed objective, utilised tools which conceptualised a
construct in a way which implies a belief about what something is. Hence, their values and indeed biases form part of the decision-making process regarding how to conceptualise and measure a construct. By selecting certain tools, researchers expose their ontological position, how and what can be known (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010; Grix, 2002). They also tell the reader how they know what they know, their epistemological position (Crotty, 2015, p. 3; Levers, 2013; Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

Tool selection informs a research model. Workaholism, as an addiction, consists of different factors to workaholism as a compulsion, hence the choice will impact the exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) stage. In that sense, tool selection erodes objectivity claims as the researcher’s beliefs on what something is are evident at the beginning of the project. Moreover, compulsion and addiction have different antecedents and outcomes, so different conceptualisations and their corresponding variables may influence model fit in structural equation modelling (SEM). Furthermore, any meta-analysis which seeks to advance our knowledge on the phenomena will not be generalisable as conceptualisations have strict definitions which cannot be applied to different studies. For example, Di Stefano and Gaudiino’s (2019) meta-analysis excluded any studies not using the DUWAS. Hence, their work builds our knowledge on workaholism defined as working excessively and working compulsively. However, it does not consider other tools such as WorkBat or BWAS.

Another challenge to objectivity in positivism relates to the literature review. Firstly, the literature the researcher reads is informed by the beliefs of the authors which might not be explicitly stated. As Slife and Williams (1995) note, learning, memory and knowing require a relationship between the world and individuals. In 1960’s management research there was a ‘scientisation’ of the field which sought unity, yet as Burrell (1997) notes, theory construction depended on which side of the North Atlantic you stood on. For example, bureaucratisation and right versus left political viewpoints made some scholars more and less attractive to researchers at the time. When discussing the enlightenment of nature and man’s place, Geertz's (1973) critiques its omission of individual differences pertaining
to customs, institutions and values. Furthermore, Cohen et al., (2013) state ‘in our endeavours to come to terms with the problems of day-to-day living, we are heavily dependent upon experience and authority’ (p.5). Or as Nietzsche puts it, ‘we see all things by means of our human head, and cannot chop it off, though it remains to wonder what would be left of the world if indeed it had been cut off’ (Nietzsche, 2009, p. 15).

Essentially, Cohen and colleagues and Geertz and Burrell imply that theorists select literature based on their beliefs, which are shaped by their environment. As a result, there are many schools of thought in organisation theory and this diversity has led to fragmentation and disputes which still exist today (Scherer, 1998). Importantly, this has implications for researchers, as literature, which may not be as objective as one assumed, is used to construct an overarching theory underpinning propositions or hypotheses. Problems such as these could be used to build arguments against reviewing literature before entering the field, such as Hitchcock and Hughes’ (1989) commentary on interpretivism or Glaserian grounded theory’s focus on emergence. However, the practicality of avoiding literature has been questioned especially in terms of PhD projects and projects which require funding (Dunne, 2011).

In the early stages of my PhD, I supported the positivist application of natural scientific methods in social sciences. As I immersed myself in the statistical literature, I began to question what proof is and if these methods can answer questions. I recorded my thoughts in my PhD notebooks as questions emerged. Simultaneously, I was reading more theories in psychology, education, sociology and management and making notes as I read. As my questions and reservations evolved, I started to doubt how realistic it was for anyone to avoid subjectivity in the research process since we are social creatures shaped by our past and environment. In preparation for my third confirmation panel, I transitioned from a positivist to a post-positivist. Positivists typically follow natural scientific approaches such as questionnaires, surveys and personality tests (Crotty, 1998; Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Post-positivists argue that these positivist scientific methods and their subsequent causal links are not suitable in environments where meaning is constructed (Mack, 2010). Post-positivists believe we cannot
be positive about claims dealing with human nature as there is no one truth (Creswell, 2003; Merrick, 1999). Importantly, they accept universal laws but believe it is almost impossible to discover this truth (Levers, 2013).

However, due to this ensuing debate in the workaholism literature, I began to consider alternative ways of approaching this problem and I found myself epistemologically homeless, I was no longer a positivist or a postpositivist. As I explored various epistemologies, I began to relate to constructivist beliefs. Constructivism, which focuses on the ‘meaning-making activity of the individual mind’ as opposed to constructionism which focuses on ‘collective generation [and transmission] of meaning’, is a learning theory explaining how individuals combine prior knowledge with new information (Bada & Olusegun, 2015; Crotty, 2015, p.58). Simply put, ‘constructivism places the origin of knowledge in the head of the individual’ and ‘social construction places the origin in social relationships’ (Gergen, 2015, p. 30).

Kelly (2003), when discussing personal construction highlights that individual knowledge is the fruit of their interpretations. From the constructivist viewpoint, which Kelly has been associated with (Gergen, 2015), a priori knowledge guides the decisions a constructivist makes. In his work on personal construction, Kelly (2003), highlights how conclusions are derived from within, which then guide behaviour. On constructivism, Raskin (2002) notes that ‘none of the many ways of understanding that people have developed provide a God’s Eye (i.e., purely objective) view of the world’ (p. 2). That is, in constructivism, an array of interpretations can exist (Walker & Winter, 2007). Hence, researchers not only enter the field with prior knowledge, they also make sense of new data they collect based on how they view reality. As a result, constructivism contrasts interpretivism and positivism.

Whilst both constructivists and interpretivists believe that understanding stems from interpretation (Schwandt, 1998), interpretative researchers explore new areas with little or no prior knowledge (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989). This approach to research is problematic for PhD work, as exploring an area with no prior knowledge can waste time and can be unfeasible in a PhD project (Dunne, 2011).
Moreover, it is questionable how one can have no prior knowledge. Like constructivism, the positivist approach to inquiry implies prior knowledge. This prior knowledge manifests in the deductive development of hypotheses and administration of tests. However, constructivists believe that knowledge is constructed through perspectives and not discovered (Schwandt, 1998). Ergo, meaning is individually constructed (Navarro, 2013) and unlike positivism, no objectivity claims are made. Therefore, constructivism, which embraces prior knowledge and active learning, whilst recognising the role of learners (Narayan, Rodriguez, Araujo, Shaqlaih, & Moss, 2013), is a theory deeply suited for micro and meso exploration, as it can explain individual difference, the role of perception, the influence of climate and how this shapes our behaviour.

4.3 Research method

Ontological and epistemological assumptions influence the methodological implications and techniques of data collection, thus philosophical assumptions must be considered before contemplating the research strategy and analysis stage (Creswell, 2003; Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989). ‘Research designs are important because they provide road maps for how to rigorously conduct studies to best meet certain objectives’ (Creswell, Hanson, Clark Plano, & Morales, 2007, p.159). To choose an appropriate method and to ensure high-quality design, Yin (2009b) asserts that researchers must consider the type of research question posed; if there are any propositions; the units of analysis; the logic linking the data to the propositions; the criteria for interpreting the findings; the extent of control the researcher has over actual behavioural events and whether the focus is on contemporary or historical events.

Once satisfied with my new epistemological viewpoint, it was necessary to consider the research questions again. I decided that a set of hypotheses using a few variables, which my original study proposed, was not suitable as they too implied a belief about workaholism which discounted the numerous other propositions I had read. Hence, I began to consider research questions, the units of analysis and how I could qualitatively explore them. After careful consideration,
I settled on educators within the HE sector and how their work environment influences their work behaviours in particular. Two questions were constructed:

1. How does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?
2. How do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators?

By following a qualitative approach, I could explore a phenomenon by collecting viewpoints without selecting variables and measurement tools which restrict possible answers. After all, the underlying epistemological goal of qualitative research is to understand complexity rather than isolate variables to identify causal relationships (Flick, von Kardoff, & Steinke, 2004). Both case studies and grounded theory are suitable for ‘how’ questions (Charmaz, 2014, 2008; Yin, 2009b). In qualitative educational research, interviews are often used to collect data, which is then analysed through a grounded theory approach or content analysis (Cohen et al., 2013). In the following section, the choice of constructivist grounded theory will be justified.

4.3.1 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is an inductive strategy involving a systematic series of data collection and analysis. The collection and analysis help you to understand your data, such as cases, incidents or experiences, to identify relationships and patterns and then develop more abstract conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2014, 1996). This encompasses generating codes and categories, which is done by moving backwards and forwards through the data (Cohen et al., 2013; Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Thus, ‘grounded theory methods provide a frame for qualitative inquiry and guidelines for conducting it’ (Charmaz, 2014, p.14).

In the past, qualitative research was seen as unsystematic, biased, and impressionistic to the extent that funding, research institutes, positions and journals were dominated by survey research (Charmaz, 2014; Given, 2008). This changed, when Glaser and Strauss published ‘The Discovery of Grounded Theory’ (Given, 2008). Grounded theory has its roots in the need for more rigorous systematic qualitative research following a period of ‘great strides’ in
quantitative research (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). The type of grounded theory being employed dictates the analysis of data. There are three major forms of grounded theory, which have differing ontological and epistemological positions. Hence, grounded theory is a ‘total methodology’ (Weed, 2009, p. 507).

Glaser and Strauss’s classical version of grounded theory is said to be realist, objectivist and positivist (Weed, 2009; Charmaz, 2008). This means that researchers attempt to find answers to questions by avoiding bias and remaining separate from the subjects (Charmaz, 2008). As stated in section 4.2, I query the ability to remain unbiased and the necessity to remain an observer. Strauss and Corbin’s later version of grounded theory (evolved grounded theory) moved on from positivism. Whilst, Corbin and Strauss (1990) acknowledge that qualitative research is often judged in terms of quantitative canons, Weed (2009) asserts that it falls short of its interpretive claims due to the use of language such as ‘avoid biasing’ and maintaining objectivity. For example, in their 1990 article, they use terms such as ‘discard or verify a hypothesis’ (p.13), which has quantitative meanings. Interpretivists are anti-positivists who believe the individual’s point of view is part of the social world (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). They are subjectivists who believe that understanding is filtered through individual consciousness and as such, they are nominalists as opposed to realists (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Mack, 2010). They believe ‘reality is human experience and human experience is reality’ (Levers, 2013, p. 2). Accordingly, they believe that social reality is subjective, a product of our minds dependent on our experiences (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Levers, 2013). Hence, verification of a hypothesis with this position in mind is peculiar.

Constructivist grounded theory is flexible with great emphasis placed on ‘individuals’ views, values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions and ideologies than on research methods’ (Creswell et al., 2007, p.250). Unlike the objectivity arguments of Glaser and Strauss, Charmaz (2014) recognises that researchers have prior knowledge and skills before beginning a study, so they may indeed have theories in mind when they are conducting research. To manage this, she suggests maintaining an open mind when coding to ensure the categories are grounded in the data as opposed to a priori knowledge.
A diagram of Charmaz’s approach to grounded theory is presented in Figure 1. Initial coding begins after the first interview. Throughout the project, memoing takes place. Memos capture the researcher’s thoughts and guide future interviews. The process is iterative, moving backwards and forwards. Focused coding takes the research to the next stage where categories and subcategories are constructed. Charmaz’s version of grounded theory does not specifically contain an axial coding stage following Corbin and Strauss’s (1990) procedures. Instead, she speaks of ‘emergent’ analytic strategies to enable her to make sense of the data (Charmaz, 2014, p. 148). Once again, this underlines her constructivist approach. Like the other forms of grounded theory, theoretical sampling and saturation are vital. My application of constructivist grounded theory is detailed in section 4.6.

Figure 1. Charmaz’s approach to grounded theory
4.4 The sampling strategy

When defining the population, a researcher must consider who they want to study and how they will recruit them. The questions they seek to answer will inform the sampling strategy. For example, if the researcher plans to use statistics to test hypotheses, they will require a strategy enabling probability and a sample size of at least thirty participants per variable. Depending on the researcher’s goal, they can use random, systematic, stratified, convenience, purposive, theoretical and snowball sampling to name a few (Cohen et al., 2013).

Theoretical sampling, compared to statistical sampling, is based on the saturation of categories (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Its goal is to explain your categories and you do this by saturating them (Charmaz, 2014). Theoretical sampling requires comparative analysis, diversity of data, subgroups and maximising differences (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). When no new properties or patterns emerge in interviews, the category is said to be saturated. The researcher then stops interviewing and begins to sort and present categories to identify an emergent theory (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

4.4.1 The sample

Theoretical sampling is an iterative process. Consequently, it can be difficult for researchers to state how many interviewees will be required when they commence data collection (Cohen et al., 2013). The boundaries of the sample, in essence, are controlled by the emerging theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Whilst theoretical sampling makes it difficult to initially identify who your participants will be, a researcher must be clear on the basic types of groups they will compare as this impacts the population scope and conceptual level of the theory (ibid). The first stage in this research involved initial sampling, which is the process of establishing criteria and how to get access to data (Charmaz, 2014). This involves identifying people, cases, situations and organisations. During this phase, I identified educators working within HEIs in the Dublin region as my sample. In the Irish system until recently, there were two main types of HEI, the university and the institute of technology (IoT). However, in 2020, three IoTs in Dublin merged into a technological university (TU). Under the Technological
Universities Act (2018) more IoTs can apply for TU designation. As such, the Irish HE system is evolving at the time of publication. The HEA (2020) defines the role of the TU as a place to ‘engage in industry-focused research’ which will ‘address the social and economic needs of their region’ whilst maintaining a focus on vocation and profession. All types of HEI were included in the sample. As the interviews took place in 2019, four of the interviewees now work in TUs but worked in IoTs at the time of interviewing. To reflect the variety of educators employed in HEIs, educators occupying various types of contracts were included such as permanent, fixed-term, adjunct and those paid on an hourly or modular basis.

The recruitment involved a four-prong approach. Firstly, I used contacts to forward my study invitation to their contacts. Secondly, as I have worked in the education industry for almost a decade, I emailed my contacts within the industry and invited them to participate. Thirdly, I went through the ethics committee procedure in my current employer, in addition to Trinity College Dublin’s ethics committee, to gain access to the academic staff email list. Through the initial recruitment process, I recruited twenty-nine participants from a variety of fields within the natural and social sciences across different types of HEIs (Appendix B). By doing this, I considered Cohen and colleagues (2013) comments on negative case sampling and maximum variation sampling. The invitation email, participant information sheet and the application for ethical approval are included in appendix C and D.

I organised appointments throughout September, October and December 2018 with participants and sent them the participant information sheet before the interview to serve as an aide-memoire for our meeting. To ensure I had time to complete my initial coding, and in the case that anything emerged during the interview process, I delayed finalising dates with some participants. After I conducted several interviews, through the constant comparison and memoing method, I realised that a pattern regarding pastoral work might be emerging in early November 2018 concerning gender. To explore this, I followed a boosted sampling approach to recruit under-represented sources (Cohen et al., 2013). By
following a boosted sample approach, I recruited six new males into my study bringing the agreed sample to 35 (Appendix E).

Charmaz (2014) refers to ‘sharp contrasts’ and warns that data which contradict patterns can result in thin data. However, Glaser and Strauss (2009) advise researchers to look for diversity of data which maximises differences. This is to ensure saturation reflects the widest range of data. Essentially contradicting patterns have implications for theoretical saturation. For example, theoretical sampling is not just about sampling people, it can also be about sampling issues (Cohen et al., 2013). Whilst, the purpose of theoretical sampling is not to represent the population, I felt it was necessary to explore if there might be differences between male and female educators regarding workload. Gender is often controlled for in quantitative studies, although the results from tests of significant differences can vary.

Glaser and Strauss (2009) emphasise the importance of pruning categories, adding to categories, taking respites and spending time reflecting to reach the goal of saturation and full coverage. Moreover, they implore researchers to avoid wasting time collecting data for saturated categories or data for non-core categories. I stopped interviewing at twenty-seven interviews, as I believed I had reached theoretical saturation. As described by Charmaz (2014), this reflects a point where additional interviews uncover no new incidents or explanations for each theoretical category. Grady (1998) states ‘the stopping point comes on reaching what is called ‘data saturation’, this is when ‘the researcher begins to hear the same comments again and again’ (p. 26). To alleviate ambiguity regarding when to stop, Glaser and Strauss (2009) suggest using a wide range of data. In this study, this reflects the variety of subjects, HEI types, contractual arrangements and the active pursuit of male interviewees. Hence, diversity of sample coupled with similar responses, even when probed, represents theoretical saturation. In contrast, quantitative research samples populations and distributions (Charmaz, 2014). This highlights the ontological and epistemological differences between constructivist grounded theory and positivist hypothesis testing.
Compared to quantitative studies, qualitative studies have much smaller sample sizes, for example, in a meta-analysis of qualitative research the mode sample size of 174 grounded theory studies was 25 (Mason, 2010). Moreover, I conducted an analysis of grounded theory PhD theses to establish the typical number of participants. I used the search term 'grounded theory PhD thesis pdf' on Google and collected all theses from the first four search pages. I then searched for 'grounded theory PhD thesis pdf Trinity College Dublin' to ascertain what was an average sample size within my institution. In total, I collected data on 27 theses and tabulated the information (Appendix B). My sample size was larger for all but three of the 27 studies, however, two of these had taken a different approach to interviewing either through focus groups or through shorter interviews, both of which were not suitable for this study. The final sample of interviewees is shown in Chart 4 (N=27).

A breakdown of the participants in relation to their institution type, age group, gender, position and duties is presented in Table 1. In Ireland, a variety of academic titles exist, which can be viewed in appendix E. Naturally, the job titles vary across institutes. For example, in Trinity College Dublin, Dublin City
University and University College Dublin an Assistant Professor was formally known as a Lecturer. This position is considered a stage one academic position within these institutes. Throughout their career, position holders will progress through the pay scale within the position and may apply for promotion to the next level, Associate Professor, formerly known as Senior Lecturer, when they meet the requirements and a position becomes available. In contrast, Assistant Lecturer titles are stage one positions in IoTs and teaching colleges. Again, position holders will progress through the pay scale, and depending on the institute, they can apply for promotion to Lecturer when an amount of time has elapsed or when a position opens. Importantly, progression requirements vary across institutions. For parsimony, interviewees were grouped according to their level within their institution. In this study, the majority of participants occupied entry-level positions in their institutes (N=21). Six held a position at the next level of the chain. This reflects the level of my contacts and their network from stage one of the sampling approach. Entry-level positions are often considered early career, however, for clarification purposes nine of the twenty-one participants holding such positions (43 per cent), were aged forty upwards, thus they were not recent graduates. The reasons for this were career changes, promotion difficulties, contractual limits and happiness to remain at this level.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Duties</th>
<th>HEI Type</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Job Level</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Contract</th>
<th>Interview Duration</th>
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<td>40s and 50s</td>
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<td>64.00</td>
<td>30s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DUTIES:** Teaching = 1, Administration=2, Research=3, Management/Director Role=4, Supervision = 5
**JOB LEVEL:** Entry Level/Stage 1 = 1; Stage 2 (Example Title Associate Professor (TDI/UCD/DCU) or Lecturer (NUIM/IOT) =2
For my analysis, it was important to deconstruct each individual’s job and place work activities under work role labels I created based on the analysis. One hundred per cent of participants had a teaching and academic administration role. The majority had a research and programme management role. Differences in job activities relate to the job specifications in different types of HE institutions. For that reason, I added another layer of data to my study, job descriptions for the role within various HEIs. Documents are created for a specific purpose and can be used as ‘slices of data’ to give researchers different views to understand categories (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 2009, p.65). Job specifications are a source of data available to external sources. Job specifications follow job design which is used to ‘optimise the work process and improve productivity’ (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2017). The inclusion of job specifications enables me to analyse the individual’s perception of their workload and expectations of the employer at the recruitment and selection stage. Moreover, job specifications at more senior levels are another source of data about requirements for job progression within an institution.

4.5 Interview aims, construction and administration

Until recently, the exploration of work factors and their role in promoting workaholic behaviour had been ignored (Molino et al., 2019). The interviews in this study aim to shed light on how organisational factors in a HE setting can foster workaholic behaviour. Interviews, unlike questionnaires, facilitate open-ended responses. Open-ended responses facilitate initial and focused coding, which aids the construction of institutional workaholic elements grounded in the perspectives of those working within the institute. This is in stark contrast to conceptualising and measuring workaholism based on a priori variables.

In constructivist grounded theory, researchers use their prior knowledge to identify what is important without forcing theory onto the data (Charmaz, 2014). As such, I bring to the interviews the knowledge that researchers across fields agree that workaholism has a time component but its conceptualisation as an addiction or compulsion is widely contested. Hence, this research will explore
how an institute can create an environment whereby educators work long hours and expend a great deal of effort into their work (see block 1 questions in 4.6.1). Moreover, it will explore how individual motivations can interact with institutional factors to further encourage workaholic behaviour (see block 2 questions in 4.6.1). In doing so, the interviews aim to capture how educators allocate their time and why they do so. The findings, therefore, could have practical uses for HEIs.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews (SSIs)

This study seeks to inductively explore how institutional and personal factors influence an educator's investment of time and energy into their work. Interviews, unlike surveys, enabled interviewees and I 'to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view' (Cohen et al., 2013, p. 349). SSIs fall between closed-ended highly structured interviews and open-ended fluid interviews. They use a combination of open and closed-ended questions, which are posed conversationally and importantly follow up with ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions (Adams, 2010). When formulating interview questions, I considered what I already knew as this helped me to determine which questions should be asked (Leech, 2002). Hence, the literature I reviewed and my experience in the education industry formed the basis of the initial questions in Table 2. Moreover, data from initial coding and constant comparison guided later questions. Hence, probes and follow-up questions evolve with the project.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. The initial interview agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Block 1: How does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 1: Workload (subtheme: time)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Can you describe a typical day/week at work? | • How many hours do you work on average per week?  
  • Has this increased or is it fairly stable?  
  • Is it the same every week or day? |
| Can you tell me about your role in the university/institute? | • What duties are assigned by the institute? |
| **Theme 2: Climate (subtheme: relationships)** |
| Do you feel supported in your role? | • Who do you receive support from? |
| **Theme 3: HRM. (subtheme: rewards)** |
| How is performance managed and rewarded in your school/department? | • What is needed, in your opinion, to get a job promotion in your department/faculty/school?  
  • Do you feel under pressure to publish or to find funding? Why?  
  • Does this impact how you structure your own work?  
  • Are short-term contracts/job insecurity an issue for you? |
<p>| Do you believe that this system fairly acknowledges and rewards good performance? | • Do you feel that the systems recognise the work you do and reward you appropriately? |
| <strong>Block 2: How do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators?</strong> |
| <strong>Theme: Psychological &amp; social (subtheme: motivation)</strong> |
| What attracted you to a career in education? | • Tell me a little bit about your background—does anyone or did anyone in your family work in this area? |
| What do you enjoy about your job? | • What do you not enjoy? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Follow-up Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you take on additional work that's not your official job?</td>
<td>Why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What does a successful career look like to you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you where you want to be in terms of your career trajectory?</td>
<td>If not, what do you need to do to get there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block 3: How does workaholic behaviour influence an educator's wellbeing?</td>
<td>Theme: Work investment (sub-theme: well-being)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does your work fit with your personal life?</td>
<td>Do you treat work as completely separate or do you take work home?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you deal with bad days when you have to teach or do research?</td>
<td>Do you find yourself thinking about work when you're with family and friends?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How do you feel about that? Why do you think that happens?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is a bad day? How does it evolve?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most interviews took place in the interviewee's offices. When an interview in an office was not possible, I booked a room through Trinity Business School or the conferencing department in my employer. Three interviewees organised a quiet room in their institute. Interview duration ranged from 44 minutes to 129 minutes (M=67 minutes). As can be seen in Chart 5, most interviews were in the 50 to 70-minute range. Interviewees 12 and 13 had meetings to attend directly after the interview, hence the interviews were a little shorter than most. Interview 19 took place just before Christmas, which was not a busy time for interviewee 19.
An App called ‘ALON Dictaphone Pro’ on my iPhone and tablet was used to record the interviews. Before each interview, I informed each interviewee that I was pressing record on both devices. I used two devices to safeguard against any technological problems on one device. Even though I sent the participant information sheet to interviewees in advance of the meeting, I referred to it at the start of the interview to remind interviewees about the study.

Example from interview 6:

‘Okay, so that’s the participant information sheet, it gives you a little bit of information about the study, your participation is voluntary, you can withdraw at any time and pseudonyms will be used so nobody will be able to identify that it’s you or where you work or anything like that’.

To make interviewees comfortable, I started with a brief overview of what I was going to ask followed by ice-breaker type questions to develop a rapport (Adams, 2010; Leech, 2002). An example of a brief overview from interview 4 is below:
'Okay, thank you very much for agreeing to meet with me. So, I'm just going to ask you questions about your job, a typical day in your job, how you feel about your job, and work-life balance type questions, if that's okay'

Ice-breaker type questions (interview 9):

'So, I'll start with, tell me a little bit about your role, a typical day, what do you do here? The kind of hours you work'.

For each interview, I created an agenda for the interview setting out the planned topics and questions in their tentative order ensuring I asked 'what', 'how' and 'when' questions to capture detail about conditions, processes and changes (Charmaz, 2014; Adams, 2010). The schedule included the topic to be discussed, the possible questions for each topic, the issues within each topic, the possible questions for each issue and a series of prompts and probes within each topic, issue and question (Cohen et al., 2013). If an interviewee said something interesting, I made a note on my interview agenda to ensure I followed up. To create a safe and welcoming space for interviewees to feel comfortable sharing private information I tried to put interviewees at ease by developing a rapport and showing them I was listening to them (Leech, 2002). I did this by using non-verbal and verbal hints such as body language, gaze, ‘mmm’s’ and ‘uh huh’s’, which signify interest and can encourage interviewees to offer more information (Charmaz, 2014).

After each interview, I listened back and took notes for my memos to guide the following interviews. When I did this, I noticed in the early interviews that I said ‘yeah, yeah, yeah’ a lot. Subconsciously I was doing this to demonstrate interest but upon reflection, this interrupted the flow of discussion. I used this knowledge to adjust my approach and I reduced my verbal cues and swapped them for non-verbal cues such as nodding my head. By following the constant comparison and memoing approach I was able to adjust my interview technique to improve the flow of conversation in addition to making adjustments, such as probes and follow-up questions, to saturate my data.
4.6 Data analysis

Depending on the aims and the philosophical underpinnings of a study, researchers can use an inductive, abductive and deductive approach. Grounded theory is a process of inductive theory building, where researchers follow a series of steps to ensure theory emerges from the data and observations as opposed to other sources (Crotty, 2015). Analytic induction involves constructing categories, exploring relationships and examining incidents (Given, 2008). When researchers constantly compare incidents for process, sequence and changes, they follow an inductive method of theory development (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Grounded theory also has an abductive element, since researchers propose explanations to deal with data and then check their inferences against empirical data (Charmaz, 2014). Given (2008) defines abduction as ‘reasoning toward meaning’ (p.1). She sees this process as a chance to see things differently and expand plausible relationships.

Since my approach transitioned from a post-positivist to a constructivist, my study moved from a hypothetico-deductive approach to a constructivist grounded theory approach. As a result of that move, I had previously conducted an extensive literature review and must, therefore, acknowledge this knowledge source for transparency. Notwithstanding, literature reviewing is viewed differently depending on which version of grounded theory one follows. For example, the literature review helps you to engage with the data in all phases of your analysis and it helps you to identify what's important in evolved and constructivist grounded theory (Ramalho, Adams, Huggard, Hoare, 2015). Furthermore, puritanical grounded theory, which sees literature as a contaminant, has been called unrealistic as researchers do not enter the field with no prior knowledge (Dunne, 2011). What is important is to remain open, avoid forcing ‘fit’ and be aware of theories without imposing them (Charmaz, 2014; Dunne, 2011).
4.6.1 Initial coding

Transcriptions were uploaded to NVivo version 12, which was used to generate nodes, create categories, record annotations, store memos and map relationships. Once transcriptions have been uploaded to NVivo, the problem of how to manage such an enormous amount of data emerges (Cohen et al., 2013). To start the analysis, I roughly sorted the data into major categories and then compared incidents to identify common properties and interesting points (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Charmaz, 2014). To aid the initial coding, I created trees on NVivo. They consisted of three main nodes with subnodes nested under them (Table 3). Trees helped me to organise the work. They aid conceptual clarity, rich coding and identifying patterns. As my analysis evolved, I copied projects, moved nodes into trees and merged nodes which was useful for recategorising (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

Table 3. The research questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. How does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What does the job look like?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➤ Tasks and duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➤ Numbers and levels of students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➤ Hours per week or month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What is the climate like?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How do you get a promotion or pay rise?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. How do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• What do you like and not like about working in education?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What attracted you to education?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What is a successful career?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What did you do before?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Are you on the right path to get where you want to be?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coding starts at the micro-level. Following this, researchers construct categories at the meso-level. Categories help researchers to organise their data conceptually based on the investigation. At the highest level, the macro level, themes reflect the findings (Given, 2008). Hence, coding is the bones of your analysis as it gives you the tools to sort and synthesise enormous amounts of data. It involves two main stages. The first stage is initial coding and then the second stage is selective (Charmaz, 2014). Initial coding involves coding lines, words and segments (Charmaz, 2014). This can commence by coding incidents for each participant (Glaser & Strauss, 2009) and then comparing each incident and writing memos to expand ideas when you have analysed more than one interview (Charmaz, 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. How does the workaholic behaviour of educators impact their wellbeing?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Does your work impact your social or family life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Does your work impact you physically?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ways of dealing with bad days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In grounded theory, ‘analysis begins as soon as the first bit of data is collected’ as analysis ‘is used to direct the next interview and observations’ (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.6). After each interview, I listened back to the recording and made memos on any key issues I thought had emerged. I used this information to make any changes to the next interview. Initially, I had planned to transcribe the interviews myself, but it became apparent very quickly that this would take a considerable amount of time given my typing speed. As a result, I sent my audio files to a transcription company with swift turnaround times. By freeing up this time, I was able to analyse the transcripts faster and avoid lengthy delays in my interviews. For quality control purposes I listened back to interviews when I received a transcription to ensure the transcription was accurate. When necessary, I made adjustments but overall the service was excellent. Despite the professional transcription of my interviews, I was able to remain close with my data by listening to the interviews, reading the transcripts and referring to my memos.
To commence my initial coding, I roughly sorted my data through microanalysis by analysing each transcription line by line and generating nodes (labels) on NVivo based on the gerund constructed (Charmaz, 2014). This created awareness regarding the richness of the data I was working with (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). A sample of this process for interviewees 1, 2 and 3 is provided in Appendix F (specific details which impact anonymity have been removed such as specific institution names, class sizes, module names or subject areas). During the initial coding process, I ‘let the data breathe’. By doing so, I remained open and close to the data and avoided the desire to employ earlier concepts or apply specific theorists to validate the work (Charmaz, 2014). I was mindful of preconceptions and their influence on data analysis, yet aware that ‘no sense at all can be made of a data corpus’ without the use of sensitising concepts which reflect a philosophical stance or school of thought (Charmaz, 2014, p.156; Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997, p.255).

The beauty of grounded theory is its account of everyday life by capturing interconnections between actions and identifying inconsistencies (Cohen et al., 2013). Where possible, I used in vivo codes to generate simple and precise terms, which captured experiences and perspectives in the data for use later in the theory (Charmaz, 2014, p. 134). When you code you are defining your data (Charmaz, 1996). With this in mind, I considered ‘action, meaning, process, agency, situation, identity and self’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 117). As I was coding line by line, I was able to see which section of the interview was related to each of the research questions and where I should generate new nodes on NVivo. For example, the labels, ‘teaching almost every day’, ‘lecturing a lot’, ‘teaching all year’ and ‘having several modules’ were categorised under ‘what does the job look like’ (question one). Whereas the labels ‘thinking teaching hours are too much’, ‘working hours are flexible’ and ‘enjoying smaller classes’ were subcategories of ‘what do you like and not like about working in education’ (question two). Not all labels were easy to classify, for example, I returned to ‘preferring to work longer hours during the week than at the weekend’ when I had analysed more interviews. The initial coding process resulted in a large number of labels. A sample from the teaching label is provided below (Figure 2). This
reflects the initial codes from the extracts of interviews one to three in Appendix G.

As part of the constant comparison method, I compared data with data and data with codes (Charmaz, 2014). As I compared interviews and incidents, I created memos and annotations which recorded my thoughts (see Figure 3). Memos prompt analysis of data, they keep you involved in the process, they catch your thoughts and questions, they direct you, they help you to fill out categories and they enable you to make discoveries about your data through a conversation with yourself (Charmaz, 2014, p. 162). Figure 3 is an example of an early memo on working hours. It captured my thoughts on interviews 1, 2 and 3. Equipped with this memo, I was able to fill gaps by asking interviewees specific questions in relation to this. For example, interviewees 5 and 7 provided clarity regarding the workload model (later interviewees also), which then spurred further memoing and questions. Interviewees 4 and 7 also provided further clarification regarding the tasks and time associated with different programmes. Essentially memoing guided my data collection and analysis.
MEMO

The teaching load and class size is very different in IoT's and universities. Why do some educators estimate they spend 60% of their time on teaching when others might have 33%? It would be useful to explore this in further interviews. Is it an organisational, a personal factor or a combination of both? Why do some tasks take longer than others? How do they manage their time? Are they able to get what they need to do done during work hours?

Who created their workload model if they have one? The IoT model stems from Haddington Road and other such agreements. Where did the university one come from? Were the educators involved? Do they think the workload model is fair?
The teaching load is considerable at the start of the educator’s career—they have a lot of preparation work e.g. reading and planning. It seems bottom heavy—why is that and what is the logic behind it? What happens in terms of ‘onboarding’, L&D etc.?

Some programmes require more liaising and time spent behind the scenes. For example, interviewee 2’s programme involves an applied teaching style which means she needs to spend a considerable amount of time engaging with industry. In contrast, interviewee 3 does not mention this but spends a considerable amount of time liaising with others on a new programme she is tasked with developing.

Figure 3. Reflecting and asking questions of your data

Through the constant comparison of data, I explored different situations, times and groups of people (Cohen et al., 2013). For example, by comparing labels on the teaching role, I was able to identify four key aspects:

- Data relating to activities and responsibilities
- Data relating to their classes
- Data relating to time
- Data relating to ways of managing
When I did this, I was able to further breakdown each of the components in the teaching role. Below is an example of four components of an educator’s activities and responsibilities (Table 4). The colour codes represent the following:

- Pink labels relate to creative elements in the job
- Green labels relate to interactions with students
- Yellow labels relate to engagement with industry
- Cyan labels relate to administrative activities within the teaching element of their jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE TEACHING ELEMENT OF THE JOB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Designing projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designing curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a director role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating new programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being a tutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting students individually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving guidance and advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organising presentations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending time on student activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaging with students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having contact with students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students emailing you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaising with organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting different organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trying to find a match between the programme and the organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a lot of corrections due to student numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing students and organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having research, teaching and administration requirements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The buck stops with you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Breaking down information

By exploring the data more in-depth, I was able to gain further insight into what teaching means to educators. The rough diagram in Figure 4 helped me to organise my thoughts on how the data was evolving. Charmaz (2014)
recommends keeping a reflective journal throughout the process. Throughout my PhD, I have kept notebooks collecting my thoughts. The notebooks contain questions about theories, philosophy, methods and literature as well as numerous diagrams. As a kinaesthetic learner, I have found the process of recording my thoughts and drawing relationships very helpful.

![Diagram](image-url)

*Figure 4. Using rough diagrams to get an overview of the situation*

The codes above merely serve as an example of the activities and responsibilities captured in the initial codes from the first three interviews in Appendix G. As this is an iterative process, more activities and responsibilities, more class factors, more time elements and ways of managing were identified as the project evolved. This process of labelling, comparing labels and merging labels to become higher-level codes was completed across the data. 411 initial codes and their categorisations are included in appendix G.

After a period of expansion, the project levelled off and I began to merge categories which seemed similar (Richards, 2006, p. 136). For example, the code ‘being autonomous and creative’ was constructed from the combination of codes pertaining to ‘being curious’, ‘being passionate’, ‘feeling a buzz’, ‘flexing yourself’, ‘thinking’, ‘fiddling’, ‘exploring’, ‘being creative’ and ‘connecting things’. These comments reflected participant responses to ‘what is a successful career?’ and ‘what do you like about working in education?’ I noticed that the code ‘doing
strategic work’ had many similar aspects to ‘being autonomous and creative’ as it enabled educators to work autonomously and creativity through ‘digging’ and getting their ‘teeth into something’. To reflect the relationship, I recategorised ‘doing strategic work’ as a child node of ‘being autonomous and creative’ as shown overleaf (Figure 5).

![Figure 5. Recategorising on NVivo](image)

The use of memos, annotations and diagrams helped me to compare code with code. This helped me to reveal the properties in their data and to construct provisional concepts (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). As described by Bazeley and Jackson (2013), at the initial stage codes can become ‘unruly’, ‘difficult to work with’ and ‘the same sort of thing’ (p. 95). Hence, reducing the original list of codes in the next coding stage brings parsimony of variables (Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

4.6.2 Focused coding

I used initial coding to review codes independently and then as I coded other interviews I recategorised (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). This method of constant comparison enabled me to identify dimensions, conditions and relationships in the category which formed theoretical properties (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). In the selective stage, I used the most significant or frequent initial codes to develop the theory. This condensed and sharpened my work (Charmaz, 2014). The process is visualised in Figure 6.
As I focus coded, I moved backwards and forwards through the data trimming excess to unveil the skeleton of the analysis (Charmaz, 2014). By using NVivo, I could see the number of files (interviewees) and references within a code very clearly. To illustrate, in the interviews I asked participants what they liked about working in education and through the analysis of the data, thirteen initial focused codes emerged. This helped me to identify the most frequent codes. For example, in Figure 7, you can see that ‘interacting with students’, ‘being creative’ and ‘doing meaningful work’ were the three most frequently cited aspects of the job which educators liked, with nineteen, thirteen and twelve files respectively. Through constant comparison, I noticed similarities between these codes and the codes constructed from the question about what a successful career is and the code ‘teaching’. I could see that a successful career, positive aspects of their jobs and teaching had similar properties but also contradictions.
To move past a mere summary to conceptualising a phenomenon, I used memos, notions, links, more focused coding and the conceptual map function on NVivo. (Charmaz, 2014; Weed, 2009). Diagramming helped me to see directions of categories and relationships. I used it at all stages and revised diagrams when necessary (Charmaz, 2014). In Figure 8, I proposed connections between aspects of teaching, things educators like about their jobs and aspects of a successful career. For example, I could see on NVivo that nineteen interviewees spoke about interacting with students as something they liked. However, I could also see that only four spoke about maintaining contact with students as a component of a successful career. As I had made memos and annotations asking the data questions through the project there were several possible reasons for this (Charmaz, 1996).

![Diagram of connections between teaching, what educators like about their jobs and aspects of a successful career.](image)

**Figure 8. Proposing connections visually**

Firstly, ‘interacting with students’, a subcode of ‘teaching’ encompasses tutoring, meeting students, giving guidance and advice, spending time on student-related activities and engaging/having contact with students. It reflects the tasks and duties associated with teaching. Whereas, the code ‘interacting with students’ under ‘what do you like about working in education’ is more complex as shown in the memo (Figure 9).
By using memos and constant comparison, I could see that student involvement has social, psychological and intellectual benefits for educators. By interacting with students, educators can socialise, challenge them, help them to reach their goals, learn from them and experience positive outcomes. Therefore, I was able to see how the job can impact positively on educators in terms of motivation. For example, when students challenged educators, they enjoyed the class and were
inspired to invest more energy into their teaching. When they did this, they hoped their efforts would be rewarded by student satisfaction and engagement. Hence their effort was influenced by their motivation to gain. However, this does not answer why educators did not see ‘maintaining contact with students’ as important for career development despite its social, psychological and intellectual benefits. Essentially something else was occurring in the data which might explain this.

By memoing and constant comparison, I was aware that several educators did not perceive teaching as something rewarded in their institutes. This perception was a result of their interpretation of social interactions and observation of their institution’s climate. To be specific, educators spoke about problems in the promotion process. They believed that involvement with students was not accessed and therefore their time and effort was not rewarded.

```
I: So what is it about the job that you actually really enjoy?

P: Yeah it’s funny, if you’d asked me 5 years ago oh I love teaching. I love the spark in people’s faces when they’re... I’ve kind of been bitten by the research bug. Cos there was no research, whereas here’s a research institution. Fortunately in terms of career progression, the research is all that matters as far as I can see. I’ve been bitten by the research bug and it scratches an itch for me that teaching doesn’t. And it’s a kind of a zero-sum game in a sense, that the more I enjoy research, I wouldn’t say I don’t enjoy teaching anymore, that isn’t accurate, but it doesn’t excite me like it used to. Probably because I see people who are dreadful teachers progress here and I kind of, I’ve drawn some subconscious connection between research and progress...
```

*Figure 10. An extract from interview 9*

This data was stored in the provisional category ‘the promotion process’. When educators had promotional desires, categorised as ‘being driven’, these perceptions made student-related activities less attractive. To guarantee their chances of promotion, educators would shed tasks (or consider doing so in the future) which were not rewarded and invest their time and energy into rewarded work. Below are extracts from interview 7 which trace the evolution of being busy, wanting a promotion and shedding tasks.
Figure 11. Extract 1. Realising that something needs to change to reach her goals.

P: Yeah. I guess I could maybe I am doing it wrong in that maybe I should be taking a step back. And not doing as much for, in terms of the directorship role. But I am the type of person that if you give me a role I am damn well going to do the best I can. I don’t like half arsing things, excuse my language. So if you give me something to do I am going to do it like 100%. Maybe I am not being that smart if I were thinking strategically about, you know, I am not selfish but, you know from an individual perspective if I were thinking from my own career trajectory and my own career progression I need to probably get a little bit smarter about how and where I prioritise certain things, like my research.

