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Educational Leadership: Global Contexts and International Comparisons

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EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: GLOBAL CONTEXTS AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

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INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION AND SOCIETY VOLUME 11

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: GLOBAL CONTEXTS AND INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

EDITED BY

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FOREWORD

In setting out to write this Foreword, I began by reflecting first on my international experience as a scholar in educational leadership and administration over the past 20 years. Although, perhaps nontraditional in approach, I feel that telling my personal story of international engagement as a scholar and practitioner in educational leadership and management may be a useful vehicle for placing the themes of this volume in context.

STRANGER IN A STRANGE LAND

In 1991, through a series of accidents I found myself – an American academic from Vanderbilt University – located in Chiang Mai, a small city in Northern Thailand. I had chosen Chiang Mai University as the site for a Fulbright Fellowship working with their Department of Educational Administration. During the course of the Fulbright Fellowship, which lasted 7 months, I was initiated into a world of schools that was different from what I had known as a teacher, school administrator, and scholar in the USA.

The hardware of the schools in Thailand was remarkably similar to that of the USA. Schools looked like "schools," each with a building with a series of separate classrooms. Each classroom contained an individual teacher and many students sitting at individual desks and chairs. While the technologies in use were not nearly as advanced as in the USA, this was not the main difference that I observed. It was the cultural norms, in Hofstede's (1994) terms, the "software of the mind" that stood out as being different. This was captured in the relationships among students, between students and their teachers, between teachers and administrators, and between the school staff and the community.

It was through the study of these similarities and differences and the impact on leading and managing schools that I became "hooked" by the culture of Thailand and the region. In the ensuing 20 years, I have been privileged to work with schoolteachers and leaders in Thailand, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, and India. While, at the end of the day, I find more similarities in schooling than differences, the differences that do exist are real, important, and meaningful as we seek both to contribute to theory and improve schooling across the world.

At the conclusion of my Fulbright Fellowship, I was asked by the Dean at Chiang Mai University to continue to work with their faculty half-time for an additional three years. I did so, and that expanded again to an additional four years. By the year 2000, I had split my time between Vanderbilt and Chiang Mai University for a period of eight years.

As I reflect on my personal odyssey from Vanderbilt University in the USA to Asia, I cannot help but recall the reaction of my close and valued colleagues to my interest in living and studying educational leadership in a remote Asian country. Initially, I would characterize the reactions of colleagues as bemused tolerance. My Dean, who was among the most supportive, likened my working approach to that of an anthropologist in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. This professor went to collect data at the ruins in southern Mexico each year and then came back to "write up his results." I also recall my colleague Ken Leithwood's reaction when he came to a regional meeting that I had organized on school leadership development in Chiang Mai in 1994. As we drove around the city, I could see the unspoken question in his eyes – *why would you want to be here?* It became apparent to me that he and I were seeing two different images.

These reactions, however, became more intense in 2000 when my Department Head and Dean changed. My new Department Head had his own agenda and it did not include having a full professor off in Asia for half every year. He was gearing up to raise our Department from number two to number one in the country and my international work did not figure centrally in this agenda. I was given a choice to come back full time or leave. With that ultimatum in hand I gave up my tenured professorship at Peabody College in 2000. Now the academic tolerance of my colleagues, not only at Vanderbilt but elsewhere in the USA, turned into utter disbelief. Has he "gone native?"

My motivation was that it had already become apparent to me the really big questions in the field were no longer bound to particular national contexts. While American academia had dominated the empirical literature in published journals up to that time, globalization was bringing about radical changes to America's place in the world including academia. In my view, the most exciting future scholarship to be done lay in studying and contributing to the relatively unexplored educational systems that served the vast majority of the world's population.

The 1990s were the years when globalization first hit hard throughout the world. Initially, this meant an increasingly rapid spread of "Western"

Foreword

Anglo-American culture to other parts of the world. In the world of education, nations rushed to adopt a familiar litany of global education reforms such as student-centered learning, parental involvement, and school-based management.

However, these policy reforms often had little impact on schools and classrooms as they clashed with the norms of local cultures outside of Western nations. Thus, the same trends that led to globalization also became the stimulus for individual nations to look inward and ask, "what are our important values, norms, and traditions?" After all, at the end of the day, education is first and foremost about cultural transmission. This nexus between global education trends that assume similarity in values across cultures and the quite fundamental differences that actually exist is a fascinating intellectual space in which to work. That I believe is captured very well in this volume that includes chapters about leading schools from all continents across the world.

TRANSITION FROM SCHOLAR TO PRACTITIONER

My own engagement with the issues involved in applying global (i.e., Western) theories of education management to practice in Asia was, prior to 2000, primarily academic. I studied educational leadership and management in Southeast Asia and did large amounts of principal training in the region. My experience quickly taught me the need to adapt the traditional knowledge base for use in this "foreign context." Indeed this process of adaptation formed a significant part of my own personal research agenda.

This all changed, however, in 2000, when having left Vanderbilt University I reluctantly accepted a position as Executive Director and Chief Academic Officer of the College of Management at Mahidol University in Bangkok, Thailand. I say "reluctantly" because I had not been seeking an administrative position. In fact, I had just turned down the opportunity to become Chair of the Department of Educational Leadership and Organizations in Peabody College during the prior year. My motivation to take the position in Thailand emerged from my interactions with a group of principals at a workshop I was conducting in Bangkok on school-based management. The principals heard that I had been offered the position at Mahidol University's Business School. When they found out that I had turned it down, they said, "But you have to take it. You have been teaching us all of these theories and practices about leadership which sound good, but we still have not seen them

work anywhere in Thailand. Please take the job and let us see if they really can work."

With that "encouragement" I did accept the job and faced the fire of putting into practice what I knew about educational leadership in Thailand. Briefly, the context was that a large prestigious government university known for its specialization in medicine and the sciences had opened a graduate business school. The business school was started as a semi-independent unit of the university operating outside of the government system. The business school was intended to become a resource for effective management practices and innovation for the rest of the university.

At my point of entry, the business school was two years old and had gotten off to a successful start in terms of student enrollments. However, the business school's Board of Trustees (independent of the University Council), had serious concerns that the same strategy that had attracted large numbers of students in these first years was producing a level of quality well below the university's standard. The challenge handed to me was to "fix the problem" and improve academic quality in this 100% self-funding College.

The ensuing eight years proved to me both the relevance and limitations of Western theories of leadership, learning, and organizational change. On the positive side, I found that our students responded enthusiastically and successfully to student-centered learning when implemented correctly. Our business school implemented a problem-based learning track that eventually comprised 20% of the curriculum and which consisted of locally developed "problems." We sought to implement quite explicitly an "international approach" to education management but with stylistic nuances that took into account the local values and customs. By international approach I mean communicating a vision of being an international institution, meaningful participation and empowerment of decision making to staff, treating faculty as professionals (e.g., no punching a time clock), accountability for results, and continuous training not only for faculty but also for support staff.

With respect to leadership and change, I found myself – supposedly an international expert – in a continuous state of learning. At a general level, the change process posed many similarities to what we would experience in the West. The concepts of resistance, stages in the change process, "adopter types," unfreezing and freezing all seemed relevant in the Thai context. However, both the interpretation of staff behavior and the optimal strategies to achieve results in the context of Thai culture differed greatly.

By way of example, during my third year on the job, I got a new boss (Thai). After he had been there for about six months, he indirectly suggested

that I needed to work on my EQ (emotional intelligence quotient), especially controlling my own emotions. While this did not come as a total shock to me, it seemed to me that I had put an inordinate amount of effort into behaving according to the local norms and – in my own view – my lapses into normal American behavior had been few and far between.

To place this into context, I should note that Thai culture places a high value on an attitude they refer to as *jai yen* or cool heart. This means moderating your emotions under all situations, and if possible smiling even under the direst situations. This is why Thailand is known internationally as "the land of smiles." Similarly, in Thai culture to call someone *serious* is anything but a compliment. It is used to refer to someone who is unable to maintain harmony with others.

Overt emotional displays, which could be quite appropriate in an American management context, do not go over well in Thailand. While I had been aware of these EQ issues as an academic, displaying "culturally appropriate" emotions was sometimes easier said than done in the face of daily administrative situations. This was especially the case in a situation where we were seeking to bring about substantial change very quickly. Yet, my success depended upon my ability to adapt my behavior to this context. I was reminded of the words of my mentor and coach Edwin Bridges from Stanford University who drilled into us the adage, "leadership means getting results with and through other people."

Another "local norm" that figures largely in the life of Thai leaders is called *greng jai*. This central norm in Thai culture has no direct translation into English. The closest translation is to show deference or consideration to others, most specifically to those who are or may be senior in age, rank, or social status. The norm of *greng jai* is even apparent in the Thai language whereby Thai's often greet each other with a prefix that explicitly indicates whether the other is junior or senior to oneself.

Greng jai figures into the working life of Thai organizations in too many ways to recount here. Let me only note its relevance to the change process by simply saying that Thai's will almost never say "no" to anything you propose. Indeed, in most cases the proposal for almost anything made by someone senior in rank will be met by pleasant smiles and acceptance. Some may even respond enthusiastically with, "That sounds very interesting."

Yet, that response may not be consistent with what the person really thinks. In the West we would call that insincere. In Thailand it is simply an example of *greng jai*, which in this instance is going along with the wishes of another so he or she will not feel disappointed or disturbed. Thus, with respect to the process of organizational change, *greng jai* is the smiling face

that hides underlying resistance. So leading change first involves correctly interpreting behavior, and then formulating suitable strategies to address it.

I can say with considerable confidence that we succeeded in bringing about substantial and lasting changes in the business school. We implemented the only problem-based learning curriculum at a business school in Asia. Year-on-year, student numbers were stable at the desired level, quality of student intake rose annually, instructor quality improved rapidly and dramatically, and graduation rates were optimal (i.e., a high percentage but not all students made it through the Masters degree program). Our school's reputation in the local market soared and we became known for our teaching quality, innovation, as well as our studentcentered approach in both teaching and management.

Ironically, the end of the story is also revealing about the contextualization of values, knowledge, and leadership. In my eighth year at the college, my boss retired and the University's President decided to oversee the business school himself. Our approach to managing the school did not sit well with him at all. At a meeting with the faculty, staff, and management of the college, he said, "Since I have taken a closer look at the College in these last few months, I must say that I am disappointed with the way the school has been run. I find that the management has been using its judgment in making decisions rather than rules. This is not the right way to manage and it's going to change." I resigned from my management position at the College two weeks later.

The end of the story reveals the fact that while our College was highly successful at attracting and serving our students, there was a mismatch between the culture of the College and the culture of the larger university. Without the support and "protection" provided by my former boss, the implementation of the "international" approaches to leadership and management that we had used would not have been possible.

The story also has a postscript. The curriculum and instructional changes that we implemented had become so embedded in the norms and practices of the faculty that two years later they have continued more or less unchanged, though perhaps with less continuous development and coordination. However, true to his word, the President implemented a variety of "administrative reforms" all of which were intended to bring the management practices of the College in conformance with those of the university. Thus, at the end of the day, the "innovation center" represented by the College was forced to adopt the traditional management practices of the university. So much for "administrative reform."

It is interesting to note that in the year after my departure (and that of several other senior staff), enrollment plummeted from the stable level

of 375 new Masters degree students per year to under 100. Since the main marketing channel of the College was word of mouth, this suggests a high level of student dissatisfaction with the changes in management. In the ensuing two years, there have already been two changes of administration, each initiated by faculty and student dissatisfaction.

On the whole I can say that the eight years I spent at the business school comprised the greatest learning opportunity of my career as a scholar. I was forced to confront the limits of the leadership and management theories that I had learned as well as my own capabilities as a leader on a daily basis. As the story is meant to suggest, I left my position both with a healthy respect for the potential to be gained from the in-depth study of leadership and management across different cultures and energized to continue my own scholarship.

IMPLICATIONS AND LINKAGES

My storyline provides a link to many of the key themes addressed in this volume. Several chapters analyze the extent to which the field of educational leadership and management can be viewed as contextualized or universal. My own scholarship and experience suggest that there are aspects that may be universal, but in many cases there will be a local expression. For example, with respect to change theory, it may be the case that stages of change are common across cultures, but the specific strategies and actions that bring about change may differ.

Another theme in the volume concerns the importance of values and how value differences across cultures impact leadership and management. I have given several examples of this with respect to management in the Thai context, but I would like to add one more. I was recently in Korea discussing education reform with several professors. I mentioned that in Thailand there were three predominant education goals: for student graduates to be capable, virtuous, and happy. One of the professors commented that stress was a major problem in Korean education and that the Ministry wanted students to also feel greater satisfaction and happiness. He wondered what could be learned from Thailand. I asked whether the Ministry of Education in Korea would be willing to "trade off" lower performance results in order to have greater happiness and satisfaction. The answer was "No, I don't think so."

No doubt these national values and goals have a significant impact on the management policies and practices of school leaders and there are differences across societies. Several chapters in this volume address questions of the validity of evidence-based practices across cultures. Since validity is essentially concerned with meeting an external criterion, the values of the society will always determine the outcomes or standards against which best practice will be measured. Consider my examples of EQ in the Thai context as revealing one limiting condition for "best practice" in leadership and management.

This volume also includes several chapters that explore what I and my colleagues, Professors Ibrahim Bajunid and Cheng Kai Ming, have called indigenous conceptions of leadership. This refers to understanding how leadership is conceptualized on the terms of a given culture. In some cases, this can be done through in-depth study of leadership within a culture. In other cases, it can be advanced through cross-cultural comparison. Both are represented in this volume.

Finally, embedded but perhaps not sufficiently highlighted in my story was the importance of contextualizing leadership training and development to the local context. This issue is addressed in greater depth by several authors in this book. My own experience in creating a management curriculum in our college demonstrated the viability of using a global–local approach to leadership development. For example, our problem-based learning track included a series of modules each of which was organized around a focal problem that was taken from the regional Thai-Asian context. Knowledge resources were drawn from both local and global sources. It is the reality that more global sources were generally available than local sources, so we also had to work with our students to become critical consumers in considering if and how to apply global theories in the local context.

In this Foreword, I have taken a personal approach to contextualizing the themes addressed in this volume. These themes are of course developed in much greater depth in the following chapters. The chapters are engaging and for Western readers will, I believe, open our eyes to the cultural assumptions that we make about education and management.

Philip Hallinger Chair Professor of Leadership and Change Hong Kong Institute of Education

LEADERSHIP FOR INNOVATIVE OMANI SCHOOLS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: TRANSFORMING PRINCIPAL IDENTITY THROUGH CULTURALLY CONTEXTUALIZED TRAINING

Jan M. Westrick and Shirley J. Miske

INTRODUCTION

Dramatic economic, political, and societal changes at local, national, and global levels, along with commitments to achieve Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (UNESCO, 2000), are prompting national education leaders around the world to restructure and reenvision their education systems (OECD, 2008; Olson, 2008). Decentralization is one of the key structural changes governments are using to promote greater efficiency and to increase local participation in education related to decision making, finances, and accountability in schools. As the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the Sultanate of Oman makes the shift to a decentralized structure, it recognizes that its school administrators require new leadership skills in order to make the necessary changes. Implementing

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decentralization requires a shift in principals' work and thus their professional identity. "By building the leadership capacity of principals as leaders at the school level, (Oman's) MOE officials hope to strengthen the principals' ability to implement school reforms for the 21st century" (Seward International, Inc., 2008, p. 6).

Effective decentralization that shifts authority to the community and the school requires new leadership behaviors at the local level, especially among school principals. Twentieth century role definitions of principals as managers and implementers of educational policy and procedures are increasingly acknowledged to be out of date in many countries, including Oman (Al-Shaibani, 2006). Since institutional transformation and development are closely linked with the personal development of its leaders (Leonard & Goff, 2003; Parry & Sinha, 2005; Normore, 2004), leaders of national education systems need to identify ways to help principals focus more on leadership than on management. As principals increase their leadership skills, the capacity for change is enhanced in individual schools (Leithwood, 1996) and this can affect the entire educational system.

Assuming this different professional role necessitates a shift in the identities and work of school principals (OECD, 2008; Howley, Andrianaivo & Perry, 2005; Malone & Caddell, 2000; Wong, 2004; Barnett, 2004). How does this shift take place when principals have been trained by and enculturated into a centralized educational system? This chapter examines the role of professional development in facilitating and supporting principals' identity shift from manager to leader as support for the goal of decentralization of the education system. Specifically, it examines the culturally contextualized approach to the Principal Leadership Training (PLT) project in the Sultanate of Oman to transform secondary school principals' identities from school managers to school leaders.

The analysis presented in this chapter responds to the cultural narrowness of current literature on educational leadership in two significant ways. By presenting findings from Oman, a country rarely reflected in the leadership literature, the study provides a window into efforts to transform educational leadership in this relatively unstudied Middle Eastern country. Secondly, this study avoids the monocultural, usually western, bias of much of the current research in educational leadership by using the theoretical and empirical findings from the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) study, a 10-year research project that gathered data from 17,000 managers of 951 organizations in 62 countries around the world by a multinational research team of 170 researchers (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). The unprecedented inclusiveness and expansiveness of GLOBE's research design have produced insights about leadership and culture that can be applied within and across cultures and countries, providing insights into common (i.e., culture general) characteristics as well as unique (i.e., culture specific) characteristics of leaders' work and identities in different cultures.

BACKGROUND

Through the US State Department's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), Creative Associates International Inc. invited Seward Inc. in 2006 to work with Oman's MOE to develop a training program for secondary school principals. Implemented over a nine-month period, the PLT began with the trainers' scoping trip to Oman to interview key stakeholders, visit boys' and girls' schools, and make initial decisions for workshop curriculum development. The project's second phase consisted of three two-week training sessions delivered over a five-month period. During the third phase, a fourth, short workshop for MOE personnel helped ministry leaders plan the scaling up of the PLT.

The MOE selected principals to attend the PLT workshops on the basis of three criteria: the principals were considered successful; they were early enough in their careers that the training could influence school quality for a longer period of time; and their English was strong enough to enable full participation in the workshops that would not feature simultaneous translation. The MOE selected 18 male and female secondary school principals from all regions of the Sultanate, together with four administrative supervisors, and two central MOE research and evaluation specialists to participate in the three workshops.

The external project evaluation concluded, "the PLT Project was a resounding success" (Seward, 2008, p. A-20). Participants revealed "significant change in their thinking and work styles as a result of the training....(in) the way they tackle and resolve complex problems" (Seward, 2008, p. A-21). MOE administrative supervisors who participated in the PLT also reported changing the way they thought about their work with principals. MOE research and evaluation specialists found "the trainingdeepened their understanding of exactly how principals can support the MOE's high-profile quality assurance efforts and how they themselves (the MOE) can support the overall process (of change)" (Seward, 2008, p. 5). One of these specialists excitedly stated during the final interview, "With this

project I can now say that my 22 years of work is paying off and I feel like I'm finally achieving my goals for education in Oman" (Seward, 2008, p. 5).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The strength of the evaluation findings sparked the researchers' interest in investigating the reasons behind the PLT's success. In formulating the research questions for this study, we hypothesized that the culturally contextualized approach of the PLT enabled the Omani principals to shift their identities from management-oriented to leadership-oriented styles. Research questions for this study are:

- 1. To what extent did the Omani principals change their behaviors to adopt more of the global leader behaviors identified in the GLOBE study?
- 2. Do the kinds of behavior changes exhibited by principals indicate a shift of principal identity from management-oriented to leadership-oriented styles?

Specifically, if quantitative analysis of the data were to find that principals' behavior changes reflected primarily the characteristics of the Middle East cluster from the GLOBE study associated with contributing positively to effective leadership, this would support our hypothesis that the culturally contextualized approach of the PLT had enabled the Omani principals to shift their identities from management-oriented to leadershiporiented styles. Qualitative analysis of the interview and observational data would point to approaches or training activities that provided the context for principals' new understandings and behavior.

METHODOLOGY

Data analysis for this study examines the extent to which principal behavior changes match the universal leader behaviors identified in the GLOBE study, whether principals' thinking and behaviors (i.e., their professional identity) changed from management orientated to leadership oriented; and which training approaches and activities appeared to contribute to these changes. Quantitative and qualitative data collected during and after the workshops for the purposes of formative and summative evaluation are reanalyzed for this study in light of the GLOBE Culturally Endorsed Implicit Leadership Theories (CLT) and summarized in Table 1.

Data Source	Question or Survey Constructs	Type of Analysis		
Data Source	Question of Survey Constructs	Type of Analysis		
End of week evaluation forms	What parts of the week's workshop were most useful?	Categorization of participant responses according to GLOBE CLTs		
Principal report-outs of behavior changes	What changes have you tried/ implemented in your school since the last workshop?	Categorization of participant responses according to GLOBE CLTs		
Final interviews of principals	Has your thinking changed as a result of the PLT training?	Categorization of participant responses according to GLOBE CLTs		
21st Century School Administrator Skills self-assessment tool (NASSP, 2001)	Setting instructional direction, teamwork, sensitivity, judgment, results orientation, organizational ability, oral communication, written communication, developing others, understanding one's strengths and weaknesses	Statistical analysis of pre- and post-test scores		

Table 1. Data Analysis for the Oman PLT.

Other sources were examined to check for confirming and disconfirming evidence related to the research questions, including interviews of participants, key stakeholders, and trainers; scripts of instruction recorded by the program evaluator on some days of Workshops 1 and 3; and a document analysis of workshop materials.

OMAN

Modernization of the Sultanate

Located at the farthest southeastern point of the Saudi Arabian peninsula between the Strait of Hormuz and the Arabian Sea, Oman's geography includes mountain ranges, arid deserts, fertile plains, and a stunning coastline. Having expelled the Portuguese from their own and others' territories in the region, the Sultanate became economically linked to seafaring trade and shipbuilding for centuries, controlling the East African coast to as far as Zanzibar and Mombasa in the late seventeenth century. While Oman has had close ties with the United Kingdom since its first friendship treaty in the late eighteenth century, it was never colonized by the British. The split of the Omani Empire between the two sons of Sultan Said in 1856, along with the opening of the Suez Canal to the Red Sea in 1869 led to a 100-year economic decline.

In the 1960s Oman still "resembled a place from the Middle Ages" (Kay, 1999, p. 17) with a subsistence standard of living and restrictions imposed by the "reclusive and xenophobic" Sultan Said on singing, dancing, eyeglasses, Western clothes, vehicle purchases, and movement around the country (Curtiss, 1995, p. 49). The capital city Muscat was accessible by only one small road and the walled city's three gates were closed at night. The frugal ways of Sultan Said, while helpful in leading the country through the economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s, were inadequate to deal with political violence in interior Oman, the onset of oil revenues in the 1960s, and modern challenges of the country. When his son ousted him in 1970 and began to rule as Sultan Qaboos bin Said, the country had only 10 km of paved roads, one hospital, five clinics, and three primary schools serving 900 boys.

The modernization of the country since that time is widely credited to the vision and hard work of Sultan Qaboos, who is highly respected and "unquestionably is one of the most popular rulers in the Arab world" (Curtiss, 1995, p. 50). The country now has 16,500 km of paved roads (550 of which are expressways) and a GDP of US \$19,000 in a country of 3.3 million people, more than 500,000 of whom are expatriate workers. The Sultanate has a "moderate, independent foreign policy" aimed at maintaining "good relations with all Middle East countries" (Central Intelligence Agency, 2009). The country is 75% Ibadi Muslims, a form of Islam introduced to Oman in the ninth century. As the sole surviving center of this form of Islam, Oman's governing structures have been influenced by Ibadism, which denies the inherited right to rule of Sunni Islam (the Imamate) in favor of an elected ruler chosen by "good and learned men" (Stannard, 1998, p. 43).

Education Reform Since 1970

One of the first goals announced by Sultan Qaboos in 1970 was the establishment of an educational system. Schools were set up quickly around the country, staffed primarily by teachers from other Arab-speaking countries. The country now provides universal access to free, public

education for children 6–18 years old with the government operating over 90% of the country's schools. Oman is succeeding in its goal to eliminate gender and regional disparities in education and currently reports a literacy rate of 81.4% and over 1000 schools with 560,000 students and 30,000 teachers (UNESCO, 2006). Basic Education covers grades 1–10 and Secondary Education grades 11–12. Boys and girls attend school together in the primary grades; thereafter, schools are segregated by gender. Girls' schools are staffed entirely by women teachers and administrators, boys' schools by men teachers and administrators. Girls attend school at nearly the same rate as boys¹ with a female/male ratio of 0.99 for in primary and secondary education.

Four percent of the country's GDP is spent on education and Oman's per student expenditure for secondary education is fourth highest of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) countries (The World Bank, 2008, p. 12). Since the opening of Sultan Qaboos University in 1986, the Omani brain drain has been reversed. The Sultan has emphasized the importance of education for women, making the country a "regional trailblazer" (Ministry of Information, 2006, p. 28). Fifty-six percent of teachers and half of all first degree university students are women. Oman was the first country in the region to include women in the State Council and in roles as Minister of Higher Education, Tourism, and other governmental departments.

The country's "transition within one generation from one of the most technologically and educationally deprived countries in the world to a model of economic and social development is one of history's most astonishing, and inspiring feats" (Curtiss, 1995, p. 49). Many educational leaders in Oman, including principals and supervisors who participated in the PLT project, witnessed firsthand the tremendous changes in the country's infrastructure, economy, affluence, government, and educational systems. Many of them first attended school "under the shade of a palm tree" and were the first in their families to attend university.

Rather than rest on the laurels of the country's rapid and successful modernization, Sultan Qaboos is now preparing the country for a future without oil revenues. Vision 2020, the country's long-term plan, establishes "broader horizons of comprehensive, sustainable development" for Oman and retains education as a key strategy with a new focus on enhancing the quality, efficiency, effectiveness, and relevance of the general education system to produce world standard graduates. Vision 2020 seeks to "prepare the human resources to face the challenges of the globalized era effectively in order to develop the country and maintain the Omani culture" (Al-Harthi, p. 113). This reflects the Sultan's intentional engagement with globalization – a stance not

adopted by all countries in the region – coupled with careful attention to strengthen critical characteristics of Omani culture.

Specific objectives of the country's plan in Vision 2020 for education include:

- 1. Restructuring the general education system by prolonging the basic cycle from nine years to ten years, and diversifying the two-year secondary education.
- 2. Reconstructing and redesigning the basic and secondary education curricula, textbooks, learning environment, and providing learning resource centers in every school.
- 3. Introducing new subjects (Information Technology and Life Skills) and emphasizing Mathematics, Science, and English in all grades.
- 4. Eliminating the double-shift, and increasing the number of school hours per day and the number of school days per year.
- 5. Modernizing the examination, assessment, and evaluation system.
- 6. Upgrading teacher qualifications and upgrading their knowledge, skills, and competencies.
- 7. Upgrading the role, knowledge, skills, and practices of school administrators and inspectors.
- 8. Improving the effectiveness of the central administration. (UNESCO, 2009)

Decentralization

One of Oman's strategies for enhancing the efficiency of its system of educational administration and management is to "restructure and revitalize the administrative system by decentralization and delegation of authority to make decisions at subordinate levels" (UNESCO, 2000). Decentralization to improve or "modernize" education through this delegation of authority for decision making rests primarily on the assumption that educational quality will be improved as a result of greater efficiency in the use of resources and responsiveness to specific problems.

Decentralization involves a devolution of authority, which requires changes in organizational culture at all levels of the bureaucracy, from the central level to district and the school. Oman's MOE is involving teachers in its "contested decentralization process, largely because teachers are viewed as independent thinkers, trusted agents of change and loyal civil servants" (Chapman & Miric, 2009). To assume, however, that teachers might be able to act independently of their principals as primary agents of decentralization initiatives, particularly in a culture that expects power to be stratified and concentrated at higher levels of a society or organization, ignores an important cultural dimension of Middle Eastern countries. It is thus critical that the MOE invests resources in the professional development of principals.

Achieving ambitious goals requires school principals to assume different roles – as leaders of change, learning, and professional development; and as collaborators with teachers, parents, and communities. Those changes may not be easy to implement, yet when reflecting on the ministry's goal of decentralization, Oman's Deputy Director General of Education, Dr. Madiha Al-Shaibani acknowledged, "When you delegate responsibilities to a school, the person in charge has to be at the level of an expert who is knowledgeable and able to respond to different situations" (Al-Shaibani, 2006). The highest levels of leadership in the MOE clearly understand that principals need to have the knowledge and skills to act on issues at the school level for decentralization to be successful.

PRINCIPALS' IDENTITY SHIFT: FROM MANAGERS TO LEADERS

Omani principals stated at the beginning of the first PLT workshop that they had little to no authority to make changes in their schools because the country's educational system was centralized. Principals' self-perception of their roles as powerless purveyors of central ministry policies and plans "enacted as practice entirely as 'it has always been done around here" (Sugrue & Furlong, 2002, p. 192), can be a barrier to principals' professional growth and leadership development. Role-identity transformation and development of a new mind-set appears to be "a critical step in the professional growth process" (Browne-Ferrigno, 2003, p. 479). Principals who began their careers by replicating the leadership behaviors, styles, and approaches typical of the twentieth century, as did the PLT principals, can find themselves grappling with issues of professional identity as they attempt to address the demands of the 21st century world. Principals have to undergo "a paradigm shift,...moving from traditional concentration on maintenance and hierarchy to change, collegiality, teamwork, continuous improvement and effectiveness" (Wong, 2004, p. 140). They also need "to develop a set of talents and skills (in collaboration) not traditionally

essential to their role" as they implemented school-based decision making (ATA News, 2003 cited in Slater, 2005).

How does this paradigm shift occur? Hoffmann and Johnston (2005) found that almost all principals involved in a school principal professional development program "could point to a single event or series of events that changed their thinking about a problem" (Hoffmann & Johnston, 2005, p. 17). The researchers showed that once principals' thinking changed, they tended to change their behaviors (Hoffmann & Johnston, 2005). Parry & Sinha's study (2005, p. 179) supported earlier research findings that "leadership training does result in more effective leadership behavior". The PLT trainers thus predicted that principals could change their thinking, their actions, and their identity from powerless purveyors of ministry policy to facilitators of school change in a decentralized educational system, from managers to leaders. The trainers also predicted that training approaches positioning this change as a paradigm shift could help bring about this change – and even a single training event could powerfully influence this identity shift. To develop an appropriate, culturally contextualized training design, the trainers turned to research on educational leadership in organizational change and to the GLOBE research program.

GLOBAL LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR EFFECTIVENESS (GLOBE)

The GLOBE research program is situated within the fields of leadership and cultural studies. Cultural studies developed alongside increased international interactions of businesses and governments in the 1950s and 1960s to help individuals become more effective in intercultural situations (Landis, Bennett, & Bennett, 2004). At first, academics and intercultural trainers worked in the absence of empirical and theoretical bases for the field, but Hofstede's (1980, 2001) studies of IBM managers around the world had a particularly significant theoretical influence on this field through the empirical identification of five dimensions of culture (Hofstede, 1980, 2001).

GLOBE builds upon and extends Hofstede's work (House et al., 2004; Javidan, Dorfman, Hanges, & De Luquet, 2006a). While some researchers critique aspects of the GLOBE study,² Peterson (among others) finds GLOBE to be "a quite useful alternative to the only other major basis for hypotheses about leadership effectiveness, leadership-style research that is overwhelmingly from US samples" (Peterson, 2004, p. 644). Findings from

this internationally developed, researched, and validated study thus have relevance, applicability, and usefulness to the field of educational leadership preparation across the world (Javidan, Dorfman, de Luque, & House, 2006b).

As a multi-method, multiphase research program, GLOBE was "designed to conceptualize, operationalize, test, and validate a cross-level integrated theory of the relationship among culture and societal, organizational, and leadership effectiveness" (House et al., 2004, p. 29). GLOBE defines culture as "shared motives, values, beliefs, identities and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experiences of members of collectives that are transmitted across generations" (House et al., 2004, p. 15).

GLOBE's Nine Dimensions of Culture

The first phase of the study identified the following nine dimensions of culture and cluster profiles on each dimension, measuring actual practices and "what should be" in the participants' societies and organizations.

Uncertainty Avoidance is the extent to which members of an organization or society strive to avoid uncertainty by relying on established social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices. People in high uncertainty avoidance cultures actively seek to decrease the probability of unpredictable future events that could adversely affect the operation of an organization or society and remedy the success of such adverse effects.

Power Distance is the degree to which members of an organization or society expect and agree that power should be stratified and concentrated at higher levels of an organization or government.

Collectivism I: Institutional Collectivism is the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action.

Collectivism II: In-group Collectivism is the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations or families. *Gender Egalitarianism* is the degree to which an organization or a society minimizes gender role differences while promoting gender equality.

Assertiveness is the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in social relationships.

Future Orientation is the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies engage in future-oriented behaviors such as planning, investing in the future, and delaying individual or collective gratification.

Performance Orientation is the degree to which an organization or society encourages and rewards group members for performance improvement and excellence.

