

Supporting Staff Wellbeing – whose responsibility?

A think piece by the Scottish Division of Educational Psychology

September 2025

Good staff wellbeing is important for practitioners as individuals, for the education system and for the children and young people who they teach and support (Education Support, 2021). This paper will explore what is meant by staff wellbeing, why it is important and how it can be supported at both the organisational and individual level. Most of the available research relates to teacher wellbeing, however, the ways to support wellbeing discussed are relevant for all in Education Services. Findings from a recent national survey on the wellbeing of Educational Psychologists (EPs) are also considered. Reflective questions are included throughout to encourage critical thinking and discussion around how Education Services, including EP services, can support decision making on promoting staff wellbeing more effectively.

What is staff wellbeing?

Although there are variations in the definition of wellbeing, there is a consensus that wellbeing is a complex, multifaceted construct that is influenced by context and the individual (Coleman, 2009). Generally, definitions of wellbeing, particularly within education, focus on the absence of negative outcomes such as stress (Education Support, 2020). Some definitions have been criticised for being overly broad or descriptive (Forgeard et al., 2011; Dodge et al., 2012), therefore, becoming less meaningful and more difficult to apply within specific contexts.

As such, the following definition is adopted in recognition of its strengths-based approach, practical application and utility, particularly within the current educational context. Dodge et al. (2012) define wellbeing as ‘the balance point between an individual’s resource pool and the challenges faced’ (p. 230). Within this definition, wellbeing is viewed as a state of stable equilibrium between an individual’s psychological, social and physical coping resources and the challenges they encounter. This is consistent with an ecological, holistic approach which takes account of the interaction between an individual and their own unique context/environment and available resources, which can change at any given time.

Why is staff wellbeing important?

Within the literature, teacher wellbeing has been positively associated with improved pupil wellbeing (e.g. Glazzard and Rose, 2019; Harding et al., 2019;). However, it should be acknowledged that there is complexity involved in linking teacher wellbeing, staff-pupil relationships and educational outcomes. We know that supportive relationships act as a buffer to stress, increase feelings of connectedness to the establishment and foster a sense of belonging. However, as practitioner wellbeing declines, this likely impacts on practitioners' ability to develop, model and maintain supportive relationships with children and young people (Kidger et al., 2016; Jennings and Greenberg, 2009).

Specifically, the Anna Freud Foundation (2023) summarises the benefits of good staff wellbeing as follows:

- Positive impact on children and young people (including stronger relationships with children)
- More productive staff
- Fewer sickness-related absences
- Development of healthier coping strategies and ability to manage stress effectively
- Improved job satisfaction
- Staff who feel valued, supported, and invested in

Reflective question

How do we create and ensure safe environments to enable staff to talk about wellbeing?

What is the current landscape in relation to staff (teacher) wellbeing within Scottish education?

Consistent trends over time have indicated ongoing challenges around staff wellbeing within Scottish education, potentially exacerbated since the pandemic. This is evident from a range of sources. For example, a members survey conducted by the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) in 2023 reported that almost half of those who completed the survey experienced poor wellbeing at work, 52% frequently felt stressed at work and 34% felt that stress negatively impacted their work and personal lives (EIS, 2023). These outcomes are likely to have a detrimental impact on the sustainability of the workforce due to their impact on mental and physical health issues (Naghieh et al., 2015), in addition to teacher recruitment and retention (Foster, 2019).

Workload demands, inadequate staffing levels and resourcing, supporting pupils with additional support needs, changes to the curriculum and administrative paperwork are the most common drivers of stress for teachers in Scotland (White, 2020). It is also important to recognise the direct impact that poverty and the increased cost of living is having on the mental health and wellbeing of staff, children and young people and families, particularly since the pandemic (Mind, 2021). Additionally, staff views from the Behaviour in Scottish Schools Report (2023) indicate that negative pupil behaviour has a detrimental effect upon their mental health and wellbeing (Scottish Government, 2023).

There is some evidence to suggest that the wellbeing of senior leadership staff is of particular concern (Education Support, 2023), perhaps due to the unique pressures and complexities of their role, including leadership and management practices and interactions with multiple stakeholders (Tintoré et al., 2020). Furthermore, data from the Teacher Wellbeing Index (Education Support, 2023) has highlighted an increase in the percentage of teaching and senior leadership staff (55%) reporting that their organisational culture has a negative impact on their wellbeing.