Figure 12. Extract 2. Making uncomfortable changes

P: This summer particularly just happened to be one of those summers where there was a lot of students issues with appeals, and so you had to go in the middle of summer June/July/August and make a case for your tutee. And I did that a few times so I got to know him quite well. And then I realised, I did one of those things that I didn’t want to have to do and I emailed [Redacted] and I said “listen, I have to, this might sound a bit selfish but I have to prioritise my time here and I have done the tutor role for [Redacted] and a bit years now since my day one here at [Redacted] and I just, I feel like it is taking up, you know this summer, it is taking up a lot of my time and I would love to return to the role when things quiet down for me or when I get to a certain...”. And I sent that email and I sent it with a heavy heart. And I know that sounds a bit exaggerated but it wasn’t. I really don’t want to be able to give my time for something that I really enjoy. You know I thought I was helping or making a difference. But I actually had to say, I can’t do it anymore. And I don’t know maybe that’s as I said, getting more strategic about my time. As I said, others are good at. So maybe and I don’t, I am saying you are getting more strategic about your time but being more. Am I becoming more cynical about, or becoming more cut throat? Oh you know that won’t get me anywhere so I am not going to do it. And I don’t want to become that person where I only do something if I benefit from it.

The categories ‘being driven’ and ‘the promotion process’ explain the relationship between an educator’s promotional goals, the institute and how they invest their time in work. A category has overriding significance. It represents ‘common themes and patterns’ in a code or several codes. Categories explain events and processes and become part of your ‘developing analytic framework’ (Charmaz, 1996, p. 40). Figure 13 depicts the process.
‘Interacting with students’ was also found to be very time consuming, especially when educators had significant teaching loads, large classes, postgraduate students and programmes to manage. The volume of emails, the interruptions and the breadth of the work all could consume an educator’s time and energy. This again made this work unattractive as time spent on student activities typically meant sacrificing research time or personal time. Thus, the code ‘interacting with students’ incorporates workload and motivation. To avoid confusion, I fractured the code to separate discourse about workload ‘workload related to interacting with students’ and motivation ‘teaching and working with students’ as shown in Figure 14. The diagram helped me to understand the process of shedding tasks, reducing effort and deciding what to give up, hence it raises the analytical level of the developing categories.
As shown in Figure 14, the four key aspects of the teaching role identified in Figure 4. have been integrated to explain how institutional and personal factors can influence how time-consuming interacting with students can be. More specifically, it demonstrates how teaching load (class sizes and number of classes) influences how much time is spent on teaching-related activities such as grading, meeting students and answering emails. It also shows that ‘ways of managing’ can either increase or decrease the time erosion effect. The annotation below shows an extract from interview 5 and my comments relating to interviewee 5’s statement (annotation 3). It is an example of data contained in the initial code ‘ways of managing’.
For those working in an institute with a research focus and for those with promotional desires (‘being driven’) the scenario presented above will impact their chances of reaching their goals unless they find ways to manage their time. Figure 14 depicts how I worked through the codes and recategorised to provide sounder explanations. This involved merging codes, creating child nodes and moving codes to other categories. This process can be referred to as ‘axial coding’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 147).

In axial coding, relationships between categories and their subcategories are tested in addition to looking for new categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). To do this, I saturated core categories, which emerged through coding and constant comparison, as much as possible (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). This involved the examination of conditions, context, actions and consequences, and drawing upon previous experience (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 13). To illustrate this development, I will discuss the initial code ‘ways of managing’, some of its relationships and its evolution.

‘Ways of managing’ reflects how educators manage their workload such as seeking help, planning and being strategic. When educators are driven, they take on extra work, such as research, as they know it will help them to achieve their goals. This was initially coded as ‘taking on discretionary work’ (it later became a component of the focused code ‘being driven and having a desire for promotions’). However, by doing so they increase their workload and must find the time to complete their work. Hence, ‘being driven and having a desire for promotions’ has a relationship with ‘ways of managing’.

As coding in grounded theory involves moving backwards and forwards, I was able to return to some labels I had put aside to explore ‘ways of managing’ further. In section 4.6.1, I noted that I did not know initially where to put the label ‘preferring to work longer hours during the week than at the weekend’ (Interviewee 1) but as the project evolved I noticed patterns in the data relating to educators who actively guarded their time and those who had work-life spillover. Thus, ‘ways of managing’, in addition to explaining how educators manage their workload, broadly reflected an educator’s desire to avoid weekend
work by working more during the week. Since ‘taking on discretionary work’ is the opposite of trying to avoid weekend work, the code ‘setting boundaries’ was constructed as an initial category explaining how some protected their time and how others did not. By doing so I was able to draw comparisons between educators and ‘fill out’ those codes. Through the analysis and development of annotations and memos, the category was renamed ‘compartmentalising’ to reflect in vivo codes which explained why some people seemed to be better at protecting their time than others. The extract from interview 12 shows how she works weekends and evenings. In the annotations, I asked questions about the data and drew comparisons between interviewees. Thus, annotations and memos guided my thinking and further questioning. Hence, the initial comment from interviewee 5 about managing time prompted an examination of the conditions of an educator’s job, how they acted based on those conditions and the consequences for them. This would not have been possible without memoing, using annotations, asking further questions and reflecting.

Figure 16. Annotation from interview 12

The processes described in this section shows the internal development and changes in categories and reflects the inductive development of theory at a higher level (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Moreover, it demonstrates how constructivist grounded theory encompasses an interplay between data and the researcher’s ideas and experience (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997). Figure 17
synthesises the commentary from Charmaz (2014), Glaser and Strauss (2009), Pidgeon and Henwood (1997) and Corbin and Strauss (1990) from a constructivist perspective.

**Figure 17. The process of theoretical development in constructivism**

4.6.3 Theory building

Theoretical coding helps you to construct theory that tells a coherent story (Charmaz, 2014). When creating theory, researchers can create substantive or formal theory. Glaser and Strauss (2009) refer to these theories as ‘middle-range’ as opposed to grand theories (p. 32). Substantive theories are theories developed on a topic within a specific field, whereas formal theories are more conceptual, abstract and general (Charmaz, 2014). Comparative analysis of a problem or issue between groups in a particular area lends itself to substantive theories (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Hence, this study has the characteristics of a substantive theory.

Glaser and Strauss (2009) describe the process of substantive theory generation as follows. First, the researcher generates a substantive theory from the data. This enables conceptual categories, properties and hypotheses, through comparative analysis, to emerge. Second, the researcher assesses what, if any, pre-existing formal theories can aid the development of their substantive theory. By doing so, the researcher aims to be theoretically sensitive, which prevents theories from being forced onto their data. Throughout her book, Charmaz (2014) emphasises the use of gerunds to aid theoretical development. By keeping her
focused codes active, she can see what is happening or what people are doing. This, she believes aids the construction of potential categories (Charmaz, 1996). Emergent categories are vital as they generate new theory and help a researcher to direct their attention (Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

Categories should be ‘as conceptual as possible while simultaneously remaining true to and consistent with your data’ (Charmaz, 1996, p.41). Categories can be constructed from in vivo codes, for example, ‘the marketisation of education’ (interviewee 10) was used to explain the focused codes ‘having large class sizes and long teaching hours’ and ‘having heavy administration loads’. These focused codes absorbed the codes ‘aspects of their classes’, ‘workload related to interacting with students’ and ‘having teaching specific administration activities’, which incorporated labels such as ‘teaching almost every day’, ‘clashing timetables’, ‘teaching all year’, ‘having a very large class’, ‘teaching on different programmes’, ‘spending a lot of time on preparing for modules’ and ‘having a lot of corrections due to student numbers’. In relation to ‘having large class sizes and long teaching hours’, several interviewees spoke about financial constraints, hence marketised education provided a possible explanation for the growth in class sizes and subsequent workload.

Figure 18. Evolution of codes to categories
By refining the categories, my conceptual map became clearer as diagramming provides a visual representation of categories and their relationships (Charmaz, 2014). The diagram below illustrates how focused codes are related to categories on NVivo. The concept map function on NVivo enabled me to make changes to nodes and then drag them over to my concept maps as they evolved. Using the connector function, I was able to connect focused codes with focused codes, focused codes with categories and categories with categories. For example, the marketisation of education is associated with larger class sizes, heavy administrative loads, non-permanent contracts and payment problems, all focused codes. In addition, it is related to having a research output focus as shirking to reach output goals can create heavier workloads for some educators.

Figure 19. The theoretical framework

The conceptual categories in Figure 19 will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 7, I return to the literature to provide support for my grounded theory.
4.7 Evaluating the research

A useful grounded theory needs to have credibility, originality and resonance (Charmaz, 2014). It should meet your goals, analyse rather than simply describe, offer new explanations, take account of your data, make sense and be useable (Richards, 2006). To do this, I included comparisons, sufficient data, a wide range of observations, logical links, new insights, fullness and links between institutions and individuals lives throughout chapters six and seven (Charmaz, 2014). By using *in vivo* codes where possible, I constructed categories, which serve as the building blocks of the theory, which fit the data well (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997). I gradually built the theoretical framework from constantly comparing throughout data collection and analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). A grounded theory which captures causes, conditions, categories and consequences and then conveys what is meaningful about the area can make a valuable contribution (Charmaz, 2014, p. 338).

To convey credibility, I presented data as evidence for conclusions throughout chapters 6 and 7. This data included direct quotes, background descriptions and narratives so that readers ‘can almost literally see and hear its people’ (Glaser & Strauss, 2009, p. 229). Furthermore, a detailed description of the coding process provided an account of what was done and why it was done in each phase of the project (Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997). This helps readers to understand how the theory was constructed by unveiling the process (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Although I had conducted an extensive literature review before entering the field, I used my PhD notebooks, memos and annotations to record my thoughts and I found the initial coding process to be an extremely helpful way of keeping close to the data and avoiding ‘hijacking’ (Dunne, 2011). Moreover, as I hold a Master of Education and have worked in the field for several years, it would be unrealistic for me to claim no prior knowledge. Instead, I used this prior knowledge to identify what practical contributions my study could make. Finally, to make a scholarly contribution, I examined the theory against literature to identify where the grounded theory can be situated (Charmaz, 2014). In combination, this study makes a practical contribution which improves real-world explanations, a methodological contribution as it departs from the quantitative exploration of
workaholism and an empirical contribution as it builds upon existing research and sheds light on existing phenomena.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodological considerations, the construction of the research questions, the selection of constructivist grounded theory as the most suitable means to meet the project's goals and the analysis of the data. The chapter opened by comparing and contrasting the ontological and epistemological beliefs and how these philosophical beliefs inform sampling, data collection and analysis. It detailed my transition from positivism to constructivism and how that transition had implications for my research questions and methods.

The collection of data and its treatment is described in detail to aid transparency. Numerous diagrams are provided throughout as I used them to reflect on what was happening in my data and to remain close to it. The chapter concluded with a discussion of good theory development synthesising the views of various authors in the field. In chapters five and six, I will discuss the findings to research questions one and two.
CHAPTER 5. HOW HE INSTITUTES INFLUENCE EDUCATOR WORKAHOLIC BEHAVIOUR

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the categories and focus codes pertaining to research question one, *how does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?* To answer this question, the interviews explored what an educator’s job looks like, how many hours they work per week or month on average, what their student profile looks like, how many students they teach or supervise, what non-teaching aspects are included in their role, how supportive the climate is within their institution and how they perceive performance to be rewarded. The data analysis led to the construction of four categories:

- CATEGORY 1: Juggling’ multiple tasks
- CATEGORY 2: The marketisation of education
- CATEGORY 3: Interruptions
- CATEGORY 4: Looking around at the landscape to get ahead

Each saturated category mentioned above has focused codes which can be linked to interview data. Wherever possible, I used *in vivo* codes to remain close to the data. Quotations are provided throughout to provide rich data in support of the categories. The categories were combined to create a theoretical framework as shown in Figure 20. Red letters represent categories and black letters are focused codes. As evident in the theoretical map, several focused codes and categories have relationships with one another. For example, *creating knowledge* is a focused code under *looking around at the landscape to get ahead*. However, it is also related to *variety and open-ended work*, which is a focused code under *juggling multiple tasks*. Hence, creating knowledge through publications adds to the sense of *juggling multiple tasks*. 
This chapter opens by describing the educator’s duties and working hours to gain insight into a typical day or week they experience.

5.2 CATEGORY 1: ‘Juggling’ multiple tasks’

Within HEIs, educators typically have their duties formalised through a workload allocation model (WAM). This model sets out the time to be spent on various tasks throughout a typical week. The HEA (2014, p. 1) describe the workload model as follows:

‘Typically, Irish universities apply a delegated approach to workload management. Academic units develop models with approaches, weightings and metrics that best suit the requirements of their disciplines. Academic staff provide information about their academic activities and this information is then used in consultation between the individual academic and the head of the academic unit to agree workload for the following
year. There is variation across the university sector in the definitions and approaches to implementing workload management, but the overall approach is generally consistent with international experience. Within institutes of technology, workload management is typically focussed on managing the contractual teaching requirement of academic staff and also supporting institutional objectives in relation to research and external engagement.’

At the date of publishing this thesis, no specific information on the WAM in TUs is available. More precisely, no information on how it differs from the traditional IoT model has been published. Notwithstanding, a Stakeholder Consultation report for the Expert Group on Future Funding for Higher Education (2015) noted a goal to strengthen the research mission and compete internationally, whilst maintaining the traditional mission of the sector. Combining the Expert Group report and the HEA’s (2020) commentary, as noted in section 4.4, it is plausible that the WAM in TUs will be altered to reflect new working arrangements, activities and goals.

Based on those interviewed from research universities, the workload model stipulates that 40 per cent of an educator’s time should be spent on both teaching and research and that the remaining 20 per cent should be spent on administration. This equates to two days per week on teaching, including undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and postgraduate research, two days for research and one day for administration. In IoTs, the model is based predominantly on the number of lecturing hours with Assistant Lecturers teaching 18 hours and Lecturers teaching 16 hours. Based on the Croke Park Agreement, the Haddington Road Agreement and the Lansdowne Road Agreement hours can be ‘flexed up’ by two hours per week if required by the institution. Essentially, Assistant Lecturers and Lecturers could teach up to 20 and 18 hours respectively. Based on a typical 09:00 to 17:00 week (35 hours), teaching can equate to 57 and 51 per cent of an Assistant Lecturers and Lecturers week respectively. These hours also include supervision:
‘when you think of the 16 or 17 hours of teaching, some of that incorporates supervision as well, so it’s not all class, but it’s supervision as well. It’s important to take note of that’ (Interviewee 15).

Therefore, approximately 50 per cent of an educator’s job in an IoT is allocated to administration and engagement within the institute. It is also important to note that, for some, teaching hours can include double delivery. Double delivery means educators can teach one subject at various levels (interviewee 8) or across different programmes (interviewees 11 and 16), thus reducing their workload.

All participants were asked to describe a typical day or week at work. Five typical duties emerged in the data analysis. They are teaching, administration, research, programme managing/directing and theses supervision. Research supervision includes elements of teaching and administration, and programme management and directing includes significant administrative loads. During the analysis of the transcripts, the roles of each interviewee were recorded and then the data was tabulated to visualise how broad the educator role is in the sample. The results are tabulated in Table 5.
As shown in Table 5, all participants had a teaching and administration role and almost 70 per cent had a research role. From a contextual perspective, depending on the number of roles an educator occupied and the promotional process, their work hours varied. Such factors included, time of the year, the number of teaching hours, staff numbers, distribution of work, class sizes, number of continuous assessments, class preparation, number of modules, quantity of administrative tasks, and institutional policies relating to performance and reward.

It was apparent that these educators do not work a traditional working day of 09:00-17:00. Many worked long hours, evenings, weekends and during annual leave. A typical response is below:

‘I would have a little window for family stuff then between that time and sort of after dinner and then I would work in the evening, but I’d be able to work from home...I'd work from home for a couple of hours. I would have done every probably every night of the week’ (Interviewee 17).
Some worked evenings doing research, others used evenings to review their tasks for the following day and others used it to catch up on administration. For some, this was easy to quantify the hours they worked ‘I would say I work maybe 55, about 55 in all honesty’ (interviewee 10), ‘I do maybe more than 40 hours’ (interviewee 26), ‘45 or 50’ (interviewee 12), ‘at least 40, like I yeah…I would start at 8 and if I’m finishing any earlier I would often work in the evenings if I’m finishing up on something. Yeah, maybe more cos sometimes I do stuff at weekends as well but…I dunno, I’d say 40, 45 maybe?’ (interviewee 3). For others it was quite a complex question and involved reflection ‘every week is slightly different just depending on which of those things is the most urgent, I guess’ (interviewee 25), ‘there might be a day where I might finish up early and then there’s other days where I might finish at 9, so there’s no typical day’ (interviewee 2), ‘every day is different. I don’t walk in from Monday to Friday or Saturday, there is no 9-5, kind of routine. I could be off campus one day doing something.’ (interviewee 7). It must be noted that work hours are often erroneously associated with workaholism when often only a small to moderate association is found (Tóth-Király et al., 2018). Malinowska (2018) further notes that most researchers would agree that is misleading to rely on work hours as a sole contributing factor to workaholism. Therefore, work hours, in this case, are a better indicator of how and when an educator works as opposed to a numerical classification.

**Juggling multiple tasks**, an *in vivo* code, represents the act of trying to manage many parts in a job. Interviewees 22 and 25 provide interesting commentary on how the varied role can be challenging:

‘your brain is constantly switching from one thing to another thing and trying to make sure that you don’t forget and trying to keep on top of things. It’s the juggling thing that can just sort of-- It’s probably more exhausting than anything else, really, and the stress that comes with that’. (Interviewee 22)

‘you’re stepping from being a teacher to an administrator to a researcher and then beyond that, to do media kind of stuff and
Jumping from task to task, trying not to forget and trying to keep on top of things left some educators disenchanted. When educators have too many tasks to complete in a narrow timeframe, they can feel like they are ‘running around putting out fires’ (Interviewee 24). Ultimately, this impacts the quality of their outputs. For example, Interviewee 2 cuts corners in all aspects of her job as she is under such pressure. Nothing is ever 100 per cent. Hence, she is not proud of her work:

‘you feel like you’re failing at everything sometimes’.

She feels like the system has, in essence, set her up to be average ‘all in all on average I’m a 6/10 on everything!’ She has always been someone who prides herself on her work and comes from an academic family. Being a 6/10 is not something she feels comfortable with or has experience with; hence this damages her confidence. As an organised person, interviewee 25 feels that academic life does not allow her to keep on top of things. To manage the various components, she believes she has to:

‘do kind of a shitty job of some of these because there are only so many hours and like once I stay up past midnight, I’m not very useful in terms of what I’m doing. If I can’t get it done before then, I just have to do a shoddy job of it’

She would never miss emails when she worked in industry but in academia, the sheer volume of emails means she can miss them if she doesn't continually check them. The breadth of activities means it is hard to focus on what she wants to do and therefore she loses control of her work unless she works evenings:

‘there are weeks where the only actual work you’re doing gets done at night-time because if you spent your entire day going
from one meeting to the next, you don't actually get to do any work'.

Interviewee 4, at the time of her interview, was going through a particularly stressful period at work. She talks about feeling like she constantly has to apologise for not getting things done due to a 'frenetic approach to work like firefighting'. As a result, she is overwhelmed. Like interviewee 25, she has missed important emails and ends up having to work late and weekends to make up for it. She doesn't believe she is performing her best and even leaves lectures 'deflated' as she could have done a better job but just does not have the time or energy to do this. She runs around from one thing to another and there is no end in sight. She never has time to catch up on things and is:

'completely and utterly behind everything that you need to do and the sense of overwhelming that goes with that'.

Believing you’re underperforming most of the time could impact an educator’s well-being in addition to implications for the HEI. The reason why interviewee 2 is unable to do well at anything is directly related to her workload, which is similar to many others. She has a significant teaching load. Due to the structure of her modules, this is ongoing throughout the year without a summer break. The significant teaching load spills over into other aspects of her job, such that she has no time to reflect on research. In her opinion, research has become something to be completed as fast as possible. She cannot give students the feedback she would like to as she does not have the time. She feels guilty that she does not spend enough time with her children. As a result of the combination of these factors, she gets a maximum of six hours of sleep per night.

As we saw in Figures 2 and 4 and Table 5, teaching has numerous components, but teaching is only one aspect of an educator’s job. In Figure 21, the initial codes relating to the components of the job were grouped according to tasks, time, feelings, variety, restrictions, fairness and implications.
Figure 21. Creating the category 'Juggling multiple tasks'.

- Tasks associated with the job
  - Having research requirements
  - Having teaching requirements
  - Having administration requirements
  - Spending time on various tasks
  - Spending time on teaching
  - Spending more time on administration
  - Reviewing on journals
  - Being an external examiner
  - Having different workloads

- Time spent on the job
  - Checking emails early in the morning
  - Checking emails early in the evening
  - Checking emails early at the weekend
  - Working late
  - Having very long days
  - Finishing up early some days
  - Finishing late some days
  - Being busy most days
  - Having very little time
  - Being distracted
  - Having an intense day
  - Work 'dragging on'
  - Frantic approach to work like time fighting
  - Running around putting out fires
  - Jumping from tasks to tasks
  - Trying not to forget
  - Trying to keep on top of things
  - Losing control
  - The combination of all the mixed parts
  - Needing a 'ninja' to do the job

- Feelings about the job
  - Emphasising that days vary
  - Not having a typical day
  - Spending time on home job
  - Having different requirements depending on the time of the year
  - Working hours are flexible
  - Being flexible but demanding
  - Inflexibility of deadlines
  - Narrowing timeframes

- Variety in the job
  - Trying to see children
  - Not seeing children in the evenings
  - Having house work
  - Spending time on home job
  - Finding it difficult to balance work and family
  - Missing time with young children
  - Querying workload allocation model
  - Speaking with managers/Consulting managers
  - Sharing concerns

- Restrictions in the job
  - Fairness in the workload

- Implications for family life
Taken together, the job is varied with educators jumping from task to task. They have very full days, weeks and even months. Factors such as interruptions, level of experience, number of classes and students, managing a programme and the type of contract influenced when educators worked. For example, those on fixed-term contracts reported difficulties saying no to extra work as they needed their contract renewed. Those managing programmes typically had a considerable amount of administration to complete which continued throughout the year. Moreover, a ‘marketised’ approach to education left educators believing that students were customers and were therefore under pressure to reply to emails despite having a significant workload. All these factors will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

5.3 CATEGORY 2: Marketisation of education

Educational institutions in Ireland have been under considerable financial pressure for several years. Ireland and Serbia were classified as ‘systems in danger’ by the European University Association (EUA) in 2018 as the rate of public funding to universities in Ireland dropped by almost 40 per cent between the period 2008 to 2017, whilst student numbers increased by over 20 per cent. This reflects reduced funding despite an increase in GDP (Bennetot, Estermann, & Lisi, 2018). Institutions like any private business have expenses such as wages, mortgages, interest rates and maintenance of equipment to pay. HE in Ireland experienced eight years of austerity from 2008 to 2017 as a result of the financial crisis (Clarke, Drennan, Hyde, & Politis, 2018). Due to this, institutions have had to find alternative ways to generate revenue and save money, including larger classes, enrolling more students, increasing programme offerings, offering professional education programmes, utilising space efficiently through flexible learning programmes, hiring more adjunct and part-time educators and pursuing philanthropic agendas.

The combination of these efforts can increase total revenue for institutions and reduce their reliance on taxpayer funding. To interviewee 10, this is the marketisation of education, which views education as a money-making
business. Another view is the ‘mercantile model’ whereby the goal of secondary education is not to ‘advance the knowledge that's in your head, but so that you can get into college and get a good job’ (interviewee 23). In this sense, education adds value to the economy through job creation. Interviewee 10 agrees that we need to create jobs and address economic concerns but wonders what will happen to those who may not add much economic value in nominal terms but will add to society’s well-being. He essentially is questioning why success tends to be a monetary goal in today’s institutions.

Interviewee 11 feels like she has been working on ESL (English as a Second Language) programmes the last few years due to their management style and approach to students. ESL programmes are offered by private enterprises and as such are profit-oriented. Profit-driven education is not satisfying her needs but without research in the right publications, she has very little to offer relative to the competition. She believes education has been ‘monetised’ and the push for non-EU students demonstrates that. She reminisces:

‘when I was a grad student the faculty would have a softball team and you played with them. They would do things, but that's not there anymore because beyond monetising the university and higher education at the undergraduate level, faculty now have to publish or perish and it's publish in high peer-reviewed journals and so they don't have time to let this be a community. That sense of community is gone in universities and it's probably been gone for a good 15, 20 years, I would say. It's neoliberalism’.

Sentiment from other educators’ echoes this; ‘it's just a production line’ and ‘you just come in, pay your fees’ (interviewee 19). In interviewee 10’s institute, educators have been told that fees from first-year students, ‘many of whom won’t make it to second or third year’, fund the ones who progress. In his institute, over twenty per cent of students drop out in the first year but those fees are spread across other years and programmes to fund other students through their degree. Essentially the problem is a lack of funding, but this makes some educators uneasy as they see the ‘massive struggle’ students go through since the SUSI
(Student Universal Support Ireland) grants are not enough (interviewee 10). Having said that, interviewee 21 points out that schools ‘have to pay the bills’ and they need to develop new programmes to generate revenue. These programmes are part-time study, professional study, short courses and evening study which fully utilise a building’s capacity and ensure bills such as wages can be paid.

As a result of a need to generate revenue, increased pressure or classroom difficulties can be faced by educators. For example, interviewee 2 has professional postgraduate students who expect a great deal from her at all times:

‘they’re professionals, they work full-time, they’ve paid money to be on this course and they expect a good service’.

When courses are offered outside traditional hours, students such as interviewee 2’s can expect that the educator also works those hours. It can cause a blurring between work life and home life as:

‘they’ll send you an email on a Sunday and they expect an answer’.

When classes become more internationalised, educators, such as Interviewee 27, face problems which require finding new ways to manage the class. When institutions consistently grow it leaves educators with larger class sizes and worries about how they will manage (interviewee 6 and 14). As interviewee 7 states:

‘at some point, we need to plateau and just catch ourselves and catch a breath. Because I feel like everybody, if you ask anybody, regardless if they are the manager of a programme or not, everyone feels like we are chasing our tails a little bit’.

Perpetual growth without any reflection can leave educators exhausted from their work. It is important that institutions see the association between their goals and their educators. If their educators are disenchanted, tired and worried this can hinder goal achievement.
In the following sections, the impact of financial constraints on educators in relation to the amount of time and energy they invest in work will be discussed. It will explore how different contract types influence work hours and how larger class sizes drive heavier administration workloads, which require more time investment in work as depicted in Figure 22.

![Diagram showing the relationship between living contract to contract, spending considerable amounts of time engaging in administration, the marketisation of education, teaching long hours and increasing class sizes.]

5.3.1 Focused code: Living contract to contract

The type of contract impacts the number of hours an educator is required to invest in their job. Those paid on hourly rates, as a proportion of a full-time contract (FTE) or on a module basis work more hours than they receive payment for. Whilst the hourly rate for those on such contracts is designed to reflect additional non-teaching work, this is not the case according to the interviewees. In addition, those on fixed-term contracts or specific purpose contracts also spoke about taking on large volumes of work as they felt pressured to do so. Non-permanent contracts leave educators in an economically precarious position. They are unable to plan for their future, they worry about their position in the run-up to contract renewal, they work long hours, they jump from job to job and they have
very little relaxation time, this is despite the existence of several laws in Ireland to protect these workers (See Employment Equality Acts 1998-2015 (EEA), Protection of Employees (Part-Time Work) Act, 2001 and Protection of Employees (Fixed-Term Work) Act 2003).

Educators working on hourly rates and on contracts less than 1.0 FTE are classified as part-time staff. Part-time staff have a set number of teaching hours and are paid based on the hours in the classroom or the contract is a percentage of what full-time teaching hours are. All of those on such contracts or arrangements reported working more hours than they are paid for. Interviewee 11 says ‘although I'm only being paid for eight hours, I am probably doing about 15’. Interviewee 14 and 27 work more than twice or three times what they are paid for. Interviewee 11, 14 and 27 spoke about how they approached management regarding the hours they worked as it was becoming unmanageable for them. For example, Interviewee 11 told her managers:

’last month, I finally said, you need to make your appointment for a handover meeting as close to my class as possible because I'm not coming in three hours early and then hanging around the campus for three hours before my class starts. They weren't happy about that, but, you don't pay me’.

Essentially there is an expectation for her to spend the day on campus despite being paid hourly. This is not economically viable for her in the long term as her portfolio of teaching jobs provide no more than a month to month existence. She says, ‘I have been cobbled together something because I need money’. By cobbled together, she is referring to working multiple jobs to generate a wage equivalent to that of a permanent full-time staff member. Interviewee 18 also describes the long hours and the ‘crap money’ she has endured as a result of her pursuit of a job in academia. Since she finished her PhD, she has experienced the ‘gig’ economy. She secured lecturing jobs in various HE institutions, but all were on an hourly rate and this has taken a toll on her. She says, ‘I'm always worrying’ because ‘at the moment nobody wants to offer you a contract, giving you a bit of stability’. To make herself employable she engages in research, but
this is unpaid and on an hourly teaching rate she finds herself in a poor financial position, especially during the summer as she is only paid for contact hours in the classroom which do not occur during summertime. Hence, those who are paid on a per-class basis can face financial difficulties during the summer period.

Interviewee 11 says ‘this past year I didn’t make any money over the four months over the summer. The problem with working part-time hourly is if you don’t show up for class, you don’t get paid’. Interviewee 6 started her job on an hourly rate and describes how she worked very long hours, far beyond her contracted hours, during the term due to ongoing continuous assessment on her programme. When the term ended, she had to find another job as she was only paid for teaching hours. She worked through the summer on a second teaching job and by August she was exhausted and had not taken any holidays. Essentially, she jumped from one busy job to another purely for financial reasons.

Since gaining a fixed-term contract she still works more than her contractual hours, but she no longer needs to find a summer job to meet her financial obligations. The reason for working longer hours directly relates to ongoing continuous assessment which interviewee 6 and interviewee 14 have. Thus, a considerable amount of their time is spent on paperwork, grading, preparation and providing feedback. From a pedagogical perspective, regular assessment is good practice in their subjects. However, it requires unpaid time and energy investment from the educator. One possible solution to the problem of grading, which would reduce work hours, is to reduce feedback given to students. Whilst this would have a positive outcome in terms of having more free time, this is not without implications for students.

For example, when interviewee 6 expressed concern about her workload, she was advised to reduce student feedback. She explains ‘if I cut back on my feedback then students are not going to get through’. She is very dedicated to ensuring her students reach the requirements to succeed and believes that detailed feedback is the key to this. Essentially a key requirement of student success in her opinion is somewhat ‘voluntary’ and this activity drives the difference between real hours worked and nominal hours in her contract.
Moreover, the extent of how voluntary this level of feedback is, is somewhat questionable. For example, if students require substantial feedback and an educator in a teaching-only role is not giving the level of feedback required, then in terms of performance management they fall short of their performance goals, which for those on a fixed-term contract can be catastrophic. Hence, the pressure to give detailed feedback, not just internally but also externally may be experienced by educators.

Not only does this contract leave educators in a financially precarious situation it also pushes educators to work long hours regardless of their health or other circumstances. For example, interviewee 11 was hospitalised several times in the recent past and during that period she was not paid. Due to her financial troubles, she spent the time worrying about money instead of focusing on getting better. She explains that the temporariness leaves her ‘feeling like you’re almost slave labour’.

In the scenarios presented above, problems of overwork arise for educators in these circumstances. When the base payment for contractual hours is not economically viable to sustain them, they are required to seek more teaching hours, but since their real work hours can be at least double their contractual hours, they work very long hours. This has implications on their ability to earn money elsewhere and can create a tense relationship between them and management.

Another problem exists for those paid on a module basis. Interviewee 19 notes that part-time and adjunct staff account for a majority of staff in his school and, whilst that’s positive for the school in terms of cost, flexible module offerings and staff to student ratios, it is not beneficial for those who are paid on a module basis. He has worked on this basis for several years and has regularly incurred payment delays of several months and excessive bureaucracy making it very cumbersome to receive prompt payment. He believes a two-tier system exists where some staff are treated more favourably than others. Overall, it makes the job very unattractive to him and he has given serious thought to changing careers.
Those on fixed-term contracts also face difficulties in relation to working hours and fears about their future. As interviewee 15 explains ‘you’re always thinking, “where is the next job? where is the next job?”’. Since she graduated from her PhD she had been moving from contract to contract and institution to institution. Every summer was a desperate scramble to obtain another contract. Interviewee 26 worries about his future and explains how he has ticked every box, that his programme is financially successful and yet he is on a fixed-term contract. Like interviewee 19, he believes there is a division between staff depending on what programme they work on, with permanent staff having a mentality of everyone else just coming and going. He explains that many staff are on hourly rates and that you do not even get to know your colleagues because of this. This demonstrates that fixed-term contracts or casual work in education can impact the climate as a lack of continuity from staff coming and going can leave some educators isolated and lacking colleague support.

Those in such contracts believed they had to say yes to extra work and projects. This was because they needed to prove themselves and show commitment to secure a permanent contract. For example, Interviewee 16 explains that when she started in her institute, she worked very long hours. She says:

‘I was very much trying to signal to the powers that be, that I want to be kept. Stay here, I want to get my security, I want to get my contract’.

Her strategy was to make herself indispensable. She explains:

‘people will survive the way they know-how. In other words, they will read the environment for what they need to do to survive’.

By scanning the environment, educators can identify various duties which are valuable in terms of permanency and volunteer to take on these roles such as establishing or joining committees and developing new programmes. As a result of the need to survive, educators in this position end up working long hours as they believe they cannot say no and must prove themselves to the institute or
otherwise they will be punished by a non-renewal. Interviewee 16 uses the term ‘trashing my reputation’ which signifies that those who do not engage in such work significantly damage their reputation and their chances of being offered another contract. She now has a CID (contract of indefinite duration) and talks about the beauty of being able to pick and choose her projects and how she is now able to work fewer hours and spend time with her family. She still engages in the college but now it is more selective ‘I don’t feel like I have to do everything’.

The expectation of never saying no was evident across institutions. Interviewee 1 explains that you are expected to engage with the school or department and that is frowned upon to just work your contracted hours. He recalls a colleague’s contract not being extended as they only worked their contractual hours. He explains how he perceives this as a punishment for not engaging in other activities. Although engagement is supposed to be voluntary, he says:

‘it’s called voluntary, but if you don’t do it then the school has some ways of punishing them, especially if you are not on a permanent contract’.

Therefore, the institute sends signals to educators on fixed-term contracts about what is required to get a renewal or permanency. In some cases, the requirement for renewal is explicitly rather than implicitly stated. For example, interviewee 2 is on a five-year contract and its renewal is contingent upon obtaining three high ranking publications. Whilst this may seem manageable, she explains that with her teaching load she has almost no time to do any research. This is worrying her as she has witnessed a colleague being asked to leave after their five-year contract had ended as they had failed to publish the correct amount and quality of journals stipulated in their school. She says:

‘you hear stories like that, and you think well, I’m in the same, the same thing is happening to me here. I’m doing all this teaching, I got like a teaching award, and I’m doing really well with that and all this, but…but I’ll end up like him! Unless I do the research and the publications’.
She explains that those with permanent contracts are privileged and in a luxury position whereas she is vulnerable. The institute has conveyed a clear message regarding performance but with her significant teaching load, which continues through the summer, her only option to meet the research requirements is to work longer hours. Similarly, Interviewee 4 was not permanent when she started in her institute. Becoming permanent has had a huge impact on her. She explains that she had to apply for her own job to become permanent and that she was under pressure to make herself desirable to the organisation. This meant focusing on publishing in addition to engaging with the institute. Essentially taking on more work and working longer hours were necessary to secure a permanent contract.

Another drawback of fixed-term contracts is the lack of research freedom. Interviewee 22 says ‘I don’t have the full academic freedoms that I would if I was in a permanent position’. He describes how research in this sense is at risk of becoming a box-ticking exercise. To him, it is important to be interested in what he is doing but his contract hinders this somewhat as he must focus on outputs. He describes some easy options as ‘low hanging fruit that I could probably go for, but I don’t necessarily want that to be who I am, if that makes sense?’. This underlines how his research is intertwined in how he rates himself.

Taken together hourly wage rates do not reflect the effort invested by educators and a lack of permanency pushes educators to work longer hours. Worries about the future drives educators to invest more energy into their work so they can send signals to their employers that they wish to remain there. Educators assess the environment and learn from cues what factors will help them to reach their goals. Their desire for permanency or contract renewal is as interviewee 16 states ‘basic survival’. Those on fixed-term contracts or on hourly rates by their nature are often junior staff members. Those new to the job often come with little experience and are tasked with teaching up to 18 contact hours. This requires a considerable amount of time to prepare the content. Since these people are likely to be on a fixed-term contract they may be under considerable pressure to perform in the classroom. Furthermore, if they are employed in a research university, they will be acutely aware that publication is required for progression. The combination of
precarious work and high expectations creates an environment of long working hours. This is intensified by the excess supply of labour compared to the demand for some fields in the education sector. Figure 23 presents the initial codes, focused code and category.
On a final note, as mentioned in section 4.4, job descriptions were collated to gain an additional level of data on job descriptions. The job specifications were from HEIs in the greater Dublin region and were collected throughout 2018 and 2019. They were scanned for desired and essential aspects of the person specification, permanency and job duties. Job specifications collected were at Assistant, Associate and Professor Level. Only one of seven Assistant Professor job specifications collected was permanent. The remaining six were mostly 5-year tenure track and 3-year contracts. Therefore, 86 per cent of Assistant Professor job specifications had the potential to leave educators living contract to contract in an environment where creating outputs bolsters the chance of job security. These types of contracts and the requirements for contract renewal are unique to the HEI when compared against other emotional labour jobs such as teaching, nursing and medicine. For example, renewal of a fixed-term contract in a primary or post-primary school is not contingent upon publication in top tier journals and being cited by other academics. One job advertisement for an Assistant Professor explicitly stated that candidates must have one high ranking publication to be shortlisted. The other advertisements were less specific but required applicants to be research active. All job specifications at this level had research, teaching and supervision elements. This supports the comments made by educators in the study.

5.3.2 Focused code: Spending time engaging in administration and management

Depending on the role one occupies and the type of institution one works in administration will vary. Across the student pathway, there are various administrative procedures which need to be completed. Educators are required to prepare examinations within set deadlines, use the virtual learning environment (VLE) to upload material and engage with students, set assignments, grade examinations and assignments, upload results to institutional platforms, respond to emails, attend committees and other types of meetings, manage or direct programmes, perform marketing roles for student recruitment and act as tutors (a pastoral care role in relation to a student’s studies) and prepare all documentation in accordance with that. This is in addition
to teaching, research and other engagement activities associated with progression and permanency.

Concerns about the workload model emerged from the data. Consistently, educators spoke about having significant administrative loads. Interviewee 10 states:

‘one of the things that really surprised me when I first began lecturing was the amount of, the level of administrative duties that you have to perform, the paperwork, the meetings, and I just hadn’t, to be honest, realised at the start of my career, how much of that work I would have to undertake. I would say I spend probably 50 per cent of my working life engaging in admin’.

Interviewee 25 describes how administrative duties are a grey area as they spill over into programme chair roles, research committees, forums, other university groups, meetings and then personal administration. Interviewee 12 when describing the level of administration in her job states:

“I don't think that it's proportional. I don't actually-- I don't think the 20 per cent is maybe a fair reflection of the time that I would put into the administration’.

When probed, she emphasises that busyness comes in waves but, due to tight deadlines on the programme she manages, she spent three to four working days the previous week on administration. Another participant, with an identical workload model, has a similar problem. She estimates that 50 per cent of her time goes to managing a programme. ‘The most time-intensive work that I do is the admin. Second to that is my teaching and the very very least amount of time I spend is on my research’ (Interviewee 7).

Working in a school or institute with an ambitious growth strategy can also increase the amount of administration required. Interviewee 4 and 12 work in two different research universities but both spend a considerable amount of time
working on tasks associated with programme accreditation and activities related to improving the institute’s ranking. They spend time working on external accreditation from professional bodies or applying for exemptions. This requires working across departments and with other units in the institution. Educators must ensure they equip administrators with the data they require for external reports. There is no flexibility, and this is conducted in combination with teaching, research and other administrative duties. Due to her school’s growth strategy, interviewee 7 has found herself engaging in recruitment and selection of staff for the programme she directs. Ambitious plans to expand course offerings has resulted in a shortage of teaching staff and she is often tasked with trying to recruit adjunct faculty. It is time-consuming and she feels poorly equipped for this as she has never done this before. Whilst she enjoys a challenge, sometimes it is too much. Interviewee 4 believes the challenges she faces, more often than not, are too much.

Bureaucracy can get in the way of getting things done or reaching goals for several of the interviewees. This can be attributed to managing a large body of staff without disseminating information, training staff appropriately or having policies in place. Interviewee 21 emphasises that his institute will need to employ more ‘sophisticated leadership and management practices, to build a truly effective culture’ as institutions pursuing growth strategies require new staff to teach and administer programmes. Institutions then end up ‘with a whole lot of new people’ (interviewee 21). When planning and training is lacking, you waste time and money on ‘replication of tasks’ and dealing with high staff turnover (interviewee 22). Interviewee 22 believes that high staff turnover in one of the major administration departments in his institute causes time-wasting. Despite sympathising with staff, he says:

‘I've got to put aside a few hours for messing around backwards and forwards’.

Interviewee 20 has also experienced messing backwards and forwards. On one occasion he had ten student problems but ‘had to send 47 emails on behalf of tutees, to year coordinators, module leaders and student counselling’. He found
himself resending emails as he was constantly redirected ‘no, you shouldn't have emailed me, you need to email so and so’. Interviewee 19 has also spent time navigating the chain of command when doing administrative tasks. When trying to gain access to the VLE he experienced what he called ‘passing the bar of soap’. He says the ‘perpetual chaotic state where there's just disarray constantly’ causes him to disengage. He says:

‘I'll just switch off now. Now, I just go. Forget about it. Talk to the hand’.

Without clarity, institutes can find themselves in a situation ‘nobody seems to know what the hell's going on’ (interviewee 26). A lack of training or proper academic induction in relation to policies and procedures leaves educators in tricky situations according to Interviewee 25. She has witnessed people in her institute doing things by themselves all the time as knowledge is not shared and people are not trained. She believes this could be a result of ‘push backs from people who want academic freedom’ but this means there is no best way of doing things recorded which wastes time in an environment where time is precious and money is scarce. Interviewee 20 works in a different institute but has a similar experience. He says:

‘when you get given a role, even though the person who had the role knows how to do the role, I don't think we're always very effective at passing it on...I think the time's precious enough. I understand there'd be cutbacks and duties get downloaded to people. That's all fine but show us how to do it’.