Humane Orientation is the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies encourage and reward individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others. (House et al., 2004, p. 11–13)

Countries can be measured on each of these dimensions and compared to each other to produce insights into cultural similarities and differences. The Middle East cluster of Cultural Dimensions (Fig. 1) was derived from data collected in five countries: Egypt, Kuwait, Morocco, Qatar, and Turkey. This cluster shows high scores on societal practices of In-group Collectivism, which is manifested in expressions of "pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in...organizations or families" (House, 2004, p. 30). This value is also characteristic of Omani society, which has been described as closely knit and known for its cooperativeness (Al-Shaibani, 2006). Power Distance also evidences high scores in the Middle East cluster, reflecting the expectation in these societies that power is stratified and concentrated at higher levels of a society or

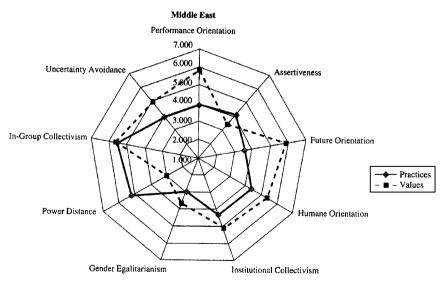


Fig. 1. GLOBE Findings on Nine Dimensions of Culture: Middle East Cluster. *Source:* Reprinted with permission from House et al., (2004, p. 34).

organization. Abdalla and Al-Homoud (2001) link these preferences to strong tribal and Bedouin traditions in the Arabian Gulf states. The Middle East cluster shows low levels of Gender Egalitarianism, indicating these societies do not minimize gender differences. Future-oriented behaviors such as planning and investing in the future (Future orientation) also show lower scores on the Middle East cluster (House, 2004, p. 30), indicating that current cultural practices do not favor long-term orientations.

The GLOBE study measures both cultural practices (the way things are) and cultural values (the ways things should be). In-group Collectivism and Gender Egalitarianism are rated high on both practices and values for the Middle East cluster. In other words, these two dimensions of culture are important in the Middle East and cultural practices in this region reflect the way things should be. On the other hand, Future Orientation shows the largest gap between societal practices and values in the Middle East cluster, indicating a cultural-based recognition (value) that practice related to the future should probably change. Power Distance also shows a gap between its practices and values, indicating a desire for less distance between superiors and subordinates.

These findings are particularly significant for the goal of the MOE in Oman to enable principals to assume more of a leadership-oriented than a management-oriented identity. The goal of decentralization calls on leaders to improve the performance of their schools and prepare them to be effective in a future radically different from the present. The message in the GLOBE data is that people in the Middle East cluster believe their cultural practices related to Future Orientation, Performance Orientation, and Power Distance should be different from the current practices. They would like to see more planning and investment for the future, encouragement and rewards for excellence, and less concentration of power in the top leader or layer of society and organizations. These gaps may also predict that school principals in the Middle East cluster recognize the need to change their behaviors to reflect more future and performance orientation and less centralization of power, but they are also likely to recognize the challenges inherent in behaving in ways different from current cultural practice.

Since training programs in cross-cultural contexts often fall short of expectations, the PLT trainers used GLOBE's findings to gain insights into Middle Eastern culture and ways it would potentially influence PLT participants' ideas, behaviors, and expectations. Knowing how the culture of the trainers is similar to and different from that of the training participants, is an important first step in creating a culturally contextualized leadership training program.

JAN M. WESTRICK AND SHIRLEY J. MISKE

Global Leader Behaviors of Culturally Endorsed Implicit Theories of Leadership (CLTs)

The GLOBE project defines leadership as "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members" (House et al., 2004, p. 56). While acknowledging that "leadership is culturally contingent" (House et al., 2004, p. 5), the GLOBE researchers also wanted to determine whether there are leader behaviors, attributes, and organizational practices that are universally accepted and effective across cultures as contributing to or inhibiting outstanding leadership. This second major set of findings identifies six "global leader behaviors of culturally endorsed implicit theories of leadership" (CLTs) as being "universally endorsed as contributing to effective leadership" (House et al., 2004, p. 14).

"*Charismatic/Values-based leadership* is visionary, inspirational, willing to sacrifice for the organization, has integrity, and is decisive and performanceoriented". Principals with this style might set strategic goals to improve student learning; use imagery and metaphors to describe the school's vision; model the changes they are asking teachers to make; and measure progress toward school goals.

"*Team-oriented leadership* characterizes a leader who has a collaborative team orientation, is an integrator, diplomatic, benevolent, and is administratively competent". Principals with this style might seat teachers in a circle for meetings; set team norms and goals; help teams deal productively with conflict; and have smooth, efficient administrative systems.

"Participative leadership is non-autocratic and participative". Principals with this style might form teams of teachers and parents to solve problems of student behavior on school buses; and delegate authority to an assistant principal or teacher leaders.

"*Humane-oriented leadership* is characterized by modesty and a humane orientation". Principals with this style might attribute credit for the school's successes to teachers; substitute for a teacher who falls ill in the middle of a school day; and cancel an after-school meeting so that teachers could attend their own children's championship soccer tournament.

"*Autonomous leadership* is independent and individualistic". Principals with this style might make decisions without consulting others; and avoid socializing with teachers.

"Self-protective leadership is self-centered, status conscious, conflict inducing, face-saving, and procedural". Principals with this style might blame teachers or students for school problems; fire assistant principals who are more effective than they are; and lie rather than admit their errors (House et al., 2004, p. 14).

These findings indicate that even in individualistic cultures (such as the "Anglo" cluster of Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, white citizens of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States) people expect leadership that is team oriented, a leadership characteristic typically associated with more collectivist cultures. Even in cultures with large power distance (such as the "Confucian Asia" cluster of China, Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan), people expect leadership that is Participative and Charismatic/Values-based, a leadership characteristic that is usually associated with more individualistic cultures. Charismatic/Values-based, Team-oriented, Participative, and Humane-oriented styles are universally viewed as contributing positively to effective leadership, while Self-protective and Autonomous Orientations to leadership are "universally viewed as impediments to effective leadership" (House et al., 2004, p. 678).

The Middle East Cluster and Leadership Practice

Leadership styles most strongly associated with outstanding leadership in the Middle East cluster are the Team-oriented, Charismatic/Valuesbased, Participative, and Humane-oriented styles (Table 2). Self-protective Orientations to leadership are almost neutral in the Middle East cluster and Autonomous Orientations are reported to impede effective leadership.

While CLTs are seen across cultures as characteristic of effective leaders, this does not mean that the attributes of each CLT will be "enacted in

	Team- oriented	Charismatic/ Values-based	Participative		Self- protective	
Middle East cluster	5.47	5.35	4.97	4.80	3.79	3.68
Global range	4.7–6.2	4.5-6.5	4.5-6.1	3.8-5.6	2.5-4.6	2.3-4.7

Table 2. CLT Leadership Dimensions.

Note: 7-Point scale from 1 (greatly inhibits) - 7 (contributes greatly to) of effective leadership.

exactly the same manner across cultures or that similar meaning would be attached to all exhibited behaviors across all cultures" (Den Hartog, House, Hanges, Ruiz-Quintanilla, & Dorman, 1999). GLOBE researchers found significant differences among the 62 cultures in the study, leading to the conclusion that there are indeed leadership behaviors that are accepted and effective in only some cultures. Culturally unique elements of the Middle East cluster "include the endorsement of attributes such as familial, humble, faithful, self-protective, and considerate" (House et al., 2004, p. 697). Kabasakal and Bodur (2002) point out that the work of leaders in the Middle East requires more charismatic, transformational styles with more future and performance orientation than is typically practiced in these cultures. Within this cultural context, outstanding leaders thus need to "set a vision and promote performance-orientation in a collectivist manner" (Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002, p. 50).

In their study of implicit leadership theory in the Arabian Gulf states, Abdalla and Al-Homoud (2001) found support for the internal consistency, construct, and external validities of the GLOBE questionnaire measures; extension of the external validity of GLOBE to the Arabian Gulf region; and generalizability of the results of the desired leadership profile to the Arabian Gulf region. The researchers also noted that previous research findings characterizing leadership in this region as paternalistic and centralized "are consistent with the local social values and organizational practices"; however, they also found that the desirable leadership profile includes strong orientations to the future and to performance, and weak orientations to autocratic values. This suggests "that what is desirable is largely different from what is practiced and what fits the local culture" (Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001, p. 524). They surmised that this gap is related to "the present widespread awareness in this region, particularly among the educated population, of the damage inflicted on the economy due to the traditional cultural values that lead to poor administrative and managerial practices" (Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001, p. 524).

Their findings prompted Abdalla and Al-Homoud to describe the "exceptional abilities" needed by leaders in this region to

endorse non-traditional work values without being rejected by their traditional societies....(suggesting) that successful leaders seem to play dual roles as work and social leaders. Their social leadership role is manifested in their adoption of leadership styles and values that do not fit the local culture but transcend it to 'desirable' ones, and at the same time they are able to sell these new values to traditional parties (Abdalla & Al-Homoud, 2001, p. 525).

Leaders in the Middle East who want to increase their effectiveness thus need to retain enough culture-specific authenticity to be genuine to their followers and also demonstrate enough of the culture-general characteristics of leadership (i.e., CLTs) to be effective leaders.

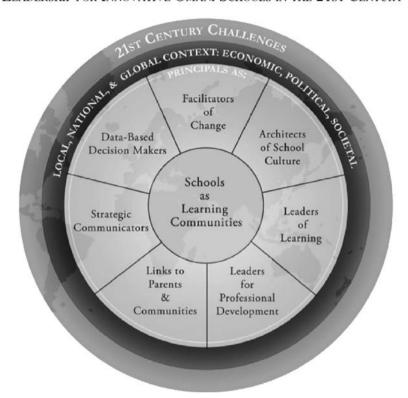
CULTURALLY CONTEXTUALIZED APPROACH OF THE PLT CURRICULUM

PLT Workshop Design

Data collected in interviews with educational system stakeholders and secondary school principals during the scoping phase revealed the following concerns: managing heavy workload and stress; human relations; communication skills for leadership; helping teachers improve; technology and e-learning; getting parents involved with their children's education; sitebased management; and increasing students' love of learning. Interviewees also insisted the workshops needed to be active, hands-on, and experiential, avoiding training approaches typical of MOE programs that consisted of lectures and PowerPoint presentations.

Based on this needs assessment and a review of research on educational leadership in organizational change, the PLT trainers designed a conceptual model to define the new roles for principals in Oman. The interconnectedness of school leadership and educational change is positioned in the context of local, national, and global changes and challenges of the 21st century. The model was grounded in the international research on educational leadership, especially for school administrators (Fullan, 2001, 1997a, 1997b; Deal & Peterson, 1999; English & Steffy, 2005; Bell & Chan, 2005; Bezzina, 2002; National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2008; Alas, Tafel, & Tuulik, 2007; Leithwood, 1996; Normore, 2004; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2008). The model articulates seven critical roles that represent changes in leadership style for principals in Oman: facilitators of change, architects of school culture, leaders of learning, leaders for professional development, links to parents and communities, strategic communicators, and data-based decision makers (Fig. 2).

Table 3 shows the conceptual framework of the PLT is aligned to leader behaviors, attributes, and organizational practices universally accepted as effective from the GLOBE study.



LEADERSHIP FOR INNOVATIVE OMANI SCHOOLS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Fig. 2. Conceptual Framework for the Principal Leadership Training in Oman. *Source:* Reprinted with permission from Seward Inc., (2008).

PLT Curriculum

The three two-week PLT workshops were entitled, "Principals as Leaders of Change", "Principals as Instructional Leaders", and "Schools as Learning Communities". The curriculum and teaching strategies were designed to provide opportunities for principals to learn new ideas, to try out new behaviors, and to begin to shift their identities from management-oriented to leadership-oriented styles.

The GLOBE findings suggest that the curriculum of culturally contextualized principal training programs in Middle Eastern countries

Principal Role	Team- oriented	Charismatic/ Values-based	Participative	Self- protective	Auto- nomous
Facilitator of change		1			
Architect of school culture		1-			
Leader of learning		1			
Leader of professional development					
Links to parents and communities	1				
Strategic communicators	1				
Data-based decision makers					

Table 3. PLT Conceptual Framework and CLTs.

ideally should emphasize the Team-orientation and Charismatic/Valuesbased styles of leadership, place some emphasis on Participative and Humane styles, and give little or no emphasis to Self-protective and Autonomous styles. Table 4 shows 56% of the PLT topics related to the two most critical CLT dimensions of effective leadership in the Middle East cluster (Team-oriented and Charismatic/Values-based); 43% related to the second two most important CLT dimensions (Participative and Humaneoriented); and negligible attention to the neutral or negative dimensions of Self-protective and Autonomous styles (2%).

The alignment of PLT topics and GLOBE CLTs (Table 4) indicates PLT participants had multiple opportunities to learn new ideas and practice new skills. The PLT could thus be expected to meet its goals of increasing Oman's principal capacity for leadership. Workshop topics also show strong alignment with the 10 constructs of 21st Century School Administrator Skills self-assessment (NASSP, 2001), indicating support for the use of the NASSP tool as a valid measure of participant learning in the PLT (Table 5).

The PLT curriculum used three approaches to culturally contextualize the workshop learning experiences: building and studying intercultural knowledge, studying school culture and learning leadership skills for shaping a school's culture, and the use of stories to shape organizational culture. The goals of these approaches were to help principals understand societal and organizational cultures as socially constructed and malleable, experience the

Table 4. Alignment of GLOBE CLTs and PLT Workshop Topics.	Workshop Topics		I: Leaders of change: Comparative critical issues Leadership and management Cultural architects	Facilitators of transformational change Leaders and builders of teams 21st Century school reform Ethical leadership Strategic thinking	Strategic communication 2: Instructional leadership: Innovative leadership Student-centered instruction Assessment practices	Students with special needs Support services Teacher evaluation Program evaluation	3: Learning communities: Leading change Involving teachers Strategic communication Involving parents and communities Strategic planning	No. of topics aligned Percentage of topics aligned
nd PLT Wor		Autonomous						0
DBE CLTs a		Self- protective	Z					1 2%
nent of GL(CLTs	Humane	7	77		77	7	7 13%
ble 4. Alignn	GLOBE CLTs	Participative	X	777	777	7777	777	16 30%
Taı		Charismatic/ Values-based	77	777	777	77	<u>,,,,</u> ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	15 28%
		Team Oriented	77	7777	7	77	7777	15 28%

20

Tab	Table 5. Alignment of School Administrator Skills and PLT Workshop Topics.	iment c	of Schoo	ol Adm	inistrato	r Skills an	d PLT W	orkshop To	opics.	
PLT Workshop Topics		•1	School A	dministra	ator Skills:	21st Centur:	/ Administra	School Administrator Skills: 21st Century Administrator Skills (NASSP)	ASSP)	
	Instructional Leadership	al Leade	rship	Solvin	Solving Complex Problems	Problems	Commu	Communication	Developin	Developing Self and Others
	Setting Team- Instructional work Direction		Sensi- tivity	Judg- ment	Results Orienta- tion	Organiza- tional Ability	Oral Communi- cation	Written Communi- cation	Devel- oping Others	Understanding Own Strengths and Weaknesses
1: Leaders of change Comparative critical	X	7		7	7					
issues Leadership and manage-				7	7	7	7	7	7	Z
ment Cultural architects Facilitators of transfor-		7	7	77	7	7	77		77	
mational change Leaders and builders of		7	7	. 1	7		. 1		. 1	
teams 21st Century school				7	7				7	
retorm Ethical leadership Strategic Strategic			77	777	77		77	7	777	77
Communication 2: Instructional leadership Innovative leadership Student-centered	Z	7	7	77	77	7	7	7	7	7
instruction Assessment practices	7	7		7	7					

				I able .	I adue D. (Continuea)	(panu				
PLT Workshop Topics			School A	dministre	ator Skills:	21st Century	' Administrat	School Administrator Skills: 21st Century Administrator Skills (NASSP)	ASSP)	
	Instructional Leadership	al Leade.	rship	Solvin _i	Solving Complex Problems	Problems	Commu	Communication	Developin	Developing Self and Others
	Setting Team- Instructional work Direction		Sensi- tivity	Judg- ment	Results Orienta- tion	Organiza- tional Ability	Oral Communi- cation	Oral Written Communi- Communi- cation cation	Devel- oping Others	Understanding Own Strengths and Weaknesses
Students with special needs	7	7		7	7					
Support services	7	7		7	7					
Teacher evaluation	7	7		7	7	7	7	7		
Program evaluation	7	7		7	7	7	7	7	7	
3: Learning communities										
Leading change		7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Involving teachers		7	7	7	7	7	7		7	
Strategic communication				7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Involving parents and communities		7	7	7	7	7	7			
Strategic planning		7		7	7	7	7	7	7	7
No. of topics aligned	13	15	10	21	19	12	14	6	18	11
Percentage of topics aligned	10%	12%	8%	16%	15%	%6	11%	7%	14%	9%

Table 5. (Continued)

intentional formation of organizational culture within the PLT, learn skills for creating and building culture, understand how leaders influence organizational culture, and make plans for influencing the culture of their own schools. The next section of this chapter describes the specific instructional approaches and events in more detail and shows how they align to GLOBE's CLTs.

Intercultural Knowledge

The trainers, all experts in international and intercultural education, knew that the effectiveness of training in cross-cultural situations depends, at least to some extent, on the trainers' intercultural sensitivity and effectiveness. They therefore incorporated lessons from the field of intercultural education (Landis et al., 2004) into the PLT. They also planned to include and request information on Omani culture and cultural practices, while also setting expectations that some of the workshop activities might be slightly outside participants' typical cultural behavior patterns.³

The trainers began Workshop 1 by presenting the GLOBE study on organizations and leadership, thus opening the PLT with a collegial, research-based discussion about cultures. Examining GLOBE's findings about American culture (the Anglo cluster) and contrasting them with findings about the Middle East cluster, the PLT trainers were able to create a cognitive framework through which cultural differences (that undoubtedly would arise at the workshops) could be discussed and understood. This approach differs from many cross-cultural training situations in which the (usually unexamined) cultural assumptions of the trainers are treated essentially as normative. GLOBE thus served two purposes: as context for the cross-cultural dialog and interactions between the US trainers and the Omani participants, and as an introduction to the idea that societal and organizational cultures are topics that can be empirically studied and considered in leadership.

The PLT trainers began building intercultural knowledge in the first workshop by requesting specific information from participants on culturally appropriate behavior. They requested cultural advice from the group on terms of address, stating that while they were comfortable using first names, they wanted to do what is considered appropriate in Oman. The principals quickly agreed with each other and turned to the trainers to explain their cultural practice of using titles with first names (such as Dr. Jan and Dr. Shirley). Their rationale reflected expectations related to findings about Power Distance in the Middle East cluster: "You are our teachers and we must show our respect of your expertise". The trainers' request for advice on how to call the group back to order in a culturally appropriate way after small group work led to a rather involved and lively discussion among the principals in Arabic. After about 10 min, smiles, chuckles, and sounds of "aha!" suddenly arose from the group. One principal explained we should rap our knuckles on the table and say "hud, hud" in a clear, loud voice. All agreed that this approach – used in Oman to announce one's arrival home to one's family – would be an effective, culturally appropriate technique. Timidly at first, the trainers practiced the gesture, Arabic pronunciation, and tone of voice, and modeled asking for cultural feedback en route to mastery: "Should I say it louder or softer?"; "Should women also do this?"; and "Is this the right way to knock on the table?"

Aware that taking photographs of women is a cultural taboo in many Muslim countries, the trainers wanted to know what would be appropriate for the PLT in Oman. While the trainers had hoped to document activities, they decided not to take photos if participants indicated any cultural inappropriateness or individual reluctance. An explicit discussion of cultural and societal norms was needed. Participants clarified that group photos and pictures of individual men were acceptable any time, but that trainers should ask permission first to take pictures of female participants. As trust developed over the course of the first workshop, the women gave permission for photographs and finally told the trainers that photographs were acceptable any time.

Trainers also modeled intercultural learning and introduced concepts of organizational culture in a discussion of organizational norms (i.e., behaviors accepted and acted on by the group). The activity of norm setting or developing workshop "guidelines" was the first direct discussion of culture that demonstrated how leaders can shape organizational culture through group norms. The trainers introduced guidelines drafted before the first workshop, explaining the purpose and benefits of each one to group functioning. The list included such guidelines as starting and ending on time, listening carefully to each other, and being open to cultural feedback – as was modeled in the discussions described above. When asked to suggest additional guidelines they deemed important, PLT participants added "turn off cell phones in workshop", underlining their recognition of the need for this norm at professional events.

Since using norms in leadership roles requires more than merely setting them at the beginning of a year or a team's life cycle, the trainers led participants in a review of the guidelines at the end of the first week, and at the beginning of the second and third workshops. The purpose of the review was to identify ways in which the group was living up to the expectations and areas in which the group needed improvement, and to leave open the possibility that norms could be modified or expanded as a means to improve group functioning. The guidelines helped the group function smoothly in order to attain the PLT goals and, in the process, the trainers articulated the benefits of principals setting norms collaboratively with their teachers and teachers with students.

At the beginning of Workshop 3, after learning the critical friends protocol (Costa & Kallick, 1993), a structured, collaborative approach to gain insights into problems of leadership practice, the principals connected this style of group discussion of issues to the Arabic custom of *sabla*. They linked their cultural practice to the leadership practices that shape school culture.

School Culture and Leadership Skills

In the workshop topic "Principals as Architects of School Culture", the PLT trainers introduced participants to research on organizational culture, including the ways in which leaders can evaluate and modify aspects of their schools' cultures. The principals referred frequently to this new concept throughout the PLT. Following an introduction to organizational culture and Bolman and Deal's (2008) framework, principals did a mental walk-through of their schools and sorted aspects of their cultures into three categories: a "gift-wrapped package" for aspects of culture to keep and treasure, a "hammer and nails" for aspects that need repair, and a "garbage can" for aspects of the school's culture that should be discarded.

Leadership skills that can shape organizational culture were introduced and developed throughout the three workshops. These skills – new to the principals – are associated with Future Orientation, Performance Orientation, and Power Distance from the GLOBE study (i.e., cultural dimensions from the Middle East cluster that show larger gaps between cultural practices (the way things are done) and cultural values (the way things should be)).

Once principals cognitively understood that leadership should focus more on the future, collaboration, and vision, they wanted and needed to know what skills and behaviors would enable them to act with more Future and Performance Orientations. PLT activities used to develop these skills included: learning how to conduct SWOC analysis (strengths/weaknesses/ opportunities/challenges); selecting a strategic planning model to use at their schools; leading team discussions; learning collaborative decision-making techniques; running meetings; and completing a leadership plan for one transformational change at their school through a capstone project.

One PLT activity traced the 30-year history of Oman's educational system. Three small groups were each assigned one decade to analyze and to represent symbolically to the whole group. The group that presented 1970–1980, the first 10 years of the country's educational system, drew a tree, a tent, and a building. As they recalled the pledge of Sultan Qaboos in 1970 to "educate our citizens, even if in the shade of a palm tree", smiles and nods of recognition spread throughout the room. Some participants had attended school under a tree, others in tents, and now all of them were principals in modern school buildings or leaders of that educational system in the MOE. The Sultan's words provided a powerful example of visionary leadership. Participants immediately understood the power such imagery had for their country, and how such visions rally and focus the energy and creativity of a leader's followers.

Several days later, the Oman Daily Observer, an English-language newspaper from Muscat, carried quotes from the Sultan's speech to a group of sheikhs during his annual tour of the country. His words demonstrate Charismatic/Values-based and Humane-oriented leadership: "The world has now changed rapidly and if we don't keep pace with such rapid change intellectually, mentally and understandingly, there will be no place for us" (2007, p. 4). The participants recognized that, just as the Sultan had created the vision in the 1970s of educating all citizens even if under the shade of a tree, he was now setting a new vision for the 21st century. He demonstrated Future and Performance Orientations by declaring, "We will never tolerate any misuse of agricultural 'wealth' because it is not ours alone...it is the right of our grandchildren" (2007, p. 1).

While the Middle East cluster of the GLOBE study identified gaps between societal practices and values related to these characteristics of leadership (Future and Performance orientations), Sultan Qaboos had been demonstrating those leadership behaviors since the beginning of his rule in Oman. The Sultan's words reassured Omanis, including the principals at the PLT, that it was acceptable, indeed perhaps mandatory, to become more future oriented. The PLT gave the principals new ideas and new language about leadership that they could apply to the successful example set by their country's esteemed leader throughout the years of his rule. This not only gave permission to the principals to do the same, it gave them courage and encouragement to do so, extending the story line from the beginning of Oman's educational system under the shade of palm trees into the future.

Using Stories to Shape School Culture

Leaders can use stories to create shared meanings and to build new a organizational vision and future for the school (Bolman & Deal, 2008; Wetlaufer, 1999). Through stories, leaders can also describe events in a way that listeners can easily remember and repeat them. The stories can provide explanations, reconcile contradictions, and resolve dilemmas (Cohen, 1969 in Bolman & Deal, 2008). In the PLT, the trainers and the Omani principals taught each other through stories, and the workshop participants linked the strategy of storytelling as part of leadership development to a familiar Omani cultural practice.

When the PLT trainers began to relate examples of school leadership more like storytellers than academics, they noticed how still the room was and how focused the attention of the PLT participants became. A similar atmosphere was evident when one of the principals, a published poet, recited poetry for the celebrations at the end of each workshop. Storytelling by trainers and participants was threaded throughout the workshops; it contributed to culturally contextualizing instruction and developing new leadership skills, as illustrated in the following two examples.

Forging Unity in Diversity. To introduce storytelling as a strategy to change school culture, principals were asked to share with their small group a "change story" of some change they had already introduced in their schools. One group was clearly absorbed in the story told by Suleiman (a pseudonym), a principal who previously had been very quiet at the workshop. Insisting that he tell his story to the whole group, Suleiman spoke in Arabic to better explain the problem and how he responded to it. Within a few minutes, all PLT participants were listening with rapt attention.

Boys at Suleiman's school had been fighting on the school bus, and he soon figured out it was not a typical adolescent scuffle. The fights had been between boys from different tribes; the fights were more about tribal differences than about typical adolescent boys' disagreements. Realizing this was a community issue, not just a school bus issue, Suleiman personally visited the leaders in each village, asking for their help in reducing intertribal tensions. They agreed.

At a school assembly he then convened to address the boys, Suleiman introduced himself over and over again to the student body, using the surnames (showing tribal belonging) of all students at his school: "I am Suleiman Al Kindi. I am Suleiman Al Harthy. I am Suleiman Al Balushi. I am...." In doing this, he declared his own sense of membership in all tribes,

not just the tribe associated with his own surname. The boys quickly understood his vision – that all students were part of the school and all tribes were part of the community. With this vision and the support of the community, tensions were markedly reduced and the school bus problems disappeared.

While Suleiman recited his assembly speech to the PLT participants, audible sighs of approval were heard and many heads nodded in admiration for his leadership. Thereafter the principals often referred to Suleiman's story as an example of inspired, courageous leadership chosen over management-oriented approaches to solving this problem. Suleiman's story also illustrates the contested notions of culture that exist in schools and communities, and one way in which a leader can manage existing, ongoing tensions.

Unfreezing Principal Identity. Some workshop experiences that had particular impact on the participants became stories in their own right. During the first three days of Workshop 1 principals showed interest and openness to the topics of management and leadership. By the end of the third day, the trainers and program evaluator sensed growing resistance among the principals who insisted that their role was restricted to implementing MOE policies, declaring they had no freedom to make changes at their schools. The MOE participants reiterated that principals were indeed free to take initiative and in fact, this is exactly what the MOE wanted to happen. Still skeptical, the principals' resistance grew palpably to the trainers' efforts to engage them in thinking about principals as leaders rather than managers. As the discussion neared an impasse, the lead trainer paused, thinking for a few moments. She seized an opportunity, and in a clear, dramatic voice declared, "Ladies and gentlemen, you have a choice!" The stunned silence that followed evolved into smiles and chuckles of recognition at the truth of her statement.

Hoffman and Johnston's (2005) "single event" capable of changing a principal's thinking about a problem had just occurred in front of the trainers' eyes. "You have a choice" became the oft-repeated slogan for the rest of the workshops, and the literal icing on the end-of-workshop celebratory cake. As Schein (1992) wrote about organizations' shifts of culture as "unfreezing", this aspect of the PLT workshops seemed to the presenters to have been critical in unfreezing critical aspects of participants' thinking and enabling a transformation of principal identity.

The activities and stories related in this chapter provide a sense of how the trainers worked with the Omani participants to explore aspects of

organizational culture and cultural change. The PLT instructional approaches served to engage participants in thinking about leadership. Stories allowed principals to see Charismatic/Values-based and Participative leadership styles in action in their own cultural context. The critical friends activity, while new to participants, felt culturally genuine to them and made sense within the CLTs of Team-orientation, Participative, and Humane styles of leadership. The culturally contextualized instructional approaches of the PLT thus enabled principals to interact successfully with the trainers and the PLT content and thereby consider taking on very different ideas and roles as leaders of their schools.

FINDINGS

The first research question – To what extent did the Omani principals change their behaviors to adopt more of the global leader behaviors identified in the GLOBE study? – is examined qualitatively through analysis of daily feedback forms, principal report-outs at the beginning of the second and third workshops, and interview data from the program evaluator at the end of the third workshop. This question is also examined through quantitative analysis of pre- and post-tests using the 21st Century School Administrator Skills Assessment.

Principal Learning

The weekly evaluation form posed the open-ended question, "What parts of the week's workshop were most useful?" as a means to discover what learnings principals found useful for their professional practice. Principal responses were grouped according to theme or topic and those that three or more principals rated as most useful are noted in Table 6 as categorized according to GLOBE CLTs. The principals' responses reflect predominately the types of leadership associated with outstanding leadership in the Middle East cluster: Team orientation, Charismatic/Values-based, and Participative.

Principal Reports of Changes Implemented Between Workshops

The PLT trainers intentionally integrated the practice of new behaviors in each day's instructional approaches, including techniques such as small

	Table	Table 6. Participant Ratings of Useful Learning Topics Categorized by CLT	gs of Useful	l Learning To	pics Categori	ized by CL	T.	
PLT	No. of ''Useful'' ratings	PLT Topics	Team Orientation	Charismatic/ Values-based	Participative	Humane Self- Orientation protective	Self- protective	Auton- omous
Workshop 1	8	Culture		7	7			
-	7	Leadership and		7	7			
		management						
	б	Transformational		7	7			
	7	Change		Ĭ	3			
	ب ر	Cuange Time management	7	4	X			
	ŝ	All topics	. \	7	7			
	27	Totals						
Workshop 2	7	Data	7					
	v	Prooram evaluation	7					
) (n	Ethics		7		7		
	б	Teacher evaluation	7					
	18	Totals						
Workshop 3	8	Leading change		7				
	5	Strategic plan meeting	7	7	7			
	4	Agenda creation/time	7					
		management						
	ω	Critical friends	7		7			
	4	Teacher involvement	7		7			
	ю	Internet resources	7					
	Э	Strategic decision		7				
		making						
	30	Totals						
	75	Total for all workshops						

group leadership, a "critical friends" discussion protocol, collaborative problem-solving, norm-setting, meeting management, and strategic communication techniques. Beyond opportunities to practice new behaviors in the training classroom, however, is the challenge of transferring those behaviors to one's job site. The principal report-outs at the beginning of workshops two and three, and at the conclusion of workshop three, provided data to examine the second research question of this study: Do the kinds of behavior changes exhibited by principals indicate a shift of principal identity from management-oriented to leadership-oriented styles? At these three report-outs, every principal named at least one new skill/ behavior they had used in their work setting. Their responses are grouped according to theme and categorized by GLOBE CLTs in Table 7 with a summary of the three workshops reported in Table 8.

Behavior changes reported by the principals at all three workshops (Table 8) align primarily with Team-oriented (38%) and Charismatic/Values-based styles of leadership (36%). Given that the Middle East cluster rated Team-oriented styles the highest of the six CLTs, it is not surprising that the majority of behavior changes principals were making were those most comfortable to them and their teachers, in other words, those behaviors that reflect predominant, culturally valued styles of leadership. Among the specific changes, principals reported were:

- Using teamwork and teambuilding skills from Workshop 1 with 10 teams involved in a national school competition;
- Changing the handling of teacher meetings by making assignments based more on the abilities of individual teachers and becoming more involved in positive and effective planning;
- Introduction of SWOC analysis to senior teachers in preparation for using it for creating the next year's school plan;
- Reassessment of some of the school goals, changing them to SMART goals;
- Giving out agendas for meetings ahead of time
- Discussions with teachers about his desire for a new vision and encouraging them to keep student learning at the center of it;
- Focusing on parent involvement by making a friendly competition between the eight schools' parent councils in his region;
- Changing the mission and vision statements for her school and putting them up in the school entrance.