Interestingly, most research has focused on the wellbeing and retention of school leaders and teaching staff. There is relatively less published research and survey data focusing on other groups, including support staff, early years practitioners and allied professionals such as EPs.

What do we know about EP wellbeing within Scottish Local Authorities?

A national wellbeing survey was carried out by representatives from Association of Scottish Principal Education Psychologists (ASPEP) and Scottish Division of Educational Psychology (SDEP) in 2023 to explore EP wellbeing across all Scottish local authorities.

Survey questions

EP Services were asked to discuss and provide a collective service response to the following questions:

1. What are the main factors impacting on EP wellbeing at work?
2. What does your service do at a whole service / organisational level to promote, support and sustain positive staff wellbeing?
3. What does your service offer at the individual level to promote, support and sustain positive staff wellbeing?
4. What are the current working arrangements for your EP Service?
5. What do you feel has been gained by changes in working arrangements in recent years?
6. What do you feel has been lost by changes in working arrangements in recent years?
7. How are you mitigating against what has been lost?
8. Please share any examples of effective approaches to promoting staff wellbeing that could be implemented in our working context.

Findings were shared at the SDEP annual national conference in 2024. Responses from 31 services identified several factors impacting adversely on EP wellbeing. These were similar to those reported by teaching and wider education staff (EIS, 2023), particularly around the increasing number of children and young people with identified additional support needs. EPs reported pressures such as increased volume and complexity of casework, increasing numbers of tribunals, alongside a reduction in the capacity of other services (e.g. CAMHS, third sector). Fewer opportunities for multi-agency working, and constraints with budgets and resources were also identified.

A range of wellbeing supports were identified across both the service/organisational and individual level. At the service level, EPs highlighted relational factors which positively influenced wellbeing. These included support and supervision, regular team meetings and social opportunities as part of a wider service culture which prioritises positive relationships. EPs valued opportunities for professional development which supported their ongoing skills, knowledge and understanding in order to manage role demands effectively. Similar supports were identified at the individual level, specifically in relation to management support and supervision, positive relationships with colleagues and flexible working arrangements to support their work life balance. Autonomy and distributed leadership opportunities were also reported in promoting positive wellbeing.

Reflective questions (EP Services)

- What strengths do we have as a profession that could further support and enhance work around staff wellbeing?
- How do we help ensure that EP services are cutting edge regarding staff wellbeing?
- How can we continue to learn from and share good practice?
- Are we confident that we can exemplify and respond, 'it's ok not to be ok'?
- How explicit do we make our own approaches to supporting and promoting our wellbeing to model and promote this across education?
- To what extent is staff wellbeing prioritised?
- Are supervision practices sufficiently focused on wellbeing, not just workload?
- Has our thinking around wellbeing changed/ developed since the pandemic? If so, in what ways and is this for the better or worse?
- Why do we have research and survey data which has largely only considered the wellbeing of teachers and school leadership staff? Could this promote a 'hierarchy' culture in terms of potential impact and supporting need?
- What structural or cultural shifts could better support emotional containment and professional resilience?

Supporting staff wellbeing

When considering how to support wellbeing, it is helpful to try to achieve a realistic balance between the challenges and available resources at both the individual and organisational level (e.g. Dodge et al., 2012). A recent NHS Scotland evidence review (White, 2020) highlighted that most interventions are at the individual-level and tend to focus on addressing mental health issues rather than the promotion of wellbeing. White (2020) emphasises the central importance of the workplace environment in the success of interventions to promote wellbeing. In this way, combined individual and organisational approaches to improving wellbeing are likely to be most effective, with the recognition that these are interrelated and may influence each other.

What do we know about how to support staff wellbeing at the individual level?

Self-determination theory

Self-determination theory (SDT) (Ryan and Deci, 2000) provides a useful framework when considering individual wellbeing needs and how to support these. According to SDT, staff wellbeing can be considered in relation to three basic needs: autonomy, competence and relatedness. For example, factors such as increased workloads are likely to have a negative impact on the psychological wellbeing of education practitioners by reducing opportunities for collegiate time and reducing feelings of competence in relation to having the time to do the job to their satisfaction.