Lacking effective communication channels and standardisation can make administrative tasks time consuming and cumbersome. When educators spend considerable amounts of time on the ‘bureaucratic nightmare’ as interviewee 19 coined it, the administration erodes time available for other tasks. For example, interviewee 20 says the 47 emails ‘became my full-time gig that week”. What this means is that excessive bureaucracy can promote disengagement. Two examples illustrate this point.
As a programme director, interviewee 7 is required ‘to find and match supervisors allocated to projects’. She would like to shed these activities as they take up fifty to 60 per cent of her time and there is no strategic need for her to do this role. Every year she has difficulties recruiting master’s supervisors and ends up taking on many students herself which further erodes her research time. Interviewee 19 presents a potential factor contributing to the shortage. He previously enjoyed supervising but has given it up as getting paid takes a considerable amount of time due to bureaucratic hurdles. In a marketised climate, educators such as interviewee 19 are paid on a per-module basis and delays can severely impact their wellbeing. When payment becomes troublesome educators find alternative sources of revenue.

Example number two relates to the tutor system. Interviewee 20 has far more tutees than he is supposed to and spends a considerable amount of time redoing paperwork and resending emails as ‘it’s not like there’s an office or paperwork you can follow. It’s everybody just doing it their own way’. Others have had similar experiences and no longer act as tutors (interviewee 7 and 9). This creates shortages in the tutor system as the workload allocation model only considers administration to be 20 per cent of the working week. When research time is precious, and the workload allocation model does not reflect the true volume of work this makes the tutor system unappealing. As a result, this leads to heavy tutee loads for some educators.

To summarise, larger classes, as a result of reduced funding, create a greater administrative workload for educators in relation to grading assignments and examinations. Despite the increased workload, deadlines are not flexible thus educators have more administrative work to complete in a period. A growth strategy increases the number of programmes on offer and with that the number of students and staff to manage increases. Educators can be tasked with a recruitment and selection role which involves scanning CVs, meetings and inducting new staff. Moreover, programmes require accreditation. This is a lengthy bureaucratic process which absorbs a considerable amount of an educator’s time and energy.
Due to the volume of work, all an educator’s time is filled, they have no contingency time for problems. The summer, which is perceived as the time to do research, is eroded by work pertaining to postgraduates, tutees and supplemental examinations. Furthermore, the time spent on administration often reflects a lack of efficiency and standards across institutes. The chain of command is so vast in some institutes it is difficult to find who is responsible for what. Thus, educators waste time investigating where emails should be sent. The process is depicted in Figure 24.
Figure 24. Creating the focused code 'spending considerable amounts of time engaging in administration'

- Having a lot of administration
- Never ending work
- Spending enormous amounts of time on feedback
- Having a lot of corrections due to student numbers
- Having lots of meetings
- Students emailing you
- Having knowledge of many networks
- Having knowledge of award bodies
- Trying to find a match between the programme and the organisation
- Not having a strong administration role
- Finding organisations
- Meeting organisations
- Designing projects
- Designing curriculum
- Liaising with organisations and colleagues
- Meeting different organisations
- Attending meetings
- Coming in for meetings
- Having an administration role
- Having a director role
- Creating new programmes
- Being a tutor

Feeling stretched
Surprising administration load
Becoming fed up
Meeting backwards and forwards
Switching off
Having no slack working to the max
The buck stops with you
Disabling yourself

- Feeling the workload

Growing institute
Institution being aware of the need for time to prepare
Receiving no training—showing us how to do it
Not passing on information
Push backs
Salad dressing policies
Inflexibility of deadlines
Dates getting pushed forward
Being given time for yourself
Wasting time
Not knowing colleagues
Beginning from scratch
Making mistakes
Hitting brick walls
Duplicating work

- Not having enough help
- Trying to get help
- Sometimes it doesn’t work
- Having some help
- Being let down
- Other people overcommitting

- Time spent on the job
- Tasks and skills associated with the job
- Feelings about the job
- Fairness in the workload
- Spending considerable amounts of time engaging in administration
- The marketisation of education
- Living contract to contract
- Needing help from colleagues
5.2.3 Focused code: Teaching long hours and increasing class sizes

Class sizes influence the level of engagement between lecturers and students and the volume of grading work. In smaller class sizes educators can interact with students (Interviewees 1 and 13). IoTs typically have smaller classes than universities, however, educators in IoTs typically teach more hours than educators in universities. Chapter 6 discusses how class sizes impact work behaviour through personal factors. This section discusses how class sizes and long hours directly impact workaholic behaviour. The construction of the focused code *teaching long hours and increasing class sizes* is shown in Figure 25.
Figure 25: Creating the focused code 'teaching long hours and increasing class sizes'.
As a result of an extended period of austerity, educators were asked to do more with less and this leaves educators such as Interviewee 10 feeling ‘quite stretched’. In his case, during the austerity period, he explains that every extra module equates to ‘an extra set of assignments that have to be created, assessed, and marked. It might be an extra exam that you have to write. So, everything multiplies’. He elaborates:

‘if you’re given an extra module that’s on a separate programme in a different subject area, that’s an entirely new set of course boards, exam boards, meetings that you have to go to. So, it literally is almost doubling your workload even though it’s only one extra module because suddenly you’re part of two separate teams and that’s what was happening increasingly’.

Interviewee 4 explains that she has double the students she had in previous years and this works out as quite a lot of work as assessments are typically literature reviews of 3,500 to 4,000 words. For interviewees 2 and 12, a big leap in student numbers means increased time spent on grading. For instance, interviewee 12 and 3 have very large class sizes but the deadlines for grading scripts are the same regardless of class size. This can leave them under pressure to meet the input deadlines set.

Interviewee 3 has had Teaching Assistants pull out at the last minute and has had to grade a huge number of scripts as ‘the buck stops with you with regards to the exams’. Some of her classes have over 400 students. To her, it doesn’t matter how big her class is in terms of lecturing, the major problem is grading. Should the need arise, she can get several hundred done in a week if she does nothing else, but this means she spends no time on research which is supposed to be 40 per cent of her week. As interviewee 26 notes, the Christmas and summer exam period are ‘all consuming’. For him, each examination script takes 25 minutes to grade which means he must work late into the evening to ensure the results are returned on time for exam boards.
Interviewee 15 and 6 also have problems with the turnaround time for grading. Interviewee 15 explains that turnaround times do not take extensions into account and everything tends to be due before Christmas. She believes that she is always asked to move her due dates by other educators to accommodate their due dates as they think she’s ‘soft’. Ultimately, she ends up with less time than colleagues to complete her grading. Interviewee 6 has experienced dates being pushed closer and closer such as due dates for examinations. She says:

‘everything is getting pushed forward and it’s impacting you then. It’s getting pushed forward but really it’s being pushed forward into a time that’s already filled’.

Like many other educators, interviewee 6 has no manoeuvrability in terms of time. She has a significant teaching and administration load and all her time is already allotted. Changes to due dates can have serious repercussions for her.

In addition to large classes and increased grading, interviewee 12 has found increased class sizes more time-consuming in relation to student emails and consultation hours. She explains that one to one consultations can sometimes take up to forty-five minutes. When asked if she could try to manage this aspect more efficiently, she says she has office hours on set days but there are always ‘stragglers’ and those who can’t make office hours. In essence, she must be flexible when other parts of her job are inflexible. For interviewee 23, meetings take the form of appointments to discuss essays or assignments. So, a considerable teaching load of over ten courses means spending a considerable amount of time potentially on student queries.

Interviewee 7 also notes that administration can be quite time consuming when ‘you are dealing with colossal numbers’. She explains that when you are a Director, summer is spent on appeals and vivas for students who failed, Courts of Appeals and therefore ‘June is mental’. The work ‘drags on’ further when she considers masters dissertation submissions. Due to a shortfall of supervisors, she tends to supervise ten students to ‘take up that slack’. Supervision entails meetings, reading drafts and providing detailed feedback which adds up to a
considerable amount of work during the summer period. Thus, her summer is not spent on research which she needs to be doing to reach her and the institute's goals. Hence, larger classes mean more students, more meetings and more grading. The extra time spent on grading and student issues erodes time which was previously allocated to other tasks such as research and as such educators must find time to invest in these activities.

As a result of larger classes, educators must spend time thinking about ways to manage the changes in size to ensure student outcomes do not decrease. As Interviewee 7 notes, larger classes have very little interaction and therefore a completely different pedagogical approach is required in such classes. Technology can bridge the divide between the educator and student in large class sizes as students can use tools to vote and make suggestions without fear of making mistakes in front of a large number of students. However, in some institutions, the funding is not there for technology such as clickers (Interviewee 12). A more traditional method of managing large classes is group work. Interviewee 13 finds group work useful but due to room layout in her institution, she cannot use this method. She finds smaller classes much more enjoyable as ‘you can really get a discussion and a reflection going’. Hence, the problem with large classes for her is the inability to foster discussion and reflection. Several educators in the study did not like teaching large lectures such as Interviewee 1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 16, 25 and 27. Interviewee 8 ‘hates’ big classes. She believes that all she does is talk at them and that’s ‘very odd’. Interviewee 4 believes the teaching model is stale. She is disillusioned by very large classes, like interviewee 8, all you do is talk at students and these are not the skills they need for the modern workplace. When class sizes are large educators cannot give individual attention (Interviewee 1). Educators can maintain the quality of the material, but the quality of interactions suffers.

Large classes can occur due to limited space. For instance, interviewee 19 has observed week on and week off programmes to utilise space fully. He describes an overall lack of space:
‘people are squashed up on top of each other… It's just having--just space, so that students don't have to sit on top of each other and they can have space with their bags, laptops, or whatnot, a little bit of air’.

He also observes classes getting larger and larger. He explains that in his school there are approximately 450 students studying one subject, but the capacity of a room has been extended to 600. He says:

‘as the old expression goes, nature abhors a vacuum…. you don't have to be a rocket scientist to work out within the next two years, three years that would be 450, 500, 550, 600, that's where it's going to go in the next three years’.

When educators are worried about growing student numbers such as Interviewee 6 they worry about how they will manage their workload. For example, she already has no time to make any adjustments to her material. If numbers grow, which her programme is seeking, she doesn't know how she will manage that. She says, ‘just how much more can you actually take on?’ She elaborates:

‘when I first got here, I thought this place was so wonderful and I still do because I like all the people and the staff and everything but the work itself, then when it gets so big, the workload is so heavy, you do question what are you doing or whether you should be doing this’.

She believes her institute promotes no work-life balance and that she directly connects with a growth strategy. For others, such as interviewee 15, smaller classes are what makes her institution ‘really good’ as they benefit students. If this was lost, her institution would lose its unique selling point (USP). Smaller classes are very important when an institute has an inclusive policy which aims to open education to all. Interviewee 10 explains that many of the students in his institute have specific requirements and large classes do not take any of this into account.
‘We cater specifically for students who are the very first sometimes in their family for several generations or ever to have gone to college, who may not be native English speakers or whatever. So, they come to us with a lot of additional needs’.

Large classes mean he has to ‘teach to the mean’ but this means the resources for the struggling students are non-existent. He explains that large classes directly contradict his institute’s mission as they do not account for struggling students from poorer socio-economic backgrounds. Due to a lack of resources, struggling students potentially fail their programme, which comes with a plethora of negative psychological outcomes of the student. He says:

‘we would get a lot of students who become emotionally distressed, who have real psychological, financial hardships and issues. And a lot of my time would now be taken up particularly over the last couple of years [on these issues].’

He puts on support classes for those who are struggling but he finds it challenging and has distanced himself from teaching over the last few years to protect himself. Interviewee 27 also believes that class size is more of an issue when you have struggling students. It is very difficult to attend to a struggling student’s needs in a large class. Like other interviewees, interviewee 14 sees a direct correlation between class sizes and not being able to ‘get to everybody and to keep tabs’. He believes those with language difficulties will suffer. He elaborates on increasing class sizes:

‘I’m not so sure that the kind of engagement then that I would have with the class, or with the students in the class, could be the same as it is at the moment. I think that engagement enables them, to some extent, to overcome the language difficulties that they have around it. Because I can see from their reaction, and therefore, I can adapt and change or revise’.
When classes are bigger, he will not be able to judge how a concept has been received and therefore will not be able to adjust his delivery to ensure everyone understands. This implies that struggling students will suffer and so too will his sense of success. The only way to help struggling students in large classes is to invest extra energy into helping students. This sentiment is echoed by interviewee 10, 16 and 27. They believe that when classes are larger more pastoral work follows. Hence, they take on additional tuition which is not part of their contract hours. They do this to help struggling students to bring them to the level they need to be at.

The distance between an educator and the students in large classes can leave educators uncomfortable (interviewee 25). She is particularly unhappy that large classes mean she does not have face-to-face time with struggling students. She says:

‘it's very hard to bring those students to get any meaningful improvement in what they're doing with the way that they're thinking about things. Because you've got 600 students, those students tend to just stop coming to class, or they don't engage with what you offer. Actually, the people that come are usually the people who are like, “I've got a 68 and I want to get a 70.” That's fine but you're not making any huge meaningful impacts here’.

When programmes expand, institutes can increase class sizes, split classes into smaller groups or offer more flexible delivery. When resources are limited, such as budget constraints, increasing class sizes can be an attractive option. However, this results in challenges in relation to engaging students and maintaining quality which has a direct impact on an institution’s metrics. Larger class sizes result in more grading work for assignments and examinations, more time spent meeting students, less time spent on other important outputs, reduced student satisfaction and potentially higher student failure rates.
If an institution decides to hire more staff, problems with delays can occur. Interviewee 7 explains that her school needs manpower but

‘we just can’t hire quick enough. Because our student numbers are snowballing every year and there is a little bit of a lag between our number of students and the manpower and our resources and the teaching power’.

She describes this period as a phase of ‘phenomenal growth’. When resources are limited and growth is swift, institutions can choose more flexible delivery, such as summer, evening and weekend modules, however, it means educators spend all year teaching. Interviewee 2 says ‘[it] doesn’t leave a lot of room for research. So, I struggle to get the amount of research done that I would like to, and I enjoy the research, I really love doing the research. But because of the way the teaching is lined up it’s very hard to get the time’.

5.4 CATEGORY 3: Interruptions

University life is dynamic. Educators jobs are broad and the working day is not 09:00 to 17:00. Some tasks can be completed remotely, whereas other duties such as teaching and meetings, require on-campus attendance. Some aspects of their job such as research, reading and grading require greater concentration than other duties. The data suggests that the number of meetings and being regularly interrupted inhibit educators from getting work done. Figure 26 depicts how the category interruptions was constructed.
Figure 26. Creating the category 'Interruptions'

- Causes of interruptions
  - Knocking on the door
  - Popping head in
  - Quick requests
  - Open door policy
  - Phone ringing
  - Emails coming in
  - Chatting
  - Sharing offices
  - Attending meetings
  - Needing to go to meetings
  - Voicing your thoughts
  - Being part of decision making

- Implications of interruptions
  - Being distracted
  - Running around
  - Being late
  - Eroding research time
  - Focusing is impossible
  - Needing to focus
  - Thinking time
  - Controlling your day
  - Wasting time at meetings
  - Resenting meetings
  - Questioning how meetings could be structured

- Institutional factors blurring work and home life

- Making up for interruptions
  - Taking work home
  - Working from home
  - Getting more work done
**Interruptions** was first recorded as a node entitled ‘shared office’. This was because several interviewees spoke about being distracted and interrupted, and during the initial coding phase it appeared that having a shared office was the problem. However, as constant comparison continued, more interviewees spoke about not being able to focus and jumping from task to task despite having their own office. Based on the data, regardless of whether they worked in a shared or private office, they were constantly interrupted.

One participant shared an office with five others who would regularly ask her questions. Whilst she didn't mind helping them it was extremely distracting for her

‘I came to a point where I do all my admin and stuff when I’m in the office and try and keep the other days for-- try not look at my emails and doing my research then, where I can sit with a cup of tea and not be bothered. I have no problem answering questions and stuff, but I had to just accept that I wasn’t going to be able to do any concentration work in work’ (Interviewee 15).

This effectively means that regular interruptions create a situation where educators must take work home. Another participant (Interviewee 23), with his own office, spoke about having a lot of lectures and that during the day it is almost impossible to get any work done due to constant interruptions. He said that once people knew he was in, the door would be knocking all day for ‘quick requests’. As a result, he works in the evenings in his office getting work done which requires more concentration. He finds the flexibility of the job very relieving as it gives him the chance to make up for lost time due to meetings. He likes the quietness in the evening as nobody will knock on your door, nobody will ring you and nobody will send you emails.

Interviewee 6, 20 and 27 were also interrupted by colleague chat and questions. They also took work home and stayed back late when others had gone to get their work done. For example, interviewee 27 does not get a break in work as colleagues are always asking him questions. ‘I just feel like there’s just a lack of
downtime sometimes for me. I'm feeling quite exhausted'. Despite 10 per cent of her week supposed to be allocated to research, interviewee 24 finds that her research is pushed to Sunday’s and evenings as she has too much work to complete during the week. She states, ‘try and do any research in my office, good luck, no chance!’. The night before the interview took place, she had had very little sleep:

‘last night I was finishing a book chapter until about two in the morning only, because the deadline is this Thursday’.

Interviewee 22, like his colleagues, has problems finding time for research ‘in terms of research, I’ve been trying to actually give myself a day a week, but it’s really hard to fight for that even just-- It was actually meant to be two days or a day and a half a week’. He often spends the period between 23:00 and 01:00 doing research. Similar to interviewee 23 he explains that:

‘emails don't come in. Phone calls don't come in. No distractions.
I find it's the time that I can actually just think’.

Interviewee 7 has a director position, which many of the interviewees also hold. Directors manage all aspects of a programme. This can include developing the programme, administration, recruiting students, recruiting staff to teach on the programme, coordinating with administrators and dealing with student issues. Interviewee 7 describes it like ‘a mini company’ within the school. Her task is to grow the programme in line with the school’s ambitious growth strategy. She explains the school wants an ‘open door policy where they want all directors to be within a stone’s throw of all the master’s students’. Since Masters students in this school pay high fees, it is understandable why a customer-oriented approach is deemed appropriate. However, this is not without implications for educators.

Interviewee 7 describes how the open-door policy leads to students knocking on her door without an appointment, she describes how one student ‘just popped her head in and I could see, I could visibly see she was distressed’. She tries to manage her time carefully to ensure she can complete her various tasks.
However, as a result of this policy, students do not make appointments and she has no control over her time when this happens. She explains that she is not the type of person to send students away, so the policy, in essence, puts her in an uncomfortable situation where she has to sacrifice her time. As a result, she had a forty-minute unplanned meeting with the student which was time she had carved for other tasks. Since being on campus exposes her to this she tries to work from home ‘or else I wouldn’t get anything done, I wouldn’t get my research or anything done’. Therefore, an inability to concentrate due to interruptions requires her to take work home so that she meets the requirements set out in her contract.

Interviewee 5 explains how urgent things can regularly interfere with the time she sets aside for research. Whilst she says this may not be an issue for those who can write for one hour, it is for those like her who are ‘binge writers’ and need blocks of time which can be difficult in university life. As a result, she often works from home which further blurs the boundaries between work and home life. Interviewee 25 like interviewees 2, 7, 9, 12 and 16 speaks about the volume of pastoral work involved in programme management. She explains that there

‘tend to quite a lot of pastoral kind of duties associated with that just like life happens, it’s a part-time programme so a lot of students have illnesses or family members that are sick or die or all those kinds of things’.

These issues cannot be planned for in advance and require educators to take immediate action. There is an element in the job which requires flexibility, yet deadlines are not flexible.

Another factor impacting an educator’s time to get their job done was meetings. Meetings had several purposes. Some were committees, some were one to one meetings with research students, some were departmental, some had a research focus and others were in relation to policies. Interviewee 25, states ‘you’re running from one [meeting], you’re always constantly late’. Interviewee 4 also has back to back meetings and describes them as exhausting. She explains that
committee and board meetings devour research time. For interviewee 23 after the very long teaching year (his classes start earlier than other programmes) the meetings start. They are meetings about policy as lectures are not occurring during that time. What this means is that there is no downtime, a period when educators can devout time to their research. ‘You’d have things like faculty days or other things that have to be done, or something to be worked on so it’s ready for the new semester’ (interviewee 23).

Interviewee 25 questions why so many meetings need to take place. She believes quite often that details covered in a meeting could be conveyed in an email and hence she would have more free time to spend on more pressing issues. Interviewee 26 also has a negative view of meetings. He sees them as ‘people getting up and showing their feathers. People try to put on a peacock display. You’re asking yourself why are you wasting your time for this nonsense?’. He believes meetings are used as a way to control people and to keep everybody in the building. He states ‘the other way of watching people is you just put in tonnes of meetings that people are expected to come to. Which is also really poisonous because if you’re teaching all morning you need your bloody lunchtime’. Meetings take up most of interviewee 4’s day. She gets no research done on these days. Most of these meetings are linked to gaining support for changes to be implemented. It is draining and she admits, with a sense of sadness and exhaustion in her voice, that it is not what she signed up for.

As a result of her work volume, interviewee 25 has had to spend her free time reflecting on how to get her work done more efficiently. She is stuck in this regard as meetings are the way to have a voice in what happens in her institute. So, whilst meetings can be useless or used to keep track of staff for some, some are strategic and give educators a chance to give input and be informed about their institution. Notwithstanding, due to constant interruptions and an inability to focus, educators take work home, especially research work as they cannot immerse themselves in this type of activity at work. Given that research is a core component of the contract for anyone employed in a research university or for those with an external focus, the interruptions could negatively impact on their
performance. Interruptions can result in non-contract renewal and lack of progression from Assistant to Associate level for example.

5.5 CATEGORY 4: ‘Looking around at the landscape to get ahead’

The category looking around at the landscape to get ahead reflects an in vivo code which explains how educators learn about their institute’s performance and reward management systems and how they then model their behaviour to meet the requirements. The focused code ‘creating knowledge’ describes how a research output focus is embedded within performance management systems in universities and how universities vary in their thirst for research outputs. Importantly, a stark difference between IoTs and universities was evident. In IoTs, educators can be promoted for a variety of outputs such as engagement with the institute and community (interviewee 1, 10, 15, 16) or purely based on years of service (interviewee 8). The in vivo code sitting back and cruising along reflects a lack of sanctions and a performance management system which can enable shirking behaviour. Shirking behaviour can involve shedding tasks to meet research output requirements or it can reflect perceived laziness of some educators observed by colleagues.

5.5.1 Focused code: Creating knowledge

Moving from right to left on Figure 27, educators observe their colleagues and others in their field. They familiarise themselves with the HEI’s policies and they take steps to meet the goals. When trying to meet the HEI’s goals, they can lack support and time. Moreover, some simply enjoy research whereas others find the obligation demotivating.
Creating the focused code 'creating knowledge'

- Not having room for research
- Struggling to get research done
- Not being able to do research
- Spending too much time on non research activities
- Not being able to meet the requirements on paper
- Not being able to 'win'
- Managing your time
- Shedding tasks

- Having research time

- Lacking support
  - Helping junior staff
  - Talking with colleagues is important
  - Teaching junior staff how to prioritise
  - Learning about research pipelines

- Having research support

- Loving research
  - Doing research for yourself

- Enjoying research

- Looking around at the landscape to get ahead

- Institutional and industry factors blurring work and home life

- Observing colleagues

- Speculating about colleagues research outputs

- Broadening the meaning of research
- Restricting intellectual freedom

- Having research freedom
For those in research universities, promotion is heavily influenced by research. Interviewee 17 says ‘the heat is on’ in terms of pressure to publish. In her institution, she believes research is given priority for promotions. To her, research is a sign of leadership and knowledge creation which is the USP of her university. Interviewee 19 says:

‘it doesn't matter if you're a good lecturer. It doesn't matter if the students like you, it doesn't matter. As long as you're publishing in the right journal or you’re connected to the right editors or you can secure funding from EU or other sources or whatever. It's like it's just a game, like a system and you gain the system and if you can do that well you'll progress. That's the way it is’.

When asked about how you can get a promotion, interviewee 4 responds ‘everyone knows it’s about research’. She believes doing extra ‘good citizen’ activities might influence when you get promoted, so for her, there’s an incentive to take on extra work as she wants to move to the next level. Interviewee 7 believes that research comes first and then student evaluations, although interviewees 3, 9 and 19 believe teaching has almost nothing to do with a promotion. Interviewee 12 also believes there’s more weight on publications. She used to think that other aspects of the workload model such as teaching and administration carried more weight but now, she thinks the focus is on research. She admits that in the beginning, she did not realise how pressurised it would be. Similarly, interviewee 7 notes that administration work done is a box-ticking exercise. She says:

‘they don’t really pay that much attention to it. What is really, ugh, a bit of a kick in the teeth is that even though that is the way they weigh the value of those contributions in terms of me progressing in my career, it is flipped on its head. So, the most time-intensive work that I do is the admin. Second to that is my teaching and they very very least amount of time I spend is on my research, and it is the thing they look at in terms of progression, and it is the thing that I enjoy most’.
She has observed ‘made up roles’ being given to educators which involve no work. This role then satisfies the administration component for promotion and because the promotion is based on doing a role and not the quality of the work they progress, ‘it is just, you are either, yeah your name is beside that role or your name is not beside that role’. Crucially, to her, there is no transparency regarding what colleagues do and that some director roles have far more administration workload. In this sense, the workload model is flawed, does not capture the true workload of each educator and work is unevenly distributed. Workload distribution will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

In different institutions pressure to publish varies. Three types of institution emerged in the data. The first are institutions without any formal publication requirements. The second are institutions with reasonably relaxed publishing requirements. The third are institutions with strict publishing requirements. In IoTs educators report no pressure to publish ‘if you bring them in, it’s good, if you don’t then it’s not a problem’ (interviewee 1). In interviewee 15’s institute, she has observed equal value being placed upon different aspects of the educator’s job. In that sense, educators who focus on engagement and student services are on an equal footing to those who focus on research. She says ‘when I look at their [the institute’s] progressions, they have a lot there about, well, how have you engaged with industry? How have you engaged with students?’. As a result of this, the move from a university to an IoT has been ‘great’ for her. She, like interviewees 10 and 16, enjoys research but prefers to do it on her own accord.

Interviewee 13 works in an institution with reasonably relaxed publishing requirements. She knows she needs to be publishing regularly but there is no pressure to publish in certain journals. The pressure to publish is more long-term for those wanting to progress to senior lecturer or assistant professor, although, she is not aware of any clear guidelines or clear rules around it. In interviewee 23’s institute, there has been a shift towards research outputs and performance reviews. He believes ‘you’re not going to get fired if you don’t produce, but people will wonder if you don’t’. This sentiment is echoed by interviewee 25. Despite these changes, interviewee 23 says ‘people were always writing books and
writing chapters and adding to the disciplines and all the rest of it, adding to the body of knowledge’. Unlike other institutes, he believes that there is less of an emphasis on comparing outputs of others in relation to the journal tier. However, this might change soon. For example, interviewee 5 works in a similar institute and believes there is a ‘stronger trend towards high-quality publications’.

In other institutions, you cannot get shortlisted for an Assistant Professor role without a high impact publication (interviewee 1 and 5). If you are an Assistant Professor and aim to progress to Associate level, you need a set number of high-ranking journals. Interviewees 3 and 19 have very similar opinions on the promotion system in their institute. Interviewee 19 says his institute is ‘running to standstill’ in their pursuit of climbing the league table. The focus has been on increased publications and better student to faculty ratios. He says if you want to get ahead now you need to publish in high ranking journals. He believes the system is set up in ‘very one-dimensional, simplistic terms’ but this means that ambitious educators will work the system, ‘screw the students’ and not reply to emails. He believes that publishing is an obsession for faculty and some have confided in him that they’ve been told to publish more. Interviewee 3 has witnessed educators ‘get away with murder on the teaching front’. She thinks they provide an ‘appalling service to students’. This poor behaviour is ‘let slide’ and she believes the reason for this is informal non documented aspects of the promotion system.

Given that research is a core component of progression, encouragement and support from the institutions to develop these skills would be beneficial (interviewee 25). She explains that a PhD and Assistant Professor role is ‘something of an apprenticeship in research’. As such, she believes that researchers need resources and mentorship to help them to reach the goals set by their institutions. This can be done by matching ‘early career researchers with more established people in their fields’. By creating these relationships, junior staff can learn about pipelines and how to get things moving. To her, a huge change has been the shift in international competition. She compares Ireland and the US:
we don't have a depth of senior staff that have been publishing for decades in those (top tier) journals. In the US, senior staff can mentor PhD students and prepare them for the publishing world, here, the resources are limited and it’s difficult to compete. She underlines ‘we’re at a difficult place I think as a country in terms of trying to aim for stuff that the generations of researchers before us weren’t achieving’.

The reality of meeting strict publishing requirements and not having enough resources is evident in interviewees 2, 7 and 12. Interviewee 12 needs two high ranking publications each year. She doesn't think the criteria is objective, nor does she have anywhere near the research time as set out in her workload model. Essentially, progression will certainly require evening and weekend work. Interviewee 2 finds it very stressful to fit research in. She has a significant teaching load which continues throughout the year. She is juggling multiple research projects and does not believe that she is supported as much as she could be. More meetings are the ‘last thing’ interviewee 7 needs but regarding research, she says she would benefit from meetings with senior staff, so she could discuss her research strategy and research pipeline. She sees this as an opportunity to get ‘some hands-on guidance’ which would be fantastic. She says:

‘I would love senior colleagues to say, you know, you have to, this is how you prioritise. You know, some practical words or something. I don’t know. I just feel less supported in my research’.

She mentions prioritising as she has serious problems finding time to do research. On a good week, she can get one day of research as opposed to the two days her workload model states. Interviewees 3 and 22 also find it hard to keep on track and fit in the time for research but like interviewee 2 their contracts rely on this. Even though educators are very busy, they need to find time to research according to interviewee 11. To her, it means having no life since a significant teaching load means the only time left to write papers is in your free
time. As interviewee 7 says ‘I have gotten into a bad habit of staying late at work’ as ‘I have to fit in my research sometime’.

Several interviewees spoke about issues in relation to the measurement of outputs. Both interviewee 20 and 22 have problems defining what they do based on the measures used by their institute. Outputs are not easy to measure in some fields, so the same measures are not useful across different faculties. This leaves educators in these areas wondering what is needed to progress. Interviewee 20 believes his institute has to broaden what research means and states ‘I can only do what my industry asks of me’. He believes that research to his institute is a book and an article and nothing else. When outputs are narrowly defined it can leave educators believing their work has no merit.

Problems also occur in relation to books and articles. According to interviewee 11, research must be in the right publications or your career will suffer. Although she has been researching and publishing for the past four years, none of her work has been in peer-reviewed sources and therefore it is not counted. Many educators avoid writing book chapters, as interviewee 23 puts it, chapters in a book have ‘absolutely no weight academically’. Interviewee 2 says:

‘I’m not even looking at books or chapters cos it doesn’t count. But once I’m on a permanent contract then I can do chapters in books’.

Interviewee 2 is also frustrated by the strict impact factor requirement. She explains that some journals are good quality in her field but since they are not at the level set by her school, her work does not count for the progression requirements. Until she has a secure contract, her intellectual and creative freedom is hampered as publishing in the right sources is ‘quite important to my continuation’. Another level of confusion pertains to different requirements at the school and institution level. For instance, interviewee 3 was under the impression that books, book chapters, journals under a certain rank, college committees, applying for funding and being an external examiner had ‘no brownie points’. However, when she interviewed for a position, there were vast differences
between what her school and what the institute rewarded. As a result, she had ‘glaring holes’ in her C.V. and was unsuccessful. Having interviewed others in her institute, it appears that confusion is widespread across the board as her colleagues are not aware of differences between institutional and school policies.

As educators are juggling multiple tasks, they struggle to find time to invest in activities related to the promotion process. To find time, they shed ones which carry no weight. For instance, Interviewee 2 has recently had to say no to reviewing journal articles as she cannot take on any additional work. She likes reviewing articles as they keep her up to date but the reality is she has no more time to give and therefore she must shed non-essential work, despite its value.

Another issue within education is transparency regarding publications. Interviewee 1 believes journals reflect ‘whatever the big shark says - that’s correct’. This attitude results in a lack of acceptance of different methodologies. He often finds journal articles repetitive with just one new variable in a model. Interviewee 19 says the whole process is a ‘fix’ based on ‘reciprocal arrangements’, which ensures ‘buddies’ publish each other’s students. He isn’t particularly angered by this. He sees it as a ‘game’ with people who know how to play the system playing it. He says ‘all humans will gain the system. If there’s a system to be gained they will gain it’. What is problematic though is the same co-authors citing each other, as this leads to inflated rankings. He explains that he and one colleague graduated at the same time and had the same ranking, but within six months his colleague had significantly increased due to citations from a group of co-authors. He stresses ‘to say it’s circular it’s an understatement’.

A final problem in the data relates to non-payment for publications. Whilst this is beyond the institution’s control, the research universities require publication for progression and therefore, those without research factored into their contract, work for free. Interviewee 11 refers back to work she published during her PhD ‘my supervisor and I, when I was a PhD student, we wrote a chapter in a book. We didn’t see any money from it. It [the book] costs $400 to buy’. Interviewee 18 has a similar experience. She says it is ‘publish or perish’ but questions how you can publish when you receive no money for the work. Like many others:
‘in my field you’re not paid for any publications, they are not going to pay you, but you are spending hours writing. When you’re publishing from your own research that’s a huge amount of work that goes into this. It’s not reflected at all. At one point I thought, “This is crazy”. The money goes somewhere else. I don’t know what happens obviously with the money’.

To summarise, a research focus requires an investment of time and energy. In a research university, the workload model typically apportions 40 per cent of the week on research, however, this is not a true reflection on how an educator’s time is spent. Educators struggle to find research time due to administrative workloads, teaching loads, interruptions and meetings. Educators recognise that research is not just an internal factor but also external, hence, it is important to appear research active to maintain employability. When considerable workload erodes research time, educators must find time elsewhere to ensure they remain competitive. Typically, this involves evening and weekend work.

5.5.2. Focused code: Sitting back and cruising along

Educators, overall, have a significant workload due to the combination of teaching, administration and research requirements. Problems emerge with an educator’s workload when the volume of work exceeds the amount of time they have to complete their tasks. This problem can emerge due to the distribution of work amongst staff and a lack of teamwork. Some interviewees doubted if work was distributed fairly (for example, interviewee 2, 3, 7, 8, 9 10, 15, 19, 23 and 27). In interviewees 8, 10, 15 and 19’s institutes, they speak of educators who don’t work very much. In the case of interviewee 10 and 19 this is a group of male educators who have been there for a considerable amount of time. Interviewee 10 believes that ‘groupthink’, an ‘entrenched mentality’ and ‘jobs for the boys’ causes this. As a result, there is ‘back-scratching’, a ‘lack of meritocracy’ and ‘a group of people who don’t really contribute’. This means efforts are not being rewarded for others who work hard.
When educators assess their effort and outputs against their colleagues, they can become disappointed as noted by interviewee 15 or they can become annoyed (interviewee 23). Some connect the unfair distribution of work directly to their pay. For example, a lack of fairness was reported in relation to payment differences between Assistant, Associate and Full Professor. Interviewee 10, 15 and 26 allude to a two-tiered system. Interviewee 26 does not believe that his experience is being fairly rewarded. If he had been a secondary school teacher, as opposed to a Lecturer, he claims he would be ‘on about 12 grand a year more’. He doesn't think this is fair. He has observed everyone coming into his institution recently on Assistant Lectureships as opposed to full Lectureships. He has worked in universities for years and explains that none of that seems to count towards his pay. When he started in his role, he was placed at the first point of the scale with no flexibility. What bothers him is that he doubts this is the same for all and therefore it creates a divide between staff. He emphasises ‘I don’t think an hour worth of my teaching is worth 20 per cent less than an hour of somebody else’s teaching’.

Interviewee 10 also thinks the system is quite rigid with Professors earning ‘way in excess of the salaries other lecturers get paid’. Interviewee 15 also believes that payment is not always fair in education. She knows people who started after her who are on more money and then people with industry experience who are on more money yet ‘they just come in, they teach, and they go home, and that’s that’. She elaborates:

‘There’s people who earn more money that don’t have PhDs. They earn more money than I am, but they might have worked in certain industries and stuff like that, or they’re in a sector that’s highly valued. They could easily go wherever. I’ve had one or two say to me, “oh yes, this is my semi-retirement.” Myself and my colleague, the girl I share a room with, it’s very disheartening for us, because this is our career. This is the start of our career’.

She explains that they are just there for the money and that it is ‘very disconcerting for us (her and her colleague) to hear it. We don’t say anything, but
we hear it. It's like, "shit, this is my career".‘ Essentially the attitude of those on more pay impacts her and her colleague negatively. Interviewee 27 says ‘I want to be paid fairly for the work that I do, I think everybody should be paid the same. I don't like people who bullshit their way to get paid more than others when a lot of the time you notice that they don't seem to be too busy at all and other people are very busy, I just don't think that that's fair’. Interviewee 9 echoes these sentiments. He says:

‘I couldn't be doing this for the next twenty or thirty years, looking at people who are on twice the arrangement I am on for half or less than half the work’.

When educators scan their environment, they compare their pay, position and effort against those they work with. When they perceive their effort to be equal or even greater than colleagues but notice that their reward is less, they can become demotivated. These imbalances have the capacity to lead to effort reduction and disengagement. Several interviewees had worked in other industries before becoming educators. This meant they were able to compare life in education with another sector. Compared to their previous work lives in the corporate world, interviewee 3 and 25 say there is no sense of a team in education. Both interviewees believe the climate lacks common values. Interviewee 3 has had first-hand experience of this. When required, she has stepped in and helped out her school only to realise that none of the other faculty in her field were willing to do so. In her previous job, this would have been the team thing to do

‘coming from the private sector, where I had been working in a team, where you pull in, you help if someone is out sick’

However, in education, she believed she had been taken advantage of. Experiences such as this create negative energy in the school between colleagues. She felt the situation was very unfair and describes it as a ‘low point’ because she took on extra lectures, tutorials and the grading, and nobody else had said yes to help out their colleagues or school. It left her questioning herself:
‘I was just like, you stupid eejit why did you say yes?’.

As a result of this experience, she doubts she will help again because in addition to the extra workload her manager hardly recognised the work she did. Without feedback, educators can feel a sense of injustice. Interviewee 25 does not think her institution is doing a very good job at appraising performance. She believes that the promotion process is the only way to have any sense of success. In her opinion, it is left up to educators to manage their sense of progress and admits

‘in some ways that's great and in some ways you're like, God, I wish somebody would just tell you, you did a good job’.

In addition to lacking feedback on kind acts, poor performance and shirking can also go unpunished as there are no sanctions beyond non-progression for people who do shoddy work (Interviewee 9). Interviewee 8 explains that a lack of discipline means that ‘there’s a lot of lecturers that go in late’, ‘cancel classes’ and do not work hard as ‘they know they’re not going to get fired and nothing will happen if I don’t go to that meeting’. This behaviour then spills over to students who submit late work as there’s a climate of poor discipline. Ultimately this impacts other educators in relation to chasing students for work. Interviewee 9 finds the ‘dysfunctionality’ of some educators demoralising and whilst the lack of sanctions does not help, he would not be happy to see autonomy and freedom eroded as staff fear ‘getting a slap on the wrist or whatever’. Hence, it is important that any interventions to ensure fair distribution of work do not hinder academic freedom which would ultimately dampen research outputs.

In some cases, institutions have to ‘tolerate peoples’ kind of shoddiness’ due to supply shortages. For instance, Interviewee 6 and 9 explain that different subjects in education are harder to recruit. Thus, when an educator is hard to replace Interviewee 9 says ‘there’s an element of you’re stuck’. If an educator has expertise in a niche or complex area this enhances their bargaining ability and forces institutes to tolerate poorer performance compared to colleagues in non-niche subject areas.
When some educators, such as those described by interviewee 7 focus only on research and treat other parts of the job with ‘disdain’ it can create workload imbalance. Interviewee 15 provides an interesting opinion regarding workload at junior levels. She says:

‘assistants' loads are actually heavier than anyone’s, yet we’re the ones that should be doing the most research at the start of our career. It's a bit of a catch 20/20’.

To her, the system is bottom-heavy regardless of the institution. This supports Interviewee 25’s comments about not managing people as some educators are avoiding work and others who need to develop certain skills are not getting a chance to do so. If the workload model clearly sets out tasks and some avoid certain aspects they are not interested in, then work is not completed, is completed poorly or given to others to complete. For example, in Interviewee 7’s school, her manager has said ‘I am happy to share with you what everyone else is doing in terms of their workload model’. To date, this has not happened, and she believes this is due to some people having far less work than others. In some instances, shirking behaviour manifests itself as ‘learned helplessness’ (Interviewee 24). Over the years she has observed some educators who ask first and think later. They show no capacity to investigate how to help themselves, they immediately turn to others for solutions. This bothers her as she has to waste time she does not have on laziness.