While principal responses categorized under Participative CLT show a lower level of report-outs (20%) than those in the categories of Charismatic/

		Table 7. Reported Principal Behavior Changes.	orted Princi	ipal Behavior	Changes.			
Workshop No.	No. of reported changes	Theme/Behavior Change	Team Orientation	Charismatic/ Values-based	Partici- pative	Humane Orientation	Self- protective	Auto- nomous
-1		Vision/mission: Student learning as central	77					
	7 -	Made current goals SMART						
	7	Involved teachers in SWOC analysis	7	7	7			
	-	Improved student learning results		7				
	1	Teamwork: More autonomy given to teachers		7				
		Analyzing teachers' strengths Arrange chairs in circles Introduced teacher leadership	77	777	777			
		<i>Meeting management:</i> Parking lot State meeting goals upfront Prepared agenda		777				
	- 7	<i>Graduate coursework:</i> Other: Feel more confident in principal role	7					
		Total changes for Workshop 1	٢	6	4	0	0	0

			0
			e
			e
777	777	7	7 ∞
777	777	777	777 4
77	7	7 7 777	6
Involving others: Small learning communities and tearwork Begun Accept ideas from others Involve parents, students, community in problem solving	Visited other schools and began competitions Communication with teachers and students Develop future leaders Delegate authority	Leading toward a vision: Recognize student learning as the primary goal Strategic planning and vision setting Vision for parent meetings Curriculum and task analysis Program evaluation SMART goals SWOC analysis	Administrative efficacy: Running effective meetings Using data for decision making Problem solving Totals changes for Workshop 2
4 - 0		1 2 1 1 1 2	1 5 6

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Table 7. (Continued)	Team Charismatic/ Partici- Humane Self- Auto- Orientation Values-based pative Orientation protective nomous	7	otk 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	۲ ۲ ۲	وبا ۲ ۲ ۲ ۲ ۲
Table 7. (Com		Visioning, future planning: Transformational leadership SWOC analysis Lead according to a plan Focus on outcomes, measures Ways of thinking about educational matters	<i>Teamwork:</i> Helping teams with group work Collaboration around school vision Working with teachers Delegating power	Increased confidence as leader: Ability to help others Ability to create change Not rushing to decisions	Practical skills:Meeting and time managementUsing dataProblem solvingSpeakingCommunicating with parentsIncorporating critical thinkingin seminars
	No. of reported changes		4	- 3 5 6	<u> </u>
	Workshop No.	ε.			

GLOBE CLT	Workshop 1	Workshop 2	Workshop 3	Т	otal
Charismatic/Values-based	7	9	11	27	36%
Team oriented	9	14	6	29	39%
Participative	4	8	3	15	20%
Humane	0	0	4	5	5%
Self-protective	0	0	0	0	
Autonomous	0	0	0	0	
Total behavior changes	20	31	24	75	

Table 8. Reported Principal Behavior Changes Categorized by GLOBE CLT.

Values-based (36%) and Team-oriented (39%) leadership, this result should not be interpreted to mean that principals implemented Participative behaviors less frequently between workshops. To effectively implement the Charismatic/Values-based and Team-oriented practices they did report (such as using SWOC analysis, discussing a desire for a new school vision, and building teamwork), principals also needed to adopt more Participativeoriented behaviors. Since behaviors related to Charismatic/Values-based and Team Orientation were newer and more unique, participants may have viewed changes in these areas as more remarkable and thus noteworthy than skills they may have tried out related to the Participative orientation, or they may have subsumed Participative-oriented behaviors under the other categories. Finally, in the data analysis, categorizing the responses according to CLTs involved a forced choice, and the overlap between responses related to the Team-oriented category in particular may have resulted in this lower percentage for Participative Orientation.

21st Century School Administrator Skills

The 21st Century School Administrator Skills (NASSP) assessment, portions of which were used as a self-assessment tool before the start of Workshop 1 and after Workshop 3, provides a quantitative evaluation of changes in participant learning and behaviors from the PLT. Survey items are stated as behaviors of school administrators, such as "I develop action plans", "I articulate a clear vision for the school and its efforts", and "I support the ideas and views of team members to solve problems", which principals self-assessed on a scale of 1-5 (1 = never, 2 = rarely,

Administrative Skills	Pre-test	Post-test	t	df	Sig.*	Rank 1	Rank 2
Setting instructional direction	4.25	4.46	-1.929	13	0.038	4	6
Teamwork	4.38	4.48	869	14	0.200	1	2
Sensitivity	4.33	4.45	-1.137	14	0.137	2	6
Judgment	4.30	4.46	-1.310	14	0.105	3	5
Results orientation	4.07	4.47	-2.060	14	0.029	10	3
Organizational ability	4.16	4.47	-2.563	14	0.011	5	3
Oral communication	4.11	4.23	-0.662	14	0.259	8	10
Written communication	4.15	4.38	-1.346	14	0.100	6	8
Developing others	4.09	4.52	-1.958	14	0.035	9	1
Understand own strengths, weaknesses	4.17	4.37	-1.107	14	0.143	6	9

Table 9. Self-Assessment of 21st Century School Administrative Skills.

*1-tailed

3 =occasionally, 4 = frequently, 5 = always). Baseline scores on the pretest were high, with no mean score below 4.09 (Table 9). Principals explained to the program evaluator that these high scores were consistent with a collective or cultural trait of the Omanis, that is, a positive self-reporting of individual characteristics. The evaluator also observed that this kind of self-evaluation tool was new for most participants, and despite assurance that individual results would not be made public, uncertainty about how the scores would be used may have affected participants' scoring.

Mean scores indicate that participants as a group believed their skills had improved in each of the 10 categories of administrative leadership. Paired samples *t*-tests were performed to determine if the differences between the means of the pre- and post-test data are large enough not to be due to chance. Negative *t*-scores indicate higher post-test scores on all areas of administrative skills measured, with four constructs showing significance at the 0.05 level: Setting Instructional Direction, Results Orientation, Organizational Ability, and Developing Others. Changes in these four areas can thus be attributed to the intervention of the PLT.

Examining changes in the rankings of the 21st Century School Administrator Skills (based on mean scores) provide another perspective on principals' learning and behavior changes (Table 9). While the high pre-test scores (Rank 1) mean that changes in rank in the post-tests (Rank 2) are due to rather small differences in means, it is worth noting the School Administrator Skills that indicate large changes in rank from the pre- to the post-test. The two categories that changed order most dramatically are Development of Others, which moved from ninth position to first, and Results orientation, which moved from last position to third. As the principals learned to understand and apply concepts of "power over" and "power with" (taught in Week 1 of Workshop 1) in empowering their teachers and sharing administrative workload, Development of Others became a key theme of workshop discussions. Principals also realized throughout the course of the three workshops that a key role of leaders is to develop the skills and leadership abilities of those with whom they work.

The new mind-set that Browne-Ferrigno (2003) found to be necessary for role-identity transformation is examined through direct questioning of principals at the end of the third workshop: "Did your thinking change as a result of the PLT?" All principals interviewed (n = 11) attributed the PLT training with changing their thinking. When their answers (Table 10) are categorized according to the GLOBE CLTs, one-third relate to Charismatic/Values-based leadership and one-fourth to Team-oriented leadership. Principals' confident responses demonstrate understanding of a new professional identity as leaders rather than mere managers of MOE policies.

Indicative of the GLOBE CLT of Charismatic/Values-based is one principal who said, "(After the training) I have changed a lot in the way I think which is now more organized and directed toward future planning. I have become more strategic in the way I draw up plans, in speaking, in setting goals with measurement"..."My thinking has shifted from being on activities to the focus being on outcomes during work" (Seward, 2008, p. 16). Another principal cited changes related to both Team-oriented and Participative leadership: "I have the ability to help teams work in groups to set a vision and to use strategic planning and have them work collaboratively to achieve the vision" (Seward, 2008, p. 19).

One principal from Muscat took the initiative to gather the other PLT principals from the capital a week after the third workshop: "(The four of us) are putting together a proposal to conduct the leadership training for all the other principals in the Muscat region. Right now we are working on a proposal that will go to the Director General of the Muscat region and insha allah we will be able to give the rest of them the training we received" (Seward, 2008, p. 25). This principal wanted to further the visionary goal of training all principals in Muscat (Charismatic/Values-based), got others to agree and get involved (Participative), and led a collaborative effort (Team Orientation) to help the MOE achieve its goals. Both the qualitative and quantitative data indicate that principals did indeed evidence a shift from management-oriented to leadership-oriented styles.

Changes in Thinking	Team Orientation	Charismatic/ Values-based			Self- protective	Auto- nomous
More confidence to create change						
Empowering others (AP, teacher leaders)	1		-			
Long-term vision for professional development	1		-			
Confidence to help team set vision	1	1	-			
Ability to work together with team	-		-			
Student learning as central goal		1				
Thinking about leadership and educational matters		1				
Way of working with teachers	1		1	1		
Problem solving	1					
Activating transformational leadership		<i>L</i>				
Confidence		1				
Practical ideas	1					
Need for strategic planning		1				
More future-directed and strategic						
Totals	7	9	6	5	0	0

Table 10. Changes in Principal Thinking.

Two key Workshop 1 topics related to developing others were "the principal as facilitator of transformational change" and the principal as "a leader and builder of teams". Workshop 3 expanded on this with "involving teachers in leading change". As participants learned about the importance of sharing power with their teachers, particularly in these sessions, "development of others" became an important topic of workshop discussions. In general, scores increased in this category – one person assessed her- or himself 1.83 points higher in May than in January. Five participants assessed themselves lower – a full point lower for one person (from 4.83 to 3.83). This finding from the NASSP survey merits some additional speculative interpretation, namely why some participants rated themselves lower in the post-test use of the 21st Century School Administrators Skills self-assessment. Given all the evidence of change in principals' thinking and behavior as a result of participation in the PLT, it is

reasonable to assume that these participants in fact assessed themselves more accurately and with greater candor than at the beginning of the workshop. This was likely a result of coming to understand the categories more clearly through the workshop instruction and through a better understanding of the purpose of the tool for self-evaluation rather than for public- or supervisor-evaluation of the principal's skills.

Ministerial Decrees

The success of the PLT shown through the external program evaluation and word of mouth feedback to the top officials in the MOE led to the issuance of Ministerial Decrees No. 294/2007 and No. 330/2007 by Yahya bin Saud Al Sulaimi, Minister of Education. The Minister established a committee of the MOE officials who attended the PLT and charged them with extending the training to all principals in the Sultanate of Oman. He set the objectives for the project as:

- Building the foundations for decentralization of school performance by adopting two international concepts: "Building capacity" and "Educated organizations";
- Improving the quality of education in a comprehensive manner through effective school management by enabling school principals to use the necessary skills to guarantee the sustainability of school performance and continuous assessment;
- Conciliation between the policies of the ministry in the expansion of decentralization from one side, and ensuring the quality of education on the other;
- Strengthen the efforts of the Ministry in the project of school performance development;
- Building a qualified training team. (Al Sulaimi, 2007a, 2007b).

DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND SIGNIFICANCE

The Sultanate of Oman has made impressive achievements over the past 30 years in its education system: the provision of universal access to free, public education; gender parity in school attendance; the establishment of higher educational institutions; and 25% of governmental expenditures being dedicated to education (The World Bank, 2008). Now, however, like other

MENA countries, Oman must "travel over new and relatively unexplored terrain" to meet the Sultanate's needs for the future (The World Bank, 2008, p. 83). The World Bank's report on educational reform in this region calls for less focus on "engineering education" and more on "motivating the actors involved" (The World Bank, 2008, p. 83). Sultan Qaboos has in fact articulated the vision of this new terrain for the country, placing education at the center of Oman's strategies. By examining the impact of the PLT on the role identity and behaviors of secondary principals in Oman, this study provides insights into how principals can be not only motivated, but also equipped to lead their schools into that new terrain.

Qualitative and quantitative results from this study indicate the Omani principals changed behaviors and their thinking about leadership as a result of their participation in the PLT project. These new behaviors align primarily with the three CLTs of the GLOBE study most positively associated with outstanding leadership across the world: Team-orientation, Charismatic/Value-based, and Participative leadership. Significant changes in principals' behaviors in four skill areas are evident on the NASSP 21st Century School Administrator Skills self-assessment: Developing Others, Results Orientation, Setting Instructional Direction, and Organizational Ability. These leadership skills reflect GLOBE's CLT orientations of Charismatic/Values-based, Team-orientation, and Participative leadership. Additional support for the conclusion that principals indeed changed their behaviors to adopt more of the global leader behaviors is evident in the NASSP results, which show that principals dramatically raised their ranking of their leadership skills in Developing Others and Results Orientation. This suggests the PLT influenced the principals' understanding of the need for leaders to work with and through others to achieve results for their schools.

Results from this study also support the conclusion that behavior changes exhibited by the principals indicate a shift of professional identity from management oriented to leadership oriented. Learning experiences observed during the first week of the first workshop reveal an "unfreezing" of the principals' identity away from management-centered to leadership-centered identities. Meeting three times for two weeks over a five-month period was challenging for principals, especially during the second and third workshops when the school year was underway and there were competing demands on their time. It also proved to be a very successful strategy in that principals tried out their new skills in between workshops and were able to report back to each other on their successes as well as raise newly emerging questions about the new behaviors and understandings about leadership they were trying to enact. These reported behavior changes align with the GLOBE CLTs associated positively with outstanding leadership: Charismatic/ Values-based, Team-oriented, and Participative. Focusing the PLT's curriculum and instruction on these leadership orientations thus contributed to the shift from management to leadership.

The culturally contextualized training approaches and activities used for the PLT provided a learning environment that supported and encouraged principals to make this shift of professional identity. Of particular influence were the presentation of the GLOBE study; the analysis of one's own school culture; vision and goals; the critical friends protocol; stories from participants and trainers; quotes from Sultan Oaboos; and norm setting. The admonition, "You have a choice", declared at a critical learning juncture by one trainer served as a turning point for the principals, mirroring the research of Hoffmann and Johnston (2005). The alignment of the findings from GLOBE to the PLT's curriculum and instructional approaches enabled participants to position leadership styles in a global context, rather than limiting them to a dichotomous comparison of leadership in the US and Oman, or even of western and Middle Eastern leadership approaches. Identifying universal (culture general) expectations of leaders along with uniquely Omani (culture specific) manifestations of leadership styles provided cultural familiarity ("cultural practices" as defined in GLOBE) to principals as they stretched their thinking and behaviors beyond their society's current practices to become effective schools leaders for 21st century, innovative schools. Once participants linked the leadership approach of Oman's Sultan Qaboos to the GLOBE's Charismatic/Values-based and Future Orientations, they had new language to describe his leadership as both effective and culturally authentic. Sultan Qaboos' emphasis on citizens' moral imperative to ensure the future of their children and grandchildren further emboldened principals to make changes in their leadership styles, particularly in Charismatic/Values-based and Future Orientations.

Do the behavioral changes reported by the principals have the potential to contribute to the decentralization of Oman's educational system as part of the country's plans to transition to a post-petroleum economy? The findings from this study that principals shifted their identity and behaviors to a more leadership-oriented approach reveal increased potential of these principals to lead their schools through changes associated with decentralization. These Omani principals no longer conceive of their professional identity as mere managers of MOE policy and procedures. They exited the PLT ready to assume increased local autonomy and responsibility for the outcomes of their schools because of the new skills, knowledge, and professional identity they had assumed. There is certainly strong evidence of the belief of Oman's MOE in the potential of these principals to contribute to the country's goal of a decentralized educational system as well as of the sustainability of this approach to leadership training in the decision to scale up the PLT nationally. Other MENA countries with goals to decentralize their educational systems may benefit from this approach to principal training, particularly as their ministries of education realize and respond to their countries' levels of student achievement that lag behind the rest of the world (Chapman & Miric, 2009).

The GLOBE study provided the US trainers and the Omani workshop participants with a research-based framework related to similarities and differences between their cultures and their cultures' views of effective leadership. This framework enabled the US trainers to anticipate culturerelated issues and to design the training to address them. Likewise, the GLOBE framework helped the Omanis make sense of cultural differences with the US trainers and further understand the management–leadership distinction. The strong backgrounds in intercultural and international education of the three trainers brought a unique set of skills and sensitivities to the PLT training. It is an empirical question whether a similar program would be able to produce such strong outcomes with trainers who have less intercultural knowledge and international experience.

Generalizing findings from this study is limited to the principal population in Oman. Further studies of principal training programs using a culturally contextualized approach in other countries would need to be conducted before determining the applicability of these findings to other countries and cultures. Such programs would need to be designed around the dimensions of culture specific to the cultures in those contexts. There is also a need to conduct a follow-up study in Oman to determine whether the changes principals reported making in their schools and in their own behaviors have endured.

The findings from this study confirm the cluster of Middle East leadership traits for this particular national group of school leaders; however, the GLOBE study did not include participants from Oman. Given the dramatic transformation of the country under the leadership of Sultan Qaboos, who has continually focused the country on making and implementing successful long-term plans, it is possible that Oman's scores could be somewhat different from the Middle East cluster. The example of the Sultan's successful leadership may mean that educational leaders in Oman are more inclined or open to Future Orientation than their counterparts in the countries that formed the Middle East cluster for GLOBE. Research replicating GLOBE with participation from Oman could also provide insights into whether Oman also shows gaps between cultural practices and values on the GLOBE dimensions of Future Orientation, Performance Orientation, and Power Distance similar to or different from the Middle East cluster.

The study's findings and the GLOBE framework contribute an alternative approach to characterizing education in the Middle East that is often situated as a dichotomy of modernization and/or globalization versus traditional, Islamic approaches to schooling (Findlaw, 2008; Wiseman, 2008; Wiseman & Alromi, 2003). The leadership styles found by GLOBE to be most strongly associated with outstanding leadership in the Middle East cluster (Team-Oriented, Charismatic/Values-based, and Participative) are in fact the same styles most strongly associated with outstanding leadership across the world. Leaders of educational reform efforts in the Middle East can be both professionally effective and culturally authentic by using the PLT approach: a culturally contextualized approach to principal training that situates principals' enactment of the global leadership skills within the culture of their country.

This study of the PLT in Oman shows the value of grounding countryspecific training in international, multi-country comparative research rather than adapting training models developed in one country with a single, national research base to use in another country. The culturally contextualized approach to the content, instructional design, and learning activities of the PLT set the stage for positive, productive intercultural interactions that supported the transformation of principal identity from a management to a leadership orientation.

NOTES

1. At the primary level, 80.2% of Omani girls attend school compared to 81.3% of Omani boys. At the secondary level, 71.5% of girls and 71.9% of boys attend school (UNESCO, 2006).

2. The GLOBE study provides "copious detail" (Jackson, 2005, p. 65) about its research design, methodology, and findings, allowing for careful examination of the researchers' approach (House et al., 2004). GLOBE's criticism of Hofstede's dimensions of culture is "paradoxical in that they are highly critical of Hofstede's framework, yet they reflect more of its influence than of any other" (Peterson, 2004, p. 642). Graen, (2006, p. 95) writes that "the authors of the GLOBE study claim too much cross-cultural ecological and construct validity and generalizability for their research findings and recommendations to date". Others, however, conclude that the GLOBE study "appears to have a satisfactory level of construct validity"

(Hytter, 2007, p. 65). Even given some concerns, Peterson finds GLOBE to be "a quite useful alternative to the only other major basis for hypotheses about leadership effectiveness, leadership-style research that is overwhelmingly from US samples" and others confirm its usefulness in a range of articles within and beyond the leadership literature (Hytter, 2007; Jackson, 2005; Waldman et al., 2006; Wilson, 2005, Alas et al., 2007; Javidan et al., 2005; Kennedy, 2002). Findings from such an internationally developed, researched, and validated study thus have relevance, applicability, and usefulness to the field of educational leadership preparation.

3. Although English was the workshop language of instruction, at different points the trainers intentionally structured the use of Arabic so that one of the ministry officials could summarize key points or one of the principals with weaker English skills could express himself/herself in Arabic at greater length to the group. Having an assistant trainer (US male) with good Arabic skills at each workshop also aided cross-cultural communication.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND ROLE OF TRUST IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF U.S. AND UGANDAN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

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INTRODUCTION

The development and role of trust in school performance has been built primarily on educational research in the United States. The problem is that the resulting theory of trust may not accurately reflect the development and role of trust in schools in other global contexts. Researchers broadly agree that the implications of trust dynamics filter into every segment of the school's organization. However, trust is often either oversimplified or made to seem overly complex, whereas reality is likely somewhere in the middle and depends largely on specific national and regional circumstances. The resulting problem for school administrators globally is a lack of role clarity regarding their leadership responsibilities related to trust and school performance.

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This chapter synthesizes two research studies to compare and contrast the role and development of trust in U.S. and selected Ugandan schools. The purpose of this chapter is to examine more contextualized notions of trust, taking into account the different environments of these schools, specifically in terms of accountability and goal tangibility. This chapter argues that while both the construct and facilitation of trust are indeed highly contextualized, a broader theoretical model grounded in leadership, network and organizational theories can be articulated, which provides insights about the role and development of trust to educational leaders in both U.S. and selected Ugandan schools.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Reflecting U.S.-based trust research in schools, trust is a critical ingredient in all elements of human learning (Rotter, 1967), in student achievement (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran, & Hoy, 2001; Wahlstrom & Louis, 2008) and in increasing the quality of schooling (Bryk & Schneider, 2003; Hoy & Sabo, 1998; Hoy & Sweetland, 2001; Louis, 2007; Tschannen-Moran, 2004). Hoy and Kupersmith (1985) found support for the assumption that the principal is the symbolic head of the school organization and is probably the single most important individual in developing an atmosphere of trust. Trust literature suggests that a critical role and responsibility of the educational leader is to create and facilitate high-quality relationships that generate conditions of trust that enhance the school culture to support and sustain improved school performance (Wahlstrom & Louis, 2008). Moreover, administrators have the responsibility to initiate trusting relationships in their organizations through trustworthy behaviors (Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard, & Werner, 1998). Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999) found that the school leaders' behavior was the best predictor of trust by teachers in their school leaders. In this regard Barth (2006) asserts that "the nature of relationships among the adults within a school has a greater influence on the character and quality of that school and on student accomplishment than anything else" (p. 9).

Research on the development of relationships and trust in the workplace is also found in the literature on leadership and organizational networks in noneducational settings (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Schoorman, Mayer, & Davis, 2007). This research has bearing on the development and role of trust in the specific workplace of schools. For example, on the development of trust, Uzzi (1996) found that work relationships highly embedded within the same networks demonstrated greater degrees of trust. Building on Uzzi's work, Hite (2003) found that relationships specifically high in relational embeddedness, in which the relationship itself affected work-related decision making, demonstrated both a greater extent and greater number of different types of trust.

The role of trust in work relationships also suggests that developing trust is a critical strategy for improving organizational performance. For example, innovation and knowledge transfer within the organization are enhanced under conditions of trust (Collins & Hitt, 2006; Inkpen & Tsang, 2005; Levin & Cross, 2004; Li, 2005; Nebus, 2006; Szulanski, Cappetta, & Jensen, 2004). In schools, Leana and Pil (2006) found that social capital, an underlying factor of social trust (Hite, 2003) and as measured based on relationships among faculty, predicted student performance in math and reading.

In U.S. educational leadership research, Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999) identified five facets of trust, which, when combined with a vulnerability premise, produces a definition of trust as "one party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is (a) benevolent, (b) reliable, (c) competent, (d) honest, and (e) open" (p. 189). Table 1 provides definitions for each of these five facets as well as indicators of these facets derived from the trust literature (Hallam, 2006). Hoy and Tschannon-Moran's (1999) factor-analytic study demonstrated that all five facets were correlated and formed a coherent construct of trust. These trust facets provide a useful framework to current U.S. educational research for describing antecedents of trust and understanding how school administrators may create conditions that can facilitate the development of trust in their schools. However, Bryk and Schneider (2002) indicate that while social trust in school communities has emerged in a few studies as a key element in improving schools, little systematic research exists that examines the nature of trust as a substantive property of the social organization of schools, on how much trust levels actually vary among schools and how this may relate to schools' effectiveness.

Hallam's (2006) case studies of three U.S. school principals and their teachers identified key principal actions that increased teacher confidence that the school leader was demonstrating Hoy & Tschannen-Moran's (1999) trust facets. Trust between the teachers and their school leaders developed as teachers had increased confidence in their school leader's benevolence, reliability, competence, honesty and openness (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999). Table 2 presents Hallam's (2006) principal actions by Hoy and Tschannen-Moran's (1999) trust facets. Hallam's framework is used in this

Trust Facets and Definitions (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran 1999)	Indicators of Trust F Literature (H	
<i>Benevolence:</i> The confidence that another party has your best interests at heart and will protect your interests	Caring Discrete Fair Empathetic Equitable Concern	Sincere Acts in best interest Has goodwill Not opportunistic Altruistic
<i>Reliability:</i> The extent to which you can depend on another party to come through for you, to act consistently, and to follow through	Predictable Dependable Promise fulfillment Consistent	Reliance Keeps commitments Authentic behavior Loyal
<i>Competence:</i> Belief in another party's ability to perform the tasks required by his or her position	Expert Shares power Identification Can do the job Efficacious Dynamism Secure	Professional Uses good judgment Conviction Resiliency Savvy Congruence
<i>Honesty:</i> The degree of a person's integrity, character and authenticity; the degree to which a person can be counted on to represent situations fairly	Credible Integrity Moral Fulfills promises	Faith Goodness Tells the truth Work ethic
<i>Openness:</i> The extent to which another party freely shares information with others	Shared understanding Communicate Share personal self Share emotions Responsible Cooperation Collaboration	Shared leadership Mentor Network Approachable Make vulnerable Democratic

Table 1.	Definitions and Descriptors of Hoy and Tshannen-Moran's
	(1999) Facets of Trust.

study to compare the principal actions of these U.S. principals to those of selected Ugandan headteachers.

A review of accessible literature demonstrates that research on trust between school leaders and teachers is mainly grounded in the U.S. educational context. Yet, school leaders in other national and regional contexts need to know to what extent this research is transferable to their own contexts and situations. Research has not yet examined to what extent findings in the U.S.-based trust literature are transferable to or relevant in

Trust Facet	U.S. Principal Actions (Hallam, 2006)
Benevolence	Act with fairness and equity Use discretion Get to know people on a personal level Be human Act with empathy Be caring Reduce vulnerabilities
Reliability	Walk your talk Reduce anxiety in the face of change Take action with substandard teachers Be loyal Share accountability for trust
Competence	Establish a shared vision Acknowledge personal strengths and weaknesses Understand and define the context Use symbols, stories and common language Be positive, optimistic and inspire others to be better Have fun together Trust in yourself
Honesty	Act with integrity Express honest intentions Respect the professional judgment and expertise of others Be a good example
Openness	Communicate freely and regularly Make close personal connections Be approachable and accessible Set up formal structures for collaboration Share leadership responsibilities

Table 2.	U.S. School Principal Actions as Indicators of Trust
	Development.

other national and regional educational contexts. There is little evidence of any significant body of scholarly inquiry on trust between school leaders and teachers outside the American context. For example, two studies were conducted in the UK (Avis, 2003) and Australia (Bishop, 1999); yet, there is no evidence of either of these studies being cited by other trust research in the school leader and teacher context, and neither of them cite any such research. Consequently, the very limited international research on trust between school leaders and teachers appears to occur in a very isolated scholarly and geographical context. Without understanding how the development and role of trust in schools may differ based on salient contextual factors, educational leaders may be less effective in facilitating the necessary trust to sustain school performance and improvement.

The fact that there is limited research literature on trust outside of the American context certainly does not mean that there is no relevant research on the importance of educational leadership in the African context, or elsewhere, where notions of trust are implicit. The centrality of school leadership in facilitating relevant, timely, effective and equitable education is, after all, globally accepted. The ubiquitous acceptance of the centrality of school leadership is highlighted in the most recent Global Monitoring Report (GMR; UNESCO, 2009) where even the title asserts this fact: Overcoming inequality: Why governance matters. While such governance certainly deals with leadership, management, planning and supervisory concerns at more aggregated levels than that of the school, the 2009 GMR spends significant time on the importance of school-level leadership issues, particularly as they relate to developing contexts such as Africa. Alongside the 2009 GMR, major efforts by global organizations such as World Bank have also focused on critical issues relating to school leadership capacity issues (Mulkeen, Chapman, DeJaeghere, & Leu, 2007).

Indeed, particularly in resource-strained contexts such as Africa, it is becoming clear from the research and literature that lack of leadership capacities has become a major obstacle to achieving the 2015 Educational For All (EFA) goals, perhaps as important as the scarcity of resources (Hite & De Grauwe, 2009). But the critical importance of leadership at the school level in the African context is not a recent discovery. The research and policy discourse is longstanding and covers a broad range of national contexts in Africa.

For various reasons, much of the African school leadership research and accompanying literature focus on the South African national context (Bush & Heystek, 2003; Karlsson, 2002; Naidoo, 2005; Wood & Webb, 2008). In addition to South Africa, other countries in sub-Saharan Africa are also represented in the literature on school leadership issues. The range of countries found in the research literature is represented by Togo (Kogoe, 1986), Kenya (Kitavi & Van Der Westhuizen, 1997), Botswana (De Grauwe, 2001; Göttleman-Duret & Hogan, 1998), Malawi (Göttleman-Duret & Hogan, 1998), Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe (De Grauwe, 2001), and Uganda (Bennell & Sayed, 2002; Göttleman-Duret & Hogan, 1998; Hite et al., 2006; Penny, Ward, Read, & Bines, 2008). While the research literature on school leadership issues in sub-Saharan Africa is reasonably represented in the global discourse, it also tends to focus on more functional aspects than that found in the American, European and Australian contexts. This is evident in that the school leadership research literature in the African context is more likely to use terminologies, such as planning, management and supervision, denoting functional aspects of leading schools, than the term leadership. This focus creates a context where emerging constructs and practices such as trust are tangential, at best, to the research-based leadership discourse in the African context. In the African educational context, while it is increasingly mentioned in government documents of the need to develop more transformational leadership qualities such as trust, this line of discourse rarely, if ever, moves beyond being simply "recommended."

Consequently, studies such as the one reported here are even more critical to the future of relevant, timely, effective and equitable educational leadership in contexts such as Africa. The research and government literature focused on the sub-Saharan African context provides evidence that leaders from the school level to the national level are ready for research into the ways to lead schools that include elements such as building and facilitating trust between headteachers and school staff. This study is one small step toward creating a basic foundation for that discussion and for future action.

This comparison of two studies on trust between school leaders and teachers provides a unique perspective of the development and role of trust from the perspective of school leaders in both U.S. and selected Ugandan schools. We posit that the development and role of trust are both highly contextualized and that trust between school leaders and teachers may be defined and determined very differently in schools located in different national and regional contexts. This chapter will compare and contrast the development and role of trust between school leaders and teachers in U.S. and selected Ugandan schools and explore how school leaders facilitate trust development. This comparison was guided by the following research questions:

- 1. How do school leaders in the United States and Uganda facilitate the development of teacher trust?
- 2. How does the development of teacher trust compare between the United States and Uganda?
- 3. What is the role of trust in the U.S. and Ugandan contexts and how does it compare across those two contexts, specifically in terms of school performance?

METHODS

This chapter will synthesize two qualitative research studies on the role and development of trust in schools – in the United States and in Uganda – as well as the role of educational leaders in facilitating the development of trust. Both studies used similar qualitative, semi-structured interviews to address the research questions. The theoretical framework for both studies was Hoy and Tschannen-Moran's (1999) five facets of trust.

U.S. Study

The study of trust in U.S. public schools (Hallam, 2006; Hallam & Matthews, 2008) examined three U.S. schools in the same district. The schools chosen for this study were the only three (of eight) Title I schools in the district that failed to meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) goals under the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act. In addition, each principal was newly assigned to his or her school. Each of these three principals was interviewed three different times over the course of the study.

Three teachers and three parents were also interviewed at the three schools, in addition to a focus group interview consisting of five parents and teachers. Teachers and parents were chosen using stratified random sampling to participate in the interviews and focus groups. All interviews were semi-structured, in-depth interviews lasting between 60 to 90 min. Other sources of data included document reviews, participant observations and field notes.

Uganda Study

The study of trust in Ugandan schools was designed to replicate particular aspects of the U.S. study within a different national context. Specifically, the Ugandan study focused on the school administrators' understanding of the development and role of trust in their schools. Seven schools were chosen using a purposeful, maximum variety sampling technique. Schools in the Mukono District of Uganda were stratified into eight categories based on three criteria: (1) urban or rural, (2) government aided or private and, (3) large (over 350 students) or small (less than 350 students). One school was selected from seven of these eight categories, based on their willingness to allow access to the school site. (One category was empty; no small,

government-aided rural schools existed in Mukono District at the time of this study).

Data collection included interviews with the headteacher (school administrator) at each of the seven selected schools. These seven head-teachers were interviewed for 60–90 min each. The interview questions were similar to those of the U.S. study.

Data Analysis

All interviews were recorded and transcribed to facilitate qualitative data analysis. Qualitative data analysis methods, facilitated by NVivo software, were used to identify and analyze themes and patterns in the respective data that addressed the research questions. In both studies, Hoy & Tschanno-Moran's (1999) five facets of trust and Hallam's (2006) principal actions provided the theoretical framework for the analyses.

FINDINGS

The findings identify similarities and differences in how school leaders in the U.S. and the selected Ugandan schools facilitate the development of trust with their teachers. The findings first specify three important differences between the U.S. and this Ugandan educational context that have bearing on the development and role of trust. The development and role of trust between school leaders and teachers is then compared between the two contexts.