Autonomy

A study by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) in collaboration with the Teacher Development Trust (TDT) suggests that teacher agency and autonomy over their professional development is strongly linked with job satisfaction and retention (Worth and Van den Brande, 2020). In this way, autonomy plays a significant role in supporting staff motivation, which has the potential to enhance role satisfaction and retention.

Competence

According to social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1977), self-efficacy refers to an individual's beliefs about their capabilities to successfully complete a task or specific course of action. For education practitioners, this relates to an individual's belief in their ability to perform their role effectively, and ultimately the belief in their capability to make a difference to pupil outcomes. Specifically, collective teacher efficacy (CTE), or the shared belief of school staff in their ability to positively impact pupil outcomes, has been shown to have the most significant effect on pupil achievement, in comparison to other factors such as teacher-pupil relationships, home environment and parental involvement (Hattie, 2009). Research has highlighted several approaches which are likely to be effective in promoting collective efficacy (Ross and Gray, 2006):

- Build instructional knowledge and skills
- Create opportunities for staff to collaboratively share skills and experience
- Provide actionable feedback on staff performance
- Involve staff in school decision making

Relatedness

Research findings highlight the importance of social relationships in fostering teacher resilience and wellbeing (Gu, 2014; Hascher and Waber, 2021). In particular, teachers report the value of peer support in promoting help-seeking behaviours (e.g., Ovenden-Hope, Blandford, Cain and Maxwell, 2018).

Individual Stress Responses

In addition to supporting staff motivation, practitioners will have individual responses and ways of managing work-related stress. According to the Transactional Theory of Stress (Lazarus and Folkman, 1987), stress is the result of both an individual's evaluation of the degree of threat posed by an event in addition to their perceived capacity to cope with the event. The Job-Demand-Control-Support-Model (Johnson and Hall, 1988) proposes that stress is created by high levels of job demands, such as heavy workload, role ambiguity, and job-related strain. However, the model proposes that individuals can manage these stressors through increased autonomy and control over their work (Karasek, 1990), which aligns with self-determination theory.

Good physical and psychological health are important in supporting individuals in coping with work-related stressors. Rubino et al., (2012) highlight that individuals who have high levels of optimism and self-efficacy tend to manage stress better, because they believe they have the capability to cope. There are a wealth of resources and supports available around supporting individuals to manage stress (e.g., relaxation techniques, NHS 5 ways to wellbeing, local authority produced staff wellbeing materials, counselling services etc).

Alongside this, and perhaps of greater importance given the plenitude of resources already available to staff, is what changes can be made at the wider organisational level within the workplace.

What do we know about how to support staff wellbeing at the organisational level?

Organisational level approaches focus on addressing aspects of the work environment, including organisational culture, role conflict and workload (Naghieh et al., 2015). This can include structures, policies, processes, culture, climate, programmes, roles or tasks. Viewing these through the 'demand-control-support model' (Karasek, 1990), whereby high psychological demands, coupled with a low degree of control and low levels of social support contribute to and maintain stress responses, can be a useful way to think about organisational change. When supporting organisational change to enhance staff wellbeing, consideration should be given to the importance of leadership and peer support structures.

Leadership

Leadership strongly influences the success of approaches and the extent to which they are successfully implemented, for example, modelling values and ensuring that resources and time are available. Previous research suggests that improvements in teachers' working environment are strongly linked with improved job satisfaction and retention in the profession. Specifically, this refers to policies and shared ways of working which are within the proximal control of school leadership and may therefore offer realistic opportunities for influence (Sims, 2021).

Positive leadership practices have been found to significantly enhance the overall wellbeing of education staff. Effective leaders were reported to demonstrate specific skills which influenced staff wellbeing, including skills in relationship building, contextual competence and social/ emotional competence (Cann, Riedel-Prabhakar and Powell, 2021).

Peer Support and Supervision

Although individuals may seek relationships with colleagues on an informal basis to meet their need for connection and a sense of belonging with others, more formal peer support structures at the organisational level should also be considered to help promote staff wellbeing.