Essentially the data suggests that management needs to consider how shirking behaviour can impact motivation of staff and the time and effort they invest in their work, as it can lead to reduced effort, poor team climate and even staff turnover. Figure 28 shows how educators observe colleagues and identify behaviours they find unsatisfactory. They try to help themselves by airing their concerns about their workload.
Figure 28. Creating the focused code "sitting back and cruising along"

- Speaking with managers/consulting managers
- Sharing concerns
- Doubting fairness
- Working alone
- Clashing with colleagues
- Self serving
- Shedding tasks
- Playing the system
- ‘Back scratching’
- ‘Tacky’ behaviour
- ‘Bullshitting’
- Dividing staff
- Comparing yourself against colleagues
- ‘Getting away with murder’
- ‘Cancelling classes’
- Being late
- Tolerating ‘shoddiness’
- ‘Slacking off’ over time

- Creating knowledge
- Sitting back and cruising along
- Trying to help yourself
- Observing colleagues
- Looking around at the landscape to get ahead
Based on the data, problems with shirking emerge as the system: is too flexible (Interviewee 8); is not transparent leading to heavier workloads for some (Interviewee 7); fails to consider the needs of early-career staff (Interviewee 2, 15 and 25); is growing rapidly and has recruitment problems (Interviewee 6, 7 and 9); facilitates those who ‘shout loudest’ (Interviewee 9); favours time over effort (Interviewee 8, 10, 19); and excludes certain activities from the workload model (Interviewee 7 and 9). The combination of these factors can lead to increased workload, some of which is not considered in the promotion process. Increased workload erodes time available for research and other citizenship and leadership activities which decreases the likelihood of progression and permanency in a bottom-heavy industry. Building on Figure 13, Figure 29 demonstrates how one educator’s actions have repercussions for another educator. This educator then has a sense of injustice as they too are driven to progress. Like their colleague, they scan the environment and shed tasks. Thus, their action has the same result for another educator. This results in a perpetual cycle of scanning and shedding to meet promotional goals. Naturally, the extent of this cycle depends on the workload and promotional process within an HEI.

Figure 29. Ways of managing workload and meeting goals
5.6 Chapter conclusion

In response to an era of funding constraints, as outlined in section 3.3, HEIs found new revenue streams, revised and created programmes and offered new ways of delivery as part of a strategy to recruit students. Simultaneously, they have tried to manage growing student numbers with the resources they have. As a result, educators are now juggling multiple tasks, teaching large classes, engaging in increasing administration and occupying temporary posts. This is coupled with the pressure to publish in top tier journals. Publications are an external symbol of an institution’s success and can attract students and researchers. Hence, publications are highly sought-after outputs in many HEIs.

Research requires concentration so that educators can immerse themselves in literature, analysis or reflection. Interruptions from colleagues and students hinder this process. To manage this, educators do not work 9 to 5. This is possible as their jobs are flexible and can be carried out remotely. Educators see flexibility as a double-edged sword. In some ways, it enables them to move parts of their job around to fit into their lives but in other ways, it completely blurs work and home life. Working from home was often a way to manage considerable workloads and spend time focusing on tasks. However, working from home can increase isolation and reduce opportunities for teamwork. Overall, the nature of teaching and research does not lend itself to working with colleagues, however, aspects associated with those elements of the job such as collaborating and knowing who to ask for help can bolster publication success and reduce time-wasting respectively.

HEIs by their nature are large which can result in silos of hierarchy. As student numbers grow and HEIs recruit new staff to manage, a lack of communication and training can cause further time-wasting in an already pressurised environment. This time-wasting can erode research time and thus research outputs, which has implications for the educator and the HEI. Moreover, the pressurised environment can leave educators with no choice but to shed tasks which they assess as non-vital in terms of their progression or job security.
To summarise, chapter 5 presents a comparative description of the demands and resources identified in the interviews. As noted in section 2.9, the work environment creates norms which explore and explain workaholic drivers beyond individual-level variables (Griffiths et al., 2018; Tóth-Király et al., 2018). For example, through operant conditioning, behaviours are learnt which can encourage workaholism (Andreassen, 2014; McMillan et al., 2003). These can include positive associations with workaholic behaviour and career success (Clark et al., 2014a; Ng and Feldman, 2008; Burke, 2001a). Career success is a reward given by institutions to high performing employees, hence, institutions can reward workaholic behaviour (Robinson, 1998b). In the HEI context, looking around at the landscape to get ahead, reflects an educator’s desire to progress and the critical role the institute plays in setting standards of progression.

In addition to institutional variables at the micro to meso-level, macro-level variables such as economic factors can also influence workaholic behaviour. For instance, as noted in section 3.3, HE is an internationalised industry (Mohrman et al., 2008). Thus, policies from numerous countries can influence meso-level institutional policies regarding what high performance is. Typically, international rankings are the core of this, as they are used for benchmarking (Baty, 2018). Therefore, activities associated with rankings can be perceived as more valuable in terms of progression. Further, considering funding constraints, the act of juggling’ multiple tasks as a result of the marketisation of education explains how looking around at the landscape to get ahead encompasses aspects at a macro-level also. Hence, neoliberalism or adoption of LME policies can influence meso-level institutional policies and norms, which then influence micro-level behaviour, which is the focus of research question two and the following chapter. Finally, chapter 7 will combine the findings of chapters 5 and 6 to build a micro-meso-macro model of variables influencing workaholic behaviour, which to my knowledge has not previously been explored.
CHAPTER 6. HOW DO PERSONAL FACTORS IMPACT EDUCATOR WORKAHOLIC BEHAVIOUR?

This chapter explores the second question of the study, how do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators? and the relationships between categories and codes within the theme. This encompassed exploring an educator’s attraction to education, what they like and do not like in the field and if they are satisfied with their career to date. The data analysis led to the construction of two categories:

- CATEGORY 1: Differing goals and aims in life
- CATEGORY 2: Compartmentalising

The motivational drivers of an educator will influence how much time and effort they invest and in what they choose to invest in. Some educators use their social intelligence and observation skills to identify what is important in their institution and what is not. Often these aspects are not formally recorded. It may appear, in writing, that all tasks carry equal importance. However, to a large majority of those interviewed, it seems this is not the case. The theoretical framework for question two is shown in Figure 30. Certain individual factors from the category differing goals and aims in life are related to HEI factors, hence, it is important to consider individual and contextual factors when exploring workaholic behaviour.
Figure 30. The theoretical framework for question 2
6.1 CATEGORY 1: Differing goals and aims in life

During the initial coding, several motivating factors were identified (see Appendix G). Through constant comparison these initial codes were recategorised to construct the following focused codes:

1. Focused code: Pursuit of promotions
2. Focused code: Pursuit of respect
3. Focused code: Pursuit of information
4. Focused code: Pursuit of knowledge sharing
5. Focused code: Pursuit of connection
6. Focused code: Pursuit of authenticity
7. Focused code: Pursuit of autonomous creativity

6.1.1 Focused code: Pursuit of promotions

Ambition or drive influences the effort and time educators invest in certain activities. Educators, through socialisation, became aware of what was important in their institute in terms of success and subsequently spend considerable amounts of time on this. Furthermore, educators would consider future employment goals when appraising what was valuable and what was not. Those with a promotion focus invest more time into their job than those who are satisfied with their level in the institute. Those employed in research universities are expected to generate high-quality peer-reviewed publications each year and those in IoTs are expected to engage with the IoT community in terms of contributions to the institute. This is in addition to administration, teaching and leadership work. Due to the nature of the job, a promotion focus or a desire to obtain a permanent contract often entails evening and weekend work.

‘If I want something, I will work, I will achieve my goals as best I can. If I'm knocking at a door and it's not opening, I'll find another opening for myself, I'll create one’ (Interviewee 10). He describes himself as ambitious with a strong work ethic and an insatiable curiosity which he had since he was a child. Interviewee 9 has high standards and considers himself ambitious. He says he...
is ‘streetsmart’ and used this to analyse the environment in his institute. From this, he was able to identify what was deemed most important in relation to promotions. He describes research as ‘portable’ which means he has an external focus and thinks about his brand outside his institute. For this reason, he devotes most of his time to research. He learnt quickly that teaching was not going to get him anywhere as he has seen ‘people who are dreadful teachers progress here and I kind of, I’ve drawn some subconscious connection between research and progress’. He admits to being goal-oriented and despite winning several, thinks teaching awards are almost like a ‘token’. To focus more on research, he has reduced the effort he puts into teaching as it will still be fine and that way, he can focus on what will help him to progress. Regarding his reduced effort, he says:

‘I’ve kind of stopped worrying about teaching. Or not putting in as much effort but not killing myself. And that’s just me looking around at the landscape here and the people who get ahead are the people with the 4-star journals. There’s no denying that. And I have that in me, so that comes first and then the residual time goes to teaching’.

He believes he has to be ruthless about research as if he is not, he will not achieve his goals. He has seen colleagues frustrated as they work harder than him but ultimately believes they have not been strategic. He constantly takes work home but says this is voluntary and related to his promotional goals. Interviewee 3 works hard to ensure she is not ‘pulled off in other directions’ which would impact her ability to get above the bar and then to be made an Associate Professor. For example, in addition to her day to day tasks, she acts as an external examiner and reviews journal submissions. She also is expected to apply for funding. These activities, whilst useful, can erode her research time which she knows is required to reach her goals. A similar experience is provided by interviewee 2. Recently she has started to consider her involvement in an international group despite thoroughly enjoying exchanging knowledge and practices with them. She says:
‘I enjoy it but I think I should not continue doing it actually cos I have to focus on the publications’.

She knows she needs publications due to her contract but essentially, she will have to trade in something she enjoys and finds beneficial to guarantee her long-term financial well-being.

If research is heavily weighted as a factor required for promotion, then the performance and reward management system could unintentionally damage student experience or damage the careers of those who do not make trade-offs. An example of this was provided by Interviewee 19. He spoke about an educator who only allocates five minutes per master’s dissertation student. He says, ‘it’s like a factory’ and many are international students and have spent a considerable amount of money on fees. Given the importance of publication and research, it may be that some educators know that time spent on meeting master’s students will not help them to achieve their goals as its weight, compared to research, is significantly less. In contrast to the five-minute meetings, other educators allocate more time for their masters’ students such as interviewee 19, 7 and 25. Interviewee 19 says he does this because he wants to make sure ‘everything is perfect’ but perhaps over time, this effort in combination with publication demands is not feasible. For example, interviewee 7 is a young woman who wants to progress but admits to failing to prioritise research, which she knows is vital. She says:

‘I am the type of person that if you give me a role I am darn well going to do the best I can. I don’t like half-arseing things, excuse my language. So if you give me something to do I am going to do it to like 100%. Maybe I am not being that smart’.

She spends a considerable amount of her time on administration and this is not something which is rewarded. To make up for time spent in work on administration she stays late and works Saturday on research, which impacts her social life. This work investment could leave her in a precarious position in terms of publications and her well-being. She is torn between being true to herself and
sacrificing that to meet the performance standards set by her school. Hence, sacrifice is required to balance workload and goals.

Sacrifice can be related to work or one’s personal life. Interviewee 11 is somebody who is not willing to sacrifice her students for research, but she has paid dearly in terms of her career. She does ‘an awful lot of work that is not counted towards pay’ such as volunteering on committees. She confesses:

‘I think I find ways of making myself feel rewarded by maybe doing extra things which is maybe why I’m so frustrated with my work position now’.

She has invested heavily in extracurricular student activities such as societies and theory nights but none of this has ever paid off for her. She explains that to get ahead you need to research and be a ‘go-getter to the exclusion of everything else’. You need to have the ‘blinders on’ and match that ambition with energy, which she would not be comfortable doing as she values collegiality more. She sees universities as takers. The more you offer it, the more it will take from you. She describes a one-sided relationship without any balance. She knows what is required to progress but this is not something she is capable of doing as it does not match her values.

In contrast, interviewee 12 has sacrificed family time. Despite her young family, she is constantly on. She works evenings and weekends to ‘really get stuck into the research’ as this is the main area where she will get recognition. She elaborates:

‘I feel like if you don’t keep on going with the research then you’re not going to secure the publications. I would come in on a Saturday and I do come in or stay late in the evenings or work from home in the evening times’.

She sees her sacrifice as a ‘trade-off’ and hopes that her efforts now will pay off in the future. Interviewee 18 describes a similar behaviour. She refers to career
breakthroughs and the need to sacrifice. She volunteers on committees and for organisations. She uses voluntary work to get to conferences so she can present her work and network. She says those who have not been successful were not motivated enough or did not have the energy to keep going, this is despite the problems this caused her marriage and her health.

For those on fixed-term contracts, motivation for contract renewal or permanency drives extra work behaviour. Interviewee 1 wants to improve his research profile as he knows that is the key to a tenure track position. He knows this requires time investment into research and by default less time invested in teaching. His overall goal is to obtain a permanent contract. He explains that extra work outside your contract is expected and is especially important when on a fixed-term contract. In a previous role, he believed he needed to be ‘visible across an organisation to make a good impression’. To ensure this, he volunteered for open days and committees. Interviewee 16 had a similar experience to interviewee 1 despite working in different institutions. She explains that the service role of her job takes up almost the same amount of time as teaching. The service role is to some extent voluntary but when you are on a one-year contract being seen as contributing is perceived as a key deciding factor in contract renewal. ‘You’re hanging on to the post for dear life’, this means that anyone who seeks job stability is required to work longer hours than contractually obliged to. She emphasises ‘you can’t be saying, "no."’:

Interviewee 5 takes on extra work too, in particular research work. She explains that research is vital for anyone with an external focus. Her goal is to be promoted to the Professor level. She takes on extra work as opportunities to contribute will promote her brand and enhance her reputation which ultimately drives demand for her. She says:

‘everything you do increases your business, your employability, your profile as an academic’.

She also notes that saying no has the opposite effect. The breadth of activities required to get a promotion means she works evenings and weekends as she
sees herself as an entrepreneur promoting her brand. There appears to be no way around this if an educator has a promotion focus since:

‘there is always more that you can do in terms of writing papers and applying for funds. And there is always someone out there who is better than you are’.

For interviewee 25 this is all a choice like many others have mentioned. She explains that nobody will chase you if you don’t do the research but not doing it means you will not progress as ‘it’s the only way to progress’. She says it is the thing she gets to spend the least amount of time on, due to her workload, but yet knows this is vital for progression. It leaves her with no other option but to work late and weekends. If she were happy to stay at her level and reduced her ambition, she could work far less hours.

Based on the data that taking on additional work is not a contractual obligation but rather an obligation for those with a desire to progress. By ‘looking around at the landscape to get ahead’ educators ascertain what is important and what is not. Some use this information to shed tasks which will not help them to achieve their goals. Others then struggle to manage their workload. Instead of shedding work tasks, they reduce the time they spend with their families and friends by working overtime. This can erode confidence as noted in section 5.2. A sketch illustrates the complex process discussed in this section.
Figure 3.1. Being driven

Feeling a sense of injustice..... Working harder than others

Being driven

Sacrifice

Shedding tasks

I don’t want to get left behind

Fear

Guilt

Not being true to myself

Long hours

Missing children

Spouse problems

Lack of activity

Sleeping problems

Worry

Guilt

Key source of support

Guilt

Personal life

Compartmentalises Carves time

‘Constantly pushing’ ‘Always more to do’

‘The promotion process’

Internal and external brand image

‘Obtaining funding’

New revenue streams: new programmes

‘Being cited’

‘Publishing in top tier sources’

‘How can I achieve that?’

‘Scans the environment’

‘I want to progress my career’

‘A colleague is assigned more tasks’

‘Workload needs to be redistributed’

‘I will put less effort into dealing with students’

‘What can I give up? What need not be published?’

‘I’m very busy, I need to publish to increase my chances of a promotion’

‘Where can I find time?’

‘Reviews their tasks’

‘02’

‘04’

‘06’

‘05’

‘01’

6.1.2 Focused code: Pursuit of respect

A desire to be respected and contribute to their field was as an important motivator for many interviewees. How they are perceived by others was important and, to many, publishing is how they can create a good image or gain the promotions they seek. Others were motivated by student enjoyment in the classroom, which meant their lesson planning and delivery was perceived as successful by others. Meanwhile, for some educators, their belief in the work they do and its value in society is very motivational.

Doing your best to contribute to society is important for Interviewees 10, 18, 22 and 25. This can stem from a desire to see ‘change out there in society’ (interviewee 22). For example, interviewee 25 finds working with disadvantaged students especially motivating. She recalls one student who cried at graduation and said she had made a huge difference in his life. She was deeply touched by this. Similarly, interviewee 4 likes being able to help students who are facing difficulties. She finds it rewarding when she can help them. Interviewee 11 believes her work can create ‘ripples in the universe’. She enjoys challenging students and is rewarded when she positively affects lives.

Interviewee 23 ‘gets a kick’ out of lecturing. For him, the chance to impart knowledge, raise awareness and discover new things is very appealing. Interviewee 26 has a similar belief. He is happy knowing that students finish his course knowing more about the world. He says his goal is to have students ‘simply open their minds to looking’. What he does is ‘important for society’. Interviewee 3 enjoys ‘inspiring the next generation’ and ‘contributing to knowledge’. She feels privileged to work with students, especially undergraduates, as this is their first time dealing with her subject area. She finds lecturing very rewarding when it goes well. She says that teaching is her favourite part of the job, not the research which she needs to get above the Bar.

Interviewee 10 points out that to have any impact he needs a full professorship, as this would mean ‘reputation’ and ‘prestige’. He believes this title will open doors and that people will perceive him as their equal at conferences. It is
important to him that his work is recognised and evident externally. For this reason, he invests heavily in research work. Similarly, Interviewee 2 is motivated by ‘social status’. Both interviewee 2 and 27 have a need to be respected and seen as knowledgeable. For interviewee 2 this is something she inherited from her parents. In contrast, interviewee 27’s desire for respect stems from poor treatment in past roles. In hierarchies, he has witnessed and been subjected to unfair treatment of staff. It bothers him as he wants to be viewed as excellent at his job, but this is difficult when not all people are treated equally. A desire for excellence combined with perfectionism means he invests more time than required into teaching and feedback.

Even those with no requirement to take on research appear to do so (interviewee 8, 10, 15 and 16). Perhaps the reason for investing time in research is because ‘your status in your field is all on research’ (interviewee 12) and it gives you ‘credibility as an academic’ (interviewee 4). Interviewee 16 has no requirement to publish and would hate to have that pressure on her. Instead, she voluntarily submits research to high impact journals as ‘it's more about proving to myself about the quality of the work that I do’. Acceptance from top tier journals is directly linked to her self-esteem. So, whilst publication is not directly linked to a promotion, it satisfies her concerns about her ability and sends a signal to others that her work is respectable. Hence, credibility is linked to a sense of value and is useful in terms of employability. For example, interviewee 17 says it is important for her to be adding something new and substantial to her CV every year as she is motivated by how she is perceived to the outside world.

A sense of value can also come from one’s effort in non-research activities being appreciated. For instance, being perceived as ‘a safe pair of hands’, ‘reliable’, a ‘tribal elder’ makes interviewee 21 believe that others perceive him as a useful person to have around. He invests energy and time into bringing in income through new courses as he knows his efforts contribute to the financial well-being of his institute. His efforts are associated with a strong sense of importance. Similarly, involvement in committees is a way for Interviewee 14 to be valued. He experiences a sense of recognition when his work is accepted and introduced by
departments. The external validation acts as a seal of approval which sends a signal to him that his work is good quality and worthy.

Signals of quality can also emerge from classroom interactions. Unlike research, which can take a very long time to get any feedback on, teaching ‘is often more immediately gratifying’ as students might come up at the end of a lecturer and say they enjoyed it or that it was interesting (interviewee 5). When a class goes well educators can experience a sense of satisfaction which is reliant on how others respond to their work such as interviewee 6. This means that external approval, through student engagement, can motivate educators to invest more time in their work such as lesson planning, feedback and setting imaginative assignments. When students enjoy interviewee 27’s class his professional efficacy is increased. He is proud when he does a good job and this motivates him to spend more time on such activities. When students apply what they learnt in the class in good assignments, interviewee 8 is very satisfied that her efforts have paid off. The application of knowledge learnt sends a signal to the educator that students are listening and they care. When students care an educator can experience a sense of worth regarding what they are doing.

A sense of being valuable for educators can also relate to the employability of students after taking their module. Interviewee 9 gets a ‘buzz’ when he receives emails from students expressing how much they enjoyed the programme and how it has impacted their career. In this case, the value of what he does is connected to success in a student’s career. When students are successful it sends a message to the educator that what they learnt in class is useful to industry. Interviewee 7 explains that whilst she knows she is not a nurse and what she does is not lifesaving she still has a sense of importance. She explains how students become distressed if she does not answer queries and this causes a ‘ripple effect’. From a macro perspective, she sees how this can then impact programme evaluation and ultimately accreditation. In that sense, she is motivated by external forces which drive her to invest her energy in certain activities to avoid negative outcomes.
Desiring respect results in external validation of the work an educator does. This validation comes from students, publishers, colleagues and the institute. When educators believe that their work is recognised, they experience a sense of ego enhancement. To ensure this happens, educators behave in a certain way to avoid punishment. For interviewee 21, whilst age is an advantage, he emphasises that you must never appear weak or ‘doddering’. It is essential that nobody feels sorry for you. You must recognise when you are no longer able to ‘hack’ it. These comments highlight how seriously this interviewee takes his image as his sense of worth is deeply ingrained in this. When interviewees 4, 7 and 9 don’t have time for research it turns to guilt. They feel guilty as they are not working on what they think they should be. When they spend time on other activities, they psychologically punish themselves by ruminating about their ‘bad’ behaviour.

6.1.3 Focused code: Pursuit of information

For some educators keeping up to date and how that manifests in the classroom is an important driver of effort and time investment. They see keeping up to date as a necessity to maintain student engagement and to attract students to their subject or institute. Interviewee 4 explains that with external accreditations it is important to ‘constantly innovate’. She says it is important to change so that an institute can remain valuable. To do this she believes educators and institutes must ‘offer something that excites our students so that they still want to come here’. Interviewee 17 believes she can remain in contact with changes in her field due to her job. She says, ‘what I particularly like about is I feel that I’m still in step with the world’. It is important to her that her material is not stagnant and that she remains relevant. Despite having years of experience, interviewee 21 emphasises the need to stay current. He explains that an educator must ‘stay on top of contemporary developments’. He again refers to his age as with age comes the risk of being irrelevant. He says ‘they’re [the students] are not really interested in war stories from 30 years ago’. This is perhaps why interviewee 23 says teaching is ‘a young person’s stuff’ and believes he will reduce his teaching load in the near future.
When students develop a passion in a subject area, educators can feel like they are doing a good job as students enjoy the class. They try to trigger passion and interest through challenging ways of thinking by viewing subjects through other perspectives (interviewee 26). To do this, interviewee 26 spends his evenings reviewing old and new work and synthesising theories to evoke critical thinking in his classes. When he does a good job, he feels valuable and is motivated to invest time in such activities. Avoiding stagnant material can also be used to trigger interest. For example, interviewee 27 when planning material updates thinks about new ways to do things and gets excited when he creates a plan he thinks will be successful. He invests time in updating material since up-to-date relevant material enhances the learner experience but also increases his interest in the topic. Interviewee 14 invests time in ways to engage students as he sees a correlation between this effort and his ultimate goal, that students can finish his module understanding why things happen rather than memorising answers and rules. To do this, he keeps up to date with national changes in his subject and goes to conferences and events to expand his knowledge on approaches to the subject matter.

6.1.4 Focused code: Pursuit of knowledge sharing

In HEIs, educators typically work alone. There can be very little to no interaction with others. As a school expands the lack of interaction can worsen. For example, interviewee 7 says:

\[\text{‘a lot of the staff meetings everyone is looking around going “I don’t know who that is, do you know who that is”. Like we have never met some of the new staff members’}.\]

When people work alone, they can become isolated, especially those who identified as extroverts and ambiverts such as interviewees 3, 5, 15 and 19. For interviewee 5, working with master’s dissertation students gives her a chance to socialise in addition to research gains from their projects aligning with her goals. She explains that research can be isolating as it is often via Skype or email since many collaborations are internationally located. She explains that out of six
dissertations she would typically get one which is publishable and therefore supervision helps her to reach her output requirements. Moreover, she can get exposure to potential PhD students. Whilst her goal is not specifically to engage students, working with masters and doctoral students is highly motivational for her as she finds research stimulating.

Several educators gained resources from student interactions and often the ability to gain a resource was dependent on the size of the classroom. Smaller class sizes have a positive impact on student satisfaction according to Interviewee 1. He likes smaller class sizes as he can interact with students. This interaction is beneficial for both parties as students often teach him something new. He uses what he learns from students to keep his work relevant to them. Similarly, interviewee 13 believes small groups are beneficial and motivational. She can ‘get somewhere’ with small groups and that she can enjoy teaching them. She says ‘I can't do anything’ with large cohorts. Interviewee 20 likes the engagement with the students in his small classes as it helps to keep him creative. He says ‘the more I try and inspire them, the more they’ve inspired me. It's great’. He describes a reciprocal relationship where both parties benefit. He loves that the students are fully committed and with that bring creativity into the classroom. Another interviewee also gains from dialogue with students. Interviewee 14 likes the interaction from teaching and bringing students to a place of understanding. He says:

'I enjoy going into class. I enjoy the interaction with the students. I enjoy challenging them and them challenging me. I mean, that's satisfaction. I wouldn't look for anything more than that'.

He describes moments of particular satisfaction when he sees a student’s face lighting up when the topic has sunk in. He likes teasing things out and loves the moments when ‘the penny drops’. It is possible that smaller class sizes may improve student motivation as they have an opportunity to converse with their lecturer and exchange ideas, which then motivates educators to invest time in those activities.
6.1.5 Focused code: Pursuit of connection

When institutions, such as interviewee 25’s, give extra credit to external collaboration they often discourage educators from collaborating with colleagues. This can ‘set a culture where everybody’s competitive and nobody’s supporting anybody else’ (interviewee 25). Interviewee 26 worked in a highly competitive institute in the past where he saw ‘people, just out to destroy each other’. The experience was disheartening. For interviewee 22 he wishes educators could approach their work like they are on the same team. To him, there is a sense of competition and says:

‘sometimes I feel like we’re at loggerheads over everything’.

He believes this friction is due to ‘academic arrogance’ because of complex personalities, and ‘strong worldviews’. When this is coupled with a history between educators, it creates a dynamic in the room which he finds difficult to handle. Importantly, he believes this does not foster collaboration beyond self-serving reasons, ‘I might cooperate with you in order for this to happen for me. Rather than necessarily thinking on a bigger level as well’. In an environment where outputs are everything, it can be hard to promote teamwork as highly ambitious educators want ‘to do a better job than somebody else would do’ (interviewee 4). This can result in what interviewee 2 calls ‘tacky’ and ‘insufferable’ behaviour such as boasting to superiors about work completed and strategically placing themselves close to seniors.

Engaging with others in the sphere or outside world can benefit educators in relation to outputs, especially when they have a promotion focus. Engaging with colleagues and meeting new people at conferences and events can be enjoyable (interviewee 1 and interviewee 18). Interactions with people stimulate discussion and have the potential to lead to worthwhile future collaborations. For educators like interviewee 18, whose confidence is reliant on being ‘valued’ through acceptance of her work in top tier sources, engaging with others enhances her chances of publishing as building good relationships with collaborators is essential for research outputs (interviewee 25). Moreover, engaging with the
world outside enables educators such as interviewee 20 to bring their expertise to the wider community. For example, he speaks about working with non-profit groups and refugees. This engagement is highly rewarding and useful as interactions inspire his research.

6.1.6 Focused code: Pursuit of authenticity

Some interviewees spoke about a refusal to behave in certain ways since it does not align with their personal beliefs. For interviewee 10, the concept of moral management drives how he behaves in all aspects of his work. He explains that he likes to set the best example he can and accepts that he has no control over how others behave. The sense of behaving in a way which aligns with his beliefs gives him a sense of control and pride. It is important to him that he’s ‘the best person I can be’. Interviewee 3 spoke about doing the job in a way which is right to her. She has witnessed people in her institute ‘zoom ahead’ by ‘giving zero attention to teaching’ and ‘not being collegiate’ but this is something she is not willing to do. She knows the time she invests in these things will not pay off in terms of a reward from her institution but for her, the reward is being true to herself. She says, ‘I want to do the job as well in a way that feels right to me’.

Interviewee 22 knows that he could have an easier life if he researched certain topics he calls ‘low hanging fruit’ but he explains that he does not want that to be who he is. He comes from an artistic family and places a huge emphasis on creativity and exploration. As a result, taking easy options are not congruent with his perception of himself. He explains that he needs to express himself and not just tick output boxes. In this case, even though he is on a fixed-term contract and knows that ‘low hanging fruit’ could increase the likelihood of being made permanent, it is not something he is willing to do, as his sense of self is more important. Interviewee 11 has a similar position. She dislikes aggressively competitive environments as they do not match her views on life. She has a strong moral compass and emphasises how she will never be willing to ‘cheat’, ‘lie’, or ‘kill’ to get a position. So, despite not having a permanent contract and wanting one, she is not willing to sacrifice how she feels about herself to get a job.
In contrast, interviewee 7 provides an example of behaving in a way which is not congruent with her personal beliefs. She, like interviewee 9 and 20 mentioned the amount of time the tutee system took from them. She explains that it eroded the time she had set aside for her summer research. There were many student issues and she found herself attending appeals on behalf of her tutee throughout June to August. She eventually had to drop tutee work, as did interviewee 9, because she could not manage her workload as a result of it. She felt incredibly guilty doing so as she believed she was making a difference and she emphasised:

‘I don’t want to become that person where I only do something if I benefit from it’.

Being true to herself is very important but she believes she has had to sacrifice that in some ways to keep on track to reach her goals. In contrast, interviewee 9 believed that he was making cases for students who ultimately dropped out anyway. In this instance, his behaviour aligns with his beliefs whereas interviewee 7 has had to trade off one desire for another.

6.1.7 Focused code: Pursuit of autonomous creativity

Based on the data, intellectual stimulation is as a key motivating factor for educators. For some, the HEI satisfies this need and for others, it falls short. This appears to depend on what intellectually stimulates them. For some, this is achieved through research. Others like to read and learn new things, or some like to apply their knowledge in strategic activities. Interviewees spoke about being curious individuals who like exploring ideas and topics.

Some had left jobs as they offered no intellectual stimulation (Interviewee 15, 25 and 27). For example, interviewee 27 is a creative person and enjoys the creativity and autonomy research and teaching affords him, having worked in what he described as very mundane jobs. In former jobs, he found himself very bored and daydreaming. Interviewee 15 had some experience working in an
office. She describes offices as ‘all grey, the grey desks, and everyone wearing grey at the grey walls. I could feel my soul shivering up’. She could not imagine herself working outside higher education. In contrast, some were not being stimulated enough. Interviewee 2 says ‘if I taught less and focused more on research, I’d be happier’. Interviewee 11 reminisces about the days where academics could ponder and discover. She is motivated by holistic environments, enjoys creativity and has always had a ‘natural curiosity’. Her thirst for exploration led her to academia as she had so many questions to ask. She loves deep conversations and thinking about things but the current climate in education has left her moving from job to job with no time to ponder. Interviewee 24 also believes her job is becoming more bureaucratic and that freedom is being eroded. The erosion of the space which educators need to think about questions has the capability of hampering any performance goals of an institute.

Research satisfies many educators intrinsic needs. Interviewee 13 says research is her passion and it is fun but it suffers as a result of having significant teaching and administrative loads ‘the research gets pushed down the list’. She does not find teaching intellectually stimulating on the whole. Interviewee 9 loves the moment in research when ‘something clicks when you’re writing or you think yeah this will actually work as a model or as a figure or whatever, again that’s the biggest buzz for me’. Research gives educators creative freedom (Interviewee 3). Artistic people such as interviewee 18 thrive on creativity and chances to explore new things. She explains that she needs to be excited to stay motivated. This is similar to interviewee 23. He describes how his interests can motivate him to invest energy into a topic. When he is bored, he tends to be lazy but when he is interested, he fully engages and becomes passionate about it. Interviewee 10 loves the research aspect of his job as it gives him the opportunity to work on things he is passionate about in an autonomous manner. It gives him a sense of freedom and a chance to work with postgraduate students who share his ‘passion’.

It appears that research, passion and exploration are intertwined. Some enjoy the challenge research offers as:
‘it’s addictive and it’s fascinating and it’s a way to kind of flex yourself intellectually that teaching doesn’t offer really’ (Interviewee 9).

Although not everyone feels the same about research, some are more intrinsically motivated by working with students or on content creation. Interviewee 17 loves the engagement with the students and finds it fun. Developing new content is very interesting for her. She also enjoys having to think and find solutions. For self-proclaimed ‘discoverers’, such as interviewee 24, being able to create online content and find ways to use technology to enhance offerings is motivational. She likes to think about ways to improve learner experiences. She enjoys design and will ‘fiddle’ when ‘somebody else won’t’. She likes to ‘thinker’ so she can figure things out. She says ‘I am a thinker first. Ask later’. Interviewee 19 would prefer to just teach and not engage in any research as he finds it more enjoyable. He describes his institution as a place which would prefer their educators to ‘never to teach just to publish, publish, publish’. If this is the case, the institution could indirectly demotivate those who are intrinsically motivated through teaching-related activities.

For some, the HEI is a great place to satisfy their creative juices. Interviewee 1, 3 and 5 mention the energy and atmosphere on campus. It inspires them to think. Compared to his previous occupation, interviewee 20 describes the university as a place where he can be creative and experimental. In his former role, he was ‘putting too much effort into making other people’s stuff’. He wanted to write more, and for him, a university was an excellent option. To him

‘the university would respect and give me time and space to do that’. He says ‘I think the university gives me a chance to explore really differently. If I had to make money out of it, you make compromises always’.

He is passionate about his topic and loves reading work submitted by students as he finds it interesting. Interviewee 22 likes ‘murky grey areas’ and building connections across subject areas. He is practical yet creative and explores
theories across multiple fields. He loves collaborating in a creative setting. Interviewee 2 also described herself as a ‘thinker’. She likes to ‘stand back’ and analyse what is happening and then act. Research gives her a chance to put the pieces of puzzles together. She likes figuring out how things connect such as interview data and theory. Embracing lifelong learning is at the epicentre of academic life. Not surprisingly many spoke about their love of learning. Interviewee 15 has always liked researching and reading. She loves being creative and learning all the time even though it can be exhausting. Interviewee 14’s ‘whole life has been driven by curiosity’. He likes to learn new ways of doing things and new ways of thinking. Consequently, he has invested his whole life into continuous development.

Since curiosity and finding connections are important for educators, it is not surprising that strategic work motivates educators. Interviewee 1 describes himself as a curious person who likes exploring new angles and digging deeper. Likewise, interviewee 16 enjoys getting her ‘teeth into something’. For interviewee 1, strategic work gives him the opportunity to combine research with planning. In that sense, it enables him to excel at what he is good at. Moreover, being involved in discussions on research themes for his centre enables him to contribute to the research strategy which will impact his outputs. Interviewee 11 also enjoys strategic work such as policy development and sitting on committees. She sees this as ‘the big picture’ which builds the institute. Interviewee 21 relishes the opportunity of being involved in strategic work. He enjoys developing new programmes, thinking of new ways to offer programmes, and upscaling programmes. In essence, he likes to find ways of solving problems and generating revenue.

6.2 CATEGORY 2: ‘Compartmentalising’

‘Compartmentalising’ is an in vivo code which reflects how educators manage their time. For some, they recognised a need to ‘carve time’ for themselves but admitted that sometimes they failed to do this. The job of an educator is never complete. There will always be more research, more feedback, more fine-tuning presentations and more emails. As interviewee 5 says:
‘I am someone who likes to finish things, so I have to remind myself “it is never going to be done”. Do you know what I mean? It will never be done. It’s perpetually evolving’.

With jobs of this nature, it is important to compartmentalise tasks or remind oneself that the job is ongoing. Those who are driven will have many tasks to juggle, which need to be done well. With a need for quality and quantity comes a need to prioritise one’s work. Hence, being able to compartmentalise is a valuable skill for educators.

The ability to ‘carve time’ for oneself provides educators with a chance to replenish their resources. Those who fail to do so, such as interviewee 15 say there are no boundaries due to the autonomous nature of the job. She describes working on her bed at home late into the evenings and on weekends. Individuals like interviewee 14 always work through the weekend due to the workload associated with his module. The level of continuous assessment means he spends every weekend grading and even if he wanted to take a weekend off, he could not. He estimates that he works double his contractual hours. For some the work hours are extreme. For example, when interviewee 6 started her job she seriously considered leaving the industry. She was distraught and says:

‘at one point I was like am I ever going to get a personal life again’.

For many, such as interviewee 17 the problem relates to taking on too many things at the same time. According to the data, the reason why educators take on too many things depends on their contract, age, experience, gender and ability to say no.

Some educators avoid work-life spillover by establishing their own rules to protect their free time. For instance, interviewee 1 says he worked long days during the week to ensure his weekend was free. He says:
‘I made a policy that by Friday evening my preparation for the next week should be over and I won’t allow it to spill over into the weekend’.

He finds mindfulness helpful as it keeps him focused so that he can efficiently use his work time well and avoid work-life spillover. Interviewee 10 realised very early on that constantly venting to his husband would not bode well for his marriage, so he created his own policy of trying to avoid any work chat once he enters the home. He says:

‘when I step out of the car and close the door behind me either to go into work or to go home from work, that I leave the frustration behind’.

With experience, he has learnt to leave his frustrations at work as it is important for his marriage. A good marriage is a vital source of support for him but like other resources can be drained if demands are constantly placed upon it. For Interviewee 3 ‘it’s only work at the end of the day’. She prioritises her family. Similarly, interviewee 26 says he makes a huge effort not to work weekends. He would rather come in early and get work done rather than work weekends. He emphasises ‘I definitely don’t view my life as my job’.

Being able to compartmentalise one’s work and one’s life seems to be an important skill or goal for several educators. Interviewee 21 says he is good at compartmentalising and as a result, it protects him from ‘sleepless nights and sweaty kind of catastrophes going on’. Interviewee 22 says he also compartmentalises and therefore tries ‘not to get too emotional about things’. Interviewee 23, who has a second job, similarly believes he can compartmentalise. He says, ‘once I leave the campus and I'm involved in the other job then it's all about that job’. To some, this does not come naturally or for some external factors influence their ability to set boundaries. For example, interviewee 16 has become better at setting boundaries but this is due to family commitments and a sense of security since being made permanent. She says
‘it’s a very deliberate, conscious choice, and one that I don’t think I would’ve been able to make had I no job security, because I would’ve felt rightly or wrongly that I needed to sign up for everything’.

In essence, her ability to set boundaries is contingent on job security as opposed to an inner drive to work. In contrast, interviewee 9 takes things that happen to heart. He explains that he is very sensitive to bad news and ‘it takes me a little bit to get over it and again’. He wishes he did not hold grudges, but he does. He recognises this as one of his faults as he does not think it is rational. Similarly, interviewee 6 has problems detaching from work in the evening. When there are troubles in the classroom, she tends to dwell on it and it makes her anxious and ‘crabby’. She wishes she was able to leave it behind but cannot stop worrying. She believes she has a completely unrealistic workload which exacerbates her anxiety. She does not go to bed early since she spends her evenings thinking about students and this keeps her awake. *She describes an episode the week before:*

‘I couldn’t get to sleep and the more I couldn’t get to sleep, the more I started panicking and thinking about…loads of stuff on, and yeah. Oh my God…what’s due..’

She says she lacks any mindfulness and wishes her life away. She goes to bed late, does not sleep well and gets up early. Essentially, she is not getting enough sleep regularly which could lead to serious implications for her health. Interviewee 7’s sleep problems have become worse in the recent past. She worries about emails, especially panicked ones from her master’s students. She knows that this is not good for her and tries to ‘stick a pin in it’ by leaving Sunday as her free day per week. This is difficult though as her inbox fills up over the weekend. She explains that Sunday emails are a nasty habit creeping into academia. She says, ‘I just think it is so mentally draining to start your week on a Sunday night or a Sunday evening’.
Interviewee 4 is ‘all about switching off’ but admits ‘I’m not- not at the moment’. She is constantly thinking about work. She lies in bed ‘ruminating terribly about work’. Her workload is overwhelming, and this is exacerbated by strict deadlines. She has no manoeuvrability. She juggles multiple roles in addition to being research active. She has back to back meetings, and she admits that she even works on holidays. When asked if she thought this was taking a toll on her she explains that in the near future she needs to take a break from work as her current way of working is not sustainable ‘I want to take a break, I want to slow down’.

Educators know they need to recharge their batteries. Some find ways to ensure this happens whilst others do not. Interviewee 5 sheds some light on why this problem occurs. For interviewee 5 deciding how to spend her free time is all about ‘trade-offs’. She feels guilty when she spends time on sport as that time could be spent with her family or on her work. However, she admits that she needs to get better at looking after her physical health as when she engages in exercise she feels better. She finds it very hard to switch off since she takes her work home with her. In her role, there is always something to be done, so she also spends a considerable amount of her weekend doing ‘bits and bobs’. She has even had to work on annual leave as her input is needed on something. She further explains that there are constant important deadlines to be met. This is a similar experience to interviewee 25 and 4.

The niche nature of their work means they cannot delegate and since the job is open-ended there is no such thing as annual leave. She says it is very hard ‘to go off emails’ and she is exhausted most nights. Moreover, the emails affect her sleep since she has not switched off. This has repercussions for her as sleep promotes restoration. She says:

‘I feel like sometimes just taking, even a week for yourself where you do not respond to email, where you do not even check them, would be hugely beneficial- that psychological detachment. And I think, I don’t know if we just don’t give ourselves the permission to do that or if it is just not feasible. I am not sure’.
Hence, the HEI and the individual influence the ability to compartmentalise. For example, Interviewee 9 worries about what other people think about him a great deal. His reputation is extremely important and is always on his mind. As a result, he worries about being exposed as an imposter. He explains that the research aspect of his job erodes him a little bit:

‘if you want to be successful and at the top, you’ve got to be that kind of person who is constantly pushing on or else you get left behind so to speak’.

In other words, his desire to reach the top, coupled with what he knows the HEI requires leaves him feeling eroded. The erosion comes from the constant fight to keep up and avoid being less than others.

Early career educators, like their more experienced colleagues, are keen to publish. However, their approach to correspondence from journals may differ. For instance, interviewee 4’s ‘heart jumps’ when she receives emails from journals about her submitted work. When she sees the word ‘rejection’ she tends to put it away and come back to it when she can cope with it. She creates a distance between herself and the rejection so that she can build herself up to read the letter. Interviewee 5 also puts hers away:

‘I don’t touch it for a while. A few days minimum because I think I need to have some objective distance to really understand why they have rejected it, what is possibly wrong with the paper, and how to then be forward-looking and to think about what you do next with the paper’.