Differences in Educational Contexts

Three differences in U.S. and this Ugandan educational context are relevant to trust development and stand out as a key finding across both studies. These differences underlie many of the differences found in the role of trust, its development and the role of educational leaders seen in the two studies. The most obvious contextual difference is that education in Uganda exists within a predominantly private market-driven system in which both competition and accountability, due to national exit examinations, are constant strategic concerns for school survival. Education in the United States, for the most part, exists within a publicly funded system with relatively new accountability concerns (e.g. NCLB) and does not have the same extent or intensity of concern about the competitive forces as those that drive the Ugandan school system.

The second contextual difference is that the primary indicator of school success in the Ugandan educational context is the number of students that perform well in the national exit examinations rather than the historical criteria in the United States of patron and stakeholder approval. While school success indicators are beginning to shift in U.S. schools due to relatively new and increasing expectations of accountability, public education still resides within an institutional environment (Scott & Davis, 2007) in which schools receive resources by virtue of being an accepted social institution and the number of students attending the school rather than on the basis of the academic performance (output) of their students.

In Uganda, if students do not perform well academically, particularly in national exams, the school is less likely to attract future students. Given that students bring resources, both in terms of fees and trade, the school cannot survive without students. Low performing schools as indicated by low national exam scores experience increased unemployment of teachers, staff, directors and ultimately the headteacher. Thus, within this environment of scarce resources, schools experience a heightened sense of accountability and incentive to facilitate student performance to sustain future resource flows and school survival, which creates a strong and explicit norm of shared responsibility, which permeates Ugandan school culture. In addition to the number of students passing the national examinations at various levels, the Ugandan headmasters indicated three additional indicators of school success. First, successful schools have a stable student population that progress to the next levels (O and A levels) and that does not leave the school during or between school years. Second, successful schools have a number of their students that go on to higher institutions of learning. Third, successful schools have "old boys" - school alumni - that come back and work at the school, or make contributions in money or services, supplies and materials.

The third contextual difference is that the U.S. public schools in the study, as is the case with almost all schools in the United States, were day schools while the Ugandan schools included a significant portion of boarding schools (as is the case with almost all schools in Uganda). This difference relates clearly to processes of school culture development. In the U.S. schools, interactions between principals and teachers occur mainly during workdays and in a generally resource-stable environment. However, in Uganda, the headteacher and faculty often board at the school, literally

living in the same physical location throughout the school year. The cultural implication of this contextual difference is that Ugandan headteachers have more time with their faculty in a highly accountable and strategically resource-challenged environment. As a result, working together successfully becomes crucial; headteachers have more opportunities for interaction and consequently higher potential for relationship growth – a critical component of the development of both goodwill and competency trust.

Trust Development

In both U.S. and the selected Ugandan schools, all five facets of trust in the Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (2003, 1999) model were present in the relationships between school leaders and their teachers. The data from the Ugandan school leaders about trust development mirrored that of the U.S. school leaders to a large degree. In the Ugandan schools, leaders were very aware of the need to develop trust with their teachers. While they similarly addressed each of the five facets of trust (Hoy & Tschannen-Moran, 1999), they did not describe all of the same trust determinants and provided a few additional ways in which they increase the trust between them and their teachers. The comparison of these two educational contexts allows for greater understanding of how school leaders in the United States and this particular setting in Uganda facilitate the development of trust with their teachers.

Benevolence

Framed within Hallam's (2006) seven key principal actions of benevolence, Table 3 summarizes the similar and unique principal actions used by leaders in the U.S. and these Ugandan schools that demonstrated benevolence as a means to develop teachers' trust. Common themes in the similar principal actions are treating teachers humanly, fairly and with care and compassion, creating a safe emotional environment for teachers and caring for their teaching needs. School leaders in both contexts recognized and addressed each of the principal actions associated with benevolence.

U.S. and these Ugandan school leaders, however, both demonstrated unique principal actions as they described their efforts to build the teachers' trust. U.S. principals demonstrated benevolence in terms of interpersonal interactions, confidence, emotional connection, doing personal favors, respecting fears and protecting feelings. In contrast, the seven Ugandan headteachers described interactions in terms of having fair work policies,

1 and	2. HOW SCHOOL LEADER DE	nume 3. Inow School Leaders Develop 11 ust with reachers. Deflevorence.	ilevolence.
Benevolence: Principal	Similar Principal Actions	Unique Principal Actions	ipal Actions
Actions		U.S. Principals	Seven Ugandan Headteachers
Act with fairness and equity	Understand the principles of fairness and equity	Be fair in personal interactions with and treatment of teachers	Be fair in school policies, pay, titles, assignments
Use discretion	Create safe environment for teachers	Keep confidence Discuss personal matters in private	Keep personal lives separate from work
Get to know people on a personal level	Show kindness and compassion	Connect at an emotional level Show appreciation for the total person, not just as an employee Be seen as real person with real emotions Influence	Spend time with teachers Continue to teach so they have common context Work together
Be human	Show kindness, care and compassion Treat teachers as complex and genuine human beings	Help others to be better human beings Do favors	No unique actions reported in data
Act with empathy	Care about the teachers, no matter what	No unique actions reported in data Let teachers know they are important, that they matt	Let teachers know they are important, that they matter
Be caring	Assume responsibility to care for teacher needs	No unique actions reported in data	Build friendships
Reduce vulnerabilities	Reduce vulnerabilities that could threaten emotional harm in relationship	Reduce vulnerabilities about teacher evaluations	No attempts to reduce vulnerabilities about work issues, e.g. teacher evaluations

Table 3. How School Leaders Develop Trust with Teachers: Benevolence.

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spending time with teachers, allowing teachers to keep their personal lives private, building friendships and letting teachers know they are important. The U.S. principals appeared to reflect a deeper level of personal relationship and emotional connection than the Ugandan headteachers. The educational context of Ugandan teachers boarding at the schools and thus being is such close contact with the headteacher may have generated some cultural norms for creating and allowing personal space, whereas U.S. teachers only see principals during the workday and may need actions that create more personal closeness.

Reliability

The similar and unique principal actions used by school leaders in the United States and this area of Uganda to develop trust by being reliable are indicated in Table 4, framed within Hallam's (2006) four key principal actions of reliability. U.S. and these Ugandan school leaders had similarities in each of the principal action categories, focusing on loyalty to school, teachers and students as well as on predictability and consistency, particularly in terms of accountability. U.S. principals and headteachers of these seven Ugandan also differed in several respects in creating teacher confidence in their reliability. "Walking your talk" was demonstrated uniquely in Uganda as a very high need to keep promises – consequently, promises were made very carefully.

Reducing anxiety in the face of change represented the area of most unique difference in principal actions. Reducing anxiety was much more evident in the United States than in this area of Uganda. U.S. principals sought to build trust, reduce fears and stand behind teachers. In contrast, as these Ugandan headteachers demonstrated reliability through high teacher accountability, they actually raised teacher anxiety. A clear difference also existed in how school leaders handled poorly performing teachers. U.S. principals struggle in providing teachers feedback on poor performance, take more time in the process, provide more support and give teachers more ownership of the problem. On the other hand, the selected Ugandan headteachers were much more open and direct, and moved swiftly to address performance problems to decrease any jeopardy to the students and school. Loyalty was demonstrated in the U.S. schools as seeking feedback from and adapting to teacher needs whereas loyalty in these Ugandan schools was evidenced by sacrificing for the teachers and working beyond teacher expectations. Overall, the unique approaches to increasing confidence in reliability were found in U.S. principals connecting with, adapting to and supporting teachers while the Ugandan headteachers

	Table 4. How School Lea	Table 4. How School Leaders Develop Trust with Teachers: Reliability.	: Reliability.
Reliability: Principal	Similar Principal Actions	Unique Principal Actions	pal Actions
Actions		U.S. Principals	Seven Ugandan Headteachers
Walk your talk	Walking your talk	No unique actions reported in data	Make promises carefully, given resource scarcity Follow through on assignments given Be fair to teachers
Reduce anxiety in the face of change	Be predictable	Build trust before change Reduce fears of being monitored too closely during change Stand behind teachers during change	Assign teacher duties Share responsibility for each other's livelihoods <i>OPPOSITE:</i> High accountability increased anxiety Follow up on teacher performance predictably Enforce strict teaching quality
Take action with substandard teachers	Be consistent Share performance information with teachers Clarify expectations	Give teachers benefit of the doubt Give teacher ownership of problem Provide resources for improvement Help teachers become part of the process Follow strict regulations with exactness Take necessary time	Be open and direct Address problems quickly to solve them quickly
Be loyal	Be loyal to school and teachers Uphold school mission Invest in school and students	Seek feedback from teachers Adapt to teacher and student needs Protect teachers from parents	Protect teachers from outside distractions Work beyond expectations Sacrifice for teachers
Share accountability for trust	Create culture of trust Hold people accountable for their actions	Encourage self and peer monitoring Practice loose-tight leadership; do not overmanage Extend trust to teachers	Direct and straightforward expectations Share responsibility for trust

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demonstrated reliability by effectively managing the school and teacher performance.

Competence

Framed within Hallam's (2006) seven key principal actions of competence, Table 5 highlights the similar and unique principal actions of U.S. and these seven Ugandan school leaders to increase teacher confidence that their leaders were competent. The core similarity between U.S. principals and these Ugandan headteachers was in creating shared vision of student learning and future directions. School leaders in both contexts also used processes of learning about the school, attending to stakeholder feedback, and using humor to facilitate communication to demonstrate competence.

A core difference between school leaders in these two contexts is that U.S. principals focused on a more collaborative process of creating a shared vision compared to the Ugandan headteachers who negotiated teacher alignment to their vision. U.S. principals also operated in a more personalized interaction pattern as they shared their strengths and weaknesses with teachers, demonstrated continual learning and created a sense of well-being and ease among the faculty. In contrast, the Ugandan headteachers focused so strongly on their sense of accountability – "we cannot afford to fail" – that this seemed to overshadow efforts at being overtly positive and optimistic with teachers.

Honesty

Framed within Hallam's (2006) four key principal actions of honesty, Table 6 presents the similar and unique principal actions of U.S. and the Ugandan school leaders as they demonstrated honesty as a means of building teacher trust. In both educational contexts, honesty was a clear value that was reflected in common leader actions of consistency, transparency, setting examples, working with teachers and adhering to high moral standards. They differed, however, in a few key areas. U.S. principals exhibited a focus on honesty in their communication and relations with teachers while the Ugandan headteachers demonstrated a focus on honesty in school management and operations.

In the principal action of respecting professional judgment and expertise, school leaders in both contexts recognized the concept as one that builds trust, yet, they operationalized it in different ways. In both cases, school leaders increased the teacher's involvement in school issues and operations. However, the Ugandan headteachers delegated specific assignments and responsibilities to teachers reflecting a top-down decision making process. The seven headteachers indicated that when someone gives you an

Tab	le 5. How School Leaders	Table 5. How School Leaders Develop Trust with Teachers: Competence.	ompetence.
COMPETENCE: Principal	Similar Principal Actions	Unique Principal Actions	al Actions
Actions		U.S. Principals	Seven Ugandan Headteachers
Establish a shared vision	Share vision focused on student learning	Facilitate collaborative process to develop vision and reach buy-in Align actions with mission and goals	Provide vision to teachers and negotiate agreements Assure compliance to the vision
Acknowledge personal strengths and weaknesses		Share strengths and weaknesses modestly	No unique actions reported in data
Understand and define the context	Understand before jumping in Learn about the school Attend to stakeholder perceptions and feedback Clarify future directions and alignment	No unique actions reported in data	No unique actions reported in data
Use symbols, stories and common language		Create cultural artifacts Tell stories to create shared meaning Send signals of competence Formalize and publicize school values	No unique actions reported in data
Be positive, optimistic and inspire others to be better		Create a sense of well-being, ease and healing Praise and be complimentary Acknowledge and celebrate success	Some behaviors may be present, but were overshadowed by a sense of accountability – we cannot afford to fail
Have fun together	Use humor to open communication	Make attainable goals Be happy to be with teachers Inspire and support innovation	No unique actions reported in data
Trust in yourself	Share your vision of the future	Admit your limitations Be informed and continually learn Accept yourself Have self-confidence	No unique actions reported in data

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Tab	le 6. How School Leaders D	Table 6. How School Leaders Develop Trust with Teachers: Honesty.	onesty.
Honesty: Principal Actions	Similar Principal Actions	Unique Principal Actions	al Actions
		U.S. Principals	Seven Ugandan Headteachers
Act with integrity	Adhere to high moral standards Have recognizing power of good example and reputation	No unique actions reported in data	Appropriately manage resources
Express honest intentions	Share their thinking Act with transparency for genuine communication	Talk about feelings and emotions Seek feedback on teacher perceptions Clarify assumptions and motives Address misunderstandings	Share things as friends/family
Respect the professional judgment and expertise of others		Identify teacher strengths Value teacher contributions Give up power Exercise humility	Give assignments and responsibilities to teachers
Be a good example	Be consistently exemplary Recognize that leader example influences teachers	No unique actions reported in data	No unique actions reported in data

assignment, then you know the person trusts you. Thus, giving assignments signaled both headteacher honesty as well as their anticipated trust of the teacher. Teacher trust in the headteacher was increased as it was reciprocated through fulfilling the assignment. U.S. principals, on the other hand, exhibited a different approach that involved more power sharing, seeking of feedback and valuing teacher contributions.

Openness

Framed within Hallam's (2006) five key principal actions of openness, Table 7 highlights the similar and unique principal actions of the U.S. and the Ugandan school leaders that developed teacher trust through being open. School leaders in both the U.S. and Ugandan studies engaged in actions to create openness by encouraging information flow, formally organizing time for teachers to work together in groups and collaborate, being available, knowing teachers personally and creating a safe communication environment for teachers. Such openness increased the teacher confidence in the ability of the school leader and the potential for school success.

Differences in how school leaders used openness to build teacher trust were also quite evident. One unique element of openness was found in the Ugandan headteachers expressing some clear hesitancy at being too open outside the school with parents and the school board, for fear of exposing weaknesses and risking the stability of the school and teacher jobs. Another unique principal action was found in the U.S. principals creating a high degree of communication, an information-rich culture and encouragement of teacher ownership of student learning. In contrast, the seven Ugandan headteachers focused on decreasing formal status gaps between themselves and the teachers and encouraging teacher ownership of school-level performance. Lastly, principal actions for creating openness generated different applications of the concept of collaboration. U.S. principals focused on sharing ideas and information, engaging in dialogue and getting along with individual teachers while the Ugandan headteachers focused on functional or operational transparency and also the sharing of accountability for student learning with teachers.

Summary of Trust Development

Findings highlight how U.S. and seven selected Ugandan school leaders facilitate the development of trust with their teachers. Table 8 summarizes the number of principal actions in each trust facet, in which there were similarities and differences across the two educational contexts. The data indicated that school leader actions in both the United States and this area

Openness: Principal Actions	Similar Principal Actions	Unique Pri	Unique Principal Actions
		U.S. Principals	Ugandan Headteachers
Communicate freely and regularly	Support information flow	Create an information-rich culture Contain exposure of weakness to Display a high extent of Board or parents – may affect communication school and teacher job stability	Contain exposure of weakness to Board or parents – may affect school and teacher job stability
Make close personal connections	Know teachers personally	Relate to teachers' private lives, yet Develop family-type relationships maintain professional Close connections support school relationships success	Develop family-type relationships Close connections support school success
Be approachable and accessible	Be out in the halls with teachersBe friendlyTeachers can communicateBe easy towithout fearOpen door	Be friendly Be easy to talk to Open door policy	Decrease potential status gap due to formal leadership role Close living arrangements See leader in varied activities and roles
Set up formal structures for collaboration	Formal and frequent times for collaboration Goal of student learning	Focus on individual student performance Getting along Dialogue Share instructional strategies	Focus on school viability Help students progress and pass national exams sharing Accountability for student learning Help teachers
Share leadership responsibilities	Work with groups of teachers to accomplish leadership responsibilities	and resources Encourage teacher ownership for student learning Maintain teacher performance confidentiality Give autonomy over work life	Support teacher ownership in the school Functional transparency Involve teachers in budget and teacher performance

Table 7. How School Leaders Develop Trust with Teachers: Openness.

Trust Facet	Total Number of Key Principal Actions	Number of Similar Key Principal		Unique Key l Actions
	(Hallam, 2006)	Actions	U.S. Principals (Hallam, 2006)	Seven Ugandan Headteachers
Benevolence	7	7 (100%)	5 (71%)	6 (86%)
Reliability	5	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)
Competence	7	4 (57%)	6 (86%)	1 (14%)
Honesty	3	3 (100%)	2 (66%)	3 (100%)
Openness	5	5 (100%)	5 (100%)	5 (100%)

Table 8. A Comparison of U.S. and Ugandan Trust Development.

of Uganda did fall within the theoretical framework of both Hoy and Tschannen-Moran (1999) and Hallam (2006). In four of the trust facets – benevolence, reliability, honesty and openness – school leaders in both contexts shared many similarities across all principal action domains. In the trust facet of competence, however, school leaders only demonstrated similarities in 4 of 7 (57%) of the principal actions in that domain.

The data also demonstrated that U.S. and these Ugandan school leaders engaged in unique principal actions (Hallam, 2006) in all five trust facets. These unique principal actions represented strategies above and beyond the similar actions that they shared. The Ugandan headteachers indicated more unique principal action domains than U.S. principals in how they established benevolence, reliability, honesty and openness. The trust facet of competence represented the area of most unique principal actions between U.S. and Ugandan school leaders. While they both recognized the need to be competent, competence in school leadership simply means something very different in this Ugandan educational context. The selected Ugandan headteachers built teacher trust by demonstrating competence in school survival and success, and U.S. principals built teacher trust by demonstrating competence in helping teachers focus on student learning. While in both cases, school leader competence reflects benefit for the teachers and ultimately the students, the immediate view of competence and how it is demonstrated differed in each context.

Comparing the Role of Trust in U.S. and Ugandan Schools

The role of trust in both U.S. and these Ugandan schools served two different primary functions. The question of the role of trust addresses what

is derived from having trust or what are the outcomes of trust. U.S. school leaders identified the role of trust as the development of a school culture that can more effectively support school improvement. All five facets of trust were pursued by school leaders with the conscious aim of enriching the school's culture to facilitate the teacher's work at sustaining and improving student learning. In the U.S. schools, performance was clearly defined at the student level.

For the Ugandan school leaders, however, the outcome of trust was the building of personal relationships – which may appear counter-intuitive from the U.S. perspective. A clear finding was that the Ugandan school context influences the role of trust. The seven headteachers focused on a broader definition of school performance, defined at the school level, than the U.S. principals. School performance encompassed retaining students at the school to keep student numbers up, achieving high students pass rates on the national exit examinations, and maintaining a good reputation for the school to attract future students as a resource base. Achieving these performance criteria helped to keep the school open and to retain teacher jobs. While student learning is certainly at the heart of this definition, the focus was more on the aggregate performance of the school than on individual student performance.

This focus generated school cultures in Uganda that valued academic performance and school reputation, which in turn generated trust between the school leader and the teachers. Teachers learned to trust that the headteachers could do the job of achieving school performance, could help them do their jobs, had a common interest in school success, had their best job interests at heart, and that they could work together to create a successful school. Once teachers were convinced that the school could be successful, which provided an increase in stability, they began to look toward building personal relationships with each other and with the headteacher. Even with the cultural artifact in the Ugandan educational context of headteachers and teachers often all boarding at the school, providing myriads of opportunities for interactions, the focus was first on developing the work-related nature of their interactions before the interactions become personal.

Thus, while trust is central in both contexts, it appears in a different order in each context. U.S. principals start with building relationships to facilitate trust development with the aim of improving performance. The Ugandan headteachers, however, focused first on school performance, which facilitated trust development between teachers and headteachers. This trust then became the foundation for the development of personal relationships. Trust is central to both processes, although in the U.S. context trust leads to building a school culture focused on performance and in this Ugandan context better school performance results in a school culture of trust in which personal relationships at work can be built. The competitive, resource-poor and fairly new educational environment in Uganda may require headteachers to focus first on basic school performance and survival to build teacher trust, whereas the context of lower competitiveness, relative resource richness and the developed nature of the educational system in U.S. schools may allow U.S. principals to focus on relationships to build teacher trust. In both contexts, trust was clearly identified as critical to school improvement and performance. Thus, while the processes of trust development differed, developing trust between school leaders and teachers was a common key mechanism to achieving school performance.

DISCUSSION

Development and Role of Trust

This synthesis of research directly challenges the unfiltered global applicability of U.S. trust research on the role of trust in school improvement in other global contexts (e.g. Barth, 2006; Wahlstrom & Louis, 2008). The U.S. research suggests the notion that school improvement is dependent on improving the culture of schools and that this, in turn, is a product of highquality relationships. Conversely, the Ugandan research suggests a different starting point, one in which school performance influences the school culture, and the culture then facilitates the development of relationships in which trust can emerge. The contrasting findings suggest that trust can be a precursor to (in the United States) or a result of (in Uganda) school culture and performance, as shown below:

In the United States: Relationships \rightarrow Trust \rightarrow School Culture \rightarrow Performance In Uganda: Performance \rightarrow School Culture \rightarrow Trust \rightarrow Relationships

In both cases, similar constructs are at work but in a different order. These differences may reflect the primary assumptions and values of the school cultures within each respective educational context. In the U.S. context, "respondents reported that trust facilitated the work of both their schoolwide and grade-level PLCs. As a result of the school's high trust environment,

faculty members believed that they were able to enact new reforms more effectively and efficiently" (Hallam & Matthews, 2008, pp. 231–232). The findings from U.S. principals reflect the current literature's understanding that the development of trust between the principal and teachers, through specific principal actions, creates and sustains a school culture, which can then enable better school performance (Bryk & Schneider, 2003; Hoy & Sweetland, 2001; Louis, 2007; Tschannen-Moran, 2004).

In this Ugandan context, however, the successful performance of the school provided the grounding assumptions and values of academic quality, school reputation, school performance and school survival within the school culture. This culture facilitates headteacher and teacher interaction as they work together in critical functions for school survival in the market-driven competitive educational environment. One result of working together successfully for the common cause of school performance is the emergence of trust between headteachers and their teachers. This trust is first developed with a focus on the competency of their headteacher, which could then support the development of interpersonal relationships (Hite, 2005).

These findings and the two distinct roles of trust in each of the two educational contexts of the United States and this area of Uganda may reflect that different types of trust are being developed in each case. In the U.S. context, the development of the interpersonal relationships may develop goodwill trust (Hite, 2003). Goodwill or relational trust is defined as "direct, personal knowledge of and trust of each other's goodwill...looking out for each other's best interests" (Hite, 2003, p. 130). Goodwill trust supports critical relational values and norms for how principals and teachers work together to improve school performance (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). In the U.S. context, the personal relationship may enable the ability and willingness of principals and teachers to create effective work interactions, which can then facilitates the development of competency trust (Hite, 2003, 2005). Competency trust is defined as "direct, personal knowledge of and trust of each other's competency... built over time through repeated interactions, such that the routines and processes of the interaction became known, understood and expected" (Hite, 2003, p. 130). In the United States, then, goodwill or relational trust may precede the development of competency trust.

However, in this Ugandan context, the headmasters focused first on sustaining school performance and building a school culture that could enable effective work interactions which – in turn – facilitated the development of competency trust (Hite, 2003). With a good working interaction, interpersonal relationships are then strengthened, which facilitate the

development of goodwill trust (Hite, 2005). This Ugandan context, then, supports the emergence of competency trust as a precursor to goodwill or relational trust. The synthesis of these findings suggests that the combined patterns of development of trust in U.S. and these Ugandan schools may reflect a larger cycle that can support continuous school improvement (see Fig. 1).

The Uganda findings also challenge the universality of Hoy and Kupersmith's (1985) assertion that the single most important individual in developing an atmosphere of trust is the principal. In this area of Uganda, the hierarchical gap between the headteacher and the teachers is much smaller than in the United States. In most cases, the headteacher is also a teacher at the school, creating an explicit co-sharing of responsibility to ensure student success. The success of the school is dependent on how well the teachers and headteacher work together, not simply the actions of a single person. School success in Uganda creates the school culture that can generate higher levels of competency trust among teachers and administrators.

The findings in the trust development cycle can be also understood from a situational leadership perspective, given the question of whether effective school leaders first focus on building relationships (in the United States) or

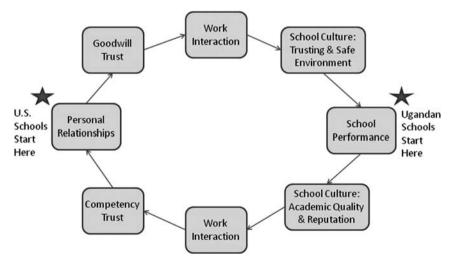


Fig. 1. Combined Trust Development Cycle in the United States and Seven Ugandan Schools.

on the tasks required to achieve performance goals (in Uganda). While both objectives are laudable, what should be the normative priority and how are these objectives related? Fiedler's (1972) classic situational leadership model suggests that effective school leadership would account for the school's environment or context. In general, a poor school environment (defined by low task ambiguity, relationship quality and leadership influence) would require greater attention to tasks than relationships while a better or moderate school environment (less task ambiguity, better relations, better leadership) would benefit from attending to and building relationships. This situational leadership framework may help to inform the differences between these U.S. and Uganda school administrators, the role of trust and the educational strategies utilized to improve school performance.

These apparently contrasting findings, however, are not necessarily opposites. Rather, the broader base of trust literature in organizational theory and management supports that different types of trust exist (Hite, 2003, 2005); generated through different means and serving different purposes. The study in the U.S. schools reflected the development of personal trust between principals and teachers while the study in the Uganda schools reflected the development of competency trust between headteachers and their faculty. Inferring from Hite (2005), which describes the evolutionary paths of the development of relationships and trust, schools in each context developed a primary trust component of goodwill or competency. Based on this primary type of trust, trust would continue to evolve with the development of the other as a secondary trust component. The addition of multiple types of trust serves to govern or protect the relationship more effectively.

Lastly, the different educational contexts also provide explanations regarding why the development of trust, and the role that it plays in school performance, differ between the U.S. and these Ugandan schools. Contextual factors differed in terms of the nature of school accountability, goal tangibility (Warner & Havens, 1968), resource characteristics and availability (Barney, 1991), and governance strategies (Puranam & Vanneste, 2009). As a result, the development and role of trust would ideally be tailored to each context.

In the Ugandan context schools struggle with minimum resources to survive whereas the U.S. context is one of a tradition of institutional resource support. One Ugandan headteacher, who has been leading schools for 20 years, explained how important the effect of scarce resources is in that educational context, "If you took money out of the equation, it would be different. You can't even send teachers to the bank to get money for the school. We do trust our teachers and we are open with them, but money affects everything." These differing contexts have strategic implications for school leaders; hence, their strategies and purposes for developing trust may necessarily differ.

CONCLUSIONS

The synthesis of these two studies provides an evidence-based approach to the development and role of trust between principals and teachers in schools within different national contexts. These findings inform the role of educational leaders by explaining the influence of educational contexts on school leadership and trust strategies that can have critical implications for school performance and student learning.

This research compares educational leadership in two different national contexts - the United States and the Mukono District of Uganda. Leadership research in U.S. schools clearly supports the important role of trust in schools and the central role of the educational leader in its development. The development of trusting relationships is a critical leadership factor in the development of a school culture, which can facilitate improvement in school performance. In contrast, due to a different national educational context - one of heightened academic accountability, private funding and resource scarcity - the selected Ugandan educational leaders focused first and foremost on improving school performance. The common cause of survival creates a shared vision and culture among the faculty in Uganda, which facilitated the development of trust and relationships. Thus, the role of the educational leaders in trust development and the role of trust itself differed within each educational context. This research informs current research on trust in schools, which is mainly based on the U.S. educational context. Yet, school administrators in other national contexts need to know the extent to which the U.S-based research is transferable to their own contexts and situations. Understanding that the development and role of trust in schools may differ based on specific educational contexts might enable educational leaders to better understand how to develop trust with their teachers, the roles of different types of trust and how to better facilitate and sustain effective school performance and improvement.

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APPENDIX. EXPLAINING PRINCIPAL ACTIONS AS INDICATORS OF TRUST DEVELOPMENT

Trust Facets (Hoy & Tschannen- Moran, 1999)	Principal Actions as Determinants of Trust (Hallam, 2006)	Explanatory Link between Indicators of Trust Development and Trust (Hallam, 2006)
Benevolence	Act with fairness and equity Use discretion	Acting just or impartial is an outward sign of a trusting environment Using good judgment and sensitivity to avoid embarrassing or upsetting others is a skill that promotes confidence in your trustworthiness
	Getting to know people on a personal level	This action signals that the person is more important than his or her position, which creates a bond of trust
	Be human	Showing kindness and compassion and being approachable reduces vulnerabilities and increases the level of trust

Trust Facets (Hoy & Tschannen- Moran, 1999)	Principal Actions as Determinants of Trust (Hallam, 2006)	Explanatory Link between Indicators of Trust Development and Trust (Hallam, 2006)
	Act with empathy	The ability to identify with another person's feelings or difficulties is a hallmark of a trustworthy leader
	Be caring	People are emotional and need to have their experiences validated; this builds trust
	Reduce vulnerabilities	Risk is involved in any relationship; reducing the threat of emotional harm is a key to establishing a relationship of trust
Reliability	Walk your talk	Trustworthy people are dependable and consistent with the values they espouse
	Reduce anxiety in the face of change	Attempts to reduce apprehension or fear make people feel safe, and therefore contribute to a sense of well-being and trust
	Take action with substandard teachers	In the short run, taking such action can disrupts the trust level, but in the long run this action increases reliability and trust
	Be loyal	Trustworthy leaders show through their actions that they are true to the faculty and the school mission
	Share accountability for trust	Sharing responsibility for a culture of trust creates ownership and self- monitoring
Competence	Establish a shared vision	Vision based on common values creates a focus people can rally around; trust is fostered when the vision becomes evident and a sense of identity is created and becomes part of the school culture Acknowledging your strengths and
		weaknesses indicates that you are

APPENDIX. (Continued)

Development and Role of Trust in Educational Leadership

Trust Facets (Hoy & Tschannen- Moran, 1999)	Principal Actions as Determinants of Trust (Hallam, 2006)	Explanatory Link between Indicators of Trust Development and Trust (Hallam, 2006)
	Acknowledge personal strengths and weaknesses	willing to be involved in a relationship where vulnerabilities can be made known without the fear of exploitation and strengths can be valued and honored
	Understanding and defining the context	Showing honor and respect for old ideas and traditions while investigating new ones builds trust
	Use of symbols, stories, and common language	Effective uses of these mechanisms become observable indicators of shared meaning and trust
	Be positive, optimistic and inspire others to be better	You can only inspire others when they trust that you have their best interest at heart
	Have fun together	Laughter eases tension and causes everyone to let down his or her defenses; this creates an environment where everyone feels a part of the team
	Trust in yourself	Have confidence in your own abilities; others need to sense your personal competence in order to trust in your leadership capabilities
Honesty	Act with Integrity	A person with integrity adheres steadfastly to high moral standards a reputation of ethical behavior builds trust
	Express honest	Trusting relationships are built by having
	intentions Respect the professional judgment and expertise of others Be a good example	respectable and virtuous intentions Showing consideration and thoughtfulness for others ideas is an expression of high regard and trust One that others will want to model; principals should always be aware of
		the far-reaching impact that their behavior has on trust

APPENDIX. (Continued)

Trust Facets (Hoy & Tschannen- Moran, 1999)	Principal Actions as Determinants of Trust (Hallam, 2006)	Explanatory Link between Indicators of Trust Development and Trust (Hallam, 2006)
Openness	Communicate freely and regularly	It is the gateway to establishing shared meaning and purpose; trust is established when your intensions are communicated and your actions demonstrate commitment to the mission
	Make close personal connections	As you increase your vulnerability to others by relating to someone's private life, you increase trust
	Be approachable and accessible	Being friendly, accessible and easy to talk to signals to faculty members that you want to build relationships, which opens the door to trust
	Set up formal structures for collaboration	Regular and consistent meeting times for members of the learning community to work and learn together
	Share leadership responsibilities	A group taking responsibility to guide the organization increases ownership and the feeling of trust

APPENDIX. (Continued)

TRIBALISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: A CANCER INFECTING THE CORPUS OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN MANY WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Samba Moriba and Michael C. Edwards

When a dying man cries, it is not because of where he is going which he knows nothing about, but because of what he wishes he would have done in the world he is leaving behind.

- Nigerian Proverb

INTRODUCTION

The effectiveness of educational leadership varies considerably from one culture to another and by region of the world. Cultural differences and how they may be negotiated, to a large extent, determines the level of effectiveness of educational leaders (Nahavandi, 2009). Although many theoretical descriptions proffer ideal cases of "best practice" instructional

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leadership, what is manifested by the behavior of leaders is what really counts.