Peer support has been identified as an effective intervention to support practitioner wellbeing. Social support networks can help to reduce stress and burnout and increase job satisfaction amongst education staff (Beasusaert et al., 2016; Kinman et al., 2011). In this way, peer support can act as a protective factor and help mitigate against the effects of stress (Mathieu et al., 2019), alongside reducing social isolation, which may be felt by teachers working independently within their classroom context. Peer support may also promote wellbeing through providing emotional support amongst colleagues. Evidence suggests that greater emotional support is associated with less emotional exhaustion, reduced stress and greater job satisfaction across a range of occupations (Mathieu et al., 2019).

One model of peer support that is firmly established within the 'helping professions' is supervision (Hawkins and Shohet, 2012). Supervision can take many forms and may include more formal supervision meetings with line managers, group supervision or peer supervision (Davys and Beddoe, 2010). Whilst teaching is considered to be a 'helping profession', supervision is not routinely implemented within education and is often associated with negative connotations of performance evaluation. A recent evaluation of the implementation of a peer support model within one Scottish local authority highlighted a positive impact in relation to supporting EP wellbeing (Veldon, 2024). Specifically, the model was found to be effective in strengthening collegiate relationships and supporting professional development and learning, within a protected space which was perceived to provide 'added value' beyond existing wellbeing supports.

The study also highlighted a number of contextual factors influencing effective implementation, including clarity regarding the purpose and structure of peer support sessions, group agreement and dynamics, practical considerations and wider systemic influences affecting sustainability.

When prioritised and facilitated effectively, supervision can support education staff to develop their professional knowledge and skills and learn new ways of coping with the demands of the role (Hawkins and Shohet, 2012). For example, school staff have reported valuing confidential, structured opportunities for collaborative problem-solving by sharing and engaging in discussions with colleagues. They reported that these opportunities provided both practical and emotional support (Rae et al., 2017).

In a recent Barnardo's report (Lawrence, 2020), nearly all education practitioners who took part in the survey expressed that they would welcome supervision in the same way it is available to other professionals within 'helping roles', particularly given the "emotional labour" (Lawrence, 2020, pg. 27) and demands placed upon them. Benefits of peer supervision as part of structured support for staff wellbeing highlighted within the report included: ensuring safe practice, allowing time and space for staff to process and reflect on their work, and thus achieving better outcomes for children and young people.

However, one of the biggest barriers to achieving this may be the protected time required. If time is not protected, the potential benefits of peer supervision may be outweighed by the additional time commitment required when workload issues have already been identified as impacting on staff wellbeing.

Reflective questions

- Whose responsibility is it to support staff wellbeing?
- How can we support an effective balance between challenges and available resources?
- How can we draw on research literature, theories and frameworks, e.g. nurture principles, to inform this work?
- What can we learn from systems theory and organisational psychology?
- What is the role of supervision in supporting wellbeing? How could supervision be effectively prioritised and implemented within school systems?
- Are we really focusing on the promotion of positive wellbeing as opposed to the reduction negative outcomes, such as stress?
- How can we evaluate the impact of approaches to support staff wellbeing?
- How can we recognise and support the wellbeing needs of all groups, with particular consideration to protected characteristics?
- How might we work more collaboratively to share resources, reduce duplication, and build collective capacity?

Further information and resources

Several EP Services have developed resources/ infographics in relation to supporting staff wellbeing, that provide accessible information supporting the factors detailed above.

- Angus - [National Action Enquiry Programme](#)
- North Ayrshire - [Staff wellbeing and psychological theory](#)
- Renfrewshire - [Practitioner Wellbeing Research Review](#)

Summary

- Positive staff wellbeing has been consistently linked with improved outcomes for children and young people, including their wellbeing and attainment.
- Wellbeing is a complex, multifaceted construct that is influenced by the interaction between the individual and the context.
- Definitions of wellbeing have traditionally been more deficit focused (e.g., levels of stress), particularly within education.
- Consistent trends over time have indicated ongoing challenges around staff wellbeing within Scottish education, potentially exacerbated since the pandemic.
- Most research has focused on the wellbeing of school leaders and teaching staff – there is relatively less research focusing on other groups, including support staff, early years practitioners and allied professionals such as EPs.
- Many of the current challenges within education are related to structural, political, and economic factors which cannot be easily balanced by individuals or organisations alone.
- Staff wellbeing is highly contextual. A number of surveys have highlighted influential factors, including the increasing impact of poverty, pressure on budgets, staffing, resources and supporting higher numbers of children and young people with ASN.
- As the challenges to staff wellbeing are contextual in nature, supports need to be contextually informed and responsive – no one size fits all.