By taking her time she also builds herself up to read it objectively and learn from it. In contrast, interviewee 12 opens them immediately as she is curious and impatient, even though she knows it will upset her and impact her day. Both interviewee 4 and 5 hold a more senior position than interviewee 12. Perhaps with experience educators learn to protect their resources and use rejection as a
form of learning to build future resources. Whereas, less experienced staff may not realise the benefit of time and distance.

Despite having a significant workload, it seemed that some educators had taken on extra activities due to their lack of experience or desire to impress. Interviewee 5 highlights the importance of being able to say no to things. She explains that to reach the output requirements, educators need to be:

‘clever and smart about the way you schedule meetings or allocate management time versus research time’.

To her, having a lack of time for research is often an individual’s inability to prioritise or to be assertive. She believes it requires courage to say no to things so that you can find time for things for yourself. With experience, she is more strategic now and better at identifying slots for her research time. When reflecting on her approach to work, interviewee 7 says ‘I was slowed down for a few years because as I said I became a yes person. I took on far more than I needed to’. She elaborates:

‘early career scholars like myself, are just not that good at prioritising what we need to do. Or saying no’.

Upon reflection, she believes that those at the associate level (like interviewee 5) are potentially ‘more strategic in how they allocate their time’ and ‘are smarter than the rest of us and are going to progress higher and quicker than we will’. She proposes they recognise that ‘I have to do the other thing to get where I want to be’. Again, it seems that a lack of experience or confidence to say no may push educators to work long hours. When this is combined with a fixed-term contract the need to work long hours may be very powerful.

Whilst being strategic about one’s time and trying to follow lists to keep on track is important, it is almost impossible to plan for all occurrences in education. Unplanned student issues can arise such as illness and family problems. These issues require flexibility and can soak up a considerable amount of time, which is
already very tight. Time spent dealing with student issues results in less time for research. However, not all issues are as severe, yet for some educators, they appear to have an internal obligation to invest time in students, whilst others are more successful at creating boundaries. Gender seems to influence the workload regarding student issues.

Interviewee 9 and 11 both spoke about the importance of setting boundaries with students and how they had observed some colleagues going above and beyond what they ought to be doing. Interviewee 9 says ‘it’s a noble and it’s an honourable thing, the pastoral thing’ but he notes that it tends to be females doing it. Interviewee 11 has witnessed this also. She says if you want to publish, which she emphasises you have to do, then you need to ‘carve time out of your life to write those papers’. She explains that as a woman she often sees her female colleagues with students in their office talking about a range of personal issues. Interviewee 9 has a similar story. He talks about some staff, typically females, who deeply engage themselves in student welfare issues and advocate for them. He believes they are too emotionally attached. Interviewee 11 says ‘that doesn’t happen in my office’ and this is to protect her resources from being drained. She explains:

‘I made a point of making sure that I had a line between my role with the students so that they didn’t suck up all my time, all my emotional time’.

She provides an analogy:

‘I didn’t feel bad for myself because the reality of the situation is you have to be pragmatic about these things. As I advise people, you’re always taught, if someone is drowning, for example- you are taught that you do not go in after them. You assess the situation, you look for aids to help them, you hand them the aids and you encourage them to grab a hold of the aids. That’s my philosophy with pastoral care with students or with anybody because if you get sucked in, they’ll take you down’.
She argues that there are faculty on campus better trained to deal with the pastoral side of things and in essence, her time is not well spent engaging in these activities. She further explains that is trickier for younger female faculty as society views women a certain way and often these women are closer in age to students than other faculty. Interviewee 7 is the type of educator interviewee 11 is referring to. Interviewee 7 believes her office is a space where students can come in and ‘have a little weep’. She says, ‘I’ll give them a tissue, I’ll give them advice’. However, she admits ‘sometimes I felt out of my depth and I said you need to go and avail of the services, there are counselling services here’. It was important to her that students did not feel pushed away, which is why she never tells students it is not her office hours. To her, giving them a space to talk and sending them in the right direction means she can make a difference.

However, interviewee 11 notes ‘I’ve never heard my male colleagues complain about students in their office all the time talking to them about their boyfriend problems or their drug addictions’. When educators spend time discussing student problems they do so voluntarily. When they invest this time, they lose research time which can impact their career.

In this study, females appear to be more involved in student-related activities than males. For example, interviewee 3 took on extra work to help another educator’s students, interviewee 7 gave up her morning when a student was in crisis, interviewee 4 loves helping students in crises, interviewees 25 and 16 enjoy working with disadvantaged students, interviewee 15 was ‘too soft’ with students, interviewee 6 worries about her students and interviewee 5 answers emails at the weekend as she does not want to let her students down. Her rationale for this is linked to having part-time students. Like interviewee 2, the weekends are when queries arise. Since she wants to help her students, she feels obliged to check her emails. Hence, she spends her weekends on emails and thinking about work. She knows this is not ideal but feels guilty if she does not reply. Therefore, her actions reflect her desire to avoid guilty feelings.
In contrast to the interviewees above, interviewees 1, 14, 9, 20, 23 and 26, all men, did not have to invest a considerable amount of time in any student issues. For example, interviewee 9 believes students need clarity not friendship, ‘they don’t want someone who won’t turn up for lecturing but then will be your best friend and go to the pub with you’. Naturally, there are exceptions. Interviewee 19 (a male) has given students his number before and has taken late night and weekend calls in relation to their dissertations as he is student-focused. Interviewee 21, a male and ‘tribal elder’, likes to spend time with students as he knows his colleagues do not have the time. Whilst females such as interviewee 11 and 13 appear to have little interaction with students outside the classroom.

The rationale for females investing time in students in the examples above are personal factors, however, there are also institutional influences which should be considered simultaneously. Interviewee 15 believes there’s a gender imbalance in senior positions. She says:

‘the majority of the time they’re [men] running the research centres. They are the PIs (principal investigators)’.

She has observed men doing the research and women, who tend to be junior staff members, ‘get landed with’ pastoral care and volunteering. To her it typically begins with ‘Oh, he’s doing an important project. Would you mind doing this?’ She believes that when you say no they say ‘oh, they’re a bitch’. If this is the case, then the situation is damaging to women’s careers as ‘engagement with students, services, different things like that, pastoral care, are not weighed the same as research, because research equals money’. She has witnessed ‘very well researched women’ being ‘volunteered’ for committees and programmes which are ‘purely administrative crap’. Essentially this means that labour, especially valuable labour, is not divided equally. Worryingly, Interviewee 7 confirms that being a tutor does not appear anywhere on the promotion forms or workload model. Hence, those with tutor roles and significant administration loads face disadvantages when it comes to progression. Interviewee 21, the ‘tribal elder’, provides an interesting thought:
‘the smart men realise they need to up the game on their feminine side. The smart women need to realise they have to up their game on their male side, and by the time they get to the top, they’ve actually got to become rounded, skilled people right across’.

It should also be noted that whilst compartmentalising is a way to protect your personal life, some educators found that engaging in some work at the weekend or evening helped them to prepare in advance for the day or week ahead. Interviewee 24 talks about ‘front loading’. She explains that she checks her emails to avoid a disaster on Monday mornings:

‘if I wanted to make my week easier, the following week, I could frontload it and do that work for the weekend’

She explains that her previous boss worked Sundays and would set meetings up on Monday mornings at 09:00 that staff could only know about by checking their emails. She believes that the need to check emails depends on your bosses’ style, ‘the previous one we knew worked on a Sunday, so you were a fool not to check your email’. Interviewee 7 follows a similar strategy. She also checks her emails to prevent major issues. She says:

‘I know colleagues who probably just don’t answer their email for three days or something. I can’t do it. And it is probably a really good strategy in terms of getting stuff done. I just feel like it means more work and the problem gets worse. So, in the end, it will be more work for me’.

Interviewees 25, 4 and 9 were of a similar opinion. Interviewee 27 explains that he also replies to emails for proactive reasons. He is a planner and likes to ensure everything is organised in advance ‘I want to know what’s going on, so I can set my week off. I want to know what’s ahead’.
The act of front-loading stems from being overloaded and trying to gain control. Its purpose is to reduce the likelihood of experiencing stress, however, front-loading essentially means working longer hours. Interviewee 24 describes checking emails at the weekend as going down ‘the rabbit hole’. She says there is a fine line between protecting your week ahead and spoiling your weekend. Moreover, front-loading occurs during annual leave. Interviewee 27 says:

‘it’s so easy to check your emails at the weekends and in the evenings and even on holidays’.

Interviewee 4, 5, 12 and 24 also mentioned doing bits of work on their break. Taken together, some believe that they have to constantly check their emails to avoid serious issues. If they took a weekend break, they would have a worse week than if they checked their emails. Moreover, this behaviour is essentially being promoted by senior staff, such as the experiences of interviewee 12 and 24.

Essentially, an educator’s weekend can be shortened due to the volume of emails constantly arriving in their inbox and the growing trend of weekend emailing in academia. Naturally, educators can choose not to check their emails, but many emphasise that checking them is simply a proactive behaviour to avoid negative repercussions the following week. With a considerable workload, organised educators try to manage their week by planning ahead and attending to potential crises early. Although this means educators never completely detach from their work and if they do they will face negative outcomes. Building on Figure 31, the sketch in Figure 32 shows how educators who compartmentalise do so to protect their free time. Whereas some educators work weekends to avoid future problems, even though the work of an educator is open-ended and essentially the potential time and energy to be invested is limitless.
Figure 32: Compartmentalising

- Working the weekend to avoid problems
- Protecting my future self
- Sacrificing my current self
- Needing to remember the work is never finished.
- Cycle of never ending work
- ‘Trade offs’
- Family & friends
- Not working the weekend to avoid problems
- ‘Carving time’
- Protecting my current self
- Not worrying
- Sleeping
- Avoiding
- Guilt
- Frettng
- Ruminating
- Protecting

‘Compartmentalising’

There’s always more you can do.
In addition to ‘front loading’, some educators were impatient and wanted to complete tasks swiftly and perfectly. Hence, they did not exhibit compartmentalising behaviour. According to interviewee 26, a successful educator, who engages in research, needs to be somewhat ‘obsessive’ to have such a narrow focus. Interviewee 16 claims to be a perfectionist and says the atmosphere in a research university would be damaging for somebody like her. She believes many of the people in academia are Type A and therefore there is a pressure to push yourself. This pressure is damaging as she sees the industry as volatile and lacking any stability, so she believes there would be a constant need to prove yourself, which for perfectionist Type A individuals would require extreme work investment to avoid feelings of low professional efficacy. Since she likes to fix problems, this could result in a never-ending pursuit of high-quality task completion.

For educators like interviewee 9, this could be extremely damaging. Despite an outwardly organised appearance, he says he is ‘not that even keel. I’m quite tightly wound-up’. He has perfectionist tendencies and is anxious before he teaches. He admits to being very ‘sensitive’, ‘very tightly controlled’ and possibly being Type A. The situation could become even more problematic for individuals like interviewee 21. His perfectionistic tendencies coupled with his sense of pride in the work he does and the outputs he creates are tied to his brand image. A loss of that brand image would be an ‘embarrassment’ to him.

Being ‘very conscientious’ results in very detailed feedback which takes a lot of time for interviewee 27. He works considerably more hours than is expected but he does this as ‘things will eat away at me if they [the students] weren’t doing well’. He blames this feeling on his perfectionism. He knows he needs to ‘cut back’ but he is very uncomfortable when his standards are not met. In essence, his internal desire for perfection drives excessive work behaviour. Without this behaviour, he would not achieve the outputs he needs to validate his sense of worth. Thus, when educators are driven by perfectionism and impatience, they may have to invest enormous amounts of time into their work to preserve their professional efficacy as evident in interviewee 5 and 7.
For example, interviewee 7 works long hours as she likes to do everything well. Interviewee 5 does so because she has high expectations for herself and says she is ‘on the verge of being a perfectionist’. However, recently interviewee 7 has begun to realise that being more strategic and accepting that not everything can be perfect will help her to achieve her promotional goals. Interviewee 5 believes her problem is a lack of patience. She wants to progress fast and she is doing her best to ensure that happens, but this means taking on enormous amounts of work. Interviewee 7 seems less impatient but is keen to please everyone, hence she also has a significant workload.

Interviewee 24 also sometimes wonders if she is too organised and if she should let things ‘flow a bit’. She considers herself to be excessively efficient, which was instilled in her as a child and then reinforced in her previous career. She allocates her time very efficiently and relies heavily on her diary. She says, ‘it’s the OCD in me to über-organise what I should be doing in any given hour’. This behaviour sometimes leaves her infuriated though, as interruptions outside her control have a knock-on effect on her plan for the day. In a sense, she has some similar attributes to interviewee 9 who likes to be in control. Interviewee 23 uses lists since they give him a ‘sense of a control’. With lists, he can see what needs to be done but sometimes he panics due to the volume of work in front of him. He admits to having obsessive-compulsive tendencies which drive him to answer emails as soon as he receives them. He does not like having any backlogs, however, as noted by many educators’ email volume is a huge problem for them. If email volume is large and constant, an individual with obsessive-compulsive and impatient tendencies would feel pressured to work long hours to avoid a backlog which makes them uncomfortable. Like interviewee 16, he is somebody who likes to fix things and therefore gets involved in many aspects of university life. This adds to his workload and he says, ‘I have a huge number of things- I’m a compulsive list-maker and lists help me to be balanced’ but ‘when the list gets big, I tend to get a little catatonic and can’t do anything’. Essentially his behaviour creates more work for himself and at times can lead to huge inefficiencies through paralysis.
6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter different goals in life and ways of managing time influences how an educator works and why they work that way. HEIs recruit educators who they believe will help them to achieve their goals. When educators are inducted into their institute, they scan their environment to identify areas to invest their time and energy into. They do this to ensure their own goals are met. The HEI then manages performance through workload models ensuring workload is aligned with output goals. HEIs can use contracts in combination with performance appraisals to retain the right type of human capital, the educators. Educators, who are driven and ambitious, learn what activities are rewarded in their institute and what is not. Equipped with this knowledge they sacrifice other areas of their job or personal lives to enhance their likelihood of success. This typically manifests in voluntary, evening and weekend work. They see this as a necessary trade-off to reach their goals.

Educators can invest time preparing material for classes as a means to boost their professional efficacy. Their self-esteem relies on good performance, so they invest time and energy into activities which make them feel better about themselves. Some educators will also invest time and energy into activities they think are important. If they believe something is valuable, they will act on it. This demonstrates that rewards from an institution influences the amount of time and energy they invest in their work. It also demonstrates that not all actions are driven by an institution’s goals.

An element of autonomy and agency guides educators to complete or avoid certain tasks regardless of institutional goals. For instance, some educators made a conscious decision to limit the spillover of work into their personal lives. Despite having similar workloads, they develop strategies and set clear boundaries to ensure they could spend their weekends with family and friends. In contrast, others engaged in weekend work to protect themselves from future problems at work. Essentially, one avoided working weekends and the other worked weekends to protect their wellbeing.
In summary, an interaction between the micro-level, meso-level and macro-level categories occurs. More precisely, *differing goals and aims in life* are influenced by macro and meso-level categories constructed in chapter 5 such as *marketisation of education* and *juggling multiple tasks*. This interaction influences the ability to compartmentalise. Thus, working behaviour in HEIs is derived from three levels and not one.
CHAPTER 7. SUPPORT FOR THE GROUNDED THEORY

Every researcher conducts grounded theory in the way they understand it. In constructivist grounded theory, theories reflect what authors bring to and do with the research. The process of creating a constructivist grounded theory, takes researchers backwards and forwards and inwards and outwards due to iterative, inductive, deductive and abductive process. As such, reflection and interpretation are core aspects of theoretical construction (Charmaz, 2014). Dunne (2011) also notes that the researcher’s decision on when to engage with extant literature and integrate theory depends on how the project evolved. Importantly, he emphasises that projects differ and the absence of extant literature in the chapters discussing categories does not signify an absence of engagement with extant theories.

Until now, the researcher has remained open and close to the data, in line with recommendations by Charmaz (2014). This chapter uses literature and established theories to support the construction of the categories discussed in chapters six and seven. This research asked two questions:

1. How does the HEI influence workaholic behaviour in educators?
2. How do personal factors influence workaholic behaviour in educators?

By analysing the data, six categories were constructed, and within that, twelve focused codes were situated. Five major categories appear to explain the workaholic behaviour of educators. They are, juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system, which combines juggling multiple tasks and the marketisation of education, differing goals and aims in life, compartmentalising, interruptions and looking around at the landscape to get ahead. Taken together, these core categories represent the psycho socio-economic factors which influence an educator’s workaholic behaviour. They explain how motivational drivers of educators combined with aspects of the job, which are driven by socio-economic factors, influence how much time and energy educators invest in their work and what they invest in. In combination, they
represent a holistic picture of workaholic behaviour in HE, which encompasses three levels of influence, namely the system (macro-level variables), the institution (meso-level variables) and the individual (micro-level variables), which as shown in Figure 33 interact with one another.

Figure 33 A holistic picture of workaholic behaviour in HE

Section 7.1 opens with a presentation of theoretical models supporting the findings in this study, namely self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985a), conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 2011; 2001, 1989), rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism, microfoundations institutionalism (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Boxenbaum, 2019; Lewis, Cardy, & Huang, 2019; Markey-Towler, 2019; Staelens & Louche, 2017; Cai & Mehari, 2015; Creed, Hudson, Okhuysen, & Smith-Crowe, 2014; Schmidt, 2014; Scott, 2014; Amenta, 2012; Scott, 2004; Peters, 2000), the job demands-resources (JD-R) model (Demerouti et al., 2001) and job crafting theory (Zhang & Parker, 2019). The model depicted in Figure 34 encompasses economic factors, institutional factors and individual factors which drive workaholic behaviour. Section 7.2 outlines the contributions of the study from a theoretical and empirical standpoint. Section 7.3 presents and discusses a set of 13 recommendations under four main categories. Thus, practical contributions of the work are included.
Section 7.4 concludes the thesis and section 7.5 presents seven areas of future research based on the findings.

7.1 Combining research question one and two: Creating a model of educator workaholism

In this section, the theory underpinning the construction of Figure 34, a theoretical explanation of workaholic behaviour of educators in HEIs, will be detailed. Figure 34 is purposely abstract to improve generalisability as noted by Corbin and Strauss (1990). Following a brief overview of the overarching theories, data from the study will be combined with theory in sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2, to provide theoretical and empirical support for the model. Furthermore, a more unpacked model, Figure 35, will trace the development of workaholic behaviour in the study in section 7.1.3.

Motivation influences human behaviour (Murayama, 2018). Behaviour is defined as ‘an organism’s activities in response to external or internal stimuli’ (American Psychological Association, n.d.-b). Building on the definitions of the American Psychological Association and definitions presented in chapter two (Aziz &
Zickar, 2006; Porter, 1996), workaholic behaviour in this study is defined as **motivation to work driven by stimuli, which manifests as an inability to disengage**. Research in the field has typically been person-centred (Griffiths et al., 2018). In contrast, this study conceptualises workaholic behaviour as a **multifactor phenomenon encompassing micro, meso and macro-level variables** depicted in Figure 34. Therefore, it extends our knowledge not only on intrapersonal factors but also interpersonal and institutional variables within a specific setting, HE.

SDT, a macro theory of motivation, can be used as a theoretical lens to explore various types of motivation, namely intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Deci & Ryan, 1985a). SDT encompasses three psychological needs; autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000a). Within Deci and Ryan's (1985a) taxonomy of human motivation and the self-determination continuum (Gagné & Deci, 2005), intrinsic motivation is defined as ‘the inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenges, to extend and exercise one’s capacities, to explore, and to learn’ (Ryan & Deci, 2000b, p. 70). Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, refers to ‘doing something because it leads to a separable outcome’ such as pay and conditions (Ryan & Deci, 2000a, p. 55). Within extrinsic motivation, four motivation subtypes exist, namely integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation (Gagné & Deci, 2005). Under the lens of COR theory, individuals behave in a certain way to avoid punishments, such as feelings of guilt, and they are motivated to protect, obtain and retain valued things they value which are known as resources (Hobfoll, 2011; 2001, 1989; Hobfoll & Lilly, 1993). Resources are ‘those entities that either are centrally valued in their own right (e.g. self-esteem, close attachments, health, and inner peace) or act as a means to obtain centrally valued ends (e.g., money, social support, and credit)’ (Hobfoll, 2002, p.307). In COR theory, there are four categories of resources; objects, conditions, energies and personal characteristics (Hobfoll & Lilly, 1993). Typically, individuals invest time and energy into activities they find intrinsically or extrinsically motivating, which will help them to gain or protect objects, conditions, personal characteristics and financial security (Hobfoll, 2011).
Therefore, according to SDT and COR theory, educators can be extrinsically and intrinsically motivated to different extents. This underlines the importance of the category *differing goals and aims in life* as they represent the external or internal stimuli described by the American Psychological Association (n.d.-b) and therefore provide a partial explanation for workaholic behaviour as depicted by micro and meso sections of Figure 3. Whilst COR theory and SDT provide a theoretical explanation for micro-level (individual) factors or internal stimuli of working to protect and gain, this behaviour also depends on institutional resources and demands (external stimuli). Thus, an interaction between micro and meso-level variables occurs. Under the lens of rational choice institutionalism and sociological institutionalism, behaviour is guided by an institution’s norms, rewards and punishments, which provide opportunities for success and failure (Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012). Within the rational choice viewpoint, an individual, through their desires, will seek to maximise their opportunities (Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012). Extending this, Voronov and Weber (2020) believe that the social self must be involved in behaviour so that the person has a stake. As noted in chapter three, Markey-Towler (2019) believes behaviour can only be guided if overlaps with motivation exist between the person and the institution. In particular, he underlines the importance of emotions. Furthermore, Boxenbaum (2019) argues that behaviour can be stimulated through attachments which prescribe what emotions should be expressed and proscribe what emotions should not. Accordingly, the rules, rewards and punishments within an institute, such as an HEI, can influence behaviour (Scott, 2003), but the individual’s mental network (Markey-Towler, 2019), emotions (Boxenbaum, 2019; Creed et al., 2014) and desires (Voronov & Weber, 2020) also play a critical role. As such, to behave in a certain way, an educator should believe in the incentive and respond to it (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Schmidt, 2014; Peters, 2000). Thus, rational choice, sociological and microfoundations institutionalism coupled with SDT and COR theory provide a micro, meso and macro explanation for the behaviour of educators in a HE context.

Building on this, the job demands-resources (JD–R) model provides a framework for understanding the role and outcomes of demands and resources within a job (Bakker & Demerouti, 2016; 2014; 2007; Demerouti et al., 2001). That is, certain
demands can hinder goal obtainment and resources can bolster success. In the JD-R model, two separate psychological process pathways explain motivation and strain (Bakker & Demerouti, 2016; 2014; 2007; Kirk-Brown & Van Dijk, 2016; Fernet, Austin, & Vallerand, 2012; Dollard & Bakker, 2010). The first pathway is related to job strain through job demands, which are defined as ‘those physical, psychological, social, or organisational aspects of the job that require sustained physical and/or psychological effort and are therefore associated with certain physiological and/or psychological costs’ (Demerouti et al., 2001, p. 501). The second pathway accounts for motivational outcomes such as work engagement through job resources which are ‘those physical, psychological, social, or organisational aspects of the job that are: (a) functional in achieving work goals; (b) reduce job demands and the associated physiological and psychological costs; or (c) stimulate personal growth, learning, and development’ (Demerouti et al., 2001, p.501). As such, the resources and demands in the job have the capacity to bolster or hinder resource obtainment and protection.

Building on SDT, COR, JD-R, rational choice, sociological and microfoundations institutionalism, the educator can review the resources and demands of the job, with their motivational desires and institute norms in mind, to craft their job in a way which increases the likelihood of positive personal outcomes. That is, they scan and appraise the environment through their mental network and make decisions with desired outcomes in mind. To be precise, from a rational choice viewpoint, if individuals are seekers of maximum benefits, they will appraise the situation and act based on the options available to them (Creed et al., 2014; Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012). From a microfoundations perspective, this is somewhat more complex as individual behaviour cannot be explained by universal rules. For instance, they process information differently, have different histories, have different motivations and feel emotions differently (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Markey-Towler, 2019; Boxenbaum, 2019; Cardinale, 2018; Creed et al., 2014). As such, a more holistic multi-level, transdisciplinary model is needed to truly capture how micro, meso and macro factors interact to stimulate workaholic behaviour.
In addition, the HE context, behaviour is also influenced by macro factors such as government and global education trends. Since the sector is a public concern in Ireland, access to and provision of resources is constrained unless internationalisation strategies are pursued. More precisely, the economic repercussions of being an LME influences the level of funding injected into HEIs which then influences demands and resources. Consequently, job resources may be in limited supply to meet demands, which has implications for goal achievement and behaviour. Moreover, from a regulative pillar perspective, government policy can influence demands within HEIs, as government programmes may place additional requirements on HEIs. Furthermore, as a result of the Emerging Global Model (EGM), as discussed in chapter three, HEIs face increasing competition (Mohrman, Ma, & Baker, 2008). Due to this, their structures change, as do their staff and students (Hemsley-Brown & Oplatka, 2010). From a sociological institutionalist viewpoint, this has the capacity to alter norms and expectations within. And from a rational choice and microfoundational institutionalist viewpoint, it may alter individual emotions, desires and behaviour. Thus, neoliberalism and competition place pressure on job demands and job resources as depicted at the macro level of Figure 34.

Together, this shows how HEIs are open systems and therefore resources and demands in the job are influenced by external factors in addition to internal forces. It also shows how micro, meso and macro factors interact to influence behaviour at work. When the micro, meso and macro-level variables combine to create an overwork climate, which encompasses organisational reinforcers of overwork such as competitiveness, working long hours and sacrificing to develop one's career (Mazzetti et al., 2014), the next stage of the model is realised—workaholism. Thence, building on the workaholic behaviour definitions at the beginning of this section, workaholic behaviour is hereafter defined as an inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli. The various stimuli identified in this study will be presented in the next section. Following that, participant workaholic behaviour as identified will be discussed.
7.1.1 Job design, expectations and norms

In this study, motivation relates to **differing goals and aims in life**. Motivation, ‘to be moved to do something’, affects the skills that individuals develop, the jobs they pursue, and how they allocate their resources (Kanfer, Frese, & Johnson, 2017; Ryan & Deci, 2000a, p. 54). Motivation at work can manifest as vigour, dedication, and absorption, which is known as work engagement (Schaufeli, Salanova, González-Romá, & Bakker, 2002). It relates to enthusiasm and satisfaction (Harter, Schmidt, & Hayes, 2002). For an employee to engage in their work, they must be available, the work must have meaning and their investment in work must be perceived as safe (Kahn, 1990). As such, it is a physical, cognitive and emotional concept (ibid.). For educators to be available, they, like other employees, need physical, emotional or psychological resources to engage at that moment (ibid.). Hence, the institution plays a role in **differing goals and aims in life** in relation to resources and demands.

Job resources include salary, opportunities for development, job security, support from colleagues and managers, receiving feedback, skill variety, task significance and autonomy (Bakker, Demerouti, & Verbeke, 2004). Job demands such as physical demands, time pressure, work overload and personal conflict can lead to strain when they are associated with high effort and costs (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004b). Taken together, job resources can motivate educators to invest time and effort, whereas job demands can damage their well-being (Bakker & Demerouti, 2016; 2014; 2007; Kirk-Brown & Van Dijk, 2016; Fernet et. al, 2012; Dollard & Bakker, 2010; Demerouti et. al, 2001).

From the HEI perspective, job resources leading to work engagement can increase performance (Bakker & Demerouti, 2016; 2014; 2007; Demerouti et al., 2001). Employees with the resources to achieve work goals are intrinsically motivated, which can influence how vigorous, dedicated, and absorbed they feel in their work (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004b). In contrast, a resource/demand imbalance can promote workaholism (e.g. Andreassen, Nielsen, Pallesen, & Gjerstad, 2019; Converso et al., 2019; Molino et al., 2019).
Job demands are positively related to workaholism (Langseth-Eide, 2019; Molino et al., 2016). However, not all job demands are the same. Crawford, LePine and Rich (2010) propose that job demands may be appraised as a challenge or a hindrance. Hindrance demands are job demands that ‘tend to be appraised as stressful demands that have the potential to thwart personal growth, learning, and goal attainment’, whereas, challenge demands have a relationship with work engagement (Crawford et al., 2010, p. 836; LePine, Podsakoff, & LePine, 2005). Based on the findings in this study, it is important to differentiate between workload and role overload as the former is a challenge demand and the latter is a hindrance demand (LePine, Zhang, Crawford & Rich, 2016; Demerouti & Bakker, 2011; Crawford et al., 2010; LePine et al., 2005). Employees like challenges, challenge stressors predict job performance, whereas, hindrance stressors have the opposite effect (Liu, Liu, Mills, & Fan, 2013; Crawford et al., 2010).

**Juggling multiple tasks** has the capacity to be motivational for those who enjoy variety and creativity. However, in this study, it reflected role overload as educators found it difficult to move from role to role. It represents disequilibrium, a combination of initial codes such as a ‘frenetic approach to work like firefighting’, ‘running around putting out fires’, ‘jumping from tasks to tasks’, ‘trying not to forget’, ‘trying to keep on top of things’, ‘losing control’ and ‘the combination of all the moving parts’. It left educators doubting their efficacy, feeling tired and it forced them to work evenings and weekends. The problem was amplified by administrative hassles, red tape (bureaucratic constraints), inadequate resources to accomplish tasks and conflict with peers, all of which represent hindrance demands (LePine et al., 2016; Demerouti & Bakker, 2011; Crawford et al., 2010; LePine et al., 2005). In fact, a 2019 study found that overload and work-life imbalance were two stressors that are particularly prevalent for academic staff, compared to non-academic staff in HEIs (Johnson, Willis, & Evans, 2019).

Hindrance demands, such as *juggling multiple tasks*, are perceived as barriers blocking goal attainment and therefore tend to trigger negative emotions amongst employees such as fear and anger, in addition to passive and emotional coping styles such as withdrawal and lack of motivation (Crawford et al., 2010). When educators face hindrances they can become disengaged or exhausted, which
can impact research productivity and rankings. Moreover, recent research suggests that work demands encourage workaholic behaviour (Andreassen, Nielsen, Pallesen, & Gjerstad, 2019). Converse and colleagues (2019) found that work overload predicted working excessively and working compulsively, both components of workaholism in the DUWAS. Furthermore, overload was negatively related to job satisfaction. Therefore, an interaction between motivation (differing goals and aims in life) and overload (juggling multiple tasks) may promote workaholic behaviour based on previous empirical findings.

In another 2019 study, Molino and colleagues found that workload was positively associated with workaholism and holding a permanent contract was negatively related to workaholism. Hence, juggling multiple tasks and the marketisation of education when considered as juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system explains how administrative loads, teaching loads, needing to publish and lacking job security can also drive workaholic behaviour. Living contract to contract, occurring as a result of financial constraints within the HE system, requires educators to take on voluntary work to secure their jobs. Moreover, the lack of security means educators, such as interviewee 11, are required to ‘cobble together’ to make ends meet. Thus, educators living contract to contract work to protect resources. They are forced to work long hours to ensure financial security or they are pushed to work long hours to improve their chances of reaching their goals. In that sense, it is likely that environmental factors within the HEI context promote workaholic behaviour.

The presence of flexibility was spoken about by many educators in this study. It enabled educators to work evenings and weekends to complete their tasks. It facilitated ‘checking emails early in the morning’, ‘checking emails early in the evening’, ‘checking emails early at the weekend’ and ‘working late’ in juggling multiple tasks. It was also recorded as ‘institutional factors blurring work and home life’ under interruptions and the act of working these hours reflected non-compartmentalising. Hence, flexibility enables educators to buffer against interruptions by taking work home. Negatively, it erodes the boundaries between home and work life. Molino and colleagues (2019) found that off-work hours technology-assisted job demands (off-TAJD), which are perceived requests to use technology to complete work during non-work hours, were positively
associated with workaholism. Thus, the flexibility which many educators reported, coupled with *interruptions* in a marketised system, could promote workaholic behaviour.

If HEIs promote long working hours and a competitive atmosphere due to institutional and external variables, as this study and previous research indicate, then they may foster a workaholic climate (Johnstone & Johnstone, 2005). Through operant conditioning, a process by which certain behaviours are reinforced (Skinner, 1963), workaholism can be promoted as educators scan the landscape and learn how to achieve positive outcomes (Andreassen, 2014). This proposition is also supported by sociological norms and rules (Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012), microfoundational thoughts on mental networks, emotions and desires (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Boxenbaum, 2019; Markey-Towler, 2019; Creed et al., 2014) and rational choice beliefs on incentives and effort (Schmidt, 2014). That is, through the lens of sociological, rational choice and microfoundational institutionalism, rules and norms guide action through an observation process. And to rational choice theorists, the behaviour will aim to maximise individual goal achievement (Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012). Thus, a goal to obtain a permanent contract or promotion in a highly competitive environment may require certain behaviours which workaholism scholars would consider workaholic. Importantly, this builds a conceptual model of workaholism which incorporates meso, macro and micro-level influencers.

Consequently, over time the HEI climate can become more workaholic as more and more workaholics are employed within (Scott et al., 1997). These organisational climates, which promote workaholic behaviour are known as overwork climates (Schaufeli, 2016). This can then manifest itself as a form of normative isomorphism through job specifications and selection, since those responsible for job design and selection of new staff work within such environments. Further examples of normative isomorphism can occur through on the job socialisation, which can extend to networks, workshops and education programmes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Bitektine and Haack (2015) describe how new members in institutions are influenced by those around them in an environment. Since individuals typically rely on rules set by the institution and
others, they perform calculations to identify suitable behaviour (Powell, & Rerup, 2017). Through the pre-existing norms, they become socialised into a pattern of behaviour (Powell, & Rerup, 2017; Bitektine & Haack, 2015). Moreover, they ‘develop structures of cognition and action’ which reflect the position they occupy (Cardinale, 2018, p.21). These ‘habitus’ are ways of behaving depending on the position and time (ibid.). Essentially, workaholic behaviour can become an expectation in an overwork climate. Hence, educators observe the norms and behave accordingly (Schmidt, 2014). Importantly, their behaviour will also depend on individual variables such as perception and information processing (Markey-Towler, 2019). For example, Cardinale (2018) argues that position and habitus are not the sole drivers of action because individuals must narrow down and choose from an array of alternatives. Additionally, individuals may use their judgement to anticipate consequences and subsequently decide against certain expressions (Bitektine & Haack, 2015). That is, they may perceive a behaviour as dangerous and refrain. The perception, whilst personally processed, is influenced by meso-level norms and observations of the environment.

Overall, due to job demands, educators faced problems reaching their goals. ‘Human beings can be proactive and engaged or, alternatively, passive and alienated, largely as a function of the social conditions in which they develop and function’ (Ryan & Deci, 2000b, p. 68). Appraisal of the conditions, the attributions educators make, can be viewed in terms of job crafting. Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) describe job crafting as changing physical or cognitive task boundaries such as the numbers of tasks one must do or how one sees the job. Underpinned by JD-R theory, Tims, Bakker and Derks (2013) claim that job crafters change the levels of their job resources, job demands or both. Educators can invest time and energy into certain activities based on how they perceive them. More specifically, individuals can approach or avoid job demands and job resources both cognitively and behaviourally (Zhang & Parker, 2019). To illustrate, educators can avoid or address demands they view as hindering, they can reframe resources to gain positive resources or they can reframe demands to view them as challenging rather than hindering (ibid.). This appraisal requires an understanding of the differing goals and aims in life of educators. This form of job crafting supports Scott’s (2004) argument that ‘actors subject to institutional
influences are capable of responding in a variety of ways’ (p.13). Simply put, there is an interaction between actors regarding the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars, they are not simply passive. Hence, workaholic behaviour in HE is a complex multifactor phenomenon, which requires exploration of social structure, rules, norms, constraints, obligations, conceptions and motivations. As such, a model combining rational choice, sociological and microfoundations institutionalism, SDT, COR theory and JD-R theory provides a psychosociological explanation for workaholic behaviour.

7.1.2 Differing goals and aims in life

Pursuit of promotions can be considered an ‘energy resource’, ‘conditions resource’ or external form of motivation called external regulation when educators are living contract to contract. It represents a behaviour to meet external demand or reward contingency and avoid punishment, which is interpersonally controlled (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000b). Simply put, individuals are said to be externally regulated when they are motivated solely by a reward or to avoid punishment. In this study, several educators spoke about investing more time and energy as they wanted to secure a permanent contract or needed the money. They believed they could not say no and that saying no would result in a loss. In the initial coding process, codes such as ‘being visible’, ‘making a good impression’ and ‘hanging on for dear life’ were identified. These codes represented ‘deciding what to do’. Educators decided what to do after they had identified how to achieve goals. The process of ‘identifying how to achieve goals’ involved ‘scanning the environment’ and ‘finding symbols’. Through this process, there was an ‘impact of sacrifice’ due to ‘sacrificing time with friends and family’, ‘working evenings’ and ‘working weekends’. Hence, living contract to contract, an institutional factor, can impact educators psychologically and socially. This institutional factor (juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system) promotes working long hours regardless of the educator's motivations. However, the motivation to secure permanent employment exacerbates the need to work long hours.

Pursuit of authenticity, pursuit of respect and pursuit of information are manifestations of introjected regulation, which relates to behaviour associated
with feelings of guilt avoidance and attaining ego enhancements. Hence, it is intrapersonally controlled and related to self-esteem, as its goal is to demonstrate ability and avoid failure (Ryan & Deci, 2000b). Importantly, ‘self-worth is contingent on performance’ (Gagné & Deci, 2005, p. 336). As human beings, we seek pleasures. Mill (2001) asserts that beings of higher faculty require more for happiness, but this is a double-edged sword as they also can feel greater suffering. He proposes that pride, liberty, power, excitement and dignity drive such beings to avoid sinking to lower echelons (p. 9). In this study, several educators spoke about guilt when they spent time on non-work-related activities. It left them anxious and thinking about work when not working. To avoid these feelings, educators would sacrifice personal time such as family, friends and sports. Hence, negative feelings influenced their work behaviours. More specifically, educators worked long hours to avoid negative feelings.

**Pursuit of knowledge sharing and pursuit of connection** can be viewed as a type of identified regulation which is moderately autonomous and encompasses actions which are in harmony with an individual's goals and identity (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000a). For example, behaving in a way which is personally important (Ryan & Deci, 2000b). In this case, individuals will perform tasks which are not necessarily intrinsically interesting but overall is perceived as valuable and important to the individual (Gagné & Deci, 2005). More specifically, self-confessed introverts will invest time and energy into networking not because they enjoy socialising but because they see the benefits of expanding their network. For example, **pursuit of connection** involves ‘discussing opportunities’, ‘enhancing publishing’, ‘gaining inspiration’ and ‘demonstrating expertise outside the classroom’. Through knowledge sharing and connections, educators can experience a sense of ‘belonging’. As the nature of their work can be solitary, the chance to socialise and interact can build resources when viewed from a COR perspective.

**Pursuit of promotions** could be classified as integrated regulation. It is the most autonomous form of extrinsic motivation and closest to intrinsic motivation. It is a type of motivation where behaviours are linked to outcomes which are important for goal achievement and well-being but not directly related to inherent enjoyment
(Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000b). This behaviour can also be considered in terms of behavioural approach resources crafting, which is defined as ‘seeking and acting to achieve positive aspects’ (Zhang & Parker, 2019, p. 131). Approach crafting is a proactive behaviour often seen in those with a promotion-focus (ibid.). Essentially, behaviour is driven by prospective resource building. Individuals with a strong drive are often attracted to academia (Yoo, 2019). Therefore, highly ambitious staff with goals to progress from Assistant Professor/Assistant Lecturer to Associate Professor/Lecturer level and beyond may employ behavioural approach crafting to reach outputs necessary for promotion as defined by each institution.

**Pursuit of autonomous creativity** is the most intrinsic form of motivation captured in the study. Intrinsic motivation is the ‘manifestation of the human tendency toward learning and creativity’ (Ryan & Deci, 2000b, p.69). Autonomy and control are important for employees as ‘the capacity to exercise control over the nature and quality of one’s life is the essence of humanness’ (Bandura, 2001, p.1). Individuals make decisions about what to pursue daily and it is this decision choice which gives them control over their environments (Leotti, Iyengar, & Ochsner, 2010; Bandura, 1982). When individuals lack autonomy to make decisions or control their work-life, strain can occur as individuals need the opportunity to make decisions, solve problems and have an input in processes they will be held accountable for (Agnew, 2009; Maslach et al., 1997).

7.1.3 Workaholic behaviour

Building on Figure 34 and the commentary in the previous sections, Figure 35 provides further theoretical and empirical support for the grounded theory. In Figure 34, the relationship between macro, meso and micro-level variables was described. Figure 35 shows that macro-level influences such as economic drivers and globalised education influence meso-level variables such as juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system and looking around at the landscape to get ahead. Furthermore, micro-level variables such as non-compartmentalising and differing goals and aims in life are influenced by and influence meso-level variables. In Figure 35, workaholism is an outcome of the
inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli. This section will discuss the stimuli in more detail.

Beginning at the micro-level in Figure 35, two core categories partially explain educator workaholism. They are **differing goals and aims in life** and **non-compartmentalising**. As can be seen in the model, **non-compartmentalising** has cognitive, behavioural and emotional elements and **differing goals and aims in life** reflect two major motivations in the study- gaining control and building a brand. Negative feelings, NA, reflect an emotional driver of workaholism, which as shown in Figure 34 relate to conation and affect. A group of initial codes were constructed under **non-compartmentalising**, entitled ‘having negative feelings’. They described ‘feeling obliged to work’, ‘feeling guilty when not working’, ‘avoiding guilt’ by working, ‘dwelling’ on work when not at work, ‘panicking’ about their work, ‘fretting’ at home in the evening and ‘ruminating’ at night-time. Emotions such as this reflect NA (Stringer, 2013). Thus, NA in the study also has a cognitive element which causes educators to dwell and worry and a behavioural element which drives action to work excessively. As such, **non-compartmentalising** in the study stems from a motivation to protect positive emotions (PA) and avoid negative emotions (NA).
associated with work. As shown in Figure 35, negative feelings were influenced by macro and meso-level variables, which included **juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system** and **looking around at the landscape to get ahead**.