In West Africa, leaders generally assume considerable levels of power mainly due to their cultural heritage, thus, fomenting the tendency for many to be autocratic in their practice (Barber, 2002; Collier, 2007; French, 1994; Obijiofor, 2007; Sanders, 2008). Tribalism, nepotism, and autocratic leadership styles are prevalent among many African leaders, and even educational institutions have not escaped this unfortunate circumstance. This situation is responsible for the ineffective school leadership observed in many West African educational institutions. An example is Njala University in Sierra Leone. Most of Njala's former leaders failed to complete their terms of office as a result of strike actions by staff members and/or students, which were related primarily to their followers' perceptions of poor leadership. Therefore, it would be instructive to take a critical look at the practice of leadership in West African educational institutions and compare those leaders' behaviors to the "best practice" ideals espoused by educational theorists and leadership practitioners in other parts of the world.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature, dynamics, and evidence of leadership in educational institutions in West Africa and compare these conditions to educational leadership in other regions. The specific objectives of the authors were to (1) discuss current theories of leadership as a prism for understanding the behaviors of effective educational leaders, (2) explore the leadership styles of educational leaders in selected West African institutions of higher education, (3) describe the strengths and weaknesses of some prototypal West African educational leaders, (4) compare educational leaders of West Africa with their counterparts in other regions of the world, and (5) discuss select ways to improve educational leadership in West Africa. Special attention will be paid to culturally rooted behaviors, such as the salience of clan affiliation and tribalism, and how that phenomenon presages the leadership of West African school officials.

MODES OF INQUIRY

This chapter relies on qualitative methodologies with the aim of providing an in-depth description and discussion of the predominant style of educational leadership most often practiced in West Africa. Many aspects of the chapter's content are rooted in the phenomenological, narrative, and ethnographic perspectives. Willis (1991) posited that phenomenological inquiry explores the unique perceptions of an individual and his or her understanding of those perceptions; in this case, the authors' experiences and concomitant views formed the basis for explaining and discussing tribalism and its impact on educational leadership in West Africa.

The meaning of all experience and action is always situational and temporal, including a premise related to phenomenological inquiry which asserts that the "individual's interpretation of an experience is an essential part of the experience itself" (Radu & Redien-Collot, 2008, p. 261). The interpretive approach to *understanding* makes it possible for paradigms to engage and interpret other paradigms thereby overcoming "language bewitchment," that is, "meaning and understanding is created between paradigms breaking down the divisions between them and avoiding the dominance of one particular reigning paradigm" (Watkins-Mathys & Lowe, 2005, p. 671).

Connelly and Clandinin (1991) explained that "Narrative inquiry is a way of characterizing the phenomenon of human experiences and its study" (p. 121), also called "transactional positioning." This makes it possible to accomplish an imagined interaction that took place between someone who is listening outside the interview context and a story narrated in an interview (Johnson, 2008). Tannen (2008) identified three narrative types: small-n narratives, big-N Narratives, and Master Narratives. Small-n narratives describe specific events that occur in telling a story, while the themes picked out during the story telling that supports small-n narratives are the big-N Narratives. Tannen (2008) posited that Master Narratives are ideas that concern the culture and they shape the big-N Narratives as well.

Narrative inquiry is used to gather information for research purposes and is appropriate to many social science fields such as history, theology, education, medicine, politics, and philosophy. Our everyday lives consist of stories and we use notes, interviews, letters, journals, and oral means to conduct narrative inquiries.

Finally, ethnography, which describes and explains the culture of a particular individual or group at a particular time through observation, participation, and interview (Janesick, 1991), was also used. "Ethnography is a form of research focusing on the sociology of meaning through close field observation of sociocultural phenomena" (Garson, 2008, para. 1). Usually, the focus of the ethnographer is the community and s/he identifies

well-informed persons who are knowledgeable about the activities of the community.

We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or sets of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 1)

To that end, the lead author endeavored to provide an account of the educational leadership in West Africa where he has spent over three decades observing, and participating in, the educational system. He did his primary and secondary education in some of the rural schools in Sierra Leone at a period when resources for educational purposes were terribly inadequate. As a schoolboy, he had to walk more than seven miles to and from school daily. These were the days when principals and head teachers had considerable powers to run their schools. He also attended a small institution, Njala University, in Sierra Leone. He witnessed firsthand principals, deans of faculties, and heads of departments running it and other educational institutions both as a student and faculty member.

In addition, the lead author taught in two secondary schools in Sierra Leone for a period of five years before joining Njala University as a faculty member for four years. One of the schools where the lead author taught was a rural secondary school located in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. The qualification of the principal of the school was Higher Teachers' Certificate (HTC), although most of the teachers, including the lead author, were first-degree holders. (The difference would be similar to comparing associates degree holders to an individual who has earned a baccalaureate degree.) The lead author observed and experienced what both staff and students had to say about their "under-qualified" principal. The principal of the other secondary school where the lead author taught held a master's degree. Therefore, the lead author observed firsthand and eventually had the opportunity to contrast the leadership styles of two different principals: one very qualified and the other less so. This puts him in the position to serve as an ethnographer regarding the phenomenon of school leadership (Garson, 2008; Janesick, 1991). For the last two years, he has had the opportunity to attend a higher education institution in the United States and observe the leadership styles of its educational leaders and study educational leadership theory at the graduate level.

Garson (2008) highlighted several methods of ethnography: cultural patterning, emic perspective, etic perspective, macro-ethnography,

micro-ethnography, situational reduction, symbols, and tacit knowledge. Many ethnographers focus on micro-ethnography, which deals with small, distinct groups (Herbert, 2000), which could include the staff who populate an educational institution.

Aspects of the three qualitative inquiry methods identified above were used to examine the behaviors of educational leaders in West Africa. In doing so, the authors strived to describe unique determinant features and plausible explanatory factors or conditions of educational leadership practice in West Africa, and concomitant impact those aspects had on the mission of the educational institutions and school cultures in which they were manifested.

In addition, a number of thoughts or views in this manuscript were drawn from analytic memos developed by the authors throughout the process of investigating tribalism in educational leadership in the West African subregion. The memos consisted of critical and reflective thinking of evolving issues and concepts linked to observations, interviews with key informants, and extensive document analysis done by the authors. Rossman and Rallis (2003) explained that "Whether analysis is ongoing or focused toward the end of data gathering, composing short notes ... about emergent insights, potential themes, methodological questions, and link between themes and theoretical notions is invaluable" (p. 291). Apart from field notes from observations or transcripts of interviews, analytic memos are resourceful instruments that researchers use in their studies (Maxwell, 2005). An analytic memo could be composed for the researcher's use, the researcher's mentor, a community of practice, a critical friend, or an academic audience (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP WITH A VIEW TOWARD "BEST PRACTICE"

Educational Leadership

The effectiveness of educational leaders is largely dependent on their decision-making skills and the sociocultural prism or context in which their leadership is exercised. Pricket, Wallman, Petrie, White, and Cline (1993) posited that the academic leadership of instructional leaders plays a pivotal role in student achievement as well as the overall teaching success in regards

to "goal setting, managing curriculum and instruction, their manner in which they supervise and evaluate the teaching, supervision and evaluating teaching, providing staff development, managing resources, and promoting a positive climate and expectations for success" (p. 104). Furthermore, Pricket et al. (1993) highlighted functions of instructional leaders that are essential in determining the effectiveness of teachers, the achievement of students, and the delivery of curriculum.

DeMoulin (1993) recognized that an efficacious "frame of mind" existed in educational environments where achievement is encouraged and promoted. He claimed that "A teacher's [or instructional leader's] sense of efficacy has been identified as a major individual difference in those who are effective" (p. 161). The instructional leader has the responsibility of creating a favorable school climate that will facilitate effective teaching and learning. Therefore, his or her sense of efficacy is crucial in enhancing teacher effectiveness, student achievement, and curriculum delivery. Hoy and Hoy (2003) emphasized that the leaders of educational institutions should share their vision with the teachers, which could be translated into the following actions:

First, academic excellence should be a strong motivating force in school. Second, instructional excellence and continuous improvement are ongoing and cooperative activities by instructional leaders and teachers. Third, teachers are at the center of instructional improvement. Fourth, principals must provide constructive support and obtain the resources and materials necessary for teachers to be successful in the classroom. Fifth, principals should be intellectual leaders who keep abreast of the latest development in teaching, learning, motivation, classroom management, and assessment, and share best practices in each area with teachers. Finally, the principal should take the lead in recognizing and celebrating academic excellence among students and teachers because such activities reinforce a vision and culture of academic excellence. (p. 2)

Consequently, the morale of teachers as well as students is positively or negatively affected depending on the skills and practice of the school leader. Morale involves extra effort and energy or the level of interest and passion a person exhibits with respect to achieving individual and group goals (Henderson & Nieto, 1991; Hoy & Miskel, 1991). Interest and passion are associated with high morale, while discontent and frustration with low morale for a given job. Henderson and Nieto (1991) explained that "Teacher morale can be viewed as teachers striving to achieve their individual goals and the educational goals of the school system and their perceptions of satisfaction that stem from the total school environment" (p. 54). The importance of efficacious leaders who foment school environments that create and sustain such morale cannot be overstated. Unfortunately, the

skills, motivation, and essential wherewithal required of leaders is lacking in many who are charged with leading West African educational institutions.

The environment of the school (i.e., school climate) is perhaps one of the primary elements of a productive and successful teaching and learning program (Hoy & Hoy, 2003; Hoyle, English, & Steffy, 1994). It is not an easy responsibility to create a positive school climate, which is why schools need qualified and experienced leaders who possess the desired competencies to undertake such a challenging task. School leaders must acquire skills of designing, implementing, and evaluating school climate if they are to be successful (Hoyle et al., 1994; Oliva, 1993). Leaders must be able to build support for their schools. They should possess the skills that will enable them to develop workable school curricula and effective instructional programs. A school leader must be able to effectively evaluate members of his or her staff and draw on programs that would facilitate their professional development (Glickman, 1985). According to Hoyle et al. (1994), certain essential skills for obtaining a high degree of academic achievement are salient and therefore must be a part of the portfolio of competencies possessed by school leaders:

Human relations, organization development, and leadership skills; collaborative goal setting and action planning; organizational and personal planning and time management skills; skills in participatory management and the use of variation in staffing; climate assessment methods and skills; skills in improving the quality of relationships among staff and students to enhance learning; multicultural and ethnic understanding; and group process, interpersonal communication, and motivation skills. (p. 15)

Understanding Leadership Behavior as a Continuum

Bass suggested that transactional leadership and transformational leadership could be described "as a single continuum rather than mutually independent continua" (as cited in Northouse, 2007, p. 180). Northouse (2007) illustrated this continuum between the types of leadership (Fig. 1).

Transactional leadership is concerned with an exchange system between leaders and followers (Nahavandi, 2009). Politis (2002) stated that transactional leaders "approach followers with an eye to exchanging one



Fig. 1. Continuum from Transformational to Laissez-Faire Leadership.

thing for another" (p. 188). This type of leadership approach is described using two major terms in order to explain the leader's behavior: contingent reward and management by exception (Northouse, 2007). Three factors of contingent reward have been identified: framing, clarifying, and rewarding. "Framing" begins the negotiation process, "rewarding" supports the process and, "clarifying" completes the negotiation process by directly loading on extra effort (Densten, 2006). Gupta (1980) argued that a positive relationship exists between employee satisfaction and performance-contingent intrinsic rewards and pay. On the other hand, management by exception requires managers to intervene when the worker is not performing his or her duty according to set standards (Connor, 2004).

Transformational leadership, however, is concerned with shared vision, mutual trust, and individual motivation (Nahavandi, 2009; Northouse, 2007). "Transformational leadership is the process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower" (Northouse, 2007, p. 176). Transformational leaders pay much attention to the needs of their followers and endeavor to help them recognize and fully develop their potential. The transformational leader's behavior is described by the following conditions or viewpoints of followers: idealized influence; inspirational motivation; intellectual stimulation; and individualized consideration (Northouse, 2007). This view on leadership also takes into account certain early theories that formed the foundations of contemporary leadership theory such as the skills and normative decision approaches (Nahavandi, 2009; Northouse, 2007). Overall, these theories support the prevailing views on transformational leadership, including its practice in educational institutions.

This chapter examines how transactional and transformational leadership styles or orientations have been operationalized in educational institutions, and may be instructive as a way of explaining and contrasting the two leadership styles with special import for the behaviors of educational leaders in West Africa. Moreover, the concept of leadership and its impact on an organization's effectiveness becomes increasingly significant in educational settings where resources are often meager in the best of times and all too frequently are dwindling.

Selected Cases Supporting the Practice of Transformational Leadership

Connor (2004) stressed that decision making in colleges by and large requires diverse leadership styles. A case study was conducted at the

University of Florida for college academic programs in which faculty empowerment in providing ideas and assessment was claimed to be extremely critical to implementing transformational change (Connor, 2004). The faculty members were made partners with administrators in generating change, thus, the reform endeavor was largely considered very successful.

In 1999, the Al-Amal Center in Jordan was renamed the King Hussein Cancer Center (KHCC). Thereafter, KHCC improved in quality and expanded services in cancer care to meet the Joint Commission International accreditation in three years (Moe, Pappas, & Murray, 2007). This became possible under a new leadership approach. Moe et al. (2007) conducted an exploratory case study, which explained the rapid change of KHCC to international standards. The researchers claimed that change at the KHCC could be best understood through the prism of a transformational leadership model. As the result of increased motivation, positive attitudes, and increased professional training of and by staff, KHCC underscores the usefulness of the transformational leadership model (Moe et al., 2007).

BABOU (2008) said that many leadership theories have been put forward on the basis of trait, behavioral, transformational, situational, and charisma-related factors or aspects. Linking these theories has been a primary motive of many researchers. BABOU (2008) emphasized the importance of understanding the difference between transactional and transformational leadership as a way of conceptualizing transformational leadership theory. BABOU (2008) posited that in everyday life, a relationship between two people is based on the level of exchange they have but that such an "exchange need not be money or material; it can be anything. The more exchange they have the stronger the relation" (para. 2). He asserted that transformational leaders try to achieve a common goal with followers.

Brown, Birnstihl, and Wheeler (1996) carried out an experiment using the Priority Initiative Teams approach for program planning and execution in the Nebraska Cooperative Extension Division. They found that team leaders or extension specialists executed their tasks with additional responsibilities. They probed into the concept of emerging transformational leadership as a way of better understanding, choosing, improving, and gaining access to special features that lead to more commitment to achieve goals. The work of Bass (1985) describing transactional and transformational leadership gave them some level of inspiration for their study. The results revealed that transformational leadership had "a very strong positive relationship with desired organizational outcomes" (para. 27).

It has been argued that leaders play a key role in determining organizational effectiveness across all levels (e.g., individual, team, and unit) that exists within organizations. A key component of a leader's ability to be effective within such environments is the degree to which subordinates and co-workers trust him or her. Therefore, it is not surprising that researchers and practitioners alike are interested in identifying the mechanisms through which trust in leadership can be developed as well as those factors moderating the relationships inherent to building trust.

Hunt (1999) used a framework developed by Reichers and Schneider (1990) to explore the evolution of leadership research across time. His analysis led to the development of "doom and gloom" arguments about the field in the 1970s and early 1980s. Transformational and charismatic leadership was discussed as it took off following the doom and gloom period. That takeoff was followed by revisiting the shift to transformational/charismatic leadership and considering why some of the leading and next-generation scholars set off in this new direction. He then linked transformational/charismatic leadership with more traditional approaches and concluded by describing forces for change, assessing where the leadership field was then, and providing a future assessment with some caveats. Hunt (1999) concluded that a crucial contribution of transformational/charismatic leadership had been in terms of its rejuvenation of the leadership field regardless of whatever content contributions may had been made.

The evolution of leadership theories spans from trait and behavioral perspectives to situational approaches to now transformational behaviors and related outcomes. The present focus of leadership study involves the relationship between leaders and followers, which is a clear divergence from solely the individual's and leader's actions as mediators of cause and effect. Leaders who subscribe to a transformational leadership style can motivate followers, thus, leading them to achieve a common goal (Krill, Carter, & Williams, 1997). In a multiple case study at Midwestern land grant universities, which explored the leadership practice of "enabling others to act," as defined by Kouzes and Posner (2007), it was concluded that the leader-follower relationship observed supported the transformational theory of leadership (Krill et al., 1997).

Supporting individuals through mentoring and coaching has become the espoused aim and professional development mainstays of many workplaces. These behaviors lead to increased satisfaction on the job, higher personal productivity, and organizational employment stability (Kutilek & Earnest, 2001). A study was conducted based on an annual evaluation of a mentoring program at the Ohio State University. The communication between mentors and protégés was carried out in a calm, relaxed environment. Most of the

protégés claimed that mentoring increased their competence in program planning and implementation, as well as improved their understanding of the workplace regarding its political and economic conditions (Kutilek & Earnest, 2001).

In response to worries about the morality of transformational leadership, Bass and Steidlmeiera (1999) distinguished between authentic transformational leadership and inauthentic or pseudo-transformational leadership. Price (2003) analyzed the concept of authenticity as being at the core of a normative account of leadership. He argued that the distinction between authentic transformational leadership and pseudo-transformational leadership failed to grant sufficient response to ethical concerns about transformational leadership. To the extent this theory holds that altruism suffices for ethical success, it misses the fact that leaders sometimes behave immorally precisely because they are blinded by their own values. In the end, one can expect that this kind of blindness will come to bear importantly on the moral psychology of leadership and, in some cases, encourage transformational leaders to believe that they are justified in making exceptions of themselves on the grounds that their leadership behavior is authentic (Price, 2003).

Finally, Whittington, Goodwin, and Murray (2004) conducted a field study of 209 leader–follower dyads from 12 different organizations to test the moderating effects of job enrichment and goal difficulty on the relationship between transformational leadership and three follower outcomes: performance, affective organizational commitment, and organizational citizenship behavior. Moderated regression analyses were conducted to test for direct and moderated relationships. Both transformational leadership and job enrichment had significant main effects (Whittington et al., 2004). In addition, they found that job enrichment substituted for the effects of transformational leadership on affective commitment; however, goal setting enhanced relationships between transformational leadership and both affective commitment and performance.

Summary

The decision-making skills and sociocultural perspectives of educational leaders are fundamental tenets for effectiveness in the discharge of their duties as heads of educational institutions. Their leadership skills and styles are crucial for attaining and promoting the effectiveness of teachers, the achievement of students, and the effective delivery of curriculum. Educational leaders must have an efficacious "frame of mind" to achieve these goals because that would enable them to create a favorable school climate, which, in turn, facilitates effective teaching and learning. Educational leaders should focus on academic and instructional excellence, continuous instructional improvement, constructive support, and intellectual attainment or exercise as means of raising and maintaining the morale of both teachers and students. Sadly, many educational leaders in West Africa lack the skills and resources required to effectively demonstrate these principles and thus achieve the mission of their institutions.

Educational leadership in West Africa could be described as being a single continuum between transactional leadership and transformational leadership as posited by Bass (as cited in Northouse, 2007). Although most of the educational leaders in West Africa exhibit extreme forms of the transactional leadership style, others, however, endeavor to be transformational in their approach to leadership. But rarely does any situation with a perfect form of either transactional or transformational leadership exist. It has always been a single continuum whereby educational leaders practice both forms of leadership but leaning more on one side of the continuum than the other. This continuum has an impact on the way and manner in which leadership has been operationalized in many educational institutions in West Africa. It is evident that transformational leadership has helped improve the decision-making process and also create change in some educational institutions as well as other organizations. What is also evident is that too many educational leaders, as a consequence of *tribalism* and their adherence or attraction to it and the plethora of ills it manifests, have been unable or unwilling to adopt many of the "best practices" associated frequently with educational leaders who are transformational.

TRIBALISM

The Meaning of Tribalism

Tribalism is a concept derived from the word *tribe*, which describes a group of people who speak the same language or dialect, and have only minor social distinctions. The tribe is the oldest form of social group that evolved from the cliques of prehistory. In form, tribes are usually small, cohesive, and hierarchical. Often times, tribes include individuals who have personal, blood relationships. Tribes usually have rigid norms and customs that define each individual's role. "The group, not the individual, is the primary building block of tribal societies. Kinship ties remain the center of life and are used to perform the major functions of social life" (Lalngaihawmi, 2001, para. 23).

Tribalism is often the normative condition or state of a group of individuals who possess a strong cultural or ethnic identity that sets them apart from members of another group. The separation of people into groups promotes high levels of interactions among them and tribal kin are often very dedicated to one another. Tribalism is an unavoidable phenomenon in certain parts of the world irrespective of the fact that people can use it to misuse and abuse their fellow man. Many societies depend heavily on tribal makeup for their survival. It is through such kinship affiliations that they organize and seek to solve problems affecting their very existence.

Tribalism has caused tremendous anguish and affliction in West Africa and educational institutions have not been spared. Even Pope Benedict, when he visited Africa, could not help but criticize the magnitude of damage to so many people caused by tribalism. The following excerpt were his exact words while addressing citizens of Angola:

We think of the evil of war, the murderous fruits of *tribalism* and *ethnic rivalry*, the greed which corrupts men's hearts, enslaves the poor, and robs future generations of the resources they need to create a more equitable and just society, a society truly and authentically African in its genius and values. (Pullella & Almeida, 2009, para. 3)

Amengeo (2009) claimed that tribalism in Africa is a western creation. He defended this claim by first giving a graphic detail of the struggle for the liberation of Africa from its colonial masters, and emphasizing the need to acknowledge the role of imperialism and neocolonialism of the West in current African crises. According to Amengeo (2009), there was no place for tribalism when Africans were struggling for their freedom during the Liberation Era.

Thinkers like Kwame Nkrumah and Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon advocated for African unity and continual struggle against an unrepentant imperialism. Their dreams and ideals have been sidelined and discredited. The idea of African thinkers seeking African solutions has been replaced by alien ideologies which fit like square pegs in round holes in the African body politic. Africa is in a state of constant regional instability with the West slapping the 'tribal' label on every conflict and lecturing Africans on how to run their lives as if they are incapable of governing themselves. (para. 3)

Tribalism is a significant manifestation of the loss and stagnation of colonial African (Rodney, 1972). It has been construed to mean that Africans are loyal to their tribes rather than their country and that the tribes are hostile to each other. However, in as much as tribes in Africa had wars,

they (wars) were basically a result of "trade rivalry, religious contentions, and the clashes of political expansion" (Rodney, 1972, p. 119) and not necessarily because of tribal loyalty or affiliation. Eventually,

What came to be called tribalism ... was itself a product of the way the people were brought together under colonialism so as to be exploited. It was a product of administrative devices, of entrenched regional separation, of differential access by particular groups into colonial economy and culture. (p. 119)

So, the concept of tribalism must be understood from various perspectives. It is factual that tribalism has a powerful cultural or ethnic distinctiveness that detaches members of one group from those of another. By every indication, tribalism is the primary form of social system in much of Africa, and it has stood the test of time. Therefore, it is prudent and practical to be acquainted with the many faces of tribalism, which will help to increase our understanding of its consequences on educational leadership in West Africa.

The Many Faces of Tribalism

Bube (1992) gave several examples of human existence with two types of attitudes that undoubtedly define tribalism.

Human society is saturated with conscious and unconscious attitudes that seek to represent the local group to which one belongs ("I and mine") as being superior in all matters, both practical and moral, to any other local group ("you and yours"). This superiority rests primarily on the recognition that others are different from me: 'to differ from me is to be inferior to me.' Although there may be some debate about the choice of the name for this attitude, I will follow common practice and refer to it as 'tribalism.' An alternative label that fits some of the cases might also be 'ethnocentrism.' (para. 2)

The first example is about the "self," that is, the means by which humans have the instinct for self-survival, an appropriate facet of man's natural constitution, and the spirit of self-esteem, a feature of personal identity. Bube (1992) stated that a human's tribal tendencies do allow him to accept the phenomenon of "self," rather he buys into "my worth" at the detriment of the worth of others. People tend to gain importance first and foremost because they see others as not having equal importance. They regard themselves as better than others because of who they are and/or the group or tribe to which they belong.

The second example is about the "family," which is a cherished component of human society (Bube, 1992). Members of a family have the crucial duty to see to the needs, well-being, and security of other members of the family. However, tribalism has the potential to lead to competition, rivalry, and hostility between families. Some members of one family view themselves as superior to those of other families. They may consider them (i.e., the others) as inferior people who do not have ethics and deeply held integrity that they believe exemplify members of their own families, including themselves.

Bube (1992) gave as a third example the "extended family." An extended family unit has several generations that encourage relatives to be in close contact with each other and share the joyous and sorrowful moments of life together. However, in some cases, tribalism has led to many family disputes emanating from such actions as name-calling, insults, and entrenched hatreds. Disagreement and "bad blood" have often characterized the relationship among such extended families. Nevertheless, multiple extended families that share similar kinship form large groups or tribes in much of West Africa.

A common "tribe" or tribal affiliation is the basis of the extended family in many societies, and, through loyalty and sharing among the members of a tribe, life has been a good and enriching experience (Bube, 1992). Nonetheless, tribalism, as a social construct albeit force, is the forum for many horrible battles that take place in the world between different tribes, especially in Africa. Past experiences, disputes, misunderstandings, and, in some cases, imagined grievances among members of different tribes have led to absolute and unforgiving hatred for one another. Tribal members regard their group as superior to other tribes and any form of disrespect from members of another tribe – real or imagined – must be avenged.

On the other hand, "pursuit of excellence" in education and business and other worthy endeavors are also examples of attitudes emanating from a tribalistic orientation (Bube, 1992). Although not wholly or altogether malevolent, when excellence is construed as doing something that makes an individual better than others, it is a manifestation of tribalism. The desire to be the best student, faculty, or department in an educational environment can also breed tribalistic tendencies in African institutions. Furthermore, when business or commercial activities take the shape of fierce competition that disregards all ethical values or standards of fairness, then the spirit of tribalism has ascended, perhaps, at the expense of rationality and the larger purpose of the organization and its role in society.

The Crippling Effects of Tribalism in Africa

Tribalism is unavoidable in West Africa, but it too frequently renders leadership, including educational leaders, ineffective in many countries of the region (Ayittey, 2005; Dlamini, 1995; Eifert, Miguel, & Posrner, 2007). It is often endemic to the point of being institutionalized. Tribalism was once characterized by a former president of Kenya, Daniel Arab Moi, as a cancer and a demoralizing challenge facing Africa (Isabirye, 1995). Candidly, the sociocultural milieu in much of Africa is polarized by tribalism, and many Africans are tribalistic in their orientations, predominant worldviews, and behaviors, including their professional practices and decorum. Wittman (2005) claimed that "From Senegal and Sierra Leone in the west to Sudan and Somalia in the east, the tribal structures of Africa continue to manipulate politics and control the lives of its citizens" (para. 5).

Tribalism continues to be the prevailing force in the social, cultural, and political realities of many West African countries (Wittman, 2005). Some leaders have used it as a tool to rule their subjects so destructively that they have stifled development in many parts of the region. Tribalism can manifest itself like a gunpowder whose charge is ignited when the state of affairs and the pressures of a degraded, congested setting combine to tear the people apart and society asunder. Rival factions usually take advantage of a situation where there is competition for power and material resources, and they use language and other sociocultural distinctions as criteria for establishing "differences" or conditions of "otherness." Subsequently, Bube's (1992) dichotomy of "I and mine" versus "you and yours" prevails.

The worst effect of tribalism is genocide – the systematic and organized killing of people who belong to another ethnic group or ostensibly a different tribe. Human beings are usually socially dependent or reliant on one another and often unprepared to live solely on their own. In Africa, tribalism has more often than not been used as a sociocultural "adhesive" to bring together or affiliate individuals as a particularized group. These individuals are committed to their group. Therefore, the propensity of members of one tribe to rise and act violently against another tribe, likely for social, economic, and political reasons or "justifications," increases the occurrence of genocidal conflicts such as what occurred in Rwanda in 1994. The violence that exploded between the Tutsi and Hutu ethnic groups of Rwanda, a small landlocked country in the Great Lakes region of east-central Africa, led to deaths, destruction, and human displacements on a massive scale (Locke, Roth, & Rittner, 2004; Magnerella, 2000; Potter, Anderson, & Brown, 2002).

Poverty, the perpetual state of affairs and life condition for the vast majority of West Africans, is also one of the harmful effects of tribalism in their region. Poverty is what ails West Africa even though it is reversible. The fabric of mutual assistance, support, cooperation, or interaction among constituent parts through tribal interdependence has been torn apart in some areas of West Africa. Many individuals have given up the interlinkage of relationships and obligations that had been at the heart of this interdependence, which theretofore had been regarded as a "blessing" by most members of the linked tribes.

With modernization, people have been exposed to material culture, and are now aware of other lifestyles; thus, many perceived tribal interdependency as outdated and accepted a new and divergent lifestyle (Lalngaihawmi, 2001, para. 23). This has led to the accumulation of wealth by many, especially some leaders who bring only a handful of their closest tribal kin to their seats of power and to share in its "fruits." They involve themselves in regressive behaviors such as corruption and nepotism as well as many other vices. This unfortunate situation has resulted in absolute poverty for the vast majority of West Africans, including members of the incumbent leader's tribe who do not gain special or unique access to the seat of power, as well as members of the other tribes.

Some aspects of corruption are accepted practices in Africa as they are regarded as justifiable rewards or an expected (i.e., anticipated) to the "victor goes the spoils" mentality or rationale. Four decades ago, the deputy prime minister of Kenya, who was also a tribal chief of the Luos, Oginga Odinga, kept record of the gifts he got from people in a small black book (Wittman, 2005). He was proud to show the content of that small black book to people. especially his friends. He never regarded the practice as bribery and corruption; so, he was always willing to "educate" westerners who he trusted about the rationale for such gifts. He said that "What is seen in Washington and London as corruption is in Africa a system of reward" (Wittman, 2005, para. 13). He claimed that the money is distributed to people he referred to as worthy members and friends of his tribe. As far as he was concerned, the practice was democratic and it was part and parcel of the African political system (Wittman, 2005). Oginga Odinga even asserted that the then prime minister of Kenya, who was also the tribal leader of the Kikuyus, Jomo Kenyatta, was aware of the practice and did the same himself.

Many other consequences of tribalism in West Africa have affected development in the region. Civil protest and disorder, tribal conflict and war, terrorism, coup d'état, organized crime, extortion, fraud and forgery, drug smuggling and abuse, civil disobedience, riots, looting, just to name some, are among the most devastating consequences of tribalism. Many of the conflicts in Africa had their roots in tribalism. "Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ivory Coast are some of the countries that have been torn apart by tribalism" (Kukubor, 2006, para. 1). According to Sankawulo (2008), tribalism was a major contributing factor to the Liberian Civil War: "Such problems as corruption, tribalism, mediocrity, and sloth have ruined the social, political, and economic fabric of our country [i.e., Liberia]" (para. 41).

A former president of Liberia, Charles Taylor, took advantage of the tribal rivalry between the Gios and the Krahns, two different tribes. Samuel Doe, the slain president of Liberia, was a member of the Krahn tribe, which was, and remains, a bitter rival to the Gios. When Samuel Doe took over power in a popular coup in 1980, his Krahn tribe began attacking the Gio tribe. Charles Taylor, who was initially a member of Doe's government and had left it, recruited members of the Gio tribe, although he was not a member, and assembled a rebel group known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). He invaded Liberia on December 24, 1989 through Nimba County, which is a region of the Gio tribe (Left, 2003). History has recorded the carnage that followed, including the wider regional conflicts spawned such as the Civil War in Sierra Leone.

A Case: "Northernization" in Sierra Leone

In 2007, Sierra Leone held its presidential and parliamentary elections, which the opposition party won. This was a nascent but significant democratic gain made in the history of Sierra Leone, that is, for the ruling party to lose a very close race and conduct a smooth transition of power to the opposition party. However, since the new government took over the mantle of power in Sierra Leone, there have been systematic and arbitrary dismissals of people from jobs who called the southern and eastern regions of the country their homeland (Fakondo, 2008; Malamango, 2009). These people were replaced by those from Sierra Leone's northern region – a phenomenon referred to as "northernization." The vast majority of the people from the southern and eastern regions belong to the Mende tribe, but those from the northern region are Temnes and Limbas. This is clearly a manifestation of tribalism and nepotism as practiced by Sierra Leone's incumbent government.

More than one-half (53%) of the country's population has been systematically marginalized as the vast majority (95%) of the cabinet positions are held by people from the northern and western regions who make up about 47% of Sierra Leone's population but contribute a paltry 15% to its export earnings (New People Correspondent, 2008). The southern and eastern regions, the areas of the country that comprise the majority of population and are also responsible for 85% of the country's GDP export earnings, are represented by a miserable 5% in the government (United Nations, 2007). It is apparent that this blatant anomaly of redistribution of governance is a clear example of tribalism in action that does not auger well for Sierra Leone's future prosperity.