Next steps

What further challenge questions should we ask ourselves about how to promote, support and sustain positive staff wellbeing? How can this support further self-evaluation across Education Services?

So, whose responsibility is it...?

Contributors

Larissa Cunningham and Francesca Nagle, Glasgow Educational Psychology Service

Malcolm McGovern, Fife Educational Psychology Service

Xanthe Wylie, North Ayrshire Educational Psychology Service

Craig Thomson, South Lanarkshire Educational Psychology Service

Lyn McLafferty, Falkirk Educational Psychology Service

Charlotte Murray, Renfrewshire Educational Psychology Service

Emma Nibhradaigh, Midlothian Educational Psychology Service

References

- Anna Freud Foundation (2023). Supporting staff wellbeing in schools. Available at: <https://www.annafreud.org/resources/schools-and-colleges/supporting-staff-wellbeing-in-schools/>
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioural change. *Psychological Review*, 84(2), 191-215.
- Beausaert, S., Froehlich, D. E., Devos, C., and Riley, P. (2016). Effects of support on stress and burnout in school principals. *Educational Research*, 58(4), 347-365.
- Cann, R. F., Riedel-Prabhakar, R., and Powell, D. (2021). A model of positive school leadership to improve teacher wellbeing. *International journal of applied positive psychology*, 6(2), 195-218.
- Coleman, J. (2009). Well-being in schools: Empirical measure, or politician's dream? *Oxford Review of Education*, 35(3), 281–292. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054980902934548>
- Davys, A., and Beddoe, L. (2010). *Best practice in professional supervision a guide for the helping professions*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Dodge, R., Daly, A., Huyton, J., and Sanders, L. (2012). The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(3), 222–235. <https://doi.org/10.5502/ijw.v2i3.4>
- Education Support (2020). Teacher Wellbeing Index 2020. Available at: https://www.educationsupport.org.uk/media/yfrhfjca/teacher_wellbeing_index_2020.pdf
- Education Support (2021). Teacher Wellbeing Index 2021. Available at: <https://www.educationsupport.org.uk/media/qzna4gxb/twix-2021.pdf>
- Education Support (2023). Teacher Wellbeing Index 2023. Available at: https://www.educationsupport.org.uk/media/0h4jd5pt/twix_2023.pdf

Educational Institute of Scotland (2023). 2023 EIS member survey - Workload, Health and Wellbeing, and The Cost of Living Crisis. Available at:
<https://www.eis.org.uk/Content/images/Research/2023MemberSurvey.pdf>

Forgeard, M. J., Jayawickreme, E., Kern, M. L., and Seligman, M. E. (2011). Doing the right thing: Measuring wellbeing for public policy. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 1(1), 79-106.

Foster, D. (2019). Teacher recruitment and retention in England (Briefing Paper 7222). House of Commons Library. <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7222/>

Glazzard, J., and Rose, A. (2019). The impact of teacher well-being and mental health on pupil progress in primary schools. *Journal of Public Mental Health*, 19(4), 349–357.
<https://doi.org/10.1108/JPMH-02-2019-0023>

Gu, Q (2014). The role of relational resilience in teachers' career-long commitment and effectiveness. *Teachers and Teaching*, 20(5), 502–529.

Harding, S., Morris, R., Gunnell, D., Ford, T., Hollingworth, W., Tilling, K., Evans, R., Bell, S., Grey, J., Brockman, R., Campbell, R., Araya, R., Murphy, S., Kidger, J. (2019). Is teachers' mental health and wellbeing associated with students' mental health and wellbeing? *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 242, 180-187.

Hascher, T., and Waber, J. (2021). Teacher well-being: A systematic review of the research literature from the year 2000–2019. *Educational Research Review*, 34, 100411.