By **looking around at the landscape to get ahead**, educators engage in what Creed and colleagues (2014) refer to as intersubjective surveillance. They argue, this action underpins self-regulation to avoid and anticipate possible shame. Through comparisons, educators can rate themselves based on their performance relative to the norms and expectations within the HEI. This can guide energy towards pays offs (Boxenbaum, 2019). However, it can also lead to emotions such as shame, guilt, embarrassment, disgust and pride (Creed et al., 2014). When negative self-evaluations occur feelings such as shame can emerge (ibid.). This can trigger loss avoidance behaviour as described in the COR theory literature.

As mentioned above, **non-compartmentalising** behaviour related to ‘front-loading’ and building a brand. Those working hard to build a brand were motivated to gain under COR theory. Importantly, they perceived a need to develop their brand perpetually. Considering the **marketisation of education**, it seems logical that they would see themselves this way as the market judges them on **creating knowledge**. They have an appetite to progress, but they have little impact the market. Singularly, they have no power to influence what is expected from them. By **looking around at the landscape to get ahead**, educators with a **pursuit of promotions** identified what they needed to do to reach their goals in their work environment. The **pursuit of promotions** in a system which requires **juggling multiple tasks** and **creating knowledge** despite **interruptions**, requires educators to invest considerable time into their work. This investment is considered necessary to get where they want to be. As noted in the literature review, working hours have been associated with promotions (Clark et al., 2014; Ng & Feldman, 2008; Bryson, 2004; Kinman & Jones, 2003; Burke, 2001a). Since academic jobs tend to be flexible, educators can easily work extra hours and thence suffer work-life balance problems (Fontinha et al., 2019). This reflects the ‘trade-offs’ required. Crucially, **looking around at the landscape to get ahead** can guide their behaviour, for example
shedding tasks as noted in section 4.6.2, but their pursuit of promotions pushes them to look.

Importantly, flexibility of the job can leave educators, such as those in studies by Yoo (2019) and Ellis (2011), experiencing problems deciding when they have done enough as they never know when they have reached the pinnacle. Due to the nature of the work, educators can write endless papers, revise articles, attend numerous conferences, counsel students, attend committee meetings, grade more papers, read more books and submit limitless grant applications. In essence, they can work every evening and every weekend and are always connected through email, laptops and phones, which can even be accessed on holiday (Yoo, 2019; Ellis, 2011). They may live this life as they are uncomfortable without a clear goal. They may not know how to enjoy life and they may fear retirement when their identity is tied into what they do (Yoo, 2019). Moreover, they may perceive that this effort is expected by their students, colleagues and institutes (Ellis, 2011). Ultimately, they feel pressured and they pressure themselves.

Hey (2004) queries why educators buy into the terms of their work. She refers to ‘the intensification in enticements and seductions spun in the spaces of the academy’ (p. 35). Whilst acknowledging the increasing demands in education, she wonders why educators ‘over comply’. She proposes that educators, who are motivated by prestige and honour, have been trained in an intellectual labour system, which is egotistical and individualistic in its ethos. Hence, educators compete, ‘jostle for places’ and work alone to gain status. She expands, ‘we are required to practice this gaze on our own and others’ performativity/productivity. This is both seductive (if you are higher than someone else) but regressive (if not). We shift around in different league tables. We advance three paces if we get a grant, go back ten if we fail to produce articles for 5* journals, make progress again if our citation index goes up and so on’ (p. 40). Her comments imply that educators need not necessarily accept the long hours associated with juggling multiple tasks, the marketisation of education, interruptions and looking around at the landscape to get ahead. Rather, they accept and embrace it when they are driven to achieve promotions and ego boosts. Thus,
non-compartmentalising to build a brand can be viewed as an inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli, which as stated earlier is workaholic behaviour. Of the 27 interviewees in the study, 7 displayed workaholic behaviour to build a brand.

Those working hard to ‘front load’ were motivated to protect in COR theory. **Juggling multiple tasks** left many educators overwhelmed by their workload and jumping from task to task. For some, it eroded their self-efficacy. This was captured under the initial code ‘feelings about the job’ which included thoughts about ‘losing control’. Core self-evaluations (CSE), which include self-esteem, generalised self-efficacy, low neuroticism and an internal locus of control were positively correlated with vigour at three-time points in Mäkikangas, Mauno, Selenko and Kinnunen (2019). ‘Front-loading’ was a non-compartmentalising behaviour stemming from appraisals of the workload, which meant that educators worked in the evening and weekend to avoid future problems. More precisely, it was a proactive behaviour based on the avoidance of damage to the future self. When educators work long hours to avoid negative feelings about work, they are motivated to work to protect self-esteem and inner peace as per Hobfoll (2002). Although considerable effort in work over extended periods is typically associated with burnout, there is evidence to support its value when considering ‘front loading’. For example, Tziner, Buzea, Rabenu, Shkoler and Truţa (2019) were surprised that their study found higher investment of effort in work was associated with decreased levels of burnout. Their confusion centred on the belief that effort should deplete resources under COR theory. However, it is possible that ‘front loading’, despite the required time and effort, may help educators to gain control of the week ahead. By doing so, they protect, as opposed to erode, resources under COR theory.

‘Front loading’, as a conscious investment of time in work to gain control and prevent negative outcomes, can also be viewed as a behavioural approach demands crafting. This involves an individual taking action to address hindering demands such as trying to deal with workload (Zhang & Parker, 2019). Strain may occur when the act of ‘front loading’ results in an effort-reward imbalance as per Siegrest’s (1996) arguments about high efforts and low rewards. More
precisely, a scenario of high-cost/low-gain can result in anger, depression, threat, and demoralisation. This, again, is driven by HEIs as they influence the rewards and how much effort an educator needs to expend. Importantly, non-compartmentalising behaviour to ‘front load’ can be viewed as an inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli, which as stated earlier is workaholic behaviour. Of the 27 interviewees in the study, five displayed workaholic behaviour to ‘front-load’.

Thus, building on the concept of working to protect and gain, two rationales for workaholic behaviour were prominent in the study: non-compartmentalising behaviour to build a brand and non-compartmentalising behaviour to ‘front load’. Both non-compartmentalising behaviours required working longer hours at the expense of other areas of one’s life, ‘trade-offs’, than those who compartmentalised. Support for this classification exists in pre-existing measurement tools and definitions of workaholism.

The feelings and behaviours of educators associated with non-compartmentalising represent working hard, facing difficulties in relaxing after work and putting more energy into one’s work than into relationships with others. Preoccupation with work, working to avoid guilt and anxiety and experiencing conflict with other aspects of your life are indications of workaholism in the BWAS (Andreassen et al., 2012a). In the WART, this suggests compulsive tendencies and self-absorption (Robinson, 1999a). In the BWAS, their preoccupation with work, working to reduce feelings of anxiety, guilt or depression and work coming before other needs such as exercise and hobbies indicate salience, mood modification and conflict respectively (Andreassen et al., 2012a). As they spend their discretionary time working, thinking about work when not at work and working beyond economic requirements they also satisfy the three components of workaholism under Scott, Moore and Miceli (1997). Moreover, since they work excessively and are driven by work, they appear to display workaholism as per the DUWAS requirements (Schaufeli et al., 2009c). Furthermore, the pursuit of promotions has similarities with the drive aspect in the WorkBAT and WorkBat-R (McMillan, Brady, O'Driscoll, & Marsh, 2002; Spence & Robbins, 1992).
Crucially, the perceived need to non-compartmentalise combines factors at a multi-level. That is, ambition to progress, pursuit of promotions depicted in Figure 35 as building a brand, coupled with non-compartmentalising behaviour is not solely responsible for workaholic behaviour. As shown in the model (figure 35), non-compartmentalising behaviour appears to be exacerbated by juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system. Simply put, educators with significant and varied workloads, who also have ambitions to progress, find it very difficult to carve time for themselves and when they do, they feel guilty. This investment in work to protect inner peace was present in many educators who referred to themselves as perfectionists, impatient and obsessive-compulsive. These negative emotions appear to drive educators to think about work and subsequently work more. This supports Gorgievski and colleagues (2014) findings about NA and its relationship with workaholism. As an aide-memoire, it is important to highlight that trait and state NA can exist, as such, educator NA can be enduring or momentary reflecting the situation (Watson & Clark, 1984). Hence, the macro and meso-level variables combine with the individual factors to create an environment which promotes workaholic behaviour. Thus, the HEI can influence workaholic behaviour through its interaction with desires and affect. Importantly, the absence of hindrance demands would reduce the need to ‘front load’ and enable educators to reduce or eliminate consistent evening and weekend work to meet their ambitions.

One potential way to reduce the impact of marketised education for educators is by looking around at the landscape to get ahead, to identify what is important and reducing effort in what is not. This is a way of managing time and ensuring goals are met. However, it involves sacrifice. In Fredman and Doughney’s study (2012), academics appeared to prioritise tasks which carried more weight in the workload allocation models (WAM). However, it was not so simple in this study. The workload model apportioned workloads but the progression system set the tone regarding what work was important and what was not. Subsequently, differing goals and aims in life coupled with the act of looking around at the landscape to get ahead resulted in educators shedding tasks or reducing efforts in non-rewarded activities, thus shirking. This may represent behavioural avoidance demands crafting, which is defined as taking actions to avoid hindering
demands by moving away or escaping them (Zhang & Parker, 2019). Importantly, this behaviour can cause conflict amongst colleagues as the act of job crafting to avoid hindrances can result in higher workload for colleagues of crafters (Tims, Bakker, & Derks, 2015).

Indeed, in this study, some believed they worked more than others. Injustice can manifest as treating some people better than others (Mill, 2001). Hence, favouritism can be viewed as an injustice by colleagues observing the act. Injustice and justice play a role in performance and reward management as individuals should obtain what they deserve under utilitarian principles (ibid.). That is, effort and lack of effort should result in fair rewards and punishments. Hence, shirking behaviour and a lack of sanctions, as identified in the study, represent a form of injustice. Equity theory describes the process of gauging fairness in a work setting through some form of benchmarking individual inputs and rewards against the outputs and rewards of others (Adams, 1963). Again, this benchmarking relates to ‘observing colleagues’ which featured several times in the initial coding process. By looking around at the landscape to get ahead, educators review the climate they work in. The climate is the observable manifestations of the organisation such as policies and procedures and observations regarding what is rewarded and expected in the organisation (Schneider, González-Romá, Ostroff, & West, 2017; Mazzetti et al., 2014; Bond, Tuckey, & Dollard, 2010; Reichers & Schneider, 1990). Whilst different managerial styles can influence the climate (Zohar & Luria, 2005; Edmondson, 2004a; Brown & Leigh, 1996; Blumer, 1969a), major problems concerning managers were not identified in the interviews. Rather, educators believed the system in their HEI, created a landscape which promoted shirking or overwork as there was no other way to manage the workload and meet personal goals. Although some reported that their managers were not transparent about workload.

The propositions above support the arguments of sociological, rational choice and microfoundational institutionalists. For instance, sociological institutionalists believe rules and norms guide appropriate behaviour and rational choice institutionalists believe actors are motivated by self-interest (Schmidt, 2014;
In a marketised system, building a brand was perceived as a vital output. This conclusion was reached by looking around at the landscape to get ahead. This depicts an initial action guided by the self-interest of differing goals and aims in life. This action reflects microfoundational, sociological and rational choice elements. As Schmidt (2014) notes, rational choice institutionalism explores incentive structures within an institution and can explain why actors behave a certain way. However, incentives require desire. That is, the incentive must appeal to the potential receiver. As noted by Voronov and Weber (2020) goals can be highly internalised including fantasies about imaginary future selves. Boxenbaum (2019) considers the fantasy metaphor as one of the adhesives which connect an individual to an institution. She argues that institutions will fail to influence behaviour without adhesives. Hence, sociological and rational choice institutionalism cannot explain behaviour alone.

In addition, the regulative influence of government funding and goals creates a landscape which requires juggling multiple tasks. Both juggling multiple tasks and a marketised system represent the schemas, rules, norms and routines in an HEI which guide behaviour (Scott, 2004). For instance, the marketised system creates obligations, and the HEI through its HR function creates potential rewards and sanctions, which Scott (2014, 2003) discusses in terms of behavioural drivers. Upon appraisal of the landscape, through their mental network, the educator may perceive the need for non-compartmentalising to manage juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system. In combination, juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system and differing goals and aims in life depict how individual desires and regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars guide behaviour (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Boxenbaum, 2019; Staelens & Louche, 2017; Scott, 2004). That is the combination of economic, social and psychological variables influence the emotions, cognition and behaviour of the educator.

In sum, this study proposes that non-compartmentalising, due to negative feelings about work, represents workaholic behaviour as it reflects an inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli, which as noted in section 7.1.1. is the working definition of workaholic behaviour in this study.
Both forms of *non-compartmentalising behaviour* reflect what Delmestri (2006) discusses about roles and their connections with identity. He explains that individuals fashion their daily roles to meet their selves but how the self is also influenced by the role they occupy, and the symbols derived from institutionalised identities. Simply put, an educator’s perceived worth or how they see themselves is influenced by the role they have and what symbols exist within their institution. As depicted in Figure 35, the interaction between macro, meso and micro-level variables influence behaviour and in certain conditions promotes workaholic behaviour due to stimuli.

7.2 Contributions of the study

The quote from Hostetler (2005) summarises the need for quality and usefulness in educational research ‘*good education research is a matter not only of sound procedures but also of beneficial aims and results; our ultimate aim as researchers and educators is to serve people’s well-being*’ (p.16). In this section, the contributions of this research will be discussed and in section 7.3 recommendations will be provided.

To date, no clear definition on what workaholism is exists (Andreassen, 2014; Andreassen et al., 2014; Aziz & Zickar, 2006; Burke & Matthiesen, 2004; Harpaz & Snir, 2003; McMillan, O’ Driscoll, & Burke, 2003; Scott, Moore, & Miceli, 1997). As noted by Andreassen and colleagues (2018), research in this area ‘*is still in its infancy*’ (p. 858). Beliefs about workaholism are widespread but seldom are they empirically based (Kun, 2018). Numerous descriptions, typologies, drivers and outcomes have been studied, yet, agreement on the main multidimensional variables does not exist (Lior & Abira, 2018). This is hampered by limited research beyond the person. Only recently, has research begun to focus on organisational variables (Andreassen et al., 2019; Converso et al., 2019; Molino et al., 2019; Keller et al., 2016; Schaufeli, 2016). Research on workaholism within organisations, expands our knowledge on the multidimensional gaps, as it takes us from the micro-level to the meso-level work environment such as climate and relationship dynamics (Tóth-Király et al., 2018). Hence, this study expands our
knowledge on the multilevel factors influencing workaholic behaviour. It does so as follows:

Firstly, Figure 3 is a multi-level transdisciplinary model of educator workaholic behaviour. Its structure reflects 411 initial codes, six categories and twelve focused codes constructed during the interview and analysis process. Ultimately, it encompasses five major categories which explain the workaholic behaviour of educators. They are:

1. Juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system (Macro and Meso-level)
2. Interruptions (Macro and Meso-level)
3. Differing goals and aims in life (Meso and Micro-level)
4. Looking around at the landscape to get ahead (Macro, Meso and Micro-level)
5. (Non) compartmentalising (Macro, Meso and Micro-level)

The model has three levels, macro, meso and micro, all of which interact with one another. That is, no single level can explain workaholic behaviour, all must be considered. Hence, the model takes us beyond the typical individual approach seen in workaholism literature (Molino et al., 2019; Griffiths et al., 2018; Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017). This is important, as previous research has connected workaholism with job factors such as career prospects (Clark et al., 2014a; Burke (2001a), job demands (Andreassen et al., 2018; Molino et al., 2016; Taris et al., 2005) and emotional demands (Gillet et al., 2017). On the individual level, it has been associated with personality, such as neuroticism, conscientiousness, openness and agreeableness (Balducci et al., 2018; Moore & Jackson, 2016; Andreassen et al., 2014; Mazzetti et al., 2014; Andreassen et al., 2010; Clark et al., 2010; Burke, et al., 2006a).

By bringing three levels together, this study offers a more comprehensive overview of how workaholism can manifest in an individual through their interactions with their environment. Furthermore, through the utilisation of three levels, this work can aide HRM and institutional scholars to understand macro, meso and micro-level contexts within organisations and how they interact (Lewis et al., 2019). More precisely, within the institutional field, this work demonstrates
the power of the institution to influence emotions, cognition and behaviour. From a sociological viewpoint, the prescribed and proscribed behaviours are embedded in HRM practices, such as performance and reward management. From the microfoundations perspective, as individuals, educators have differing motivations, driven by internal and external influences. As members of the institution, educators scan their environment to identify ideal or praised behaviour (Bitektine & Haack, 2015). Through their mental network, they process information and make decisions based on their internal analysis (Markey-Towler, 2019). As a result of the analysis, educators can feel negative emotions and can find it difficult to detach from work. Ultimately, they may engage in non-compartmentalising behaviour. This behaviour is derived from stimuli at the micro, meso and macro level. Critically, the model in this study recognises the interaction between micro and meso-level factors which Harmon, Haack and Roulet (2018) claim microfoundational scholars often skip. Consequently, this study may entice workaholism researchers to explore micro and meso levels from an institutional theory perspective. It may also entice institutional researchers to consider the role of micro and meso-levels on workaholism.

Secondly, the model also offers a transdisciplinary approach to workaholism. Theory underpinning its construction includes microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutional theory, SDT, COR, job crafting and JD-R theory. Importantly, Quinones (2018) highlights the need to explore the topic from various lenses. Furthermore, Loscalzo and Giannini (2017) emphasise the need for research which takes individual and situational antecedents, such as the climate into account. It would not have been possible to construct this model or expand our knowledge without the utilisation of psychological, sociological, economic and management theory. For instance, juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system reflects economic factors, such as neoliberalism and traditional business-related factors such as job demands and job resources. When differing goals and aims in life, a motivational concept, interacts with juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system, the outcome, affect, is driven by micro, meso and macro variables. Since affect and motivation influence behaviour, it is critical that we understand socio-economic influencers behind it, which this study does.
By using grounded theory techniques, the construction of a multi-level multidisciplinary model of workaholic behaviour was possible. It would not have been possible to build this model by using quantitative methods and thus expand our knowledge for several reasons. As stated earlier, no consensus on a definition exists. For example, researchers are unable to agree on what term to use (Griffiths et al., 2018; Kun, 2018; Sussman, 2018). This has implications for measurement. Several measurement tools exist, and all define and test workaholism differently (Schaufeli, Shimazu, & Taris, 2009c; Robinson, 2000b; Spence & Robbins, 1992). Thus, there will always be exogenous variables and criticism of the tool selected. By qualitatively exploring educator working behaviour and constructing codes grounded in the reality of an educator's working life, it was possible to identify differences between educators in relation to how and why they worked, whilst remaining open to numerous theoretical possibilities. By letting the data breathe and then comparing codes and observations against the major tools, it was possible to construct a multi-level model, which encompasses a priori and in vivo propositions without forcing fit. Hence, building our knowledge on the mechanism and formation of workaholic behaviour in an organisation (Gillet et al., 2017; Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017), whilst simultaneously exploring the interaction between attitudes, situations, culture and individual factors (Tóth-Király et al., 2018). The overarching theories underpinning this study include rational choice, sociological and microfoundations institutionalism, SDT, COR theory and JD-R theory. By bringing various disciplines together, this research contributes to sociological, microfoundational and rational choice processes within institutions. Moreover, to my knowledge, it is the only study which has utilised institutional viewpoints to explain workaholism. This is perhaps not surprising as workaholism is often explored solely form a micro perspective. As such, this study brings sociological arguments regarding rules, punishment and rewards together with individual motivations, information processing and scanning and decision making to provide a holistic explanation for behaviour of educators in a HE context. Hence, this research answers calls for more in-depth and complex studies, such as qualitative studies exploring workaholism (Kim, 2019; Kirrane, Breen, & O'Connor, 2018; Torp, Lysfjord, & Midje, 2018). And it answers calls for studies
examining the role of organisations in promoting or discouraging workaholism (Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017).

Thirdly, this research builds on a new definition of workaholic behaviour presented in the workaholism sphere in 2020 by Clark, Smith and Haynes. Clark and colleagues (2020) define workaholism as a motivational, cognitive, emotional and behavioural construct. This study also identifies multi-level variables which influence motivational, cognitive, emotional and behavioural elements, all of which are underpinned by multidisciplinary propositions. As an aide-memoire, workaholic behaviour is defined in this study as an **inability to disengage driven by micro, meso and macro-level stimuli**, which were discussed in detail in section 7.1. Again, this definition would not have been possible without widening the focus and remaining open to numerous possibilities. For instance, Aziz, Zamary and Wuensch (2018) note that the impact of a work environment, such as an overwork climate, on self-esteem and self-efficacy has been largely unexplored. Loscalzo and Giannini (2017) believe more research on motivations behind workaholism is necessary. Meanwhile, others highlight gaps in research on the impact of objective variables on working hours and working behaviour (Fontinha et al., 2019; Huyghebaert et al., 2018; Gillet et al., 2017). This study fills gaps in the work environment, self-esteem, self-efficacy, motivations and the impact of objective variables on workaholism through the application of several theoretical lenses. More specifically, self-esteem, self-efficacy, motivation and objective variables cannot be explored through one lens, yet, the findings from this research suggest they are key components in workaholic behaviour.

For instance, **differing goals and aims in life** is a predominantly micro-level variable which can be viewed through the lens of SDT. Through analysis of the data, seven motivator codes were constructed. Motivators were desires to achieve or feel something. The American Psychological Association (n.d.-a) describe how motivation connects affect and desires to influence behaviour. To understand behaviour within an organisation, microfoundational and rational choice institutionalism can be explored. Importantly, in this study, both motivation and affect were also influenced by meso and macro-level variables. For example, educators **look around at the landscape to get ahead**. From a sociological institutional theory perspective, this implies that they identify the schemas, rules,
norms and routines (Scott, 2004). However, they do this in response to differing goals and aims in life and affect. That is, their motivation drives scanning activity, which in turn stimulates information processing, cognition, emotions and behaviour. Essentially, each component is highly intertwined.

To illustrate, the pursuit of promotions represents the ambitious nature of educators in the study and living contract to contract represents the precariousness of their jobs. When educators had not yet reached their desired level in their career or had insecure employment, they reflected on their situation, they analysed what needed to be done, and they took action to help themselves. Typically, this involved increasing the time spent on the job by taking work home or staying late. Theoretically, this can be explored through microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutionalism, JD-R theory, SDT and COR theory, which this study has done. When some educators tried to carve time for themselves, they described negative feelings which drew them back to work. For others, they ‘front-loaded’ due to a pursuit of respect. As mentioned earlier, juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system eroded perceived self-efficacy, so working longer hours, was a mechanism to protect their pursuit of respect. This sheds light on how job demands such as job insecurity might influence workaholism, hence identifying those factors that facilitate versus prevent workaholic behaviour (Huyghebaert et al., 2018). It also demonstrates how microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutional theory can provide explanations for workaholic behaviour through micro, meso and macro influence when incorporated into a transdisciplinary model.

Importantly, desires, affect and the landscape influenced whether educators were motivated to gain or protect. More specifically, juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system left some educators believing their outputs were not good enough. This erosion of self-esteem can reduce personal resources in JD-R theory as personal resources can include self-efficacy, optimism, organisation-based self-esteem, resiliency and control (Schaufeli & Taris, 2014). Hence, hindrance demands, such as juggling multiple tasks, erode personal resources. As the institution and individual guide social behaviour and motivation connect emotions and desires to behaviour, it is therefore plausible that an
educator’s behaviour reflects individual, institutional and economic factors. This behaviour can take the form of workaholic behaviour when the micro, meso and macro factors create an environment which fosters it. Subsequently, this study builds a connection between SDT and workaholism through motivational drivers which influence the behaviour of individuals. It also builds a connection between COR theory and workaholism, as emotions and cognitions, resulting from an environment appraisal on the ability to achieve goals, will stimulate worries about loss or perceived needs to gain. The level of resources and demands will influence emotion and cognition. As such, JD-R theory can also partially explain worries or needs which then influence behaviour. Therefore JD-R theory, COR theory and SDT can all partially explain workaholic behaviour through motivations, resources, demands, feelings of loss and desires to gain. In addition, the inclusion of microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutional theory provides an overarching holistic micro, meso and macro model of drivers behind the emotional, motivational, cognitive and behavioural elements of workaholism. Consequently, this study provides numerous avenues for future research within the psychological, sociological or organisational spheres in relation to workaholism.

In this study, the stages mentioned above lead to non-compartmentalising behaviour, an inability to disengage, driven by an educator’s need to work to protect and gain. Figure 35 unpacks figure 34 to explore the drivers of non-compartmentalising behaviour and its association with working hard to protect PA and avoid NA, the two components of psychological well-being (Bradburn, 1970). The model demonstrates how fear of negative feelings and desire for positive feelings can drive workaholic behaviour and how this requires the sacrifice of non-work aspects of one’s life. Again, the need to protect or gain is derived from multiple levels. Particularly salient factors were having a high level of demands with few resources to complete them, having certain aspirations in life and experiencing NA as a result of an inability to meet demands. This combination influenced non-compartmentalising behaviour. Importantly, this adds to the limited knowledge in the field on organisational factors in workaholism. Moreover, it explores the cognitive dimension of workaholism, which few studies have done (Clark et al., 2020). Specifically, it traces the
development of scanning the environment, appraising the situation and then becoming persistently concerned and worried about work. Ultimately, persistent thoughts about work and a desire to avoid NA resulted in less detachment from work and working more.

Workaholism has been previously associated with achievement motivation, low self-esteem, striving against others and a need to prove oneself (Mazzetti et al., 2014; Burke, 2000b; Robinson, 1998a). This study sheds light on two outstanding questions identified by Kim (2019). They are what drives a workaholic to work hard? And how do they feel about their workaholic behaviours? Furthermore, by analysing seven motivator codes under the lens of SDT, this research builds knowledge in the largely unexplored role of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as personal antecedents of workaholism (Loscalzo & Giannini, 2017a). This is a useful theory for microfoundational and rational choice institutionalists, as it explores the individual motivations, which drive behaviour and how they can be influenced by external forces. For example, institutions can influence behaviour through their impact on individual and organisational desires (Powell, & Rerup, 2017). The authors implore researchers to perform more micro institutional research given the growing importance of benchmarking, evaluations, rankings and metrics in many organisations. They describe universities as ‘engines of economic development, generating valuable intellectual property in the form of patents and marketable discoveries for local and national economies’ which encompass the transfer of knowledge, teaching and research (p.21). Ultimately, the code marketisation of education, captures the output focus Powell and Rerup (2017) refer to and looking around at the landscape to get ahead with differing goals and aims in life demonstrates the power of motivation and norms on how educators behave. Equipped with this knowledge, sociological viewpoints can combine with microfoundational and rational choice concepts to build a more solid explanation for behaviour, which recognises individual choice and socialisation within institutions.

Fourthly, this research explores workaholic behaviour in an industry which has previously been found to have high levels of workaholism compared to other professions (Hogan et al., 2016; Rezvani et al., 2014). Theoretically, this can indicate institutional factors, individual factors or both. Tóth-Király and colleagues
(2018) note that the individual, the institution and the socio-economic situation within the country may play a role in workaholic behaviour. Building on Kinman (2014), Fontinha and colleagues (2019) proposed that working long hours may be necessary for academics to cope with the demands of their job and that this could be amplified when an academic has not yet reached their desired level. This study supports both claims. It proposes that several years of reduced funding followed by small increases in funding post austerity, increased student numbers and internalised education with a focus on output metrics, at the macro-level, has created a high demand, low resource environment at the meso-level. Since the macro and meso variables interact with micro-level factors such as desires, affect and motivation, the resulting behaviour, which accounts for the information gathered during the observation of the institutional climate, may reflect an inability to disengage driven by the three levels in figure 34. Ergo, the study builds knowledge on workaholism in HE and may provide useful qualitative insights behind emotional, cognitive, motivational and behavioural drivers.

In summary, as stated in chapter one, the objective of the thesis is to explore where workaholic behaviour could be evident in HEIs. By conducting an extensive literature review and collating the various components of the major tools used to measure workaholism, it was possible to identify areas of consensus and areas where confusion lies, thus extending our knowledge beyond the individual (Griffiths et al., 2018) and widening the focus (Quinones, 2018). Ergo, this thesis expands our knowledge of workaholic behaviour. Unlike quantitative studies which typically seek generalisability, constructivist grounded theory aims to understand and analyse life based on time, place and situation (Charmaz, 2014). As the study follows a constructivist grounded theory approach, which to the best of my knowledge has not previously been applied in this field, it has been able to uncover what the main dimensions of workaholic behaviour are in HE, hence addressing knowledge gaps in this multidimensional construct (Lior & Abira, 2018). As constructivist grounded theory is an iterative approach, it enables the reality of working in an HEI to evolve over interviews and it allows researchers to revisit codes. The process keeps the codes grounded in reality. Thus, the model reflects the complexities of real-life experiences of
educators and can then be further tested (Kim, 2019; Lior & Abira, 2018; Kirrane, Breen, & O’Connor, 2018; Malinowska, 2018; Torp, Lysfjord, & Midje, 2018).

7.3 Recommendations

Through an exploration of the context, it is evident that economic factors such as limited financial resources and a globalised competitive climate, leave educators *juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system*. In an internationally competitive education market, outputs represent success, which attracts high-quality international students and staff. Institutions are externally oriented and use rankings such as the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THEWR) to measure their success. The THEWR rates institutions on the learning environment; quality and quantity of research outputs; research income; research influence through citations; international staff and students; international research; and knowledge transfer to industry. Each area is weighted accordingly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THEWR)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Per cent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching (the learning environment)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research (volume, income and reputation)</td>
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<td>Citations (research influence)</td>
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<td>Industry income (knowledge transfer)</td>
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In other words, *juggling multiple tasks* is a regular demand an educator faces. Moreover, they must be able to do this at a high standard. With this and the
findings of the study and literature review in mind, 13 recommendations are provided to HEIs to meet the external demands of the industry whilst recognising the needs of educators within. The recommendations address calls for research on what resources can reduce the impact of large class teaching on an educator’s personal life and career (Cullen, Clancy, Hood & McGuinness, 2019) and the importance of control in the work environment on educator well-being (Whittet, 2020). Moreover, they recognise the critical role educators play in student well-being (Baik, Larcombe, & Brooker, 2019). Additionally, through the code differing goals and aims in life, underpinned by SDT, the recommendations have the capacity to increase educator innovation, which has been associated with competence, autonomy and relatedness (Averill & Major, 2020). Building on the 13 recommendations, section 7.5 presents several questions which other researchers should seek to answer.

7.3.1 Recommendations focusing on student engagement

Consideration of class sizes, delivery options, funding and staffing are necessary for student engagement to be addressed. Based on this research, the first recommendation is to limit the size of classes for future cohorts (Recommendation 1). Large class sizes impact the student to educator ratio which can then lead to inadequate student experience. Negative student experience can form negative word of mouth marketing and impact local and international student and staff recruitment. Large class sizes also impact the engagement level as noted in the study, and to some, they do not adequately prepare students for the world of work. Indeed, the skills of graduates have been criticised in the media (for example, Giles, 2018; O’Brien, 2017). During the interviews, interviewee 19 criticised the approach he has observed in his school. He blames growing class sizes for a slip in quality, which he believes is evident in the league tables. Interviewee 10 said ‘we need more funding. Student numbers have increased but funding has decreased, it’s a double whammy. It has to change’. This sentiment reflects the categorisation of Ireland as a ‘system in danger’ due to shortfalls in funding and increased student numbers (IUA, 2019).
Whilst, reducing class sizes has cost implications in terms of delivery, limiting class sizes could improve student outcomes. Hence, rankings and revenue could improve due to increased demand from prospective students. It is also worth noting that the mission of an institute is an important symbol drawing prospective educators. For example, for interviewees 10 and 16, the inclusive mission of their institute attracted them to apply for their jobs and stimulates them to invest energy and time into their work beyond what was contractually obliged. This pursuit of knowledge sharing requires an ability to engage with students and help those ‘hanging on for dear life’ as interviewee 16 describes. Educators such as interviewees 4, 13 and 25 note that large classes do not facilitate any meaningful differences. That is, they cannot work with students who need help, they must teach to the mean and they watch some students suffer. This can leave those with a pursuit of authenticity feeling guilty which can impact sleep due to worry. To avoid negative feelings, some educators invest more time into their work but ultimately this requires a sacrifice in another area of their life. The underlying problem of large classes can leave educators questioning their impact. A combination of pressures in literature has been shown to influence turnover intentions. Thus, HEIs should consider the impact of large class sizes on students and educators. For example, a study of 2,776 students in Australia found that students crave more individual support, more feedback and more advice (Baik et al., 2019). With the current resources and demands, this could be considered unachievable. Thus, to bolster student engagement, HEIs should limit the size of classes to ensure that struggling students can be identified. By doing so they tackle student and educator issues relating to large classes.

Smaller class sizes also facilitate group work activities which reflect real-life working scenarios. Group work is a pedagogical strategy for managing a heterogeneous classroom (Lotan, 2013). Group work reflects a form of active cooperative learning, as opposed to passive learning (Johnson & Johnson, 2008). It has affective, academic and social benefits (Lotan, 2013). However, larger class sizes typically result in larger within class groups, which are not preferable (Blatchford, Kutnick, Baines, & Galton, 2003). Educators in large classes can find group work messy as it is difficult to manage the number of groups (Lewis, 2008). Furthermore, in larger groups and classes with many
groups, educators may find it difficult to ensure talking within groups is at a high level or indeed about the task set (Blatchford et al., 2003). Essentially, productive group work requires classroom management, which becomes increasingly difficult as class sizes increase.

Research has shown that teachers get intrinsic rewards from close relationships with students (Spilt, Koomen, & Thijs, 2011). For interviewee 16, effort is directly linked to helping vulnerable students to pass their degree. She believes she can make a positive change by working on ways to help these students and that this is significantly more important than publishing a paper. Therefore, believing you are doing something worthwhile requires time and space to do so. More precisely, workload models need to consider the changing needs of students and how these needs require time and effort on behalf of educators. A workload model built on significant teaching hours and large classes can leave educators ‘time poor’ and unable to invest time and effort into students requiring their help. This has implications for progression rates, student motivation and educator self-efficacy.

Another recommendation is the increased use of virtual learning environments (VLEs) to facilitate smaller classes (Recommendation 2). HEIs can use VLEs to teach students in synchronously or asynchronously, as part of online programme delivery. Students can be assigned to smaller groups and set tasks to discuss through breakout room functions on the VLE. This online form of learning is flexible, which can cater to those working part-time and full-time during their studies. Moreover, it is cost-effective as online learning requires limited physical space. Hence, online learning places less demand on an HEIs limited resources. For HEIs who are apprehensive about moving to online learning, they could employ a form of classroom-based and online learning, blended learning, which maintains some form of personal contact. However, the transition towards this form of learning requires careful consideration of learning material design (Ally, 2008), this requires time. As noted in the study, lack of time is an ongoing problem across institutions. Thus, HEIs will need to allocate time to educators through their workload models for the development of online courses.
The third recommendation pertaining to student engagement issues relates to the reward management system: Review the reward system to prevent educator disengagement with students (Recommendation 3). As noted in the study, the workload model and promotion system can push some educators away from spending time on student engagement issues. When educators scan the environment and review options, they take actions based on differing goals and aims in life. If they work in a research-intensive HEI and they have a pursuit of promotions, they may choose to spend less time dealing with students to bolster their chances of goal attainment. Thus, the HEI, through its reward management system, can unintentionally facilitate this behaviour. When we view the work of an educator in terms of emotional labour, it is evident that differing goals and aims in life in combination with juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system and looking around at the landscape to get ahead influence how much educators engage with students and how this impacts their self-efficacy.

7.3.2 Recommendations facilitating the preparation and delivery of up-to-date material

The fourth recommendation of this study is formalised training and mentoring to ensure efficient onboarding in line with an educator’s workload (Recommendation 4). The fifth recommendation relates to HEIs allocating less teaching hours to early career educators to ensure they have time to prepare content and familiarise themselves with the system (Recommendation 5). Experience and age were factors influencing investment in work. In the study, younger and more junior staff members had fewer resources to work with and must create modules from the beginning. Experienced educators, on the other hand, can make tweaks and update their modules annually. They are more familiar with their content and therefore can spend less time focusing on the teaching side of their job. Moreover, those with more experience became more efficient with grading and setting assignments. For example, interviewee 8 set a similar assignment across different years but changed the task to reflect their level in their degree. Therefore, the literature to read was the same across the years but the expectations were different. Hence, the educator was able to gain economies.
Some interviewees such as interviewee 8 and 16 spoke about how rubrics on the VLE have saved their time grading. Grading can consume enormous amounts of time, especially for large class sizes. The use of quick tools and rubrics can standardise feedback and speed up the process. Essentially, early career educators can learn from more experienced educators if training or collaboration is formalised. In the study, educators also spoke about larger teaching loads at the beginning of their career, which interviewee 15 believed was damaging. When an educator has a considerable teaching load at the start of their career, they have more classes to prepare and grade, which leads to longer working hours. Hence, the combination of long hours and a lack of training can lead to long working hours and inefficient use of time.

The problem was exacerbated when an educator was employed on a fixed-term contract or paid by module or teaching hour. Hence, recommendation six is to reduce the number of educators employed on a per module and per hour basis. Recommendation five and six are costly recommendations, however, the number of teaching hours and modules appears to predict long hours, which erodes their research time. A lack of research outputs also has implications for the HEI; hence, the reputational gain could outweigh costs or indeed bring revenue through increased interest from prospective students or the increased ability of educators to obtain funding.

Recommendation seven encourages HEIs to allocate more time for class preparation to ensure quality. This can be achieved through workload models. As we saw in the study, a pursuit of information motivates educators to spend time reading, researching, summarising and preparing new material for classes. When educators are juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system they struggle to find time for research which can be used in their classes. As noted by interviewee 4, she often exits lectures believing she has not done her best purely due to time constraints. Providing up-to-date material can engage students. As noted by interviewee 21 students are interested in current issues. Indeed, Pianta, Hamre and Allen (2012) note that relevance is one of the three features of classrooms likely to influence levels of student psychological engagement. Therefore, having
time to prepare relevant material is important for student engagement and educator pursuit of information and pursuit of respect.

7.3.3 Recommendations assisting early career educators to publish

The eighth recommendation of this study is formalised continuous professional development (CPD) in line with an educator’s needs and aspirations. In this study, several educators reported feeling unsupported in relation to publishing. As evident in the literature, the pressure to publish is reported by educators throughout the world (Mark & Smith, 2018; Miller et al., 2011; Kinman et al., 2006). This can be directly related to the marketisation of education.

In academia, there has been a move towards individual research outputs and away from collegiality (Hamilton, 2019). When a lack of teamwork is evident, early career educators can feel isolated and in need of advice. Those lacking experience are required to publish without expertise in research. This creates pressure as publication is associated with promotions in previous research and in this study. Several educators had a desire to work with more experienced educators to learn from them and build their capabilities. They spoke about research pipelines and collaborating. Essentially, they believed that having a mentor or being involved in a research team would help them. Whilst attending constant meetings was identified as interruptions, some interruptions relating to research were viewed as vital, especially when an educator had a pursuit of promotions.

The ninth recommendation also relates to helping educators to publish. Based on the study data and literature in the field, HEIs should implement measures to reduce bureaucracy. Interviewees spoke about bureaucratic time-wasting and ‘passing the bar of soap’. Bureaucracy relates to a lack of collegiality, strategy and information dissemination resulting in educators wasted time trying to complete their work. They did not know who to contact, they wasted time repeating themselves and they had to teach themselves. These actions caused time-wasting which impacts time available for research.
The combination of inexperience and bureaucracy erodes valuable research time for the educator and the HEI. When educators are *juggling multiple tasks*, they lack time to collaborate, yet collaboration satisfies their *pursuit of connection* and *pursuit of respect*. Again, it appears that assisting early career educators to publish requires a reduction in overload but also a change in climate within some HEIs to encourage teamwork. More specifically, measures would need to be put in place to discourage shirking behaviour, which creates a sense of injustice. Any measures would also need to consider the importance of autonomy for educators as a factor influencing work engagement. Indeed, the *pursuit of autonomous creativity* was an important motivator which attracted educators to their jobs. Erosion of this may result in the ‘ball and chain’ feeling noted in Marston and Brunetti (2009).

7.3.4 Recommendations fostering a sense of control

As noted in chapter 3, autonomy, control and freedom can motivate. In addition, their absence can drive stress (Opstrup & Pihl-Thingvad, 2016; Kang & Sidhu, 2015; Gavrilyuk, et al., 2013; Catano et al., 2010; Ssesanga & Garrett, 2005; Tytherleigh et al., 2005; Bryson, 2004). In this study, a lack of control, due to overload, created a need to ‘front load’ to regain control. Front-loading was a form of *non-compartmentalising* which was associated with working long hours, evenings and weekends. To increase a sense of control for educators, HEIs can create strategic administration roles and put in place procedures and policies which discourage the development of negative feelings about work, state NA.

7.3.4.1 Creating strategic administration roles

The tenth recommendation of this study is the introduction of more strategic administrative roles. As evident in the rankings, administration is not considered an important factor for educators, yet, it is a natural component of any job. In an education setting, administrative tasks can be repetitive, take a lot of time and are not perceived as a good use of an educator’s time. Interviewee 25 points out that some of the administration tasks she and other educators do could be transformed into a meaningful role for a senior administrator. She explains that educators are doing small pieces of administration which overall might suit an administrator with an education background. She believes that through task
specialisation, a senior administrator could divide their tasks more efficiently and strategically to ensure greater productivity. Indeed, propositions such as division of labour and task specialisation are core principles of efficiency in the writings of Adam Smith, Max Weber, Frederick Taylor and Henri Fayol.

When the tasks are divided across several educators, it is not possible to gain any efficiencies as work cannot be divided according to regions or task similarity. Essentially, ‘it takes way more time, it’s less efficient, and we’re maybe not as good at those [administrators] anyway’ (interviewee 25). Hence, the delegation of work like this can create opportunities for an administrator to contribute more to programmes, which would overall improve student outcomes. Moreover, educators would have more time to complete other tasks in their already wide role.