Figs. 2 and 3 are graphical representations of the marginalization of the majority population in Sierra Leone that has occurred since the new government came to power in 2007. The country report on Sierra Leone released by the United Nations (UN)-sponsored Seventh African Governance Forum stated, "The recent general presidential and parliamentary

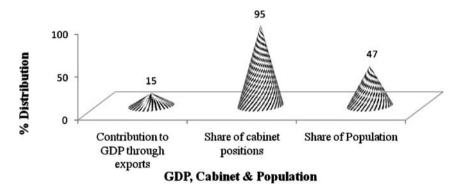
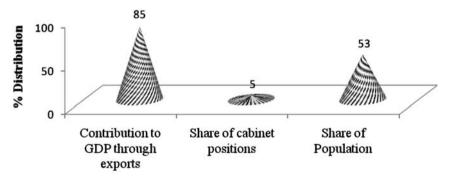


Fig. 2. Northwestern Distribution, Sierra Leone.



GDP, Cabinet & Population

Fig. 3. Southeastern Distribution, Sierra Leone.

elections reveal a sharp ethno-regional divide along southeastern and northwestern lines. This divide which has serious implications for national cohesion and development is now seen as the new challenge for the new government" (United Nations, 2007, para. 9).

The report emphasized that the north and western regions combined account for less than one-half of Sierra Leone's population and less than 20% of Sierra Leone's gross domestic earnings from exports, and yet people of these two regions accounted for the bulk of Sierra Leone's current National Government's cabinet. The report also stated that the cabinet is the most empowered decision-making apparatus of government in Sierra Leone, which manages public policy. Hence, the cabinet is the "national cake."

Four Cases of Tribalism in Educational Institutions in West Africa: An Analytic Memo of Key Informant Interviews

Four well-informed West Africans from various nations in the region, including Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and Togo, were interviewed for this chapter. Some of them have held, and some are still holding, leadership positions in educational institutions in their respective countries. Others who did their primary, secondary, and undergraduate studies in their home countries and also worked extensively in both lower and higher educational institutions in West Africa are currently graduate students in the United States. This analytic memo (Maxwell, 2005; Rossman & Rallis, 2003) is a coherent review of the responses of those individuals.

Ghana

In responding to a question about how educational leaders are appointed in Ghana, the interviewee said that the government appoints the board of directors and council of state in higher institutions. The board of directors and council of state, in turn, appoint the chancellors, vice chancellors, registrars, and other educational leaders in collaboration with some graduates who have made significant contributions toward the development of their alma maters. The Ministry of Education in Ghana appoints heads of secondary schools, and district directors of education appoint heads of junior high and primary schools. According to the interviewee, all such appointments are made based on qualifications and length of service.

Tribalism is, however, evident in Ghana's educational institutions. The interviewee narrated a case in which the vice chancellor of a particular

university was not a member of the majority ethnic group in the region where his institution was located. For that reason, the local people were against the vice chancellor but they could not openly voice their dissent for fear of being branded as tribalistic. The opportunity to exercise disdain for the school head arose when investigation of examinations malpractice (cheating) occurred. At that point, influential people used the occasion to get rid of the vice chancellor and appoint their own kin. This action was followed by the appointment of other kinsmen in key positions in that educational institution.

Liberia

According to the interviewee, tribalism is not prevalent in the appointment of heads of public primary and high schools in the country. However, most of the appointments in parochial schools are made based on an individual's religious affiliation. This manner of appointment has its pitfalls because some appointees are under-qualified for their positions. Many of the school leaders whose appointments were based on their religious affiliations are viewed as incompetent, inexperienced, and, in some cases, corrupt. This practice was seen as trickling down to the hiring of teachers who are also not qualified.

In the case of higher institutions, the interviewee said that tribalism was widespread and entrenched before the Liberian Civil War. He claimed that previous heads of the only university in Liberia, the University of Liberia (LU), were "Congos" (i.e., the Americo-Liberian ethnic group). According to him, even departmental heads of LU were predominantly "Congos," which was the case until the Samuel K. Doe's coup in 1980 when things started to change. He said that a good number of those earlier leaders came to their positions with falsified credentials. His views were that they were appointed, even though they hold fake documents, because the employing authorities were their kinsmen.

Nigeria

Appointments of educational leaders in Nigeria have to do with policies made by the national government, according to the interviewee. However, a "colonial path" exists for ascension to a leadership position regardless of the structure of the educational institutions. Nigeria's colonial power, Great Britain, had direct rule in south and east Nigeria and, therefore, established many schools there and educated many of the people of that region. On the contrary, northern Nigeria experienced indirect rule basically because Great Britain did not want to interfere with the cultural beliefs of the people, who were traditionally Muslims, for fear of provoking rebellion from their rulers. Consequently, a western-oriented style of education was not established in northern Nigeria until much later.

The difference in the education structure between the north and the other regions of Nigeria created a lot of problems, which could be responsible for the prevalence of tribalism in its education system. For example, a "Quota System" was designed as a way to ensure that the many tribes of the country were represented in college admission.

However, the "Quota System" extended beyond college admission to the appointment of administrative and educational leaders, which, indeed, brought about a sense of diversity, belonging, and heightened participation. However, this system was viewed as further deteriorating the idea of merit because often times a mediocre candidate is employed over a well-qualified and well-experienced professional. In other cases, this tends to justify abuses by tribalistic officials who take advantage of it to make appointment with questionable merit. The interviewee lamented, "For instance, there was an education secretary who came from a minority tribe. He appointed his tribesmen to the so-called good schools even when many of them were not qualified." The interviewee argued that for Nigeria to develop it must tamp down tribalism and begin to consider people who can perform and deliver per their roles and responsibilities.

Togo

The appointment of educational leaders in Togo's higher educational institutions is based on the country's university policy. Accordingly, heads of educational institutions are elected by the council of faculty and representatives from the staff and students. However, the minister of education has to approve the appointment after the election process was completed. It is at this stage that the problem of tribalism, nepotism, or corruption may be revealed. For example, the minister could reject the electee if he did not favor the person because of political background, tribe, or region.

The interviewee added that the politician would "rationalize" the action by claiming the need to create a balance in the appointment of educational leaders such that all five of Togo's regions are represented. However, appointments are more often than not linked to political affiliation, ethnic background, and other corrupt practices. If you were a strong supporter of the political system or a kinsman to a politician, you are most likely to be appointed to head an educational institution.

Tribalism will not Disappear in West Africa

It is important to note that most established institutions and systems within the tribes of Africa seek to promulgate the interest and well-being of their members. It is a "chain relationship" with multiplier effects that start from extended families, then to a clan, and eventually to an entire tribe. When Africa was arbitrarily partitioned into many countries as a result of the Berlin Conference, total disregard for the African socioeconomic and political order, which was already in existence and well established, was exercised (Isabirye, 1995). The partition created political and government systems with little or no checks and balances: "This fosters a climate of absolute power resting on the executive and by extension to the executive tribe" (Isabirye, 1995, para. 2).

Many Africans have strong allegiance to their tribes and usually perceive their governments as intruders who are antagonistic to their tribal structures (Isabirye, 1995). "Tribalism is the root and fabric of the African society. It is where we derive a sense of pride in being African. Tribal affiliation is more valued than national identity" (Dlamini, 1995, para. 1). In this regard, African leaders who ignore tribalism and attempt to implement more "western systems" of government find it difficult to succeed in office. A clear example is the case of the former Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP)-led government; its leaders decided to ignore their tribal support in favor of nationally centered governance but did so to their own detriment. Conversely, leaders could harness the deep-seated tribal bonds among Africans to initiate a kind of African democracy that would derive power from tribal allegiance and belonging (Dlamini, 1995).

According to Vignon (1995), African leaders made two mistakes in their attempts to ignore tribal systems and foster a sense of nationally centered citizenship.

- 1) Western countries are homogenous. In fact, most of them have a chamber in their congresses or parliaments that give equal power to all regions on the decisions of the countries. I equate western geographical regions with African tribes because, maybe with few exceptions that I do not know, there is a unique relation between a tribe and a geographical area.
- 2) Legitimacy of a government by institutions I have a personal feeling, maybe I do not express this very well, that a western government is more a government of content (the institutions) than a government of process (consensual agreement). It is hard to make institutions that are by

definition static on a structure when most of the decisions are taken after "palaver" and consensus. (para. 1)

It is important to incorporate the tribal structures into central governance in Africa. Unlike western countries, the limits of African states are not consistent with tribal limits (Vignon, 1995). In parts of Africa, people from different countries, who share common borders, speak different official languages (such as English or French) but the same tribal languages.

For instance, the border between Benin and Nigeria separates Yoruba families. The Beninois side speaks French as an 'office' language, the Nigerian side speaks English. At first sight they look very different, but the fact that they are under the traditional authority of the same chiefs make any custom control between the two borders by the respective states impossible to maintain. (Vignon, 1995, para. 2)

These people regard themselves as the same even though they are of different nationalities. The first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame N'Krumah, strongly supported Pan-Africanism, that is, a movement that sought to bring together native Africans and those in the diaspora. However, he underscored the need for tribal groups to be fully involved in advancement of the African cause (Vignon, 1995).

In many African villages and even some towns and cities, tribalism has been used for positive measures as members of the same tribe assist one another (Power, 2006). People help members of their tribes to get jobs even when they are not directly affiliated other than belonging to the same ethnic group. The fact that the person belongs to his tribe gives that individual the impetus to help his "kin" find employment. If you visited an African ceremony, for example, a wedding, you will discover that there are so many uninvited guests who do not even know the host personally but belong to his tribal group. Africans take pride in "sharing the burden of harvest or building a new house, resolving disputes (whether marital or material) and, not least, fashioning art and music" (Power, 2006, para. 7).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF TRIBALISM ON EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN WEST AFRICA

Effective Educational Leadership as an Aspiration and Basis for School Reform

In the quest to promote student learning and higher performance, the exertion of educational leadership requires capacity building, accountability

and more efficient and equitable ways of providing educational services that meet the expectations of students and parents as well as other stakeholders and societal actors who are concerned about and affected by the outcomes associated with educational institutions. If teaching and learning is to improve, school leaders have the responsibility to work together with teachers as their colleagues (Hoy & Hoy, 2003). Therefore, educational leadership requires the training of principals, supervisors, and educational managers on how to effectively and efficiently boost the quality of teaching and learning (Werf, Creemers, DeJong, & Klaver, 2000).

Educational leadership has to be learned and therefore it is important to identify someone who has the capacity and traits to learn how to lead effectively (Foster, 2005; Smith, 1996). Smith (1996) highlighted some traits that would help to identify the readiness of someone to learn leadership: reflection on the past to predict the future, creating vision, readiness to ask questions, willingness to face challenges, having the constructive spirit of discontent, willingness to accept criticism, ability to identify and apply ideas that are practical, willingness to take responsibility, ability to tackle and complete tasks, need for mental toughness, and respect for and from peers and family. Ideally, these traits are crucial to educational leaders as they are qualities that make people listen to leaders and aspire to follow them in accord with a mutually agreed sense of purpose and direction.

Consequences of Tribalism on Educational Leadership

Tribalism is a phenomenon that does not stop at the doors of African schoolhouses (Ridder & Wittman, 2005; Wittman, 2005). It has considerable influence on school leadership practices in West Africa and has frequently rendered it ineffective in many countries of the region. In other words, Africa's educational organizations have not been spared the concentration of powers and thus the concomitant "spoils system" associated with the malignancy of tribalism that pervades many institutions of education. The consequences of tribalism are overwhelmingly devastating as many school heads in West Africa got their appointments through political and tribal influences. This circumstance puts many school employees in fear of losing their jobs if they attempt to question their supervisors' varying degrees of ineffectiveness or, in some cases, professional malpractice (Ngomane & Flanagan, 2002).

Many people with the desired experience and attributes to lead educational institutions in West Africa are not attracted to apply for such positions because frequently appointments are not as straightforward as they might appear and such "administrative positions are very political" (Boncana & Crow, 2008, p. 74). Politicians create an environment whereby potential candidates encounter many deterrents to occupying these positions. Some who may apply for school leadership posts all too frequently drop out of the race as a result of those deterrents. Consequently, tribalism in West Africa has been a primary obstacle to the appointment of qualified educational leaders.

For example, in Sierra Leone most of the appointments of school and college principals and other heads of educational institutions are done by the Minister of Education or his deputy(ies). Of 149 nations, Sierra Leone was ranked 122nd in corruption rankings in 2007 (Samura, 2009). Samura (2009) maintained that "Patronage ties between political elites and those they represent often place heavy informal obligations and demands on the former" (para. 9). To fulfill such obligations, politicians cannot help but to use corrupt means to appoint people to positions. When these politicians run for office they seek the help of members of their tribes during campaigns, promising to appoint them to certain positions such as heads of educational institutions. This is the present state of affairs with the incumbent All People's Congress (APC) Government in Sierra Leone. Government workers, including school officials, who belonged to the southeastern tribes were removed from office and replaced by people who belonged to the northwestern tribes after the national election in 2007.

Sadly, many African school leaders are incompetent and under-gualified for the positions they hold. This could be attributed to the manner in which they are appointed. Many got their appointments by patronage politics or basically through tribal affiliation. Conversely, setting the direction for successful schools requires trained and qualified school leaders with robust experience in school administration (Davis, Darling-Hammond, LaPointe, & Meyerson, 2005). So, leaders of educational institutions must understand the essential elements of good leadership, design successful school programs, identify program structures that provide the best learning environments, and also understand the policies desirable for sustaining good programs (Davis et al., 2005). The unqualified and incompetent school leader cannot influence student achievement positively because they are unable to support and develop effective teachers or concomitantly implement effective organizational processes. Individuals can only acquire these competencies through training that will enable them to gain the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of effective school leaders. Institutional cultures imbued with meritocracy vis-à-vis a leader's performance, or

potential for such, must become the norm and not the exception in West Africa.

The unqualified, politically appointed individual is likely to be less supportive of teachers and students because of his lack of requisite experience and competencies. This is a very serious threat to teaching and learning in the region and a pernicious consequence of tribalism. What is more, these individuals may only be accountable to the patronage-based organ that made possible their appointments.

Teachers have a crucial role to play in motivating students through their behavior and teaching style, their course structure, the type of assignments, and their interactions with students (DeMoulin, 1993; Pricket et al., 1993). However, they must be properly motivated first before they can create motivating environments for their students. Most of the students in West Africa need special attention due to the social, economic, and political problems in the region. Practical and effective ways to improve and motivate these learners exist, which teachers must know and implement. Such strategies may include "using peers as role models, teaching specific learning strategies, presenting the students with options and choices, communicating recent success, and more" (Margolis & McCabe, 2006, p. 221). But, again, the school cultures in which teachers work must be conducive to the above mentioned and their heads must be effective leaders who ascended to their positions based on professional merit and demonstrated competence.

Many current school leaders view corruption as normative practice, and they engage in widespread misappropriation and embezzlement of the already limited available resources to run their institutions (Ololube, 2006). Even though it is sometimes hard to quantify corruption, it is not difficult to sense that corruption is prevalent in a particular society or organization, including educational institutions (Heyneman, Anderson, & Nuraliyeva, 2008). According to Transparency International (2008), Sierra Leone is perceived to be one of the most corrupt countries in the world with a corruption perceptions index (CPI) score of 1.9 in 2008, dropping from 2.1 in 2007.

The index defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain and measures the degree to which corruption is perceived to exist among a country's public officials and politicians ... The scores range from ten (squeaky clean) to zero (highly corrupt). A score of 5.0 is the number Transparency International considers the borderline figure distinguishing countries that do and do not have a serious corruption problem. (para. 1)

The state of affairs in Sierra Leone and many other West African nations indicate that corruption is so widespread that even educational institutions are not spared its wretched and demoralizing consequences. Tribalism simply exacerbates this unfortunate circumstance and, therefore, rules and regulations are not respected or upheld. Heyneman et al. (2008) claimed that "Efficiency also fails within an educational institution if corrupt officials are affected by nonpecuniary factors such as favoritism toward one's ethnic, regional, or religious group" (p. 3). In this circumstance, tribalism influences the appointments of school leaders who are not qualified and do not have the requisite experience that would equip them to create and nurture a positive school climate.

Many school leaders in West Africa run their schools with "iron fists" to cower challengers to their authority, thus making teachers, students, and parents dissatisfied with their draconian style of leadership. Certain behaviors describe the outcomes associated with such authoritarian leadership: excessive conformity, overly submissive to higher authority, intolerance, insecurity, superstition, and rigid and stereotyped thought patterns (Kouzes & Posner, 2007; Nahavandi, 2009; Northouse, 2007). In West Africa, school leaders who received their appointments through tribalism and political patronage frequently rule their institutions like dictators, but they may also have personality tendencies, which predispose them to "submit by leaps and bows to their authorities" (Altemeyer, 1996, p. 8) who bulldozed them into office. Shamefully, certain "leaders" become overtly submissive to "masters," thus giving them too much leeway to do whatever they wish. This situation exacerbates the already poor attitude of many teachers who frequently are less motivated and may already manifest low morale due to the poor conditions of their service. Consequently, student learning suffers and the wider society is caught in a downward spiral of regression.

It is apparent that tribalism is a widespread practice in many west African countries. There is clear evidence of how entrenched tribalism, corruption, nepotism, and other unfavorable preferential treatments have affected aspects of development in this subregion of Africa. Like all other sectors, the effectiveness of many educational institutions has been marred by these disreputable practices. However, in the midst of this unfortunate situation, there are certain educational leaders in these countries who have worked extremely hard to maintain some semblance of professional service and bring positive changes to the institutions they lead.

Strengths of West African Educational Leaders

It is apparent that many educational leaders in West Africa are not qualified and their appointments were more often than not influenced by tribalism and corruption. However, irrespective of the weaknesses of these leaders, there are certain attributes they possess which should be characterized as strengths and are admirable. In addition, many have the support of the local people due to the role they play in their communities as opinion leaders among their kinsmen.

The employing authorities in West Africa who appoint unqualified educational leaders may use their appointees long standing experiences in the teaching profession as a "rationale" for their actions. Indeed, the experience of an educational leader as an accomplished teacher can be a priceless attribute. Both as a teacher and leader, the person receives constant feedback from his students and colleagues, which gives him the opportunity to match his leadership with their needs and expectations. No doubt, some West African educational leaders have exhibited a combination of qualities that distinguished them from others to warrant their appointments as heads of educational institutions. White (2005) posited certain personal qualities found in good leaders irrespective of exacting professional qualifications:

- a good leader has an exemplary character;
- a good leader is enthusiastic about his work or cause and also about his role as leader;
- a good leader is confident;
- a good leader also needs to function in an orderly and purposeful manner in situations of uncertainty;
- a good leader is tolerant of ambiguity and remain calm, composed and steadfast to the main purpose;
- a good leader, keeping the main goal in focus, is able to think analytically; and
- a good leader is committed to excellence (paras. 3–9)

West African educational leaders who do not have the required academic qualification for the positions they occupy may endeavor to justify their appointments by developing these characteristics. In some cases, these educational leaders have shown that they "naturally" possess some of these qualities.

An indispensable strength of many educational leaders in West Africa is the support they have from their kinsmen. They may not be qualified regarding professional credentials for the position they occupy but their support base and cooperation of the people in the community enables them to accomplish much. With such backing and collaboration, these leaders are able to implement crucial undertakings that may have proven difficult for a qualified educational leader who did not belong to that ethnic or tribal group. Some educational leaders in West Africa have taken advantage of this situation to achieve the goals of the school; however, others may have only leveraged their favored status to maximize personal gains for themselves and their closest allies. The education systems in many West African nations, including form, content, and normative practices, must be viewed through the prism of their unique colonial legacies.

Colonial Powers' Views on Educating the Peoples of their Colonies

European countries, notably Great Britain and France, claimed vast portions of West Africa and established colonial rule between 1850 and 1934 (Diallo, 2003; Fafunwa, 1982). Colonies of Great Britain included the Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone, while those of France were Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, and Togo (McElroy, 2005; Nosotro, 2008; Rosenberg, 1999). The colonization of West Africa was basically for economic reasons such as an insatiable demand for raw materials and the need for markets and commerce. The types of activities prevalent during the colonial period included agricultural production, mineral exploitation, and the supply of labor (Alexander, 2001; McElroy, 2005). According to Betts (2005), Jules Ferry, deputy of the region of Vosges in France, endeavored to justify the need for colonization:

While he spoke of strategic needs and patriotic duty, he used arguments that were primarily economic and which were similarly stated in many countries in Europe. Glancing at the world around him, Ferry described the workings of the capitalist, industrial machine: keen economic competition, growing national protectionism expressed in tariff regulations. He acclaimed the overseas possessions as the outlets, the necessary market, for the French goods, and as places for investment of capital. (p. 3)

However, the colonial powers knew that to effectively rule and exploit the West Africans, they had to provide some form of education to a portion of the indigenes. This was a deliberate attempt by the colonial powers to use a small number of educated West Africans to rule their countrymen. Meanwhile, missionaries had begun providing some minimal level of schooling alongside their missionary works to convert West Africans to Christianity. In Sierra Leone, for example, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the Wesleyan Methodist Mission were the first religious organizations to establish schools (Allie, 1990; Hilliard, 1957). They set up a number of schools such as the Sierra Leone Grammar School for boys and the Annie Walsh Memorial School for girls in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone (Wang, 2007).

The pioneering work in education by the missionaries was later complemented by the colonial governments. Although the focus of missionaries was "the propagation of the gospel – to win African souls for Christ," the colonial governments perpetuated a "shift from purely religious education to a diluted semi-secular education which emphasized the role of the school in the continued furtherance of colonial interest in Africa" (Fafunwa, 1982, p. 21). According to Fafunwa (1982),

A third general observation common to Africa's colonial system of education is that their conscious and obvious attempts, first by the foreign missions and later by the colonial governments, to educate the African away from his culture. This feature was more pronounced in the French colonies where education meant 'frenchifying' the African. This is not to play down Britain's guilt in this attempt. (p. 21)

Unlike France, Great Britain expanded educational facilities in their colonies as they envisaged their becoming self-ruling states at a future time (Fafunwa, 1982). The British were concerned about adapting education to the African circumstance; however, the French tailored the colonial education to produce "a native of aristocracy who would eventually propagate French ideals and uphold French way of life" (Fafunwa, 1982, p. 23). It was therefore apparent that the British, on the one hand, were interested in a type of education system centered on partnership and adaptation, while the French, on the other hand, subscribed to the policies of association and assimilation. By assimilation, it was "meant that the colony was to become an integral, if noncontiguous, part of the mother country, with its society and population made over – to whatever extent possible – in her image" (Betts, 2005, p. 8).

No matter what the colonial powers' views were on educating their colonial subjects, the singular act of providing some form of education is praiseworthy. Many West Africans were educated. Some of them were sent abroad to train as doctors, lawyers, engineers, and so forth. Most of them returned home and contributed in one way or another toward the development of their countries. In addition to training West Africans abroad, the colonial powers established many schools, teacher training colleges, and universities in their colonies (Fafunwa, 1982). Some of those educational institutions were of high standards. For example, an iconic British legacy was that certain universities in England established campuses in countries like Sierra Leone and Nigeria, which became the "Ivory Towers" of West Africa. In Nigeria, for example, the University of London

had a campus in Ibadan, which later became the University of Ibadan. Another campus was established in the north that later became the Ahmadu Bello University after Nigeria's independence. Yet another campus in the east of Nigeria later became the University of Nigeria (Ukeje & Aisiku, 1982).

Summary

In West Africa, tribalism has considerable influence on school leadership because, frequently, appointments are very political. Many school leaders are under-qualified, incompetent, corrupt, and less supportive of teachers and students than their western counterparts. Most of the West African nations were colonized by Great Britain and France (McElroy, 2005; Rosenberg, 1999). These colonial powers provided some level of education to their West African subjects as a way to rule and exploit them primarily. In any case, some West Africans were highly educated but many colonial legacies endure that impact the practice of educational leaders.

Regardless of the weaknesses of educational leaders in West Africa, some individuals possess admirable attributes and they have worked very hard to bring meaningful innovations to the education systems in their respective countries. A number of them have long standing experiences in the teaching profession as well as the support of their kinsmen. However, much needs to be done, and it is the responsibility of West Africans to ensure that the myriad of problems plaguing their education systems are addressed, including the influence of tribalism and its consequences.

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RELEVANCE OF THIS CHAPTER: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Exemplary school leaders in some parts of the world strive to enhance teaching and learning through the exercise of leadership strategies that are calibrated to increase the likelihood of high achieving students (Glickman, 1985; Hoyle et al., 1994). School leadership in many West African nations is the extreme and toxic form of transactional leadership, which could be attributed to the fact that most of these leaders were appointed to their positions through tribalism, nepotism, and patronage politics. Many of the school leaders of this region do not lead their institutions according to what they profess to believe in as good leadership or the mission and aims

propounded by the cognizant government ministries and their nations' political leaders.

In some cases, their leadership styles and practices could be understood as an espoused theory of action versus theory-in-use contradiction (Argyris & Schön, 1989). According to Argyris and Schon (1989), "A theory of action is a theory of deliberate human behavior, which is for the agent a theory of control but which, when attributed to the agent, also serves to explain or predict his behavior" (p. 6). On the other hand, the theory in use is actually what controls or regulates a person's action. On some occasions, such actions may be in tune with the person's espoused theory, but often times they are not (Argyris & Schön, 1989). This is what occurs precisely in many West African educational institutions, that is, school leaders who are appointed by politicians without regard to their merit or qualifications. Although such people may know what entails good leadership practices and probably would prefer to apply some of those approaches, they are constrained by those who appointed them to office, who are, frequently, their tribal brethren. Ultimately, the teachers and students become the victims of such an unfortunate situation with wider impacts on society that are extremely deleterious and multiplicative.

Consequently, tribalism and its handmaiden – corruption and professional negligence – remains a major impediment to effective school leadership in much of West Africa. Unlike some other regions of the world, many school leaders in West Africa often do not have the requisite qualifications for the offices they occupy, as their appointments were driven by the politics of circumstance and nepotism. A well-trained and qualified person is usually highly motivated and possesses self-confidence, which are some of the attributes needed to head a successful school (Kubow, 2007). However, these are qualities that are lacking in many of the school leaders in West Africa. These and many other factors promulgate the poor and ineffective leadership exemplified by many of the school heads who purport to lead educational institutions. This situation is antithetical to the predominant views espoused by many of today's educational leadership theorists (DeMoulin, 1993; Glickman, 1985; Hoyle et al., 1994; Hoy & Hoy, 2003; Hoy & Miskel, 1991; Oliva, 1993).

Educational leaders in West Africa must face the realities of global trends and take into account educational leadership theories and concepts associated with effective and successful school leadership. No shortcut to successful instructional leadership exists. They must endeavor to support their teachers, students, and parents and provide them with the type of leadership that facilitates whole-school success. Leaders of African educational institutions must improve their competences by participating in training seminars and conferences, by being conversant with their profession's literature, and by being actively involved in professional organizations and their development activities.

To remain complacent in an increasingly globalized world is not a viable option for the leaders of African educational institutions – their constituencies deserve better and the future stability and furtherance of their societies demand it. It is, however, necessary for other stakeholders, who are concerned with educational development in West Africa, such as Ministries of Education as well as international organizations, including those that are nongovernmental (NGOs), to play a significant role in helping to alleviate the negative consequences of tribalism.

The Ministry of Education has the responsibility of directing and regulating all aspects of the educational system in many countries thereby overseeing the smooth running of the nation's educational institutions. The Ministry should ensure that educational leaders are held accountable to the state and are transparent in the discharge of their duties. Anticorruption policies and laws must be promulgated and enforced by cognizant officials. Furthermore, an oversight committee or a unit in the Ministry of Education charged with the responsibility of monitoring and supervising the activities of educational leaders should be implemented. Professional appraisals of these individuals and performance of the institutions they lead must be an ongoing priority. Many countries strive to ensure that their educational systems have strong and productive educational environments through effective monitoring and supervision strategies and agencies (Macnab, 2004).

It is important that the accepted or "politics as usual" practiced in many West African nations be severed from the appointment of educational leaders and policies be put in place that clearly spell out the criteria for their employment, performance reviews, retention, promotion, and dismissal. The Ministries of Education should set up a committee consisting of experienced professionals in the field of education to undertake the responsibility of advertising vacancies, conducting interviews, and employing educational leaders. If financial or other constraints prevent the formation and support of such committees or boards, it is critical that international organizations become actively involved in supporting national education systems regarding the priorities described.

Organizations such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Development Programme (UNNP), and many others have made remarkable contributions in the

development of education in West Africa. However, taking into account the sensitive nature of the consequences of tribalism on educational leadership, these international organizations have a crucial role to play, especially in the areas of transparency, accountability, and anticorruption. The problem of tribalism in educational institutions in many West African countries is rooted in their Education Ministries because the political leaders have considerable powers to employ and dismiss ministerial leaders. For that reason, the need exists for neutral parties to serve not only as financial supporters but also as "watchdogs" who keep an eye on the activities of the cognizant government officials as well as the appointed leaders of educational institutions. In this way, the educational leaders would feel protected and at the same time the political leaders would be "restrained" from promulgating unacceptable practices that encourage or otherwise support tribalistic tendencies and practices.

The press system, including all individuals and organizations who endeavor to provide news and information to the public, has a significant role to play in helping to curb the problems of tribalism in educational institutions in West Africa. However, the media can only function properly when the government is tolerant and supportive of a free and unfettered press. One of the requirements for freedom of the press to flourish is "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in the context which gives them meaning" (The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, p. 20), which underscores the importance of educating and training journalists, including those who report on education. In a study conducted in Mali, a West African nation, the researchers found that

The journalists indicated their opportunity to 'influence public affairs' was the most important aspect of their job. They perceived the most important function of news media was to meet the public's need for receiving information promptly and to help people better understand complex issues. (Cartmell et al., 2009, p. 9)

So, some African journalists are poised to assist in the effort described.

Moreover, NGOs could provide technical support and also serve as "third-party" groups who engage in monitoring and training programs. Many NGOs are already involved in almost all aspects of life in both developed and developing countries. They are widely accepted globally for their immense contributions in mitigating the many challenges facing the world, including improving the quality of education provided to people of the developing world. NGOs are legally constituted, nonprofit organizations that do not have government officials participating in or directing their

activities. So, they are positioned to serve as an overseer or "watchdog" and maintain a neutral but respected stance vis-à-vis the actors designed to serve a society, including educational institutions and the individuals called to lead them.

There is no doubt that culture varies from one region to another and cultural differences, and how they may be negotiated, determine the level of effectiveness of educational leaders. This chapter explored many theoretical posits describing "ideal" or "best practice" educational leadership, and juxtaposed that against the actual behavior of many educational leaders in West Africa. The nurturance of effective educational leadership in West Africa is key to the future development of its education system and thereby its human capital. It is not insurmountable for educational leaders in West Africa to improve their practice even amid the many challenges facing them. It is no doubt true that tribalism is a major challenge to overcome; its attendant problems pose the greatest challenges. Key among the challenges facing educational institutions and leaders in West Africa include:

- unfairness in the promotion [employment] process;
- corruption;
- problem of maintaining teachers in classrooms;
- ineffective monitoring and evaluation framework;
- low salaries and poor conditions of service;
- late and nonpayment of salaries;
- financial burden of extra classes; and
- early marriage and pregnancy (Lawrence 2006, pp. 31-32).

Much could be done to overcome the problems facing the educational system in West Africa. It is important to review the current recruitment policy of educators to ensure that educational leaders, teachers, and government officials charged with the responsibility of managing educational systems are employed based on qualifications and experience rather than tribal or ethnic affiliations (Ololube, 2006; Pricket et al., 1993; Wang, 2007). This would help to diminish the tendency of political leaders to employ "square pegs in round holes." Or as a university leader in Sierra Leone put it, "if very short pegs are placed in very deep holes, the nation will never enjoy their height."

The ruin of a nation begins in the homes of its people. Ghanaian Proverb

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EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA: A STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF ITS IMPACT ON THE ACQUIRED LEADERSHIP SKILLS OF EXPATRIATE NIGERIAN POSTGRADUATES

Gerald I. Akata and Jasmine R. Renner

INTRODUCTION

Educational researchers have long experienced increasing rates of Nigerians educated to the graduate levels going overseas as a way to leave Nigeria. For the last 25 years, research has shown a rapid increase in the brain-drain syndrome in Nigeria (Akomas, 2006; Oji, 2005). From the history of expatriate Nigerians, research showed that the return rate of Nigerians who studied and obtained Ph.D.s in foreign countries shares a noticeable portion of the university educational outcomes and cannot be ignored. Pires, Kassimir and Brhane (1999), Oji (2005), West (2005), and Akomas (2006) agreed that brain-drain syndrome in Nigeria is increasing. Many Nigerian

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professors teaching in the universities in Nigeria have either gone overseas or are looking for ways to leave the country for greener pastures (West, 2005). In South Africa, one would find hundreds of Nigerian professors educating South Africans (West, 2005). Many are in Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, Holland, Germany, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and many more places beyond the shores of Nigeria (West, 2005). Therefore, both educational leaders in the universities in Nigeria, in general, and Niger Delta region, in particular, and expatriate Nigerians educated to the graduate levels play a substantial role in the country's educational leadership effectiveness and success.