Hattie, J. (2009). *Visible Learning. A Synthesis of Over 800 Meta-Analyses Relating to Achievement*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203887332>

Hawkins, P., and Shohet, R. (2012). *Supervision in the helping professions*. Maidenhead.

Jennings, P. and Greenberg, M. (2009). The prosocial classroom: Teacher social and emotional competence in relation to child and classroom outcomes. *Review of Educational Research*, 79 (1), 491-525.

Johnson, J. V., and Hall, E. M. (1988). Job strain, workplace social support, and cardiovascular disease: A cross-sectional study of a random sample of the Swedish working population. *American Journal of Public Health*, 78(10), 1336-1342.

Karasek, R. (1990). Stress, productivity, and the reconstruction of working life. *Health work*.

Kidger, J., Brockman, R., Tilling, K., Campbell, R., Ford, T., Araya, R., King, M., Gunnell, D. (2016). Teachers' wellbeing and depressive symptoms and associated risk factors: A large cross sectional study in English schools. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 192, 76-82.

Kinman, G., Wray, S., and Strange, C. (2011). Emotional labour, burnout and job satisfaction in UK teachers: The role of workplace social support. *Educational Psychology*, 31(7), 843-856.

Lawrence, N. (2020). Supervision in Education - Healthier Schools for All. Barnardo's Scotland report on the use of Professional or Reflective Supervision in Education. Available at: <https://www.barnardos.org.uk/sites/default/files/uploads/Supervision>

Lazarus, R. S., and Folkman, S. (1987). Transactional theory and research on emotions and coping. *European Journal of Personality*, 1(3), 141-169.

Mathieu, M., Eschleman, K. J., and Cheng, D. (2019). Meta-analytic and multiwave comparison of emotional support and instrumental support in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 24(3), 387.

Mind. (2021). Coronavirus: the consequences for mental health. London: Mind. Available at: [the-consequences-of-coronavirus-for-mental-health-final-report.pdf](https://www.mind.org.uk/the-consequences-of-coronavirus-for-mental-health-final-report.pdf) ([mind.org.uk](https://www.mind.org.uk))

Naghieh, A., Montgomery, P., Bonell, C. P., Thompson, M., and Aber, J. L. (2015). Organisational interventions for improving wellbeing and reducing work-related stress in teachers. Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews, (4).

Ovenden-Hope, T., Blandford, S., Cain, T. and Maxwell, B. (2018). Retain early career teacher retention programme: Evaluating the role of research informed continuing professional development for a high quality, sustainable 21st century teaching profession, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 44(5), 590–607.

Rae, T., Cowell, N., and Field, L. (2017). Supporting teachers' well-being in the context of schools for children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 22(3), 200-218.

Ross, J. A., and Gray, P. (2006). Transformational leadership and teacher commitment to organizational values: The mediating effects of collective teacher efficacy. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 17(2), 179-199.

Rubino, C., Perry, S. J., Milam, A. C., Spitzmueller, C., and Zapf, D. (2012). Demand-control-person: integrating the demand-control and conservation of resources models to test an expanded stressor-strain model. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 17, 456-472.

Ryan, R. M., and Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68–78. <https://doi.org/10.1037/110003-066X.55.1.68>

Scottish Government (2023). Behaviour in Scottish schools: research report. Available at: <https://www.gov.scot/publications/behaviour-scottish-schools-research-report-2023/>

Sims, S. (2021). Why do some schools struggle to retain staff? Development and validation of the Teachers' Working Environment Scale (TWES). *Review of Education*, 9(3), e3304.

Tintoré, M., Cunha, R. S., Cabral, I., and Alves, J. J. M. (2020). A scoping review of problems and challenges faced by school leaders (2003–2019). *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 1-38.

Veldon, E. (2024). An evaluation of a peer support model to support the wellbeing of Educational Psychologists (EPs) within one Scottish Local Authority (LA). *Educational Psychology in Scotland*, 24(1), 46-51.

White, J. (2020). Supporting teachers' mental health and wellbeing: Evidence review. NHS Scotland.

Worth, J., and Van den Brande, J. (2020). Teacher Autonomy: How Does It Relate to Job Satisfaction and Retention? National Foundation for Educational Research.