To return to the literature, administration load is problematic for many educators and has the capacity to overtake research due to the amount of time required to complete tasks (Mark & Smith, 2018; UCU, 2016; Gavrilyuk et al., 2013). By creating strategic administration roles, the level of juggling multiple tasks, which can leave educators lacking control, could be reduced. The reduction in overload can leave educators better resourced to tackle the demands of their jobs. Whilst it may result in higher costs in the short-term, the long-term repercussions in relation to outputs could outweigh any initial costs.

7.3.4.2 Preventing negative feelings at work

The eleventh and twelfth recommendations of this study relate to well-being driven by institutions: institutions should review the level of demands placed upon educators to ensure demands are challenges and not hindrances as part of a programme to prevent burnout (Recommendation 11). Recommendation twelve, suggests implementing evidence-based workplace wellness programmes or reviewing their current offerings to ensure they meet the needs of their educators. The thirteenth and final recommendation relates to individual management of well-being: individual educators need to focus on their own well-being. More precisely, those with ongoing negative feelings, NA, should consider cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) or an alternative.
Recommendations eleven to thirteen are based on the positive psychology principle. Positive psychology represents a shift from reactive repair to building quality in life through well-being, satisfaction, pleasure, happiness, optimism, hope and faith (Seligman, 2002). Positive psychology has the capacity to build individual resources, which under JD-R theory buffer against strain. At a group level, responsibility, altruism, civility, tolerance and work ethic are components of positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Seligman (2002) believes the implementation of practices which foster human strengths through positive psychology can prevent mental illness by deploying skills in the right place. Essentially, educators can learn to manage their feelings and buffer against the strains of the job. Although, previous research and this study suggest that some demands exceed the limit of what an educator can manage without working longer hours. Hence, the presence of hindrance demands represents institutional factors promoting ill-being.

Hindrance demands, such as overload, can leave educators feeling out of control and rating themselves poorly. Some educators spoke about doing ‘shitty’, ‘shoddy’ and ‘half-arsed’ jobs as they could not juggle the various tasks they had. Lacking control can be very damaging since individuals in such situations will seek to gain control by any means (Shapiro Jr, Schwartz, & Astin, 1996). Educators with a pursuit of respect had a brand to maintain. When they faced overload, they invested more of their free time into their work. They sacrificed time with their families and friends. They gave up sports and they thought about work a lot of the time, which then impacted their sleep. They reported feelings of guilt, fear and anxiety stemming from workload and decisions about to spend their time. Feelings such as anger, guilt and distress represent NA, a negative mood resulting in negative self-esteem (Watson & Clark, 1984). NA and PA are both components of psychological well-being on the Affect Balance Scale (ABS) (Bradburn, 1970). Hence, NA is a form of psychological ill-being.

As seen in chapter two, affect is biopsychosocially formed, thus, the HEI has the capacity to influence feelings and behaviour also. Through the introduction of workplace wellness programmes, organisations can change the long-term health
trajectory of employees by incorporating preventative content into their programmes such as prevention of poor health behaviours or encouragement of behaviour change such as smoking cessation (Mattke, Liu, Caloyeras, Huang, Van Busum, Khodyakov, & Shier 2013). Indeed, workplace wellness programmes in US universities have been shown to build a culture of health through access to wellness resources for faculty. Thus, fostering a wellness philosophy across campus which encourages individuals to take responsibility for their well-being (Anderko, Roffenbender, Goetzel, Millard, Wildenhaus, DeSantis, & Novelli, 2012).

As noted earlier, in the cognitive model, an individual’s emotions, behaviours, and physiology are influenced by how they perceive events (Beck, 2011). Weiner (1980) proposes that individuals perceive an event and ascribe causes which reflects cognition and attribution. Based on their perceptions, they feel emotion and act accordingly. Taken together, the cognitive process drives affect. This is important as CBT focuses on maladaptive cognitions which contribute to poor well-being through emotional distress and behavioural problems (Hofmann, Asnaani, Vonk, Sawyer, & Fang, 2012). Indeed, individuals are not forced to respond to emotions in certain ways, they are simply more likely to (Gross, 2002). CBT focuses on modifying how individuals think and teaches them to use the skills they learn in therapy in their everyday lives (Beck, 1995 as cited in Butler, Chapman, Forman, & Beck, 2006). Therefore, NA related to guilt, fear and anxiety and the resulting behaviour can be managed by exploring the underlying attributions.

CBT has the capacity to reduce or eliminate non-compartmentalising behaviour. Although, it cannot eliminate the overload which drives perceived need to ‘front load’. Instead, it can explore the feelings and desires associated with ‘front loading’. Such as impatience, perfectionism, competitiveness and obsessive compulsiveness. CBT also cannot change an HEI environment which promotes workaholic behaviour. More precisely, it has no bearing on HEI promotional policies. The dismantling of policies which have the capacity to promote NA and workaholic behaviour lies in the hands of HEI key decision-makers. This study recommends that HEIs implement policies which reduce the
likelihood of state NA through their promotion procedures and workload allocation models. More specifically, rewards which stimulate dopamine in the NAc, as proposed by addiction theories, could be removed or reduced such as the encouragement of working long hours as a requirement for those with a **pursuit of respect** and **pursuit of promotions**. Moreover, the introduction of more resources, such as strategic administration roles and assistance for early career educators, along with the removal of hindrances such as overload could take educators out of loss spirals and into a situation of building resource caravans (Hobfoll, 2011). This, in turn, could result in positive self-attributions.

### 7.3.5 A summary of the recommendations

A summary of the recommendations is provided in Table 7. Together, the recommendations offer practical suggestions for HEIs to manage overload, workaholic behaviour and negative feelings associated with work. HEIs can play a role in the prevention or promotion of burnout. For example, burnout does not occur overnight, it reflects chronic stress occurring over time through job demands, which causes negative feelings such as cynicism and exhaustion (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004b; Leiter & Maslach, 2003; Maslach & Jackson, 1981). To illustrate, one aspect present in almost all studies in HE, long work hours, is associated with stress and illness. An ESRI report (2015) found that highly variable working hours were linked to higher injury and illness risks in Ireland (Russell, Maître, & Watson, 2015). In this study, long work hours left educators feeling exhausted, but many commented that it was necessary to get their jobs done. Hence, organisations can play a role in the development, alteration and termination of a habit, such as workaholic behaviour (Kim, 2019). Having said that, it may be that some educators, regardless of the circumstances will always be workaholics (Poppleton & Riseborough, 1990). Perhaps as Hey (2004) proposes, some educators are sadomasochists who seek ‘goodies’ and a ‘buzz’. Although, HEIs should be mindful that they are the sellers of such ‘goodies’ through their policies.

Importantly, the recommendations provided in this study address the various reasons why educators work long hours and therefore promote proactive
measures to avoid illness, presenteeism or disengagement which could drastically hamper an HEI's ambitions to improve outputs or climb league tables. For example, an educator's wellness impacts student engagement (McCallum & Price, 2010). Therefore, the recommendations have the capacity to impact all aspects of the HEI. Notwithstanding, it must be noted that government funding is a key source of income for HEIs in Ireland and therefore changes require adequate financial resources. Increased government funding increases overall government expenditure in a period of international economic uncertainty (Arnold, 2019; Chau, 2019; Elliot, 2019). Although, investment in education produces the human capital necessary for maintaining Ireland's reputation as the most productive country in the world (OECD, 2019), which is attractive for FDI. Moreover, investment in education is attractive to foreign students and thus increases non-EU revenue streams for HEIs.
Table 7. Recommendations of the study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 1</td>
<td>Limiting the size of classes for future cohorts.</td>
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<td>Recommendation 2</td>
<td>The use of virtual learning environments (VLEs) to facilitate smaller classes and the integration of planning into the workload.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 3</td>
<td>Review the reward system to prevent educator disengagement with students.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 4</td>
<td>Formalised training and mentoring to ensure efficient onboarding in line with an educator’s workload.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 5</td>
<td>Allocating less teaching hours to early career educators to ensure they have time to prepare content and familiarise themselves with the system.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 6</td>
<td>Reduce the number of educators employed on a per module and per hour basis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 7</td>
<td>Allocate more time for class preparation to ensure quality.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 8</td>
<td>Formalised continuous professional development (CPD) in line with an educator’s needs and aspirations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 9</td>
<td>HEIs should implement measures to reduce bureaucracy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 10</td>
<td>The introduction of more strategic administrative roles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 11</td>
<td>HEIs should review the level of demands placed upon educators to ensure demands are challenges and not hindrances as part of a programme to prevent burnout.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 12</td>
<td>HEIs should implement evidence-based workplace wellness programmes or review their current offerings to ensure they meet the needs of their educators.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recommendation 13</td>
<td>Individual educators need to focus on their own well-being.</td>
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7.4 Concluding remarks

To conclude, this study set out to explore how HEIs and personal factors promote workaholic behaviour in educators. This grounded theory research indicates that educators in the greater Dublin region work long hours and this is influenced by institutional and personal factors. From an institutional perspective, long working hours can be attributed to a lack of funding in the system, which requires educators to teach more subjects, classes and students. Simultaneously they have more administration work and for those in research HEIs or for those
considering future employability, a need to publish was reported. From an individual perspective, the educator’s goals and aims in life influenced what they spent time on and how they felt about what their work involved. Depending on their goals in life, they observed their HEIs climate and behaved in a way which would increase their likelihood of goal achievement.

The rationale for this study arose from the ongoing ambiguity in workaholism research and the scarcity of qualitative work in this area as supported by Kim (2019) and Kirrane et al., (2018). The findings of this study are useful as theoretical sampling enabled exploration of open-ended work and its relationship with HEI and individual factors. By doing so, the study showed that open-ended work, when combined with hindrance demands and differing forms of regulation, can facilitate long working hours driven by a desire to avoid negative feelings and protect positive feelings. Thus, the findings have the potential to uncover why higher workaholism rates have been found in HE.

Previous workaholism models have attempted to explain the construct biopsychosocially. However, they have failed to consider the macro factors which influence an organisation. Indeed, Hewett and colleagues (2019) found that funding requirements placed on HEIs in the United Kingdom were perceived as an external attribution of HR policies relating to workload models during the interview stages of their study. Hence, BPS models do not incorporate political or economic factors which can influence workaholic behaviour. For instance, BPS models cannot provide any economic rationale behind the ‘front-loading’ aspect of compartmentalising. Hence, the combination of theories such as JD-R, SDT, COR, job crafting, rational, sociological and microfoundational institutionalism build a psycho-socio-economic model of educator workaholic behaviour, which to my knowledge, has not been previously discussed in the literature (see Figure 34).

From a regulative pillar perspective, juggling multiple tasks in a marketised system explains how job demands are driven by economic and political factors and globalised education. As noted by Scott (2003), regulative constraints can influence behaviour through rules, surveillance and sanctions and as George and
coercive pressures can include formal regulations and specific standards. Essentially, rules and standards at the macro-level influence meso-level factors. In this study, they included funding models of HE, the role of government, internationalisation strategies and league tables. At the meso-level, JD-R theory and sociological institutionalism partially demonstrate how demands, resources, expectations and norms influence workaholic behaviour of educators and how this has the capacity to hinder goal achievement at the macro, meso and micro level. More precisely, sociological institutionalism explains how prescriptions and proscriptions guide behaviour (Boxenbaum, 2019; Scott, 2004; Scott, 2003). That is, the educator will review the environment to identify expectations and make decisions based on this and their desires. Hence, *looking around at the landscape to get ahead* requires micro-level considerations to fully explain behaviour. Specifically, the educator will use surveillance mechanisms, pre reflection, reflection, historical influences, position, goals such as desired self, fantasies and emotions to identify suitable behaviour (Voronov & Weber, 2020; Markey-Towler, 2019; Boxenbaum, 2019; Cardinale, 2018; Creed et al., 2014). From a microfoundations perspective, this underlines the importance of individuality in behaviour, whilst simultaneously reminding scholars and practitioners that rules and perceived consequences, derived from the meso and macro level, guide choices (Powell, & Rerup, 2017; Bitektine & Haack, 2015). Additionally, when viewed from a rational choice viewpoint, this argument is strengthened, as action is based on the maximisation of benefits, which ultimately are identified by *looking around at the landscape to get ahead*. Thus, the study synthesises rational, sociological and microfoundational arguments.

The category, *differing goals and aims in life*, explores the motivational drivers of educators in the study. As noted above, goals such as desired self, play a role in what behaviour is displayed after *looking around at the landscape to get ahead*. By situating these motivations within SDT and applying that to JD-R, the study sheds light on specific motivations of educators and how institutional resources satisfy these desires. When combined with institutional norms and expectations, it also applies microfoundational, sociological and rational choice propositions to build a more holistic explanation of behaviour, cognition, emotions
and motivation at work. Motivations typically associated with workaholism are externally regulated (Mazzetti et al., 2014; Burke, 2000b), which this study provides support for. More specifically, it is not the pursuit of autonomous creativity which drives workaholic behaviour. From a microfoundational, rational choice, sociological and SDT view, it appears that the pursuit of promotions and pursuit of respect, in a marketised landscape with flexible working hours, particularly facilitates non-compartmentalising. Educators are compelled to work when negative feelings about compartmentalising are experienced. That is, spending time engaging in non-work activities, when workload is high, can create a tension between work and home life which compels some to spend more time working to meet their desires. Ergo, macro, meso and micro elements guide emotions, cognition and motivation which lead to workaholic behaviour.

From a COR theory perspective, the combination of negative feelings and motivational desires drive educators to protect or gain the resources they value. This can be viewed through rational choice institutionalism as individuals are said to behave in ways to maximise outcomes (Creed et al., 2014; Schmidt, 2014; Amenta, 2012). Furthermore, it can be analysed through a job crafting lens. More precisely, educators can choose what resources and demands to approach and avoid (Zhang & Parker, 2019). As a result, a theoretical connection between job crafting and sociological, rational choice and microfoundations institutionalism can be made since decisions on what to approach and avoid is derived from looking around at the landscape to get ahead and differing goals and aims in life, which as noted above encapsulates a synthesis of rational, sociological and microfoundational arguments. In summary, Figure 35, depicts the development of workaholic behaviour from a psycho socio-economic perspective.

7.5 Future research

Future research should explore the motivation of educators alongside aspects of the HEI in other regions to further examine the psycho-socio-economic factors behind educator workaholic behaviour. Particularly, they could explore the need to build and maintain a brand for educators in the marketised system, as the
literature suggests that this is a worldwide phenomenon. As noted by Bitektine and Haack (2015), differences influence actions in institutions. Therefore, future research could specifically explore what the perceived behavioural norms expected from educators are in different regions. Future research may consider interviewing managers and Human Resources professionals to gain their insight into the processes behind specific reward management and work allocation models. More precisely, it would be interesting to gain their insights into the process and limitations of the system. Furthermore, it would be useful to explore what they perceive as prescriptions and proscriptions as they have been shown to influence behaviour (Boxenbaum, 2019). Since information is processed through an individual's mental network analysis (Markey-Towler, 2019) and employees tend to be socialised by those around them (Powell & Rerup, 2017; Bitektine, & Haack, 2015), adding more diverse samples of people with different stakes could help scholars to gain a more holistic view on workaholism (Kirrane et al., 2018). Since individuals view situations differently, responses to everyday life at work can vary (Powell, & Rerup, 2017). As such, differences between respondents should not be treated as outliers in quantitative work, rather embracing difference will help researchers to understand behavioural differences within an institute. Simply put, researchers can explore similarities and differences in how the environment is appraised and what behaviour is expected. By doing so it considers macro, meso and micro-level drivers of workaholism in addition to an array of potential theoretical underpinnings.

Future research could also build on the grounded theory model. As Malinowska (2018) notes, qualitative research can be used to identify preliminary data, which then can be tested in quantitative studies. This could be done by constructing and testing a new multi-level workaholic behaviour tool, which could then be utilised to survey educators on a larger scale. In addition, this work supports Clark and colleagues (2020) newly constructed Multidimensional Workaholism Scale. Researchers could employ a mixed-methods approach to investigate the motivational, cognitive, emotional and behavioural dimension discussed in this study and Clark and colleagues (2020) work. Specifically, they could apply microfoundations, rational choice and sociological viewpoints to analyse the role
of norms and motivation on cognition, affect and workaholic behaviour in a demand rich environment.

Building on Hewett and colleagues (2019) study of workload allocation models and attribution theory, and the findings of this study, researchers could explore how procedural and distributive fairness play a role in educator workaholic behaviour. This study showed that through observations many educators doubted how work was distributed within their school. Based on Hewett and colleagues' (2019) study, this reflects a form of distributive unfairness resulting from attributions of internal HR practices. However, other educators spoke of their brand and a need to work hard to build a positive external image. This reflects the marketised element of education, which could represent attributions of external HR practices. That is the need for HEIs to compete on the world stage.

The study showed that sacrifice was required when an educator had a **pursuit of promotions**. Some managed this by reducing effort in what they perceived as non-core activities, namely student-facing roles. Shirking behaviour, in this case, may represent a form of egoist workaholism, as described by Astakhova and colleagues (2014). Egoist workaholism is said to be mostly psychological with some social influence. If this is the case, future research could explore the connection between egoist workaholism and shirking behaviour of those with a **pursuit of promotions** and/or a **pursuit of respect**.

Kirrane and colleagues (2018) call for longitudinal research exploring the progression from working hard to work addict. More specifically, future research could explore how **non-compartmentalising** behaviour builds up over time and if this leads to a behavioural addiction. To date, the DSM does not recognise workaholism as an addiction. With that in mind, research may also longitudinally explore if working hard becomes a habit or how the habit forms. Habits are repetitive behaviour within a context when pursuing a goal. Repetition of the behaviour creates responses, including sensations, relating to the execution of the behaviour (Wood, 2016). Therefore, educators with a **pursuit of promotions** may develop a habit of working long hours as the behaviour results in positive feelings (PA) relating to goals. On the other hand, those with a **pursuit of respect**
may experience negative feelings (NA) when not working long hours and therefore develop a habit to avoid NA. Importantly, these potential habits are influenced by HEI policies. As noted by Cardinale (2018), habitus and positions change over time. Thus, researchers should explore the development of decision making and behaviour longitudinally. For instance, when does non-compartmentalising occur and what precedes this behaviour?

Future research could explore how cognitive and physical engagement, two components of work engagement, may lead to workaholism over time when the environment facilitates this (Kim, 2019). By exploring cognitive and physical engagement through a microfoundations, rational choice and sociological institutionalist perspective, researchers can identify social norms and rules, how individuals perceive and process them and how the individual’s motivations influence behaviour. That is, future research can explore the macro, meso and micro influencers of cognitive and physical engagement. Furthermore, researchers can expand microfoundations institutional concepts to encompass psychological theories on motivation, namely SDT and COR. By utilising SDT and COR, researchers can distinguish between motivations derived internally and externally, and identify how motivations drive resource protection and gain behaviour.

As Guba and Lincoln (1994) note, internal validity, external validity and reliability are important components in research. In grounded theory, the demonstration of this validity is somewhat different than positivist methods. Constructivist grounded theory does not claim to be objective, the researcher is part of the construction, not a mere observer. To address validity, Yin (2014) recommended that researchers use multiple sources of evidence, craft detailed plans for data analysis and establish protocols for data collection. For example, researchers such as Kirrane and colleagues (2018) used teams and codebooks to ensure coding integrity in their qualitative study. Unfortunately, methods such as this are not viable in a PhD project, as collaboration is not permitted. To address this limitation, it is even more important that protocols are clearly set out, which is a strength of constructivist grounded theory methods. The level of detail required in each step of coding creates a log of the work bolstering transparency.
Moreover, the use of NVivo allows the creation of multiple copies of the project as the researcher works through their ideas. The process of evaluating grounded theory in terms of fit, originality, sense, use and sampling is discussed in chapter four. Notwithstanding attempts to overcome the inability to code as part of a team in this research, future research could employ the tactics used by Kirrane and colleagues to bolster integrity.

Finally, future research could explore the application and outcomes of implementing some of the recommendations outlined in section 7.3. This future research would lend itself to a longitudinal design, which could employ qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods. Importantly, it can benefit HEIs, students and educators. For example, educational researchers could analyse the impact of large classes on educator professional efficacy and job satisfaction and the impact of increasing class sizes on student outcomes to provide further support for recommendation 1. In the study, some educators believed large class sizes created difficulties for struggling students or reduced attendance. As noted by Cullen and colleagues (2019), research suggests that large classes can impact a student’s learning experience. It would, therefore, be interesting for researchers to explore if the belief captured in this study matches student experience. Specifically, how do students perceive large classes? Seeking student input fosters inclusion and can play a critical role in improving student mental wellbeing and building a relationship with institutional actors (Baik et al., 2019). Thus, empirical research should explore large classes from both the student and educator perspective by collecting data on satisfaction, attendance and grades. Critically, to support student wellbeing, educators require support (Baik et al., 2019). Researchers could conduct interviews and focus groups to unveil rich data pertaining to this.

At the time of concluding this thesis, the world was in turmoil as Covid-19 drastically impacted the way we live our lives. Irish HEIs were closed in March 2020 and all teaching and academic work was forcibly moved online. Due to governmental guidelines and the absence of a vaccination, online and blended learning have become a reality. Online learning has both positive and negative effects. From the educator’s perspective, it can increase autonomy (Whittet,
2020). It may also be an essential platform for group and pair work as current two-metre distancing regulations erode interpersonal contact. However, in Whittet (2020), educators reported physical complaints from working for long periods staring at computers and emotional issues from the absence of recognition by colleagues and management. Building on recommendation 2, to increase the use of VLEs, researchers should explore the challenges faced by educators in online teaching and identify what supports would buffer against them.

Lack of access to technology, institutional structure, lack of time and institutional processes have been shown to hinder innovation (Averill & Major, 2020). Since online teaching involves innovation, barriers to innovation in HEIs should also be explored. Specifically, scholars could research institutional norms and expectations and their impact on resource availability for online teaching. Scholars could aim to answer the following questions: how much time do educators need to prepare innovative content for online classes? What CPD is required to build an educator’s professional efficacy for online and blended learning? And how can an HEI assist educators to transition to from standard teaching models to e-learning? By doing so, future research could build on recommendations 5, 7 and 8. In addition, it could identify possible methods of best practice which could shape the future of HE delivery.

Since educators in 2020/2021 will engage in more remote working than previously, it is even more essential to explore the role of technology in fostering workaholic behaviour. Technology and an ability to work open-ended appeared to facilitate workaholic behaviour in this study. This was also found by Molino and colleagues (2019). In 2020, Whittet noted that online lecturers felt their work crept into their personal lives. It spilt over into early mornings, evenings and weekends and it created a sense of guilt. Essentially, changes to the working environment can increase excessive working and demands and reduce self-esteem if resources are not provided to educators. Scholars could utilise diary studies to trace working behaviour, emotions, cognitions and motivations of educators throughout the period of Covid-19 and subsequently build our knowledge on how crises can influence workaholic behaviour.
Additionally, education researchers could explore the issue of gender in HE regarding pastoral work. In this study, gender and its relationship with expectations regarding the investment of time with students was an unexpected outcome. However, Lynch, Ivancheva, O’Flynn, Keating and O’Connor (2020) also reported a subtle expectation for women to do caring work in a study of Irish HE. Moreover, their work noted that it was ‘known at management level that this disadvantaged them in career terms’ (p. 13). Hence, this study calls for further exploration of gender differences in HE expectations and its implications for a career. Specifically, is there an underlying assumption that female educators will spend more time with students? This could be especially important for the upcoming academic year as students and educators will have less face to face time. Will female educators be expected to provide more pastoral support for distressed students as a result of Covid-19 restrictions or will restrictions reduce pastoral workload? Furthermore, workaholism researchers could explore the impact of gender expectations on workaholism in HE qualitatively through interviews or quantitatively by constructing hypotheses to test pastoral roles as drivers and moderators of workaholism in HE.

Organisational scholars could research how ethos in a *marketised system* influences emotions, cognition and behaviour in HEIs. For example, Voronov and Weber (2020) claim that non-acceptance of the ethos can lead to difficulties accepting institutions and ultimately lead to an alienating and empty work experience. Hence, ethos can build a connection between individuals and their institution. Within Irish HE, the general ethos is ‘*the advancement of human knowledge*’ (HEA, 2011), yet educators reported an array of elements such as larger class sizes and research demands hindering this. Ergo, based on Voronov and Weber’s (2020) thoughts, educators can feel fulfilled when they believe their HEI advances human knowledge. Conversely, they can feel empty if they perceive shortcomings. As such, future research can explore the acceptance of ethos in HEIs and the corresponding emotions, cognition, motivations and behaviour of educators.
Taken together, the calls for research outlined in this section can ensure evidence-based strategies to discourage workaholic behaviour are developed in HE. To do this, research in the field must explore all stakeholders.
REFERENCES


https://www.aontas.com/assets/resources/Policy/DES%20Statement%20of%20Strategy%202019%20-%20FINAL.pdf


Taris, T. W., Van Beek, I., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2012a). Demographic and occupational correlates of workaholism. Psychological Reports, 110(2), 547–554


van Beek, I., Taris, T. W., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2011). Workaholic and work engaged employees: dead ringers or worlds apart? *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 16(4), 468-482.


## APPENDICES

### Appendix A (table of workaholic types and tools)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Dimensions/characteristics/outcomes/types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naughton (1987)</td>
<td>A. Career commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Obsession-compulsion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Job-involved workaholics (high work commitment, low obsession-compulsion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Compulsive workaholics (high work commitment, high obsession-compulsion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Non-workaholics (low work commitment and obsession-compulsion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Non-workaholics (low work commitment, high obsession-compulsion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spence and Robbins (1992)</td>
<td>Workaholism Battery (WorkBAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25-items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-point Likert format</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Workaholism triad:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. work involvement (long working hours)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Drive (internal pull factor towards work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Lack of enjoyment when working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used in approximately 500 studies (Patel, Bowler, Bowler, &amp; Methe, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Workaholic (above average involvement and drive and below average enjoyment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Work enthusiast (above average work involvement and enjoyment and below average drive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. The enthusiastic workaholic (above average scores on all items)
4. Unengaged worker (below average on all items)
5. Relaxed worker (below average work involvement and drive but above average enjoyment)
6. Disenchanted worker (below average work enjoyment and involvement and above average drive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Scale Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clark (1993)</td>
<td>18-items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, Livesley, Schroeder and Irish (1996)</td>
<td>Assumes a degree of overlap with obsessive–compulsive personality disorder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, Moore and Miceli (1997)</td>
<td>Element A: spending discretionary time working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Element B: thinking about work when not at work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Element C: working beyond the employer and economic requirements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Compulsive-dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Perfectionism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Achievement-orientation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4-point Likert scale ranging from never true (1) to always true (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Compulsive Tendencies (working hard and having difficulties in relaxing after work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Control (annoyance when having to wait for something or someone or when things do not go one’s way)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Impaired Communication/Self-Absorption (putting more energy into one’s work than into relationships with others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Inability to Delegate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Self-Worth (the degree to which one is interested in the results of one’s work rather than the work process itself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used in approximately 150 studies (Patel, Bowler, Bowler, &amp; Methe, 2012)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Targets predominantly Type A behaviour (life in general as opposed to work specific)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Addiction and family therapy based</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Compiled from items used by professionals in the treatment of workaholism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson (2000)</td>
<td>1. Relentless workaholics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Bulimic workaholics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Attention deficit workaholics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Savouring workaholics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudrack and Naughton (2001)</td>
<td>Two sets of workaholism subscales (4 items per subscale):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Non-Required Work scale</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. The amount of time and energy typically spent on solitary activities (thinking of ways to perform jobs better)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Control of Others scale</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Time and energy spent on attempting to control the work of others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-point Likert scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Required Work scale:</td>
<td>1. Thinking of ways to improve the quality of work provided to customers and/or colleagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Thinking of ways to improve the quantity of work provided to customers and/or colleagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Thinking of ways to be more productive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Taking responsibility for initiating assignments and projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of Others scale:</td>
<td>1. Fixing problems created by other people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Drive to work</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Enjoyment of work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schaufeli, Shimazu and Taris (2009c)</th>
<th>Dutch Work Addiction Scale (DUWAS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4-point Likert scale ranging from (almost) never (1) to (almost) always (4)</td>
<td>Working excessively (WE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working compulsively (WC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Workaholics (high WE and low WC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Hard workers (high WE and low WC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Compulsive workers (low WE and high WC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Relaxed workers (low WE and WC)</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-point Likert scale ranging from never (1) to always (5)</td>
<td>7 items:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Salience (preoccupation with work)</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tolerance (working more to achieve the same mental and physiological effect)</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mood modification (working to reduce feelings of anxiety, guilt or depression)</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Relapse (returns to old behaviour after a period of improvement)</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Withdrawal (becoming distressed if prohibited from working)</td>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snir and Harpaz (2012)</td>
<td>Heavy Work Investment:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disposition:</strong>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Workaholics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Work devoted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intimacy avoiders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leisure low interested</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situational:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The needy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The employer directed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wojdylo, Baumann, Buczny, Owens and Kuhl (2013)</th>
<th>Work Craving Scale (WCS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28-items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Obsessive-compulsive desire for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Anticipation of self-worth compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Anticipation of reduction of negative affect or withdrawal symptoms resulting from working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Neurotic perfectionism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B. The original sample (N=29) and the tabulation of other grounded theory studies at level 10 (NFQ)
3 phases: patients, staff and family. Short interviews (30 minutes, 20 minutes and 15 minutes). Based on the data provided, interviews 1 & 2 were 30 minutes approximately (30 x 2 = 60), interviews 3 to 11 were 20 minutes (9 x 20 = 180), 18 further interviews were 30 minutes long (18 x 30 = 540) and another 37 at 15 minutes (37 x 15 = 555). In total 1335 minutes of data (22.25 hours). My study has 1805.73 minutes of data (30.1 hours).

*** Focus groups not suitable for my study due to privacy.

**** Also used data from casual chats and meetings.
Appendix C. Application for ethical approval and ethical approval.

Application for Research Ethics Approval
School of Business Research Ethics Committee, TCD

The School of Business Research Ethics Committee is a Level One Committee. It reviews research projects that are of low to moderate risk to participants, as follows:

- Anonymous surveys of a non-intrusive personal nature.
- Unrecorded and anonymous observation of individuals in public areas.
- Analysis of irrevocably anonymised and appropriately collected data.
- Interviews (consensual) with non-vulnerable adults.
- Action research
- Surveys where respondents can be identified and where respondents have given appropriate consent.

Research that carries with it a moderate to high risk to participants, as described below, should be reviewed by a Level Two Committee.

- Surveys asking questions of a sensitive or private nature
- Questionnaires or observational studies involving children or vulnerable adults.
- Research where there is a risk of a participant feeling undue pressure to participate by virtue of his/her relationship with the researcher (e.g. student/supervisor; patient/clinician).
- Projects involving a justifiable degree of deception.
- Analysis of archival irrevocably anonymised human tissue samples for which consent for research was not originally given, and was not acquired in the course of clinical treatment. Research involving invasive procedures (other than those listed above).
- Research involving vulnerable persons.
- Research where identifiable information obtained may have legal, economic or social consequences for research subjects.
- Research that may identify illegal activity.
- Projects where each subject is paid (over and above token gestures).
- Research that may potentially endanger the subjects/ researchers/3rd parties, the environment.
- Research involving the collection of human tissue.
- Research that may have a direct military role.
- Research conducted outside Ireland.
- Research involving psychological intervention.
- Research where a potentially beneficial or harmful treatment, information or learning method may be withheld from some participants.
Please complete the checklist below before submitting your application

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If you are a student, has your supervisor signed this completed form?</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If appropriate to your study, have you attached the following:

- Any data collection tools (eg questionnaire, interview schedule) | Y | ☐ |
- The consent form you propose to use | Y | ☐ |
- The participant information sheet you propose to use | Y | ☐ |

Name of Applicant | Jennifer Hynes

Academic Supervisor/ Lead Researcher
For students this is the name of your supervisor. For staff this is the PI if different from the applicant | Dr Sarah-Jane Cullinane

Discipline | Organisational Behaviour

Title of project | An exploratory study of the factors associated with educator work investment style and well-being

Timeframe of research
Provide a brief timetable of the proposed research, particularly indicating data collection. | Participant recruitment will take place from August until November 2018. Simultaneously, data collection will take place from September to December 2018. Interviews will be transcribed throughout the same period and analysed for emerging themes which might impact upcoming interviews. From December 2018, transcriptions will be uploaded to NVivo for thematic content analysis. Qualitative data will be analysed from January to February 2019. The final chapters on results and discussion will be completed between April and June 2019. A first draft copy of the thesis will be submitted to my supervisor in June 2019.
| **Funder**  
Where research is funded, give details of the funder and indicate whether the funder requires that ethical approval is secured for this project | I am in receipt of a TCD studentship (2015-2018). |
|---|---|
| **Requirement for Ethical Approval**  
a) Where another party has explicitly required ethical approval for this project, please provide details.  
b) If you are required to seek further ethical approval from another committee after this application, please provide details. | N/A |
| **Purpose of research**  
Provide a summary of the research, written in terms that a non-specialist would understand. | This doctoral research focuses on 'how does the work environment impact the work investment style and well-being of educators'? Specifically, it will examine what organisational factors appear to influence educator work investment style from a biopsychosocial (Astakhova & Hogue, 2014; Engel, 1977; Griffiths, 2011, 2005, 1999) and self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985) perspective, and how that impacts their well-being. To date, we do not know if an individual can be more workaholic than others or if different types exist. Organisationally, we do not know if the job lends itself to workaholism with high levels of autonomy, flexible working arrangements and a competitive promotion process. Moreover, we do not know if workaholics can build good relationships with their students and colleagues. These are all important questions within HE (higher education), as workaholism has been shown to have a significant positive relationship with stress (Andreassen et al., 2007; Aziz et al., 2018; Gillet et al., 2017; Moyer et al., 2017; Ng & Feldman, 2008; Spence & Robbins, 1992). |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Justification for the research</strong></th>
<th>From the literature review, several outstanding questions and issues emerged pertaining to workaholism, a work investment style, and work-related stress (WRS) in Irish HE. They relate to individual aspects, organisational aspects and methodological choices. A review of over one hundred articles demonstrated that predictors of WRS in HE are similar across the globe, despite cultural and funding differences. This research addresses calls for a more ‘in-depth qualitative approach, using semi-structured interviews to further analyse the impact of WRS and changes to HE and how this is affecting lecturers’ well-being’ (Lawless, McGuinness, Carthy, &amp; McSweeney, 2016, p. 23). In relation to workaholism, this study addresses calls for research exploring antecedents, such as ‘the mechanisms involved in both the formation and consequences of the workaholism profiles’ (Gillet, Morin, Cougol, &amp; Gagné, 2017:581). In addition, it will answer calls for exploration of antecedents and outcomes of workaholism in more complex study designs (Torp, Lysfjord, &amp; Midje, 2018). Through a focus on HE and semi-structured interviews, it addresses calls for research exploring workaholism in emotional labour jobs and calls for researchers to revisit workaholism’s early qualitative roots (Kirrane, Breen, &amp; O’Connor, 2018). As self-determination theory underpins the research, it answers calls for studies addressing personal antecedents such as motivation driven by internal and external rewards (Loscalzo &amp; Giannini, 2017). By exploring these questions, it answers calls for research examining organisational factors relating to workaholism, especially organisational climate (Loscalzo &amp; Giannini, 2017). Finally, the study will answer calls for research which aims to identify more contextualised practical implications (Molino et al., 2016).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicate the contribution that the research is anticipated to make.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Participants in the research**  
Provide details of the population to be studied, and sampling procedures to be used. | Educators within HE in Ireland will be invited to participate in the study. A Snowball sampling technique will be employed. Semi structured interviews (SSI’s) will gather rich data on the educator’s work investment style and the factors influencing that in their opinion. Participation is voluntary and all data will be securely stored. Please see attached SSI questions. |
|---|---|
| **Recruitment procedures**  
Include an explanation of any incentives and/or compensation (financial or otherwise) to be offered to participants. | Due to the snowball sampling technique, the researcher will use contacts within HE to recruit participants. An initial email will be sent to a number of educators’ in a variety of HE institutions informing them about the study and inviting them to participate. Interview schedules will be arranged at a time suiting the participant. At all times the participants identity and institution will be anonymised. Throughout the process it is emphasised that participation is voluntary. |
| **Informed consent**  
Outline the information that will be provided to potential participants, and procedures for gaining consent (if this will be in printed form, please supply a copy of it). | The Participant Information Leaflet highlights that involvement is voluntary and that identities will be anonymised. In addition, before each SSI commences, the researcher will remind the interviewee that participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw at any stage. |
| **Methods**  
Outline the methods that will be used for data collection and analysis and provide interview or survey questions where these are being used. | SSI’s will be used to collect data as they enable the interviewer and interviewee to discuss how they see the world (Cohen et al., 2013). A systematic framework such as PPOIISED by Rogers and Goodrick (2010) will be used to analyse the data. Transcriptions will be uploaded to NVivo for thematic content analysis, as software tools are flexible and can promote transparency and trustworthiness (Kaefer et al., 2015). NVivo will be used to identify concepts, key ideas, interesting discourse patterns, word frequency and word distributions. Following this, connections in the data can be used to gain further insights and meaning. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confidentiality, anonymity, and data storage</th>
<th>The Researchers will abide by the Data Protection Acts 1988 and 2003 and ethical guidelines of the APA and PSI. Data will be confidential, only the researchers will have access to individual data. The educator and institution name will not be revealed in the thesis or any subsequent publications. Data will be stored on a password protected USB and will be stored for 5 years.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provide an explanation of any measures that will be put in place to preserve confidentiality and anonymity, including an explicit explanation of secure data storage and disposal plans. Note that there may be a need to store data for 5 years (and sometimes more) after completion of the project.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethical considerations and potential risks to participants</td>
<td>I will supply employees with a link to their institution’s Employee Assistance Programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where potential risks to participants may be present, explain any steps that will be taken to minimise these and any additional support that might be used should the need arise.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published ethical guidelines to be followed</td>
<td>The research project will follow the American Psychological Association’s (APA’s) Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct and the PSI (Psychological Society of Ireland) Code of Professional Ethics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify professional code(s) of practice and/or ethical guidelines relevant to the research.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel outside Ireland</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide information on any travel to be undertaken outside Ireland. Any travel planned for countries with heightened risk should be given detailed explanation and justification.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-care</td>
<td>In accordance with section 4.1, Recognition of Professional Limitations, of the PSI Code of Professional Ethics, I will use a research timeline to avoid excessive stress during the data collection and analysis process. Should difficulties arise, I will seek emotional support from an appropriate source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify any significant risk issues to yourself as researcher and any self-care planning that you will use to address these.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Sample questions submitted with ethics application:

Main research questions:

1. How does the HE institution impact the work investment style of educators? (Block 1)
2. How do personal factors impact educator work investment style? (Block 2)
3. How does the work investment style of educators impact their wellbeing? (Block 3)

Sub questions:

1. What do educators’ jobs look like? (Block 1):
   - How does workload, the perceived climate of the school or department and perceived rewards in the HE institution impact educator work investment style?
2. How do educators approach their jobs? (Block 2)
3. How does family and social life impact the work investment style of educators and vice versa? (Block 2)
4. How do educators feel about their job, career and work behaviour? (Block 2)
5. How does an educator’s work investment impact their physical, social and mental wellbeing? (Block 3)

Q1. HOW DOES THE HE INSTITUTION IMPACT THE WORK INVESTMENT STYLE OF EDUCATORS?

Theme 1: WORKLOAD
Sub theme: TIME
Sub questions:

Q. How does workload impact the work investment style of educators?
PROPOSED QUESTIONS:

1. Can you describe a typical day/week at work?
Probes:
   - How many hours do you work on average per week?
   - Has this increased or is it fairly stable?
   - Would that be the same every week or day?

2. Can you tell about your role in the university/institute?
Probes:
   - What duties are assigned by the university?
Theme 2: CLIMATE
Subtheme: RELATIONSHIPS
Q. How does the perceived climate of the school or department impact educator work investment style?

PROPOSED QUESTIONS:
1. Do you feel supported in your role?
   Probe:
   - Who do you receive support from?

Theme 3: HRM
Subtheme: REWARDS
Q. How do perceived rewards in the HE institution impact the work investment style of educators?

PROPOSED QUESTIONS:
1. How is performance managed and rewarded in your school/department?
   Probe:
   - What is needed, in your opinion, to get a job promotion in your department/faculty/school?
   - Do you feel under pressure to publish or to find funding? Why?
   - Does this impact how you structure your own work?
   - Are short-term contracts/job insecurity an issue for you?

2. Do you believe that this system fairly acknowledges and rewards good performance?
   Probe:
   - Do you feel that the systems recognise the work you do and reward you appropriately?

Q2. HOW DO PERSONAL FACTORS IMPACT EDUCATOR WORK INVESTMENT STYLE?

Theme: PSYCHOLOGICAL & SOCIAL
Subtheme: MOTIVATION
Q. How do educators approach their jobs?
Q. How does family and social life impact the work investment style of educators and vice versa?
Q. How do educators feel about their work behaviour?
Q. How do educators feel about their job and career?

PROPOSED QUESTIONS:
1. What attracted you to a career in academia?
   Probe:
   - Tell me a little bit about your background—does anyone or did anyone in your family work in this area?
2. What do you enjoy about your job?
   Probe follow up:
   ● What do you not enjoy?

3. Do you take on additional work that's not your official job? Why?
4. How does your work fit with your personal life?
   Probe:
   ● Do you treat work as completely separate or do you take work home?
   ● Do you find yourself thinking about work when you are with family and friends? How do you feel about that? Why do you think that happens?

5. What does a successful career look like to you?
6. Are you where you want to be in terms of your career trajectory?

Q3. HOW DOES THE WORK INVESTMENT STYLE OF EDUCATORS IMPACT THEIR WELLBEING?

Theme: WORK INVESTMENT

Sub theme: WELL-BEING

Sub questions:
Q. How does educators' work investment impact their physical, social and mental wellbeing?