Considering the increasing number of expatriate Nigerians, an overreaching question emerged: What are their perceptions of the leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, which have impacted the return rate of those who studied and obtained Ph.D.s in foreign countries? Research has been conducted and much has been written on the Niger Delta and the region's steady experienced disproportionately high levels of violence in universities (Edukugho, 2003; Ekop, 2000; Uchendu, 1995) as compared to the rest of Nigeria. The United Nations Development Program has attributed the increase in violence in the region to reasons that include (a) administrative neglect, (b) crumbling social infrastructure and services, (c) high unemployment, (d) social deprivation, (e) abject poverty, (f) filth and squalor, and (g) endemic conflict (UNDP, 2006). Bassey (2006) noted how the region suffered from exploitation and underdevelopment. Ekpu (2007) analyzed the region's troubles in this way:

As expected, the oil industry grew in relevance and revenue but this growth came with a price: the waters of the region, the Niger Delta region, were polluted, the farmlands were destroyed, the air fouled and the people impoverished. No noticeable improvement took place in the region and the people commenced a regime of agitation led by Isaac Adaka Boro in the 60s, followed by the playwright, Ken Saro-Wiwa, in the 90s and Asari Dokubo in this century (p. 1).

Nwagwu (1997) noted that the Nigerian educational expansion occurred with poor funding, inadequate facilities, admission and certificate racketeering, examination malpractices, general indiscipline, and the emergence of secret cults, while "personal management problems resulted in frequent strikes and closures and the abandonment of academic standards" (p. 87). Teferra (1997) proposed that Nigerian institutions were competitive and demanding in nature. While these sources have described and developed various domains of educational leadership in universities in Nigeria, not much exploratory

research is there either about Nigeria in general or about Niger Delta region of Nigeria in particular, on the perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities by expatriate Nigerian postgraduates.

Given this background and the contextual problem, the purpose of the present chapter is to explore the expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' perceptions of the leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria and how these qualities have impacted their acquired leadership skills, and posed as barriers to their motivation to return home to Nigeria. The significance of this study is vital as it generates a theoretical model for the successful understanding of the impacts and posed barriers of the perceived leadership qualities of educational leaders on the acquired leadership skills of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. West (2005) noted, "there are many Nigerian Ph.D.s and other well established professionals in the United States who are itching to return home to contribute but do not know where and how to begin. There are many who will rush home if only there is a viable and structured program through which they can channel their expertise and services" (p. 3). The results of this study may be utilized to improve the understanding of Nigeria's educational, political, and economic climate. West (2005) stated, "it is evident that Nigeria is at a crossroad and the decisions made by government now will have ripple effects for the long term. If the (Nigerian) ... government does not take full advantage of the goodwill extended by Nigerian professionals abroad, other countries will and they are" (p. 3). For the purpose of clarity, this study has provided definitions of an "educational leader" in the context of Nigerian universities as well those of "expatriate," "model," "theory," and "leadership theory."

Definition of Terms

Educational Leader

An "educational leader," in the context of Nigerian universities, is someone occupying a teaching position as head teacher, or deputy head teacher, or assistant head teacher in a federal, military, state, or registered private universities established in the country under the guidelines of the National University Commission (NUC).

Expatriate Nigerian Postgraduate

Expatriate Nigerian postgraduate is the one who is educated to the graduate level living in a foreign country. West (2005) noted that of all the foreign

groups in the United States, Nigeria, not India, China, or Japan, but Nigeria, has the highest number of Ph.D.s.

Model

A model is a construct or diagram that explains the underpinnings of a theory base; however, the model itself is not the theory and therefore will not be tested or validated (Trautman, 2000; Lunenburg & Irby, 2008; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Additionally, it is a description used to show complex relationships in easy-to-understand terms (Trautman, 2000, Lunenburg & Irby, 2008; Stoner, Freeman, & Gilbert, 1995).

Theory

"Theory is an attempt to describe phenomena and interrelationships found in the real world in terms that reflect the true nature of the world" (Daresh & Playko, 1995, p. 72). Research theory often serves as the basis for further empirical research, in which "theory-testing and theory-verification" (Daresh & Playko, 1995, p. 73) is a stated goal and leads to the generation of new research (Lunenburg & Irby, 2008; Trautman, 2000).

Leadership Theory

Leadership theory is the study of leader behavior and its effects on the organization (Trautman, 2000; Lunenburg & Irby, 2008; Lunenburg & Ornstein, 2000). During the last 30 years, scholars have addressed some of the prevailing theories of leadership (Bass, 1985; Bennis, 1984; Burns, 1978; Greenleaf, 1977, 1996; Hickman, 1999; Luke, 1991; Northouse, 2001; Ramey, 1991). Bennis and Nanus (1985) described a number of theories of leadership and the effects their practices had on organizations. House and Aditya (1997) reviewed the development of leadership theories and noted that in all of these prevailing leadership theories, there was no empirical evidence that could be identified as African in character. This is not to say that no theory can be applied to African leadership practices. Malunga (2006) observed that "leadership development from an African cultural perspective is often conspicuous by its absence in most discourses and initiatives" (p. 2). Vinzant and Crothers (1998) contend that literature on leadership can be grouped around four basic perspectives or types of models: trait, behavioral, situational, and transformational. Trait theories describe certain innate characteristics: behavioral theories focus on set of behaviors; situational theories focus on the relationship between the situation or context; and transformational theories hypothesize those discerning goals, values, and ideals that the group, organization, or community wants and ought to advance as the main determinant of what constitutes an effective leader (Vinzant & Crothers, 1998).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section of the chapter involves a literature review of publications on leadership qualities that are analyzed and synthesized in this section. Included in this review are references from 60 publications. References are both research-based and descriptive in nature. A major focus of the review was on the development of the literature that more fully reflects (a) the conceptual theoretical framework/models that guide the study, (b) the condensed history of Nigeria, (c) the condensed history of Nigeria, and (e) the summary of the study.

The Conceptual Theoretical Framework/Model

With the increasing rate of brain-drain syndrome among Nigerians educated to the graduate level, expatriates are faced with the challenge of developing and implementing viable and structured university educational leadership programs that are effective and efficient. Graduates at the local, state, and federal levels are requesting increased leadership opportunities. Professionals at the international level are questioning Nigerian presidents, governors, politicians, educators, and community leaders. Parents and students are asking for what could give them hope in the midst of prolonged months of strikes in Nigerian universities. Expatriate Nigerian postgraduates must respond by devising more viable and structured university educational leadership programs. Acceptance of leadership failure as Nigeria's primary trouble (Achebe, 1984), and not denial, is one of the most effective ways of responding to leadership development.

For acceptance of Nigeria's leadership failure to be effective, it needs to eventually affect expatriate Nigerian postgraduates in some way. In describing trait theory, the oldest approach in studying effective leadership, Carlyle (1840), Galton (1869), Argyris (1955), Sank (1974), Stogdill (1974), Vinzant and Crothers (1998) asserted that effective leadership is based on inborn, innate characteristics that are predominantly psychological in nature. Denial of Nigeria's leadership failure will continue unless a direct attempt is made, through leadership theories, to understand expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities. Vinzant and Crothers (1998) made a summary of leadership theories when they said, "Although there is considerable variation, much of the literature on leadership can be grouped around four basic perspectives or types of models: trait, behavioral, situational, and transformational" (p. 74).

While literature has devoted a great deal of attention to leadership theories (Hersey & Blanchard, 1969; Fiedler, 1970; Hersey & Blanchard, 1988; House, 1971; House & Mitchell, 1974; Stinson & Johnson, 1975; Fiedler & Chemers, 1982; Vroom & Yetton, 1973; Vroom & Jago, 1988; Vinzant & Crothers, 1998; Burns, 1978), it is only recently that any emphasis has been placed on brain-drain syndrome among Nigerians. And the exploration of the perceptions of leadership qualities in the universities in the Niger Delta region by expatriate Nigerian postgraduates has been neglected. The study in this chapter seeks to begin to fill this gap. More specifically, this study explored perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders among expatriate Nigerian postgraduates in three continents: Africa, Europe, and North America, including perceptions outlining (a) positive leadership qualities, (b) negative leadership qualities, (c) leadership qualities having negative impact on expatriates, and (d) leadership qualities posing barriers on expatriates.

No other study shows the perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders in universities in the Niger Delta by expatriate Nigerian postgraduates in three continents. Based on the literature review, a conceptual framework analyzing data from these expatriates was adopted for generating/deriving a theoretical model (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998; Gay & Airasian, 2003; McMillan, 2004; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Creswell, 2005, 2007). What is relevant to the area of data emerges (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and were used to answer the following research questions:

- 1. What are the expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' perceptions of positive and negative leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria?
- 2. To what extent, if any, do the negative leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region impact the return rate of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates?
- 3. To what extent, if any, do the negative leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region pose as barriers to the return rate of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates?

The sample of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates was drawn from three continents; therefore, results may not be generalizeable to all continents of the world. The delimitations utilized by the authors in this study were determined by a desire to better gain an understanding of the perceptions that expatriate Nigerian postgraduates have of the leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region and how these perceptions affect expatriates' return rate. To gain the perspectives of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates, the authors only sought participants in the study who were expatriate Nigerians educated to the graduate level. This use of expatriates in the study did not allow the authors to gain the views of those Nigerian postgraduates located within Nigeria and other continents.

History of Nigeria

The Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (NNBS, 2005, p. 1), CIA World Fact Book (CIA World Fact Book Nigeria, 2008), Nigeria's Periodic Report (2008) and Mwakikagile (2002) startled educational leaders with their findings that Nigeria was "the most populous country in Africa and the 10th most populous in the world," the richest on the African continent, and with an estimated population of ~140 million. The country is located on the western coast of Africa area between 4°16 and 13°53 north latitude and between 2°40 and 14°41 east longitude. Nigeria was one of the former British colonies. It comprises a total land area of ~924,000 km² and a coastline of ~853 km. The country's division into six geopolitical zones, namely: northeast, northwest, north central, southeast, southwest, and south-south, and with 36 states and Abuja, the federal capital territory, seemed to affirm the British leadership approach at the beginning of the country's colonization.

The success or failure of every country's leadership results also goes back to the product of that country's leadership learning from its history of leadership. Nigeria's history of leadership goes back to the Europeans whose familiar list of leadership in West African territories dates back to the 15th and 16th centuries. Within these centuries, they came in contact with an area known as "Oil Rivers Protectorate" through Mungo Park, Hugh Clapperton, and the Lander brothers. As the area came to be known as Nigeria in the 1840s (Okoro, 1966, p. 19), the British divided the area into three leadership territories, namely, the Protectorate of Lagos, the Northern Protectorate, and the Southern Protectorate (Okoro, 1966). In 1912, the three leadership territories became two with Frederick Lugard as the governor of the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria (Okoro, 1966). Then on January 1, 1914 Nigeria served as one leadership territory when the northern and southern protectorates were amalgamated by Britain. Furthermore, trade (including slave trade) has been one of the major objectives of European countries taking over the west coast of Africa. Although the slave trade was stopped in the 19th century, historians of West African history had noted that normal trade, indirect rule, more divisions of territories were going on. These were tightly woven together and seemed to reinforce the main reason why European traders, particularly the British, came to the Oil Rivers in and around the Niger Delta. The British intrusion along the West African coast had widespread implications for Nigerians, affecting changes in the agricultural economy, the discovery of oil, the construction of the Nigerian state, and the colonial experience (Ighodaro, 2005).

History of Niger Delta Region

With a history of resistance laid by Isaac Adaka Boro in the 1960s, Ken Saro Wiwa in the 1990s, Asari Dokubo in the 2000s, and others, a previously neglected area of study – educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria – began to take shape, and questions about the leadership qualities were asked. Even with this history, however, research focused on educational leaders in the universities was as scarce as the educational leaders themselves. In 1963, with four regions in Nigeria, the Niger Delta region was located within the eastern and mid-western regions showing the peoples and cultures of the region (Appendix). Certainly, the Niger Delta is comprised predominantly of farmers, fishermen, and traders. According to Ighodaro (2005),

The major foodstuffs cultivated in the Niger Delta include (1) Root and tuber crops (like cassava, yam, cocoa yam, and sweet potato; (2) cereal grain types of foodstuff (including maize and rice, legumes such as cowpeas, and groundnuts; (3) fruit and vegetables (including plantain, bananas, oranges, melon, pineapples, mango, guava, cashew, paw-paw, local pear, pumpkin, bitter leaf, etc.; (4) edible oils (such as palm oils and groundnut oils); and (5) seafood like fish, shrimp, crayfish, periwinkles, oysters, and crabs (p. 77).

By 1967, with the creation of 12 states in Nigeria, the region comprised Mid-west and Rivers State. By 1997, with the current 36 federal states, the Niger Delta region covered an area of 70,000 km, consisting of the nine states of Rivers, Delta, Abia, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Akwa-Ibom, Ondo,

Imo, and Edo, and has an estimated population of about nine million. The region consists of the majority of the southern ethnic minorities (such as the Ijaw, Urhobo, Ogoni, Ilajae, and Itsekiri) and it is where Nigeria derives the crude petroleum oil, which is the country's economic lifeline. (Adetoun, 2005, p. 47). After approximately 55 years of crude oil discovery in the Niger Delta region, it is only during the last 25 years that one finds reference directed specifically at Nigeria's leadership failure (Achebe, 1984, p. 1).

As Nigerians educated to the graduate level increasingly begin to have access to leadership studies in countries outside Nigeria, it became more evident that little or no literature had expatriates' perceptions of leadership qualities in the universities in the Niger Delta region. And with an increase in the number of expatriates from the Niger Delta region, one is left with obvious questions: Why are there no leadership studies with expatriate Nigerian postgraduate participants from the Niger Delta region? What part does lack of leadership perceptions from postgraduates from Niger Delta region play? Is lack of voice an experience of the Niger Delta postgraduates?

The Development of Universities in the Niger Delta

Many educational leaders maintain that the development of universities in Nigeria cannot be discussed without reference to the mission schools (Francis et al., 1998). Islamic, traditional, and indigenous educational influences (Chukwu, 1980) are another way of indicating what leadership roles mission schools played. As the development of universities in Nigeria goes back as early as the 1860s, it is important to note that the small but articulate highly educated elite in British West Africa had established some form of university system to serve West Africans (Beckett & O'Connell, 1978). The early education in Nigeria then attached importance to collective and social development (Moumouni, 1968), and the development of the child's latent physical skills (Cohen, 1967). Whereas the period from 1930s to the 1950s was a period when higher education was being initiated in Nigeria, Chukwu (1980) maintained that the late 1950s and early 1960s was the period that could be coined as the "Era of Self-Determination in Nigerian Education."

There were challenges facing Nigeria as a country. These ranged from intensified political activities, working to gain independence from Britain, grooming of Nigerians under the leadership of Europeans through Departmental Training Programs, increasing numbers of students from the western, mid-western, and eastern regions trained abroad to Nigeria existing as a postwar phenomenon (Fafunwa, 1974; Beckett & O'Connell, 1978, p. 10). These were the challenges that were also at the center of the three major educational influences in the development of universities in Nigeria, namely, Christianity, Islamic, and traditional. By the 1980s, Nigerian universities were classified into first, second, and third generations (Akomas, 2006) as shown in Table 1.

Nigerian institutions, classified as first generation universities, were established in the 1960s, well staffed, charged with producing scholars, mandated to produce people equipped with various skills and competencies required for: (a) national development, (b) promotion of the advancement of learning, and (c) transmission of cultural and moral values (Akomas, 2006). Aina (1995) noted that the 1960s was the period when there were no brain-drain issues in Nigeria. The seven institutions classified as second generation universities were established in the 1970s (Akomas, 2006). To ensure democratization of educational opportunities, especially at the university level, the Federal Government established the Joint Admissions and Matriculations Board to conduct university Matriculation Examinations and to control admissions into the universities (Aminu, 1986). Although the final seven institutions classified as third generation universities were established in the 1980s (Akomas, 2006), by 2005 expansion of the universities in Nigeria was extremely rapid (Appendix) when the National University Commission (NUC) gives the total number of universities in Nigeria as 75 under six classifications.

Beckett and O'Connell, (1978) stated, "University education is a highly politicized issue because its significance in determining access to society's

First Generation Established in the 1960s	Second Generation Established in the 1970s	Third generation established in the 1980s
University of Ibadan	University of Benin	University of Abuja
University of Nigeria	University of Jos	Federal University of Owerri
Ahmadu Bello University	University of Calabar	Federal University of Yola
University of Lagos	Bayero University	Federal University of Akure
Obafemi Awolowo	Danfodiyo University	Lagos State University
University		
	University of Ilorin	University of Ado-Ekiti
	University of Port-Harcourt	Ambrose Ali University

Table 1. Classification of Universities in Nigeria.

Source: Akomas (2006, in Gboyega & Atoyebi, 2003 – table created by Akomas with permission).

most strategic posts is universally recognized" (p. 13). According to Olutola (1983), the establishment of universities in Nigeria and the expansion of programs in these universities are based on social and political pressures. Nwagwu (1997) had this to say:

Moreover, the social demand approach to educational planning was emphasized by various governments in Nigeria, both civilian and military, for political and propaganda reasons. Thus, for example, the refusal to charge tuition fees in the universities and the policy of establishing a federal university and a polytechnic or college of education in every state in Nigeria were politically popular but educationally and economically irrational decisions (p. 89).

Most of these sources about the development of universities in Nigeria focus on the characteristics that favor any of the three educational influences. Few studies have fully explored leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities relating to ineffective educational leadership influences. Such knowledge gathered from expatriate Nigerian postgraduates, especially when the development of universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria are considered, can help the three major educational influences in refining the leadership qualities of their educational leaders in the universities.

Summary

A limited number of studies can be applied to how leadership qualities of educational leaders in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria impact the use of acquired leadership skills in Nigerian postgraduate expatriates. In addition, little was known about the expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' perceptions of the leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Some descriptive works on the use of learned leadership skills in the United States (Conroy, 2001; Hopping, 2006) are based on information derived from the leadership training of US Navy officers (Hammond, 2006). Educators have also focused on the management of leadership within higher education (Akomas, 2006).

While quantitative studies addressed leadership qualities of educational leaders in postsecondary institutions using postgraduates rating leadership practices and styles, these studies depended upon the researchers' understanding and assumptions about measured leadership qualities and experiential learning (Kolb, 1984). Significant to the exploration of the phenomenon of perceived leadership qualities in this chapter was the historical understanding of Nigeria as a country and the Niger Delta as a region.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section of the chapter involves the methodology used to answer the research questions that explore perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders. A mixed method of quantitative and qualitative design was used. This part of the study is organized to include seven sections: (1) the selection of participants, (2) instrumentation, (3) data collection, (4) data analysis, (5) results, (6) discussion, and (7) summary.

The Selection of Participants

The purposeful snowballing sampling procedures used for this study included 27 participants, with ages ranging from 18 to 60, who were living in Africa, Europe, and North America. Selection of participants was purposeful sampling, because the researchers intentionally wanted to "learn or understand the central phenomenon" from the selected individuals and sites (Creswell, 2005, p. 596). The strategy of purposeful sampling was to provide theoretical or concept sampling (Strauss, 1987). In purposeful sampling, "the researcher samples individuals or sites because they can help the researcher generate or discover a theory or specific concepts within the theory" (Creswell, 2005, p. 205). By using a theoretical sampling procedure, the participants are selected for what they can contribute to the evolving theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Of the 27 participants who consented to participate in the study, 2 were in Africa, 3 in Europe, and 22 in North America. Twenty-three participants were men, and four were women. The Nigerian records of academic doctorates by discipline and gender listed the number of male graduates to be more than that of females from 2001 to 2005 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2005). Participants were from the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Experiences of leadership qualities of the educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region varied from admission into a single graduate program in one university in Nigeria taught by several teachers to 5-8 years of ongoing graduate studies in different universities outside Nigeria. All participants had been expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. These postgraduates who completed their studies and now live and work abroad, had experienced educational leadership in multiple dimensions by virtue of their current geographic and social positions. Therefore, it was assumed that they were in a unique position to give an assessment of leadership qualities of educational leaders in the Niger Delta region from their perception of other leadership qualities in their continents of residence.

Three continents were chosen from six continents of the world, and this choice was based on the following criteria: (a) the continent's ability to have at least expatriate postgraduates from the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, (b) the degree to which the participants were active in various disciplines. and (c) the continent's representation of several characteristics, including electronic-mail (e-mail) and internet accessibility. English language as major spoken language, accessible phone lines, and affiliation to educational systems. Brain-drain syndrome occurred in Nigeria in the 1980s and showed a marked increase in the 2000s (Akomas, 2006; Oji, 2005). As of 1999, the return rate of Nigerian postgraduates who studied and obtained Ph.D.s in foreign countries was critically disappointing (Pires et al., 1999). In 2005, Nigeria had the highest number of Ph.D.s of all the foreign groups in the United States as West (2005) maintained. The most recent UN Human Development Index ranks Nigeria as the country with one of the highest literacy rates in Africa. However, the country continues to be included in the column with the low-human development. In 2005, many universities in Nigeria experienced inability to produce enough professors and teachers to function as educational leaders (Oji, 2005). These facts, in addition to increasing number of "expatriate" Nigerians residing temporarily or permanently outside Nigeria, and their continued lack of motivation to return to the country cannot be ignored. These expatriates tend to be unheard and frequently became invisible voices on many research studies. These were the rationale for the selection of expatriate Nigerians postgraduates.

Instrumentation

Having identified the significance of acceptance of leadership failure in Nigeria as one of the major ways of responding to effective leadership development, the next step was to develop an instrument for that exploration. Authors decided that a mixed method design through structured e-mail surveys was the most appropriate design for this exploration.

Mixed Methods Design

Qualitative Instrumentation

According to Richie et al. (1997), qualitative methods of inquiry, which often rely on interviews or other means of direct observation to

contextualize phenomena, allow for the exploration of the full experiences of participants from their own points of view and in their own words. Qualitative research methodology offered those personal reflective moments to expatriate Nigerian postgraduates because this method is "a reflexive process operating through every stage" (Hamamersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 24), and reflected an "ongoing process" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 3). Merriam (1998) advocated the use of a qualitative methodology when the researcher desired to investigate a subjective phenomenon in need of interpretation rather than measurement.

Taylor and Bogdan (1998) also maintained that a qualitative research approach is useful when the researcher wishes to observe people in their everyday lives, listen to them talk about what is on their minds, and look at the documents they produce. Issues in educational leadership in the Niger Delta region are multidimensional, complex, and interrelated. Understanding how and why particular leadership qualities were perceived would require understanding of the Niger Delta regional context. Choosing qualitative research methods to study expatriate Nigerian postgraduates helped to generate a theory that was grounded in the data that these postgraduates would provide. Therefore, a grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) method was used.

Because of the use of this theory, an already-developed conceptual framework was not applicable in this context. Furthermore, assumptions or suppositions about the phenomenon, or intent of study, a priori (Perry & Franklin, 2006), were not made because qualitative study seeks "what common understandings have emerged to give meaning to participants' interactions" (Gay & Airasian, 2003, p. 165). According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), qualitative research is, "inquiry that is grounded in the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations, and that these constructions tend to be transitory and situational. The dominant methodology is to discover these meanings and interpretations by studying cases intensively in naturally settings and by subjecting the resulting data to analytic induction" (p. 767).

The grounded theory enabled the researchers to capture personal stories of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates resident from three continents: Africa, Europe, and North America. With this approach the researcher attempted to ensure that, in addition to being grounded in the research literature, the study would reflect the expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' experiences in their own words and from their own phenomenological perspectives (Richie et al., 1997).

Quantitative Instrumentation

Further, as a verification measure, a quantitative methodology approach was also used. Participants were asked six Likert-type, closed-ended questions about leadership qualities of educational leaders that they might have already perceived. This allowed them to provide simple information about these qualities they perceived in their educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The study utilized a quantitative descriptive post-hoc research approach.

Data Collection

A mixed method data collection procedure was utilized by collecting the qualitative and quantitative data at the same time (concurrently). Therefore, the implementation of the design produced triangulation (Creswell, 2003). The first step in the mixed method of data collection included contacting researchers with instruments on leadership qualities of educational leaders. These researchers provided feedback on strengths, weaknesses, omissions, and additional changes. All the initial 40 expatriate Nigerian postgraduates who consented to participate in the study were contacted through e-mail. Initial contact led to other contacts resulting in a snowballing sampling. All participants were provided an explanation of the authors' purpose of the study, and were assured that their answers would be kept confidential.

The study primarily focused on exploring expatriates' perceptions about leadership qualities of educational leaders, their impacts, and barriers posed on acquired leadership skills; therefore, priority was given to a qualitative approach. This is in agreement with Creswell's (2003) recommendation that "priority might be equal, or it might be skewed toward either qualitative or quantitative data. A priority for one type of data or the other depends on the interests of the researcher, the audience for the study (e.g., faculty committee, professional association), and what the investigator seeks to emphasize in the study" (p. 212).

Before data collection began, letter of informed consent was sent to participants through e-mail. The participants provided consent by visiting the specified URL, competing and submitting the online survey. As participants completed and submitted the survey, their results automatically entered into an online Web server database of the ETSU COE. Data were collected on the following about expatriate Nigerian postgraduates: gender, continent of resident, age, and educational background. Participants were provided the space to enter their own e-mail addresses to indicate an interest in reviewing the results of the study. Data were also collected regarding: percentage of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates who strongly either agreed or disagreed on six leadership qualities (i.e., motivation, vision, inspiration, collaboration, trustworthiness, and humility).

Data analysis

The qualitative analysis of data used Strauss and Corbin's (1998) constant comparative data procedures. This method is an inductive data analysis procedure in grounded theory of generating and connecting categories by comparing incidents in the data to other incidents, incidents to categories, and categories to other categories. The overall intent is to "ground" the categories in the data (Creswell, 2005, p. 406). Therefore, using the constant comparative method, responses from participants were compared to each other as they were collected to determine similarities and differences.

The researchers in the study began analysis with open coding, that is, examining words, phrases, and sentences gathered as responses from expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. Creswell (2007) referred to Strauss and Corbin's (1990) description of open coding as that which "fractures the data and allows one to identify some categories, their properties and dimensional locations" (p. 97). By open coding, the researchers identified participants' languages and words used for the description of leadership qualities of educational leaders. Using colors to distinguish different codes and categories also provided the researchers with the opportunity to compare and contrast similarities and differences in these responses for the study's master code list.

Axial coding provided opportunity for the researchers to put the data "back together in new ways" (Creswell, 2007). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), axial coding process was "making connections between a category and its subcategories" (p. 97). The responses were grouped into 15 themes, namely: perceived educational leadership qualities, leading qualities (LQ) of favorite teachers, perceived barriers of LQ, social, economic, ethnic, and environmental leadership barriers in the Niger Delta, perceived impacts of LQ, good and bad educational experiences in the Niger Delta, leadership barriers, expatriates' responses to LQ, good and bad educational experiences outside the Niger Delta, effective and ineffective LQ, impacts of LQ for Nigerian educators, impacts of LQ for expatriates, expatriates' written or verbal responses to LQ, and expatriates' responses in action to LQ.

Finally, selective coding provided four domains that emerged from the categories and themes. Creswell (2007) referred to selective coding as "the integrative process" (p. 290). Strauss and Corbin (1990) observed it as the process of "selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development" (p. 116). The domains were determined for each research question, and were used in the results of the study.

Results of the Study

This chapter intended to explore the understanding of the leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, their impacts, and barriers posed on their acquired leadership skills as perceived by exploring expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. The purpose of this chapter was achieved by exploring expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities. This section of the chapter presents the results of the data analysis, and is arranged for the three stated research questions. Considering the quantitative results, participants were asked six Likert-type, closed-ended questions about leadership qualities of educational leaders that they might have already perceived. This allowed them to provide simple information about these qualities they perceived in their educational leaders in Nigeria. Tables 2 and 3 present the results.

From the qualitative perspective, the grounded theory model for perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, evolving from Strauss and Corbin's (1990) framework and developed from the present study, is present in Fig. 1.

Leading Qualities Related to Leadership Qualities of Educational Leaders

Two types of LQ emerged from the data, which ultimately led to certain perceptions experiences related to leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. These LQ were (a) positive LQ and (b) negative LQ. This domain was used to answer research question one: what are the expatriate Nigerian postgraduates' perceptions of positive and negative leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria? Being encouraging, supportive, inspirational, visionary, strong with integrity,

Participants	Motivation	Vision	Inspiration	Collaboration	Trust	Focus
Ed.D.	D	D	D	D	SD	А
Ph.D.	D	D	D	SD	D	SD
Ph.D.	D	А	D	D	D	D
Ph.D.	А	А	SA	D	А	D
Ph.D.	D	D	А	А	D	А
Ph.D.	D	D	D	D	D	А
Ph.D.	D	D	D	D	D	D
Ph.D.	D	D	D	D	SD	А
Ph.D.	D	D	D	А	D	D
MD	А	D	А	А	D	А
Ph.D.	D	D	D	А	А	А
MA	А	А	А	А	А	А
MA	D	D	D	SD	SD	SD
MA	А	D	А	D	А	А
MA	А	А	А	SA	D	SD
MA	А	А	А	D	А	SD
MA	А	А	А	А	А	А
MA	D	А	А	D	D	D
MA	D	D	А	SD	SD	SD
MA	А	А	А	А	А	А
MA	А	А	D	D	D	D
MA	D	D	SD	SD	D	SD
BA+	А	D	А	А	D	D
BA+	А	А	D	D	А	А
BA+	А	А	А	А	А	А
BA+	А	А	А	А	D	А
BA+	D	D	\mathbf{N}/\mathbf{A}	D	D	А

 Table 2.
 Presence of Identified Leadership Qualities in Nigerian Educational Leaders.

Note: A, agree; D, disagree; SA, strongly agree; SD, strongly disagree; N/A, not available.

learned, devoted, innovative, creative, resilient, motivated, dedicated, and respectful formed the bedrock on which positive leadership qualities of educational leaders were perceived. A doctoral respondent's experiences reflected a number of these LQ: his university teacher showed positive LQ by being "encouraging" and "supportive." A master's degree respondent stated, "A good number of them are very strong on academic integrity of educational system in the region." Another master's degree respondent stated of his teachers, "They are highly educated with capacity for leadership. This education by itself serves as inspiration to both students and faculty to aspire for self development."

Sr. No.	Leadership Qualities	Percentage that Agreed	Percentage that Disagreed
1.	Motivation	48	51
2.	Vision	55	44
3.	Inspiration	50	42
4.	Collaboration	37	44
5.	Trustworthy	33	51
6.	Focus	51	25

Table 3.Presence of Perceived Positive Leadership Qualities of
Educational Leaders.



Fig. 1. Olympian Interpenetrating Model.

The second consists of various negative LQ that had been perceived. Negative LQ ranged from being myopic, autocratic, authoritative, self-centered, arrogant, conceited, pompous, self-imposing, greedy, and dictatorial, to embezzling of the university funds. Describing their university teachers, one doctoral respondent said, "They are myopic," and while another said they were "Autocratic," one other stated, "They are arrogant, conceited, and pompous." The master's degree respondent commented the following about his university teachers after disclosing that they "exhibit little interest" in their teaching: "Greedy. Authoritative. Dictatorial [*sic*]. Lack of moral conscience. Self-imposed image of importance. Driven by a culture of eldership."

Perceived Produced Impacts Resulting from Leading Qualities of Educational Leaders

LQ to which participants perceived in their educational leaders during the years of their graduate level studies resulted in two categories of subjective impacts as described by participants: (a) positive impact on expatriates'

acquired leadership skills and (b) negative impact on expatriates' acquired leadership skills. These categories support Strauss and Corbin's (1990) description that grounded theory presents an assumption that there are "conditions" that affect the core story. This domain was used to answer research question two: to what extent, if any, do the negative leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region impact the return rate of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates? Ability to develop qualities such as hard work, approachable, accessible, promoter of learning, studying abroad, and meeting academic demands was the positive impacts that LQ made on expatriates. The positive impacts were perceived to be "outcomes" that produced changes or that had a positive impact on the feelings of expatriates about the educational leaders in the universities in the universities in the Niger Delta region. A master's degree participant described the positive impact:

Some educational leaders are approachable and accessible to students. However, students are expected to look up to their leaders and contribute less so as not to disrespect their leaders. This cultural norm makes it difficult to truly express oneself and question certain activities.

The second category consists of negative impacts, specifically corruption, lack of innovations, staleness, eroding value systems, lack of foresight, scarce funding, disrespect for students' rights, deprivation, oppression, secret cults, extortion, under-qualified graduates, breeding self-centeredness, hopelessness, intimidation, disinterestedness, studying abroad, and halfbaked graduates. The negative impacts described by the doctoral respondents were similar to the negative impacts described by master's degree respondents. A doctoral degree participant, describing corruption, lack of innovations, and staleness, stated that the negative leadership quality, "brings about corruption especially in the form of buying and selling of grades. Lack of innovation and staleness." A master's degree participant, describing extortion and underqualified graduates, said,

Considering the fact lecturers are also leaders, who are learned and intelligent people, they sometimes extort students by making extra money from the sales of handouts because of lack of textbooks. These handouts are made mandatory without which student may fail the particular course. Thus most of the students depend on the purchase of the handout without studying. Hence students pass through the university without the required skills (knowledge).