PROPOSED QUESTION:

1. We all have bad days, how do you deal with that when you have to teach or do research?
Appendix D. The invitation email and participant information sheet.

Dear ______________,

I am contacting you in relation to a study I am conducting on how the work environment impacts the work investment style and well-being of educators in the Irish Higher Education (HE) sector. This research is part of my PhD at Trinity Business School and is important because it looks at aspects of the HE organisation, which have previously been associated with individual well-being and motivation across the globe.

I would like to invite you to participate in the study. This would involve an interview with me, which should take no longer than sixty minutes. This can be arranged at a time convenient for you.

All data collected will be anonymous and pseudonyms will be used. The research has been approved by Trinity’s Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions or comments, please feel free to email me.

Best wishes,
Jennifer Hynes

TRINITY BUSINESS SCHOOL Participant Information Leaflet

Project title: An exploratory study of the factors associated with educator work investment style and well-being

Researchers: Jennifer Hynes, PhD Researcher, TCD School of Business and Dr Sarah-Jane Cullinane, Assistant Professor, TCD School of Business

You are invited to participate in this research study which is being carried out by Jennifer Hynes and Sarah-Jane Cullinane. Your participation is voluntary. Even if you agree to participate now, you can withdraw at any time without any consequences of any kind.

The study is designed to investigate how the work environment impacts the work investment style and well-being of educators. If you agree to participate, this will involve attending a one to one interview with Jennifer Hynes at a time convenient for you. The interview should take no longer than sixty minutes. All data collected will be anonymous, only the interviewee will have access to individual data.

This study is beneficial for employees because it focuses on aspects of the organisation which have previously been associated with individual well-being and motivation such as behavioural reinforcement, physical and psychological well-being, and social outcomes. The research aims to add to the evidence-base on these aspects of organisations within
the fields of occupational health and medicine, organisational psychology, sociology, education, and human resource management.

Any information or data which we obtain from you during this research will be recorded under a pseudonym. The data will be kept on an encrypted USB. Only Jennifer Hynes and Sarah-Jane Cullinane will have access to this data. Data from this research project may be published in future for academic purposes. The findings will only be reported in a format where no individual or institution will be identifiable.

If you have any questions about this research, you can contact me at hynesje@tcd.ie (Jennifer Hynes). You are also free, however, to contact Sarah-Jane Cullinane at sarahjane.cullinane@tcd.ie to seek further clarification and information.
Appendix E. Boosted sample and job titles

The boosted sample. (N=35)

The job titles in HEIs:

**TCD**
- Professor
- Associate Professor/Senior Lecturer
- Assistant Professor/Lecturer

**UCD**
- Full Professor/Professor
- Professor/Associate Professor
- Associate Professor/Senior Lecturer
- Assistant Professor/Lecturer (Above the Bar and Below the Bar)

**Maynooth University**
- Professor
- Senior Lecturer
- Lecturer
- Assistant Lecturer
- Junior Lecturer

**DCU**
- Full Professor/Professor
- Professor/Associate Professor
- Associate Professor/Senior Lecturer
- Assistant Professor/Lecturer

**IOTs & Teaching Colleges**
- Senior Lecturer
- Lecturer
- Assistant Lecturer
### Appendix F (1). Sample of initial coding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcript</th>
<th>Initial code</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: could you tell about a typical day or week at work?</td>
<td>Thinking teaching hours are too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: So in (name removed for anonymity), typical work day, insane amount of lecturing hours, for me it was 18 contact hours, so that means almost every day you are up there for teaching, and whatever gap you find you prepare for the next class, so in terms of hours it was busy from Monday to Thursday. Friday there was no class scheduled so they’ll make sure that you get at least one day, so whatever you want to prepare for the next week or that you want to research, so at least you get one day which I think is allocated to you. So that's a typical work week in (name removed for anonymity).</td>
<td>Teaching almost every day</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Finding gaps to prepare for teaching</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being busy most days</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Institution being aware of the need for time to prepare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: Okay 18 hours a week?</td>
<td>Being given time for yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Yes 18 contact hours.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I: So that's a lot</td>
<td>Clarifying teaching hours</td>
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<tr>
<td>P: And add to that the preparation hours and you'll know what I mean.</td>
<td>Emphasising how many behind the scenes hours are involved in teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: Yeah, okay so would you have to do a lot of work at the weekends then as part of it or was it just long hours Monday to Friday trying to manage that? 18 hours is a lot.</td>
<td>Reiterating what interviewee said to acknowledge and demonstrate absorption of their comments (Charmaz, 2014, p. 97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: uh, I managed through long hours during weekdays, so I preferred not to move it to the weekend, and plus I think it’s more work in the first year, but once you have material you can simply tweak it.</td>
<td>Preferring to work longer hours during the week than at the weekend</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gaining experience and having less workload</td>
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</table>
### Example of initial line by line coding in Interview 2 (university)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcript</th>
<th>Initial code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: So, could you tell me, or describe a typical day in work or a week in work?</td>
<td>Emphasising that days vary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Sure. A typical day, it's not so typical that it can be hard to have a typical one but normally, like in terms of the hours and what I do?</td>
<td>Asking for clarification</td>
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<tr>
<td>I: I'm leaving it deliberately open, yeah.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>P: So I live in (name removed for anonymity), quite far away. And I take the train in, today I took the bus, sometimes I take the coach but usually I take the train. And I have Wi-Fi on the train and I usually check my email on the way in cos it's an hour so... I would get the 7.30 train in the morning or the 9 o'clock train sometimes, depending. If I have an evening thing on, I might get the 9 o'clock and I'm not getting home til 9 o'clock so it's a long enough day. See the children in the morning as well, cos I know I won't see them at night. And then a lot of my day I suppose is meetings so I teach (name removed for anonymity) with the (name removed for anonymity) course, so every year I have to line up about (removed for anonymity) organisations to do a sort of a (removed for anonymity) project with the (name removed for anonymity) students. So, I have to meet different organisations and talk to them and tell them about it and see if they have a need that would be suitable for a (removed for anonymity) project. And it's very much a word of mouth kind of thing and I look up different organisations and I ask. There's different networks of organisations (removed for anonymity) so they have a whole network of organisations so I'm in touch with them. And then (removed for anonymity) is another award body for (removed for anonymity) so I would be in touch with them. So basically, I've different ways of finding people and then meeting with them and talking with them and following up, designing projects with them. And so, I suppose that is like curriculum development in a way, cos that's the content of what I'm teaching. It's a very applied teaching. And I teach (removed for anonymity) courses, I'm</td>
<td>Checking emails early in the morning</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Working hours are flexible</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Working late</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trying to see her children</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not seeing children in the evenings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Having lots of meetings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teaching on different programmes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Liaising with organisations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Meeting different organisations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Trying to find a match between the programme and the organisation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Relying on word of mouth</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Having knowledge of many networks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Having knowledge of award bodies</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Finding organisations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Meeting organisations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Designing projects</td>
</tr>
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<td>Designing curriculum</td>
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moving away from a typical day here, I can come back to typical day OK (laughs). (removed for anonymity) different courses – (removed for anonymity) of them are the (removed for anonymity) where a lot of the work goes into lining up the projects and then once the projects are lined up then I do like (removed for anonymity) lectures with the (removed for anonymity) so a lot of lecturing. And then I meet with the teams individually as they’re doing their projects and I give them a bit of advice and guidance. And then there’s presentation day which is like a 9 to 5 full day of presentations and all the organisations come in one-by-one and the teams come in one-by-one and they present their organisations and we have a discussion about the project. So that’s a really intense day. So, and then there might be a day where I might finish up early and then there’s other days where I might finish at 9, so there’s no typical day (laughs).

I: OK so it’s quite flexible?

P: Very flexible but it can be very demanding too. And then the long days are really long, you know. And then I have to push myself sometimes to take off a couple of hours if I think look, I have to catch up with stuff in the house or do something with the children or whatever. So that’s my break (laughs), my home job. (removed for anonymity) It can be quite stressful. It’s hard to balance that. I also feel like cos they’re young, there’s a limited time with that, that it’s not always going to be like that. So...and then the other (removed for anonymity) courses I teach are undergraduate, so they run during the term. The tricky thing about that is that’s the undergraduate schedule and then like this week is reading week for the undergraduates and I’ve (removed for anonymity). And then summer, there’s no undergraduate but that’s when I have the (removed for anonymity) teaching. So, my whole year is blocked up with teaching and the tricky thing about that is that 40% of my time is supposed to be spent on research. So, it’s very hard to fit...it’s not that the teaching is so demanding but it’s just that the way it’s laid out doesn’t leave a lot of room for research. So, I struggle to get the amount of research done that I would like to, and I enjoy the research, I really love doing the research. But because of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being distracted</td>
<td>Spending a lot of time on preparing for modules</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Planning a lot</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lecturing a lot</td>
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<td>Meetings students individually</td>
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<td>Giving guidance and advice</td>
<td>Organising presentations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Managing students and organisations</td>
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<td>Having an intense day</td>
<td>Having an intense day</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Finishing up early some days</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Finishing late some days</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not having a typical day</td>
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<tr>
<td>Being flexible but demanding</td>
<td>Being flexible but demanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>Having very long days</td>
<td>Having very long days</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forcing yourself to take time off</td>
<td>Forcing yourself to take time off</td>
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<tr>
<td>Having housework</td>
<td>Having housework</td>
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<tr>
<td>Needing to do things with the children</td>
<td>Needing to do things with the children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spending time on home job is a break</td>
<td>Spending time on home job is a break</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finding humour in difficult times</td>
<td>Finding humour in difficult times</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finding it difficult to balance work and family</td>
<td>Finding it difficult to balance work and family</td>
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<tr>
<td>Missing time with young children</td>
<td>Missing time with young children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clashing timetables</td>
<td>Clashing timetables</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching all year</td>
<td>Teaching all year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having research requirements</td>
<td>Having research requirements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Having little time</td>
<td>Having little time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching isn’t difficult</td>
<td>Teaching isn’t difficult</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not having room for research</td>
<td>Not having room for research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggling to get research done</td>
<td>Struggling to get research done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loving research</td>
<td>Loving research</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
the way the teaching is lined up it’s very hard to get the time.

I: So how do you manage then in terms of research? So, what did you say, 40% is supposed to be research.

P: 40% is research, and 40% is supposed to be teaching, and 20% is supposed to be admin.

I: yeah but how much percentage do you say probably realistically goes to (removed for anonymity) and undergrad?

P: Oh 60%. Like I’d say probably 60%. I probably do less admin. I spoke to (removed for anonymity), who is my direct line manager, at the beginning when they were dividing up the work for this year. And I said that I can’t do the amount of research that I want to because... and a lot of people teach (removed for anonymity) courses and I teach (removed for anonymity) [more than others]. But then people who teach three courses might have a bigger admin role. So, I was the co-ordinator for (removed for anonymity) and (removed for anonymity) took that role away from me. So I don’t really have a strong admin role, whereas somebody might be the Director of an (removed for anonymity) programme or the Director of an (removed for anonymity) programme, or the Director of the (removed for anonymity) programme or whatever. So, I had the Director of the (removed for anonymity) which is kind of minor and I dropped that one. So, then the tricky is when I’m going up promotions, it might look like I don’t have that kind of role. Anyone looking at that might say well she didn’t show any leadership in this admin role, and she’s supposed to have two. So, you can’t win! (laughs).

Teaching times clashing with research

Seeking clarification and reiterating what interviewee said to acknowledge and demonstrate absorption of their comments (Charmaz, 2014, p. 97)

Having research, teaching and administration requirements

Spending 80% of her time on teaching

Speaking with her manager

Sharing her concerns

Not being able to do research

Having more modules to teach than others

Recognising complexities of administration roles

Shedding tasks

Not having a strong administration role

Different roles can have heavy administration loads

Shedding tasks

Lacking roles for promotional purposes

Not being able to meet the requirements on paper

Not being able to win
<table>
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<th>Transcript</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: So, could you, just first to start with, could you tell me a little bit about a typical day or a typical week, if that varies, or what would you typically do?</td>
<td>Emphasising that days vary</td>
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<tr>
<td>P: My week is very varied. In term-time I would be in between maybe three and five days a week. But in the summer when it’s research season, I might be in just one day a week, so it really varies. Yeah but I would try and work at least one day a week at home, which I love. It’s great.</td>
<td>Having different requirements depending on the time of the year</td>
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<tr>
<td>I: Yeah. Do you find that you’re able to get a lot more done at home then?</td>
<td>Being able to work from home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Yeah, I really focus. When I really need to get something done, I will arrange to be at home one, if not two, days at home to get it done. When I come in, yeah well, I arrange meetings for when I come in and then I tend to talk to colleagues which is important as well, but when I need to focus, yeah.</td>
<td>Loving the flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: Right, OK. And in terms of your contract, you’re obviously teaching, you have a research component, roughly how much would that be?</td>
<td>Being able to focus at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Yeah, so there’s three components of the 100% which is, well depending on who you talk to, some people say a third teaching, some people say 40%, and then a third research. Actually, the university is one-third teaching, one-third research, and one-third service to the discipline, and that’s split half and half, to half to (removed for anonymity) and half to external. So we all have an admin…so my task is Director of (removed for anonymity), so I'm setting up an (removed for anonymity), and then my…I'm also a tutor for students and I'm involved</td>
<td>Arranging to work from home to ensure work is done</td>
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<td>Coming in for meetings</td>
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<td>Talking with colleagues is important</td>
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<td>Some people have 33% teaching</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Some people have 40% teaching</td>
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<td>Some people have 33% research</td>
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<td>33% teaching, 33% research and 33% service to the discipline</td>
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<td>Having an administration role</td>
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<td>Having a director role</td>
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<td>Creating new programmes</td>
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<td>Being a tutor</td>
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<td>Spending time on student activities</td>
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<td>Engaging with students</td>
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<td>Attending meetings</td>
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<td>Reviewing on journals</td>
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<td>Being an external examiner</td>
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<td>Having variety</td>
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with the (removed for anonymity) so I do different competitions with them and I go to their meetings once a month etc. And then external would be things like, I’m a reviewer on two journals and I’m an external examiner for (removed for anonymity). So, yeah, they’re all the different things that fit in.

I: OK, so they’re all part of your contract?

P: Yeah, yeah.

I: So, you mentioned that you’re from a (removed for anonymity) background, so you teach (removed for anonymity). How many modules roughly would you teach? How many students would you, do you know…?

P: Yeah so, the first few years, so this is just my (removed for anonymity) year. So the first (removed for anonymity) years I did (removed for anonymity) modules and now I’ve only (removed for anonymity) this year, and part of that was cos of my student numbers, so I’ve…last year I would have had eh…so my biggest class was (number removed for anonymity) second years and then (number removed for anonymity) …third years. And then I had two (removed for anonymity) classes, one was (removed for anonymity) and the other was just (removed for anonymity), which was nice. So, I’ve dropped the, well not that I’ve dropped it, they’ve cut (removed for anonymity) out of the (removed for anonymity) that I was doing so it would have had to have been replaced with something else. So, this year I have (removed for anonymity) modules with very large class sizes.

I: Right. And you would have a TA to help you?

P: I’ve two TAs on the (number removed for anonymity) one, yeah, which you need, but it still doesn’t cut Not being new but not being there a long time either
Having several modules
Having less modules due to higher student numbers
Having a very large class
Having another large class
Having another large class
Having a smaller class
Enjoying smaller class

Not having enough help
it out cos one of my TAs pulled out at short notice on corrections cos, look, he had too much on, and you’re still, the buck stops with you with regards to the exams and…the email, the contact with students is a lot because they really have to email you once each which… Yeah so it’s a good bit of admin…

I: Yeah if you have over (removed for anonymity) and (removed for anonymity) emails, that’s tough to balance.

P: Yeah so, it’s quite a lot of, I suppose, admin. Obviously the major problem, lecturing it doesn’t matter how many people you’re talking to, it’s corrections. So, I would try and get the TAs to help me, but it doesn’t always work out so…

I: And then would you be kind of in a bit of a tight situation, you have, what is it, a one-month turnaround?

P: Yeah but I would allow for that cos that’s the second time that has happened, so I ask them to be finished well before the deadline cos I just need a week if anything goes wrong. And if you really needed to, you could get several hundred done in a week if you just did nothing else, do you know, so…

I: (Laughs) A bad week!

P: Yeah, so you have to add that in cos just things happen, people get sick or whatever so, yeah, I would build that in, yeah.

I: Yeah, especially in May can be quite intense.

P: Yeah, or they’ve overcommitted to other stuff and obviously the deadline of getting them in is completely inflexible so, yes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Being let down</th>
<th>The buck stops with you</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having contact with students</td>
<td>Students emailing you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a lot of administration</td>
<td>Having a lot of corrections due to student numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trying to get help</td>
<td>Sometimes it doesn't work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being let down before-learning from past experience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving enough time to get work done</td>
<td>Being strategic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being aware of how much she can correct in a set period</td>
<td>Being pragmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning for problems to avoid issues</td>
<td>Other people overcommitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflexibility of deadlines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Example of initial line by line coding in Interview 1 (IoT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcript</th>
<th>Initial code</th>
<th>Focused code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: could you tell about a typical day or week at work?</td>
<td>Thinking teaching hours are too much</td>
<td>Having long teaching hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: So in (name removed for anonymity), typical work day, insane amount of</td>
<td>Teaching almost every day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecturing hours, for me it was 18 contact hours, so that means almost</td>
<td>Finding gaps to prepare for teaching</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>every day you are up there for teaching, and whatever gap you find you</td>
<td>Being busy most days</td>
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<tr>
<td>prepare for the next class, so in terms of hours it was busy from</td>
<td>Institution being aware of the need for time to prepare</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monday to Thursday. Friday there was no class scheduled so they'll make</td>
<td>Being given time for yourself</td>
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<tr>
<td>sure that you get at least one day, so whatever you want to prepare for the</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>next week or that you want to research, so at least you get one day which</td>
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<tr>
<td>I think is allocated to you. So that's a typical work week in (name</td>
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<td>removed for anonymity).</td>
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<tr>
<td>I: Okay 18 hours a week?</td>
<td>Clarifying teaching hours</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P: Yes 18 contact hours.</td>
<td>Emphasising how many behind the scenes hours are involved in teaching</td>
<td>Having a lot of preparation duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: So that's a lot</td>
<td>Reiterating what interviewee said to acknowledge and demonstrate absorption</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>P: And add to that the preparation hours and you'll know what I mean.</td>
<td>of their comments (Charmaz, 2014, p. 97)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I: Yeah, okay so would you have to do a lot of work at the weekends then</td>
<td>Preferring to work longer hours during the week than at the weekend</td>
<td>Setting boundaries</td>
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<tr>
<td>as part of it or was it just long hours just Monday to Friday trying to</td>
<td>Gaining experience and having less workload</td>
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<tr>
<td>manage that? 18 hours is a lot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P: uh, I managed through long hours during weekdays, so I preferred not to</td>
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<tr>
<td>move it to the weekend, and plus I think it's more work in the first year,</td>
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<td>but once you have material you can simply tweak it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transcript</td>
<td>Initial code</td>
<td>Focused code</td>
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<tr>
<td>P: So, I live in (name removed for anonymity), quite far away. And I take the train in, today I took the bus, sometimes I take the coach but usually I take the train. And I have Wi-Fi on the train and I usually check my email on the way in cos it’s an hour so… I would get the 7.30 train in the morning or the 9 o’clock train sometimes, depending. If I have an evening thing on, I might get the 9 o’clock and I’m not getting home til 9 o’clock so it’s a long enough day. See the children in the morning as well, cos I know I won’t see them at night. And then a lot of my day I suppose is meetings so I teach (name removed for anonymity) and the, two of the courses are (name removed for anonymity) with the (name removed for anonymity) course, so every year I have to line up about (removed for anonymity) organisations to do a sort of a (removed for anonymity) project with the (name removed for anonymity) students. So, I have to meet different organisations and talk to them and tell them about it and see if they have a need that would be suitable for a (removed for anonymity) project. And it’s very much a word of mouth kind of thing and I look up different organisations and I ask. There’s different networks of organisations (removed for anonymity) so they have a whole network of organisations so I’m in touch with them. And then (removed for anonymity) is another award body for (removed for anonymity) so I would be in touch with</td>
<td>Checking emails early in the morning</td>
<td>Not having time with family</td>
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<td>Working hours are flexible</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Working late</td>
<td>Juggling tasks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not seeing children in the evenings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Having lots of meetings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teaching on different programmes</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Liaising with organisations</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Meeting different organisations</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Trying to find a match between the programme and the organisation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Relying on word of mouth</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Having knowledge of many networks</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Having knowledge of award bodies</strong></td>
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</table>
them. So basically, I've different ways of finding people and then meeting with them and talking with them and following up, designing projects with them. And so, I suppose that is like curriculum development in a way, cos that's the content of what I'm teaching. It's a very applied teaching. And I teach (removed for anonymity) courses, I'm moving away from a typical day here, I can come back to typical day OK (laughs). (removed for anonymity) different courses — (removed for anonymity) of them are the (removed for anonymity) where a lot of the work goes into lining up the projects and then once the projects are lined up then I do like (removed for anonymity) lectures with the (removed for anonymity) so a lot of lecturing. And then I meet with the teams individually as they're doing their projects and I give them a bit of advice and guidance. And then there's presentation day which is like a 9 to 5 full day of presentations and all the organisations come in one-by-one and the teams come in one-by-one and they present their organisations and we have a discussion about the project. So that's a really intense day. So, and then there might be a day where I might finish up early and then there's other days where I might finish at 9, so there's no typical day (laughs).

I: OK so it's quite flexible?

P: Very flexible but it can be very demanding too. And then the long days are really long, you know. And then I have to push myself sometimes to take off a couple of hours if I think look, I have to catch

| Finding organisations |
| Meeting organisations |
| Teaching style |
| Being distracted |
| Designing projects |
| Designing curriculum |
| Spending a lot of time on preparing for modules |
| Planning a lot |
| Lecturing a lot |
| Meetings students individually |
| Giving guidance and advice |
| Organising presentations |
| Managing students and organisations |
| Having an intense day |
| Finishing up early some days |
| Finishing late some days |
| Not having a typical day |
| Being flexible but demanding |
| Having very long days |
| Forcing yourself to take time off |
| Having housework |

| Having a lot of preparation duties |

| Having variety |
up with stuff in the house or do something with the children or whatever. So that’s my break (laughs), my home job. (removed for anonymity) It can be quite stressful. It’s hard to balance that. I also feel like cos they’re young, there’s a limited time with that, so it’s not always going to be like that. So...and then the other (removed for anonymity) courses I teach are undergraduate, so they run during the term. The tricky thing about that is that’s the undergraduate schedule and then like this week is reading week for the undergraduates and I’ve (removed for anonymity). And then summer, there’s no undergraduate but that’s when I have the (removed for anonymity) teaching. So, my whole year is blocked up with teaching and the tricky thing about that is that 40% of my time is supposed to be spent on research. So, it’s very hard to fit...it’s not that the teaching is so demanding but it’s just that the way it’s laid out doesn’t leave a lot of room for research. So, I struggle to get the amount of research done that I would like to, and I enjoy the research, I really love doing the research. But because of the way the teaching is lined up it’s very hard to get the time.

I: So how do you manage then in terms of research? So, what did you say. 40% is supposed to be research?

P: 40% is research, and 40% is supposed to be teaching, and 20% is supposed to be admin.

I: yeah but how much percentage do you say probably realistically goes to (removed for

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needing to do things with the children</th>
<th>Not having time with family</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spending time on home job is a break</td>
<td>Having long teaching hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding humour in difficult times</td>
<td>Having a flawed workload model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding it difficult to balance work and family</td>
<td>Having a research output focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing time with young children</td>
<td>Being motivated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clashing timetables

Teaching all year
Having research requirements
Having little time
Teaching isn’t difficult
Not having room for research
Struggling to get research done

Loving research
Teaching times clashing with research

Seeking clarification and reiterating what interviewee said to acknowledge and demonstrate absorption of their comments (Charmaz, 2014, p. 97)

Having research, teaching and administration requirements
P: Oh 60%. Like I'd say probably 60%. I probably do less admin. I spoke to (removed for anonymity), who is my direct line manager, at the beginning when they were dividing up the work for this year. And I said that I can't do the amount of research that I want to because...and a lot of people teach (removed for anonymity) courses and I teach (removed for anonymity). But then people who teach (removed for anonymity) courses might have a bigger admin role. So, I was the co-ordinator for (removed for anonymity) and (removed for anonymity) took that role away from me. So, I don't really have a strong admin role, whereas somebody might be the Director of an (removed for anonymity) programme or the Director of an (removed for anonymity) programme, or the Director of the (removed for anonymity) programme or whatever. So, I had the Director of the (removed for anonymity) which is kind of minor and I dropped that one. So, then the tricky thing is when I'm going up promotions, it might look like I don't have that kind of role. Anyone looking at that might say well she didn't show any leadership in this admin role, and she's supposed to have two. So, you can't win! (laughs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spending 60% of her time on teaching</th>
<th>Not being able to do research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaking with her manager</td>
<td>Having more modules to teach than others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing her concerns</td>
<td>Recognising complexities of administration roles</td>
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<td>Shedding tasks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not having a strong administration role</td>
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<td>Different roles can have heavy administration loads</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shedding tasks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lacking roles for promotional purposes</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not being able to meet the requirements on paper</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not being able to win</td>
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<tr>
<td>Having too many tasks</td>
<td>Freeing up time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juggling tasks</td>
<td>Distributing work</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shedding tasks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Having a promotion desire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix G. 411 initial codes and their categorisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 1</th>
<th>How the HEI impacts the educator’s work investment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Categories:</td>
<td>Subcategories (focused codes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Juggling multiple tasks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The marketisation of education</td>
<td>Living contract to contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Interruptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Looking around at the landscape to get ahead</td>
<td>Creating knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 2</th>
<th>How personal factors impact the educator’s work investment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>1. Differing goals and aims in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subcategories (focused codes)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of promotions (Being driven and having a desire for promotions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of respect (Wanting to be respected and valued)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pursuit of information (Keeping up to date)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pursuit of knowledge sharing (Teaching and working with students)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of connection (Meeting people and collaborating)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pursuit of authenticity (Being true to yourself)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuit of autonomous creativity (Being autonomous and creative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>2. Compartmentalising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focused code/category</td>
<td>Initial codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Juggling multiple tasks | 1. Having research requirements  
2. Having teaching requirements  
3. Having administration requirements  
4. Having service requirements  
5. Spending time on various tasks  
6. Spending more time on teaching  
7. Spending more time on administration  
8. Reviewing on journals  
9. Being an external examiner  
10. Having different workloads  
11. Checking emails early in the morning  
12. Checking emails early in the evening  
13. Checking emails early at the weekend  
14. Working late  
15. Having very long days  
16. Finishing up early some days  
17. Finishing late some days  
18. Being busy most days  
19. Having very little time  
20. Being distracted  
21. Having an intense day  
22. Work 'dragging on'  
23. 'Frenetic approach to work like fire fighting'  
24. 'Running around putting out fires'  
25. Jumping from tasks to tasks  
26. Trying not to forget  
27. Trying to keep on top of things  
28. Losing control  
29. 'The combination of all the moving parts'  
30. Needing a 'wife' to do the job  
31. Emphasising that days vary  
32. Not having a typical day  
33. Having variety  
34. Having different requirements depending on the time of the year  
35. Working hours are flexible  
36. Being flexible but demanding  
37. Inflexibility of deadlines  
38. Narrowing timeframes  
39. Querying workload allocation model  
40. Speaking with managers/Consulting managers  
41. Sharing concerns  
42. Trying to see children  
43. Not seeing children in the evenings  
44. Needing to do things with the children  
45. Having housework  
46. Spending time on home job is a break  
47. Finding it difficult to balance work and family  
48. Missing time with young children |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour code categories:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Tasks associated with the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Time spent on the job</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Feelings about the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Variety in the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Restrictions in the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Fairness in the workload</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Implications for family life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living contract to contract</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49. Analysing the environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Identifying what you need to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Taking on extra work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Putting in more hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Feeling forced to work more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Securing permanency = ‘voluntary’ engaging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Volunteering for work is not voluntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Feeling obliged to give detailed feedback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Questioning your career choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Feeling overwhelmed</td>
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<tr>
<td>59. Worrying</td>
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<tr>
<td>60. Having sleeping problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>61. Feeling exhausted</td>
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<tr>
<td>62. Arguing with family</td>
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<td>63. Feeling vulnerable</td>
</tr>
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<td>64. Feeling isolated</td>
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<td>65. Favouritism</td>
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<tr>
<td>66. Conflicting advice</td>
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<tr>
<td>67. Lacking any certainty</td>
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<tr>
<td>68. Longing for a permanent contract</td>
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<tr>
<td>69. Having no stability</td>
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<tr>
<td>70. ‘Cobbling together’</td>
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<td>71. Being treated like ‘slave labour’</td>
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<td>72. Dehumanising educators</td>
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<tr>
<td>73. Existing</td>
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<tr>
<td>74. Experiencing poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>75. Needing money</td>
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<tr>
<td>76. Doing everything to protect your income</td>
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<tr>
<td>77. Delaying payments</td>
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<td>78. Publishing in free time</td>
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<td>79. Publishing for free</td>
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<td>80. Restricting academic freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. Eroding passion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. Sacrificing your integrity</td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour code categories:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Analysing what needs to be done</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Taking action to help yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Feelings about your situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Financial implications of your situation</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Creative implications of your situation</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>Spending considerable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83. Having a lot of administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>84. Never ending work</td>
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<td>amounts of time engaging in administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colour code categories:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time spent on the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasks and skills associated with the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings about the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness in the workload</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional factors increasing the workload</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needing help from colleagues</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching long hours and increasing class sizes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>136. Thinking teaching hours are too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137. Teaching almost every day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138. Emphasising how many behind the scenes hours are involved in teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139. Teaching all year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140. Spending a lot of time preparing for modules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141. Planning a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142. Having no time to adjust material</td>
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<td>143. Lecturing a lot</td>
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<td>144. Spending time on student activities</td>
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<td>145. Finding gaps to prepare for teaching</td>
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<td>146. Teaching style is time consuming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147. Teaching times clashing with research</td>
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<tr>
<td>148. Teaching on different programmes</td>
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<tr>
<td>149. Engaging with students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150. Having contact with students</td>
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<tr>
<td>151. Meetings students individually</td>
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<tr>
<td>152. Giving guidance and advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153. Organising presentations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154. Managing students and organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155. Having several modules</td>
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<tr>
<td>156. Having less modules due to higher student numbers</td>
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<tr>
<td>157. Having a very large class</td>
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<tr>
<td>158. Having a smaller class</td>
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<tr>
<td>159. Enjoying smaller class</td>
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<tr>
<td>160. ‘People are squashed’</td>
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<tr>
<td>161. ‘Monetisation’</td>
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<td>162. ‘Neoliberalism’</td>
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<td>163. ‘Production lines’</td>
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<td>164. ‘Teaching to the mean’</td>
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<tr>
<td>165. ‘Needing more funding’</td>
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<tr>
<td>166. Sacrificing students</td>
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<tr>
<td>167. Struggling students</td>
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<tr>
<td>168. Providing a good service</td>
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<tr>
<td>169. Not supporting those who need help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170. ‘Internationalising education’</td>
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<tr>
<td>171. ‘Chasing tails’</td>
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<tr>
<td>172. ‘Catching a breadth’</td>
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<td>173. ‘Plateauing’</td>
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<tr>
<td>174. ‘Snowballing’ student numbers</td>
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<td>175. Needing funding</td>
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</table>
176. **Sinking rankings**
177. **Not preparing students for work life**
178. **Questioning your career choice**
179. **Recruiting supervisors—taking up that slack**
180. **'Ending up fried'**
181. **Having more modules to teach than others**
182. **Clashing timetables**
183. **Not having enough staff**
184. **Increasing workload**

**Colour code categories:**
- Time spent on the job
- Tasks and skills associated with the job
- Feelings about the job
- Fairness in the workload

### Interruptions
185. **Knocking on the door**
186. **'Popping head in'**
187. **'Quick requests'**
188. **'Open door policy'**
189. **Phone ringing**
190. **Emails coming in**
191. **Chatting**
192. **Sharing offices**
193. **Attending meetings**
194. **Needing to go to meetings**
195. **Voicing your thoughts**
196. **Being part of decision making**
197. **Being distracted**
198. **Running around**
199. **Being late**
200. **Eroding research time**
201. **Focusing is impossible**
202. **Needing to focus**
203. **Thinking time**
204. **Controlling your day**
205. **Wasting time at meetings**
206. **Resenting meetings**
207. **Questioning how meetings could be structured**
208. **Being flexible**
209. **Being able to work from home**
210. **Loving the flexibility**
211. **Being able to focus at home**
212. **Arranging to work from home to ensure work is done**
213. **Taking work home**
214. **Working from home**
215. **Getting more work done**

**Colour code categories:**
- Causes of interruptions
- Implications of interruptions
- Institutional factors blurring work and home life
- Making up for interruptions
| Creating knowledge                                      | 216. Not having room for research |
|                                                      | 217. Struggling to get research done |
|                                                      | 218. Not being able to do research |
|                                                      | 219. Spending too much time on non-research activities |
|                                                      | 220. Not being able to meet the requirements on paper |
|                                                      | 221. Not being able to ‘win’ |
|                                                      | 222. Managing your time |
|                                                      | 223. Shedding tasks |
|                                                      | 224. Lacking support |
|                                                      | 225. Helping junior staff |
|                                                      | 226. Talking with colleagues is important |
|                                                      | 227. Teaching junior staff how to prioritise |
|                                                      | 228. Learning about research pipelines |
|                                                      | 229. Loving research |
|                                                      | 230. Doing research for yourself |
|                                                      | 231. Placing more weight on research |
|                                                      | 232. Feeling pressure to publish |
|                                                      | 233. Researching to keep your job |
|                                                      | 234. Researching to get a job |
|                                                      | 235. Taking on extra work |
|                                                      | 236. Seeing yourself as a brand to be marketed |
|                                                      | 237. Bringing in publications |
|                                                      | 238. ‘Running to standstill’ |
|                                                      | 239. Obsessing about publishing |
|                                                      | 240. Speculating about colleagues research outputs |
|                                                      | 241. Broadening the meaning of research |
|                                                      | 242. Restricting intellectual freedom |
| Colour code categories:                               | Having research time |
|                                                      | Having research support |
|                                                      | Institutional and industry factors blurring work and home life |
|                                                      | Having research freedom |
|                                                      | Enjoying research |
|                                                      | Observing colleagues |

<p>| Sitting back and cruising along                      | 243. Speaking with managers/consulting managers |
|                                                      | 244. Sharing concerns |
|                                                      | 245. Doubting fairness |
|                                                      | 246. Working alone |
|                                                      | 247. Clashing with colleagues |
|                                                      | 248. Self-serving |
|                                                      | 249. Shedding tasks |
|                                                      | 250. Playing the system |
|                                                      | 251. ‘Back scratching’ |
|                                                      | 252. ‘Tacky’ behaviour |
|                                                      | 253. ‘Bullshitting’ |
|                                                      | 254. Dividing staff |
|                                                      | 255. Comparing yourself against colleagues |
|                                                      | 256. ‘Getting away with murder’ |
|                                                      | 257. ‘Cancelling classes’ |</p>
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<th>Colour code categories:</th>
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<tr>
<td>● Trying to help yourself</td>
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<td>● Observing colleagues</td>
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<tr>
<th>Compartmentalising</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>261. Ways of managing</td>
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<tr>
<td>262. Learning from past experience</td>
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<td>263. Leaving enough time to get work done</td>
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<td>264. Being strategic</td>
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<td>265. Having a contingency plan</td>
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<td>266. Thinking about how to manage workload</td>
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<td>267. Being aware of how much you can grade in a set period</td>
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<td>268. Planning for problems to avoid issues</td>
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<td>269. Shedding tasks</td>
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<td>270. Gaining experience and having less workload</td>
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<td>271. Forcing yourself to take time off</td>
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<td>272. Preferring to work longer hours during the week than at the weekend</td>
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<td>273. Making a conscious effort to protect your family</td>
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<td>274. ‘Carving out time’</td>
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<td>275. ‘Compartmentalising’</td>
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<td>276. ‘Sticking a pin in it’</td>
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<td>277. Finding humour in difficult times</td>
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<td>278. Being pragmatic</td>
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<td>279. Making ‘trade-offs’</td>
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<td>280. Feeling obliged to work</td>
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<td>281. Feeling guilty when not working</td>
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<td>282. Avoiding guilt</td>
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<td>283. Bouncing back</td>
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<td>284. Dwelling</td>
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<td>285. Panicking</td>
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<td>286. ‘Fretting’</td>
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<td>287. ‘Switching off’</td>
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<td>288. ‘Ruminating’</td>
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<th>Colour code categories:</th>
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<tr>
<td>● Trying to help yourself</td>
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<td>● Creating personal time</td>
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<td>● Having negative feelings</td>
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<tr>
<th>Pursuit of promotions (Being driven and having a desire for promotions)</th>
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<tr>
<td>289. Being ambitious</td>
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<td>290. Wanting success</td>
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<td>291. Working to get what I want</td>
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<td>292. Questioning strategies</td>
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<td>293. Being ruthless</td>
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<td>294. ‘Constantly pushing’</td>
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<td>295. Having ‘blinders on’</td>
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<td>296. Being passionate</td>
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<td>297. Giving it 100%</td>
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<td>332.</td>
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<td>333.</td>
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Colour code categories:
- **Having specific goals**
- Identifying how to achieve goals
- **Seeing yourself as a commodity**
- Deciding what to do
- **Impact of sacrifice**
- **Seeking positive feelings**

| Pursuit of respect (Wanting to be respected and valued) | 334. Valuing reputation |
| 335. Seeking prestige |
| 336. Seeking validation |
| 337. Being an equal |
| 338. Having a good 'social status' |
| 339. Seeking respect |
| 340. Seeking 'credibility' |
| 341. Contributing to the field |
| 342. Boosting your confidence  
343. Avoiding shame  
344. Having a competitive nature  
345. Looking at others  
346. Comparing  
347. Thinking ahead  
348. Crafting an image  
349. Expending effort to reach goals  
350. Hoping efforts pay off  
351. Maintaining an image  
352. Opening doors  
353. Helping others  
354. Making positive changes to a student's life  
355. Passing on information  
356. Creating 'ripples in the universe'  
357. Making your mark  
358. Having a purpose in life |
|---|
| Colour code categories:  
- Beneﬁting others  
- Finding purpose in your life  
- Having speciﬁc goals  
- Observing others  
- Ways of achieving goals |
| Pursuit of information  
(Keeping up to date) |
| 359. Attracting students to your module/institute  
360. Gaining interest  
361. Fostering passion in students  
362. Exciting students  
363. Innovating your practice  
364. Being ‘in step with the world’  
365. Maintaining your value  
366. Seeing the world differently |
| Colour code categories:  
- Self-serving beneﬁts  
- Selling your area  
- Improving yourself  
- Challenging ways of thinking |
| Pursuit of knowledge sharing  
( Teaching and working with students) |
| 367. Socialising  
368. Interacting with others  
369. Avoiding isolation  
370. Learning from each other  
371. Being challenged by students  
372. Challenging students  
373. Getting somewhere with small groups  
374. Teasing things out  
375. Enjoying small groups  
376. ‘Working my ass off’ (-)  
377. ‘Making you feel like you’re dead’ (-)  
378. ‘Why am I bothering?’ (-) |
| Colour code categories:  
- Socialising  
- Interacting with others  
- Avoiding isolation  
- Learning from each other  
- Being challenged by students  
- Challenging students  
- Getting somewhere with small groups  
- Teasing things out  
- Enjoying small groups  
- ‘Working my ass off’ (-)  
- ‘Making you feel like you’re dead’ (-)  
- ‘Why am I bothering?’ (-) |
| Pursuit of connection (Meeting people and collaborating) | 379. Discussing opportunities  
380. Enhancing publishing  
381. Gaining inspiration  
382. Demonstrating expertise outside the classroom  
383. Engaging with the community  
384. Meeting likeminded people  
385. Feeling part of something worthwhile |
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<tr>
<td>Colour code categories:</td>
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● Self-serving benefits  
● Belonging |
| Pursuit of authenticity (Being true to yourself) | 386. Setting a good example  
387. Behaving in a moral way  
388. Shunning ‘low hanging fruit’  
389. Feeling guilty  
390. Feeling ashamed about your behaviour  
391. Turning into something you don't want to be |
| Colour code categories: |  
● How you want to be  
● Feeling shame |
| Pursuit of autonomous creativity (Being autonomous and creative) | 392. Seeking intellectual stimulation  
393. Avoiding boredom  
394. Buzzing/‘feeling a buzz’  
395. Feeling passion  
396. ‘Flexing’ yourself  
397. Creating/‘being creative’  
398. Experimenting  
399. Exploring  
400. Solving puzzles  
401. Fixing things  
402. Thinking  
403. Pondering  
404. Being ‘driven by curiosity’/‘being curious’  
405. Seeing the ‘big picture’  
406. ‘Being passionate’  
407. ‘Fiddling’  
408. ‘Exploring’  
409. ‘Connecting things’  
410. ‘Digging’  
411. Getting ‘teeth into something’ |
| Colour code categories: |  
● Enjoying yourself |
Appendix H. Strategies for coding

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Remain open</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Stay close to the data</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Keep codes simple, precise and short but avoid too general codes</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Use terms everyone knows that have significant meanings</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Use a participant’s innovative term that captures experience if possible</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Try to use insider terms reflecting a group’s perspective</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Try to use statements which demonstrate actions or concerns</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Preserve actions—do not code topics—code actions</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Compare data with data</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Move quickly through data</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Do not overlook how people construct actions and processes</td>
</tr>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>What processes are the issue here and how can I define it?</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>How does the process develop?</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>How does the participant act whilst involved in the process?</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>How does the participant feel whilst involved in the process? What might their behaviour indicate?</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>When, why and how does this process change?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>What are the consequences of the process?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Do not attend to disciplinary or personal concerns rather than participants concerns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Avoid coding out of context</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Ensure you use codes to analyse and not just summarise</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Charmaz (2014, pgs. 120, 127, 134, 159)