Not only did the expatriates in the study experience corruption impacting the educational system in the country, but their overwhelming fear was the impact that corruption was capable of having on their acquired leadership skills should they return to the country.

Perceived Barriers Resulting from Leading Qualities of Educational Leaders

In addition to impacts, there were also the perceived barriers, which were broad, general characteristics that posed as barriers to the acquired leadership skills of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. Perceived barriers included: (a) social leadership barriers, (b) economic leadership barriers, (c) environmental leadership barriers, and (d) ethnic leadership barriers. This domain was used to answer research question three: how do, if any, the negative leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region pose a barrier to the return rate of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates? Social leadership barriers that were particularly posed as influential were those of a social nature related to community and public: repeated strikes, lacking care, diverting finances, poor remuneration, disinterestedness, lacking adherence to the rule of law, lacking to foster learning, family disenchantment, resisting change, mismanagement, and selfishness. One doctoral respondent reflected a public norm that was endemic in the society when he said,

Most educators in Nigeria do not care about leadership quality, rather, they go for what our leaders care about which is "How Much Money in your Account." I will say that it is not their fault but that of our leaders: Governors, Senators, House members and Executive branch.

Economic leadership barriers were those related to cost-effective: corruption, inadequate infrastructure, materialism, poor pay, poor international exposure, poor funding, under funding, cost, poverty level, and government policies. One master's degree respondent referred to poverty level when he stated,

Many students do not have enough motivation due to lack of role models. Again the poverty level of most families has also contributed to the limitation of those students who would have acquired such leadership skills. The scope of education in the Niger Delta in terms of educational materials and technological resources is limited. The lecturers are not well paid and sometimes they are owed for months, thus they lack the motivation to teach or lead.

Environmental leadership barriers were related to life in the universities, such as atmospheric conditions, food chains, and the water cycle. These

included falling quality, lack of properly equipped facilities, and greed. A doctoral participant saw that, "Quality of educational is falling," whereas a bachelor's degree participant, registered as ongoing graduate student, complained of, "lack of properly equipped facilities, national greed." Ethnic leadership barriers were related to institutional cultural heritage, customs, language, and common history. These included dysfunctional technology labs, political appointee, discouraging government, lack of periodicals, lack of personnel, neglect, ethnicity, and the admission process. Using various participants' words: "leaders are political appointees", there is "lack of encouragement from the government", "lack of periodicals", "lack of personnel necessary for motivation is a great barrier", and "neglect of educational institutions and poor wages to lecturers, selection of students based on bribe instead of qualification."

One example each, of social barrier – diverting of finances, economic barrier – poor pay, environment barrier – falling quality, and ethnic barrier – neglect of educational institutions, were parts of almost every public leader, and it was rare that these dynamics were becoming major barriers for expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. When the dynamics were common among public leaders, and no major programs seemed to be initiated to address them expatriates were more likely to seek to leave Nigeria and work at places where initiatives were respected.

Core Story as Bases for Responding and Perceiving Leading Qualities of Educational Leaders

In the presence of the LQ, perceived produced impacts and perceived barriers described above, three overwhelming phenomena led to the development of the core story from expatriate Nigerian postgraduates, choosing most wanted leadership qualities for: (a) doctoral participants, (b) master's degree participants, and (c) other participants. Because participants had experienced educational leaders not only in their home country, but in other countries of their resident, all the most wanted leadership qualities perceived from their favorite teachers were ideally oriented and developmentally focused. The content of the four domains of the perceptions of leadership qualities in the educational leaders is illustrated in Fig. 2.

Perceived leadership qualities in educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria produced perceived impacts and posed barriers to acquired leadership skills of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates.

Core Story

"Leadership Qualities" Trust, Humility, Knowledge, Availability, Patience, Open-mindedness, Love, Listening

Leading Qualities (LQ)

Positive: encouraging, supportive, inspirational, visionary, strong having integrity, learned, devoted, innovative, creative, resilient, motivated, dedicated and respectful. **Negative:** myopic, autocratic, authoritative, self-centered, arrogant, conceited, pompous, self-imposing, greedy, dictatorial, and embezzling.

Perceived Produced Impacts (PPI)

Positive: hard work, academic demand, approachability, accessibility, promoting learning, studying abroad

Negative: strikes, favoritism, corruption, lack of innovations, staleness, eroding value system, lacking foresight, scarce funding, disrespect for students' rights, deprivation, suppression, secret cult, extortion, under-qualified graduates, breeding self-centeredness, hopelessness, intimidation, disinterestedness, sending family abroad, half-baked graduates.

Perceived Barriers (PB)

Social leadership barriers: repeated strikes, lacking care, diverting finances, poor remuneration, disinterestedness, lacking adherence to the rule of law, lacking to foster learning, family disenchantment, resisting change, mismanagement, and selfishness

Economic leadership barriers: corruption, inadequate infrastructure, materialism, poor pay, poor international exposure, poor funding, under funding, cost, poverty level, and government policies

Environmental leadership barriers: lack of innovation, falling quality, poor infrastructure, and greed

Ethnic leadership barriers: lack of creativity, dysfunctional technology labs, lacking foresight, political appointees, discouraging government, lack of periodicals, lack of personnel, neglect, admission format, and ethnicity.

Fig. 2. Contents of a Theoretical Model of Expatriate Nigerian Postgraduates' Perception of Leadership Qualities of Educational Leaders.

Lacking the motivational leadership qualities of educational leaders to return to Nigeria, these expatriates educated to the graduate level developed core stories to keep themselves motivated. These core stories were trust, humility, knowledge, availability, patience, open-mindedness, love, and listening. These core stories perceived by participants in this study were rationales at the basis of their lack of returning desire. By expressing these core values, expatriates reflected on ways of coping with the negative LQ of educational leaders, their impacts and the barriers they posed. Generally, participants stated that leaders should emulate the value in their positions in the world, and in their relationship to others.

DISCUSSION

Although the leadership literature is rich with description of specific leadership theories, this study is distinctive in its exploration of the perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders in the universities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria from the perspectives of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates who actually perceived these leaders. A theoretical model of the leadership qualities of educational leaders of 27 expatriates was constructed.

Positive and negative LQ set the stage for expatriates' perceptions of leadership qualities of educational leaders. In relation to expatriates' perceptions of leadership qualities, an exploration of the impacts and barriers posed helps to put the focus on the return rates of these postgraduates. The impacts of these LQ, which can be attributed to the educational and political climate in the country, explain the increasing rate of return of expatriate Nigerians. In addition, the barriers posed by these qualities may further intensify expatriates' preference for countries outside their home country.

The greater number of male participants in the study as opposed to female participants, which can be attributed to the cultural positioning of males, explains the gender involved in the increasing rate of Nigerian expatriates. As Zagorsek, Jaklic, and Stough (2004) noted about the sub-Saharan region, "Nigerian men reported engaging in all leadership practices much more than Nigerian women" (p. 24). In relation to culture, many cross-cultural studies suggest that culture can influence leadership concepts, styles, and practices (Gerstner & Day, 1994; Hofstede, 2001; House & Aditya, 1997). In addition, the link between what is learned from the perceptions of participants and policy and practice has implications for research with expatriates of various postgraduate programs. Participants described their common experiences of the most important perceived negative leadership qualities as "strikes" in universities and "corruption." It appears that these communalities are largely what impacted the increasing number of "expatriate" Nigerians to temporarily or permanently reside outside Nigeria and posed as barriers to their continued lack of motivation to return to their country. Policy makers should recognize these communalities and understand their perspectives to formulate appropriate strategies to attract expatriates that will best return to work in their region. Obtaining knowledge about expatriates' motivational criteria to return would imply many things: assist regional governments in providing strategic information for local universities, public and private tertiary institutions; help educational institutions enhance their leadership performance (Fisher & Koch, 1996; O'Banion, 1997; Senge, 1990); assist youths, students, graduates, educators, government officeholders, and local, national, and international communities in their educational leadership decision-making processes. Meanwhile, it also implies adding expatriates' voices to the literature and that these voices could effectively disseminate appropriate information to the right audience.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) described core narrative or story as the story thought to be the most generally representative of, or core to, the experiences of the participants as a whole. In this present study, the core story included eight leadership qualities as seen in Fig. 2. With the core story serving as the central construct of the theory, the relationships among the remaining constructs and the core construct were discussed and determined by the researcher, who returned to the original transcripts to determine the fit of each of the constructs to the experiences of every participant (Richie et al., 1997). Although the study did not address the meaning of each of the eight qualities in the participants' core story, it provided an understanding of core values, particularly as they were experienced by expatriates. Finally, the emergent theoretical model of expatriates' perceptions of leadership qualities was the authors' interpretation of 27 participants' constructions of their perceptions. The results of this analysis are unique to the researchers. expatriates, and context of this study. This is frequently the case in qualitative study, and therefore, transferability of this model for expatriates' perceptions of leadership qualities takes place as the reader examines these results in the context of educational leaders of Nigerian university education as well as in the field of comparative and international education.

Summary of the Findings

The majority of the expatriates agreed that inspiration and focus were two leadership qualities perceived to be exhibited by effective leaders in the region. A lack in other qualities created a restlessness resulting from the need for an effective leader. The expatriates also described a range of leadership qualities that created an atmosphere of corruption, such as lack of vision and lack of foresight. These expatriates used such qualities to identify ineffective leaders.

Several barriers, such as inadequate infrastructure, poor pay, broken systems, under funding, poverty, ethnocentricity, wanton looting, government, favoritism, and despotism were identified as perceived barriers in the region. Such perceived barriers could generate strategies for expatriates to defend themselves. Expatriates also cited status quo, control, and authoritarianism as outcomes of poor leadership qualities and felt shamed if leaders were no longer relevant in the technological era yet would not give up control. Poor salaries, political involvement, inadequate facilities, school closures, lack of periodicals, and the poverty level were seen as barriers faced by Nigerian educational leaders. These were considered disrespectful to the profession of education.

"Leadership quality" is a complex phenomenon that can have a tremendous effect on the lives of expatriate Nigerian postgraduates. Perceptions of leadership qualities could provide information on how leadership traits, skills, and styles are shaped by many factors – culture, age, ethnicity, eldership, language, customs, climate, environment, clique, gender, and regionalization. Yet these perceptions are only a part of the story. Leadership quality should be understood as a process involving an individual's examination of self in the context of the past, present, and future. This conceptualization in an expatriate Nigerian postgraduate's life can result in new ways of thinking, of acting in positions of leadership, and in resolving poverty and infrastructure issues in the educational system in the Niger Delta.

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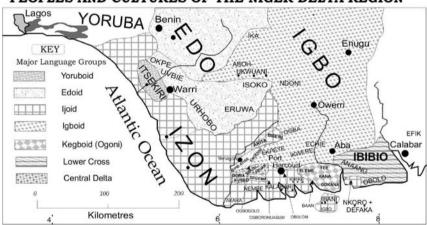
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APPENDIX

Linguistic map of the peoples and cultures of the Niger Delta region as of 2006 (region created from former western, mid-western, and eastern regions).



PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF THE NIGER DELTA REGION

Note: Adapted with permission from Nigeria and African: Some Maps. Retrieved from http://coral.lili.uni-bielefeld.de/langdoc/EGA/Proposals/ EGA-proposal2/sv019026.jpg on January 11, 2008, Copyright © 1997, by the Association of Nigerian Scholars for Dialogue.

ANTIPODEAN PERSPECTIVES ON ENHANCING THE QUALITY OF SCHOOL LEADERSHIP: VIEWS FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Helen Wildy, Simon Clarke and Carol Cardno

INTRODUCTION

Our chapter examines the ways national developments in Australia and New Zealand over the past two decades reflect distinctively antipodean understandings of educational leadership and management. Our interest is twofold. We are concerned about the extent to which these understandings are reflected in strategies designed to enhance the quality of school leadership. We are also concerned about the extent to which these strategies represent progress towards achieving 'sustainable' school leadership. We define sustainable leadership in terms of both building leadership capacity within the organisation and embedding lasting organisational change (Fink & Brayman, 2006; Hargreaves & Fink, 2006; Spillane, 2006). The concept used here implies both models of distributed or shared leadership and leadership succession.

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This chapter contributes to the discussion of variation in theoretical definitions of leadership. We examine how these are mediated by policies and practices in two neighbouring countries – Australia and New Zealand – which share issues of small but multicultural populations each with distinct indigenous subgroups, and parallel centralised government policy shifts in the past 20 years.

The chapter is structured around four themes. The Australian and New Zealand contexts are presented as two cases in the first part of the chapter, specifically their size, location, demographics, governance structures and major policy shifts in recent times. In this section we outline the implications for policy of differences between the single tightly centralised New Zealand education authority and the more fragmented federated structures of Australia. The second theme is the link between changing policy contexts to shifts in thinking about school leadership (Caldwell, Calnin & Cahill, 2003; Cuttance & Hill, 1999; Knight & Lingard, 1997; Townsend, 1996, 2000) and we deal with this in the second section of the chapter. The key argument here is that a range of recent pressures has rendered the job of leading schools - primary, secondary and in certain cases hybrids such as district high schools – not only challenging but on occasions unpalatable to the extent that filling vacancies is a major concern for education authorities. This is followed by the third theme and the heart of the chapter – strategies to enhance school leadership. Here, we outline the processes that have been undertaken in Australia and in New Zealand to improve the quality of school leadership at the national level. In our analysis, we search for evidence that efforts to improve school leadership incorporate the goal of enhancing the sustainability of leadership. The final theme is a cross-case analysis of similarities and differences between Australia and New Zealand in their endeavours to enhance the quality of school leadership. We conclude the chapter with our insights into the likely consequences of the paths chosen by each jurisdiction.

CONTEXT: THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA; THE CASE OF NEW ZEALAND

This first section of the chapter deals with the geographic and demographic contexts of Australia, and then New Zealand.

Australia is a uniquely diverse society. Its population of around 21 million people is mainly of European background and recent immigration has increased its ethnic and cultural diversity, especially from Asia. Australia is often referred to as a 'multicultural' society. About 3 per cent of Australians are of indigenous descent and one-third of these people live in isolated communities. The Australian continent covers a vast area of 7.7 million square kilometres, roughly the size of China or the United States or Europe. Much of this area, however, is extremely arid, determining that most people live near the coast, especially in the southeast of the country. Australian society is also highly urbanised with two-thirds of the population living in cities of more than 100,000 people. Most of the country is sparsely populated and comprises small communities separated by large distances. For example, one state – Western Australia – which constitutes one-third the land mass of the country, has a population of 2 million of whom 1.5 million live in the capital city, Perth. This level of isolation creates major challenges in attracting leaders and teachers to rural/remote areas and providing adequate support to isolated schools (Anderson et al., 2007).

Recent research indicates that distinctive features of Australian culture are reflected in the way leadership is exercised and what is regarded as acceptable and effective practice (Casimir, Waldman, Bartram & Yang, 2006). For example, Casimir and colleagues argue that the egalitarian relationships preferred by Australians are characterised by high levels of trust, consultation and clear lines of communication that promote an awareness of self-worth. Parry and Sarros (1996) found that Australian leaders, in contrast to their American peers, are expected to relate individually with their followers.

Like Australia, New Zealand is a multicultural society but its size and traditions are quite different. Although its colonial, political, economic and social history is similar to its near neighbour, New Zealand is a small nation of only four million people. However, the major difference is that New Zealand was never a penal colony and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between the *tangata whenua* (indigenous) people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Maori and the British Crown in 1840 created a unique partnership. This Treaty partnership is actively recognised in New Zealand's strong bicultural commitment. A special feature is the close link established historically with southwest Pacific nation states resulting in the most populated city, Auckland, having the largest concentration of *pasifika* people in the world.

We now turn to the provision of education in the two countries. Structurally the provision of education in Australia differs markedly from arrangements in New Zealand. Under the Australian Constitution, education has always been a residual constitutional power of six states and two territories. As such, it is the responsibility of states' and territories' Ministers for Education to provide schooling for all young people between the ages of 6 and 15 years (with some state variations in the compulsory leaving age). Education is provided by three sectors within each state and territory: a government sector; a Catholic Education authority and an independent sector. Most non-government schools have some religious affiliation, with approximately two-thirds of non-government school students enrolled in Catholic schools. Overall, state government schools enrol 68 per cent of students, while non-government schools enrol 32 per cent of students. Whereas Australian states and territories are responsible for delivering education within their borders, the Commonwealth or Federal Government is mainly concerned with the development of national policies and strategies for education. For this purpose, the Commonwealth Government provides significant funding for education and administers some national programs.

According to the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA, 2009), there were 9,579 schools in Australia in 2007 of which 6,851 were government and 2,728 were non-government. Primary schools comprised 68 per cent of schools as a whole while 16 per cent were secondary schools. A further 12 per cent were combined primary and secondary schools and 4 per cent were special schools. There were 3,427,016 full-time students attending schools. The proportion of students who attended government schools was 66 per cent, consisting of 70 per cent of primary students and 62 per cent of secondary students.

In 2008, there were 2,194 primary schools and 553 secondary schools in Australia, which had an enrolment of 100 students or less (ABS, 2008). Many of these schools operate in isolated areas with small populations. Australia's isolated schools are classified either as rural or remote. Definitions of these terms vary depending on the context of use. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) suggests that areas with a population of 1,000 people or less are classified as rural. Remoteness is measured on an index that considers distance from major towns and the population density of an area (Stokes, Stafford & Holdsworth, 1999).

The size of Australia poses further challenges. There are eight states and territories in Australia: the Australian Capital Territory (ACT); New South Wales (NSW); the Northern Territory (NT); Queensland (Qld); South Australia (SA); Tasmania (Tas); Victoria (Vic) and Western Australia (WA). Each state and territory has its own government Department of Education as well as a Catholic education authority and an independent sector. Across states and territories, curriculum documents, terminology, school attendance ages and school structures differ.

The most striking difference between Australia and New Zealand is that education is provided by a single New Zealand education system, rather than by 24 authorities, as is the case in Australia. Education is largely publicly funded and compulsory for students aged between 6 and 16 years. New Zealand has 2,647 state schools, attended by almost 85 per cent of all school-aged students, and 110 private schools. Publicly funded, state-owned schools are of many types. Primary schools cater for years 1-8 of schooling. A contributing primary school keeps students for all eight years, but in many cases years 7 and 8 are catered for in a separate intermediate school. Secondary schools usually provide for students from years 9 to 13. Area Schools, commonly located in rural areas, combine primary, intermediate and secondary schooling. Other types of schooling include special schooling (with many of these students being provided with extra support in mainstream schools), home schooling (as an option that must meet specific standards) and correspondence schooling (providing education for students unable to attend school because of remoteness or illness). A further category of schooling is that of Maori medium where teachers use te reo Maori (Maori language) to teach some or all of the curriculum.

Not only are schools diverse in structure; New Zealand schools are also diverse in terms of size, location and the ethnic composition of the teaching and student bodies. This diversity of context has considerable implications in relation to attracting high-quality principals. The diverse nature of New Zealand schools impacts on the appropriate role of school leaders, the challenges they face, the nature of support and development they need to perform their role effectively and also the design of induction programs for new principals (Robinson, Eddy, & Irving, 2006).

The majority of New Zealand primary schools are small, with almost 60 per cent having fewer than 200 students and many of these are rural schools and Maori medium schools. There are also several large primary schools with more than 800 students. Similarly, the size of secondary and area schools varies considerably. Some large urban secondary schools have more than 2,500 students; rural secondary schools may have less than 300 students. One-third of all primary schools in New Zealand are rural schools and 14 per cent of area and secondary schools are rural. A further complication is that nearly 20 per cent of all rural schools are classified as remote, presenting challenges of physical and social isolation (Brooking, 2007). A particular concern in the current context relates to difficulties of recruiting and retaining principals for the remote rural schools. New Zealand does not offer incentives to attract principals to such schools and concerns about the calibre of applicants for these positions include the

fear that only inexperienced and very young teachers are applying, leaving employing boards little choice if they want to fill a position.

In recent years, the ethnic diversity of the student population in New Zealand schools has increased greatly but this diversity is not represented in the ethnic diversity of principals. Brooking (2007) reports that in 2006, 86 per cent of principals were of European origin, 9 per cent were Maori and 5 per cent were of other (unspecified) ethnic origins. Gender imbalance is a further issue related to principal diversity in New Zealand schools. Significant imbalance exists in both the primary and secondary sectors. Given the large numbers of women in the teaching force, the number becoming principals is disproportionate. A discernible trend in this demographic is that over the past half century women were increasingly being appointed to middle and senior leadership positions, and to the principalship, especially in primary schools. Terminology to describe the role of the school leader in New Zealand shifted from Headmaster to Principal in the post-World War II decade. By the 1960s, for example, the Auckland Primary Headmasters' Association had changed its name to the Auckland Primary Principals' Association reflecting not only a new focus to the role but also a less gendered assumption about the principalship. By the late 1980s several co-educational secondary schools were led by women. However, women represent approximately 80 per cent of the teaching workforce but occupy only about 40 per cent of leadership (middle, senior and principal) positions (Brooking, 2007).

The ageing principal workforce is a critical aspect of the current context in New Zealand. Not only are a large number of principals reaching retirement age, but many are choosing to take early retirement (Brooking, 2007). This trend is further complicated by reluctance to apply for a position that is characterised by high workload and stress factors (Hogden & Wylie, 2005), and the absence of formalised succession planning for principals.

In light of the geographic and demographic settings of Australia and New Zealand and their schools, we now examine some recent policy shifts and their implications for school leadership.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

Australia's 24 education authorities have generated a 'complex and interwoven' policy situation (Lingard & Porter, 1997, p. 3). However, this complexity has not constrained the development of national policies relating to Australian schooling. For a decade, national moves relevant to the quality

of school leadership have been pursued according to the rhetoric of collaboration and partnership (Lingard & Porter, 1997) between the Commonwealth Government and the states and territories through MCEETYA. This Council consists of the Commonwealth, state and territory Ministers for Education and its responsibilities cover national coordination and policy development involving all levels and sectors of education.

In common with international trends (Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008) attention devoted to the quality of school leadership in Australia has been galvanised by the discourse of school effectiveness. Lists of characteristics of effective schools and associated quality indicators have been convincing in their endorsement of the importance of leadership (Christie & Lingard, 2001) and its positive impact on student achievement. A particular linkage between leadership and school effectiveness stressed in the Australian context has been the relationship between the quality of educational leadership and the quality of teaching (Ramsey, 2000). Certainly, there is an acceptance that different styles of leadership have a profound influence on the motivation and effectiveness of teachers (Department of Education & Science and Training, 2003). More recently, however, there has been increased interest in the connection between leadership and student learning. Although this connection is highly complex, research suggests that student academic achievement and engagement are influenced by school leaders (McKenzie, Mulford, & Anderson, 2007).

The complexity of exercising school leadership in Australia has increased substantially over recent years, placing the quality of leadership further under the spotlight. Australian states and territories that currently run the public school systems throughout the country have traditionally been highly centralised (Townsend, 1996). Large bureaucratic systems with a high degree of centralised control were designed to promote equitable treatment of staff as well as equitable distribution of resources. However, on the assumption that decentralised systems of education are the best structure for enabling the conditions of school improvement (Townsend, 2000) and contiguous with the international trend towards educational restructuring, these centralised systems have, over the past two decades, devolved responsibilities for educational decision making to the school level. Reforms of this nature have been represented by initiatives such as *Better Schools* in Western Australia, *Schools of the Future* in Victoria, *Leading Schools* in Queensland and *School Renewal* in New South Wales.

The restructuring of state education systems is a shift from the pyramidal structure of traditional bureaucracy to a flatter form of administration with

fewer functions (Knight & Lingard, 1997) such that:

The relationship between the centre (Head Office) and the periphery (districts and schools) has been greatly changed. Curriculum frameworks and testing have been centralised, while implementation and accountability procedures and reporting have been devolved to schools. Funding similarly is moving to a 'one–line budget' system with accountability provisions. That is to say, schools are still told what to do; however, they are now responsible for how they shall do it (pp.39–44).

The shift towards greater autonomy, efficiency and accountability that has characterised school-based management has placed new demands on the principal (Wildy & Louden, 2000). Responsibilities have been introduced not only for finance and staffing but also for school development (Christie & Lingard, 2001). Add to these extra responsibilities the challenges of the changing nature of student learners, the expansion of new technologies, the need for appropriate pedagogy and the additional demands made of teachers in a turbulent educational environment, and the complexity of school leadership is indisputable (ACE, 2001). The principal's job is no longer only about implementing decisions made by the central office (McKenzie et al., 2007). Herein, lies one of the greatest challenges facing leaders of schools: their work is becoming increasingly complex and also increasingly contradictory (Dempster, Freakley & Parry, 2001). On the one hand, there is widespread support for the idea that principals should focus on leading teaching and learning. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that managerial demands continually distract them from this role (Watson, 2007).

Given the increasing complexity and demands of school leadership in Australia, we wonder whether leaders and aspiring leaders are equipped to tackle such a formidable undertaking. Indeed, the nature of the challenges facing schools suggests that principals are unlikely to act single handedly (Christie & Lingard, 2001). Rather, it is now seen as desirable that leadership should be distributed to engender dispersed responsibility for tasks (Crowther, 2002). Increased capacity that comes from a distributed approach to leadership is important if innovation is to become the dominant motif of schooling (Department of Education & Science and Training, 2003).

The perplexing issues surrounding Australian school leadership and the perception that the role of the principal is becoming increasingly demanding and stressful has meant that potential applicants for the principalship are being discouraged from making a commitment (Watson, 2007). An added complication in Australia is that principals are inevitably drawn from teachers (d'Arbon, Duignan, & Duncan, 2002) and shortfalls in numbers of teachers have further diminished the pool of future school leaders. This is a

disconcerting trend, given that the teaching workforce in Australia is also ageing. A high proportion of principals is expected to retire in the next decade (Allen Consulting Group, 2004). The New South Wales Department of Education and Training is indicative of the baby boomer retirement phenomenon and representative of educational systems throughout Australia in facing the spectre of a leadership vacuum in the next 10 years. According to Scott (2003, p. 1), the mean age of secondary principals in the NSW state education authority is 52 and of deputy principals 49, with the mean age of primary principals being 50 and deputy principals 48. Retirement projections indicate that 74 per cent of secondary principals and 59 per cent of primary principals will retire within the decade. Clearly, these demographic circumstances demand that school leadership succession and development cannot be left to chance.

We now examine the New Zealand context in terms of the restructuring of education, changes facing school leaders and the implication for the future of school leadership. New Zealand has also seen radical reform to the administration of education (New Zealand Parliament, 1988) with critical implications for what is viewed as quality school leadership. Yet, as Brooking (2007, p. 3) asserts:

There is also no national system to monitor who becomes a principal, and no national initiative to ensure and supply a pool of *quality* leaders under the self-managing model. The New Zealand context is unique in this respect in being totally unregulated around principal supply and quality.

The educational administration reforms of the late 1980s created a new, larger and more complex role for principals through policy development and implementation that made schools both self-managing and self-governing. Now, two decades later, the challenges of operating a form of systemic centralised decentralisation continues to impact on policy for leadership development. Two other significant policy drivers are linked to both national and international trends. One of these is the recognition that New Zealand is challenged to recruit and retain principals. The other is the clear focus on student outcomes and the use of research to refocus educational leadership activity on the core work of teaching and learning (Cardno, 2007, 2008; Robinson & Timperley, 2007).

School self-management reform was initiated by the New Zealand Education Act (1989) heralding a system of self-managing schools to replace a centralised and highly bureaucratised Department of Education with a lean policy-oriented Ministry of Education. Thus was devolved the locus of governing and managing to schools with bulk funding provided from the

centre. Each state-funded school has a parent-elected board of trustees with 'complete discretion to control the management of the school as it thinks fit' (Section 75, p. 46). The Act specified that 'a school's principal is the board's chief executive in relation to the school's control and management' (Section 76, pp. 46–47). New Zealand schools, besides being self-managed are also self-governed with the board being the employer of all staff.

Up to this point, the role of the principal had not been officially documented or regulated for in any way. The education administration reforms of 1989 were accompanied by many documents proposing principals to be the 'professional leaders' of their schools. Description of this role is contained in the government white paper. Tomorrow's Schools (New Zealand Parliament, 1988) used as a blueprint for reform implementation. Further elaboration of the post-reform role by Ballard and Duncan (1989) described the principal as the 'professional leader' (p. 5). There is little doubt that the notion of 'control and management' of the school introduced in the new legislation was intended to include a focus on leadership (professional and instructional). A decade later, this was confirmed in a background report to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) from the New Zealand Ministry of Education (2007) which states, 'Since 1989 principalship in New Zealand has generally been conceptualised as having both dimensions - educational leadership and management' (p. 18) and 'principals are responsible for both school management and professional leadership' (p. 30).

Both governance and management are central to the conception of educational leadership in New Zealand. Governance (by the board of trustees) and management (by the principal – who is the chief executive of the board) require leadership. Boards are charged with the function of governance leadership – where policy is the leadership tool at the governance level (Carver, 1997; Kilmister, 1993). Management, on the other hand, focuses on policy implementation. Yet, the principal is charged with the task of leading the staff in change and innovation, and assisting the board with developing strategy that advances student achievement. Here principals have a school management role that embraces big-picture and change-oriented leadership. There is little doubt about the significance of the board chairperson and the principal in creating an effective working partnership for governance and management to operate as ideally envisaged. A further factor changing the focus of the board's role in New Zealand is the legislation (New Zealand Government, 2001) mandating schools to plan strategically for, and report on, student achievement. Robinson and Ward (2005) argue that this could ensure that boards have an increased educational focus. Training for boards is catered for by the New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA, 2003). The board–principal partnership features in key national initiatives for the leadership development of principals.

School leadership is impacted by school self-management reform in relation not only to governance and management but also to accountability, appraisal and professional standards. The way accountability was formulated in New Zealand's self-managing school reforms placed teacher appraisal as the key mechanism for evaluating and improving the quality of teaching (Cardno, 1999). From 1995 to 1998, the Ministry of Education issued a series of gazetted policy and procedure statements directing boards of trustees to implement appraisal systems to evaluate and improve teaching. Separate guidelines were promulgated for teacher appraisal and the appraisal of principals together with regulations about teacher and principal professional standards (Piggot-Irvine & Cardno, 2005).

The New Zealand Ministry of Education (2007) classifies the professional standards as a normative conceptualisation of school leadership because this is the only regulatory representation of the role. Established in 1998 (see New Zealand Ministry of Education, 1999), these standards have been incorporated into principals' employment agreements and form the basis of their job description. Boards of trustees are encouraged to use them in performance appraisal of principals. The standards were originally organised into six domains: professional leadership, strategic management, staff management, relationship management, financial and asset management, and statutory and reporting requirements; and were almost identical for primary and secondary principals.

The secondary and area school principal employment agreement currently uses these originally promulgated standards. The primary principal's employment agreement has adopted a different set of standards drawn from a recent leadership development initiative: the Kiwi¹ Leadership for Principals (KLP) model (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008a, 2008b) with four dimensions:

- Culture provide professional leadership that focuses the school culture on enhancing learning and teaching;
- Pedagogy create a learning environment in which there is an expectation that all students will experience success in learning;
- Systems develop and use management systems to support and enhance student learning;

• Partnerships and networks – strengthen communication and relationships to enhance student learning.

(See the website for the New Zealand School Trustees Association: www. nzsta.or.nz)

These changed professional standards for primary school principals highlight the efforts of policy makers and practitioners to shift the focus to leadership. Currently it is unequivocally associated with learning and teaching, focusing on the learning environment and student learning.

ENHANCING SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

The quality of school leadership has become the concern of policy makers, system administrators, practitioners as well as the broader community in both Australia and New Zealand over recent years. This attention has been kindled by the connection made between good leadership and school effectiveness and improvement, the perceived complexity of school leadership in the contemporary schooling environment and a lack of succession planning for sustaining leadership in schools (Clarke, 2006). We now examine how Australia and New Zealand are each tackling the concerns about the quality of school leadership.

Australia has for some years dabbled with a national coordinated approach for soliciting, improving and assuring the quality of school leaders (APPA, ASPA, APCSSA, AHISA, 2003). In the Australian context, contemplating a national coordinated approach to develop the capacity of school leadership represents a significant shift in thinking because there has been a notable absence of national collaboration in preparing, developing and supporting school leaders. Indeed, until very recently, the ways in which interest and capacity in school leadership were enhanced depended entirely on location; there was, in effect, no coherent and comprehensive strategy in place either across the nation as a whole or within a single system (Caldwell, Calnin, & Cahill, 2003). Some states, such as Western Australia and South Australia, have leadership centres. Some educational jurisdictions provide courses related to preparation for leadership, some have induction processes and some have programs of support for specific issues (APPA et al., 2003). Most Australian school authorities have standards and competencies frameworks to inform professional development of principals and, in some cases, for their selection and promotion (Dempster, 2001). A national agenda for promoting the quality of school leadership in Australia

represents a break with the past derived from a growing sense that traditional arrangements are not preparing, developing and supporting school leaders adequately for the complexity of their roles.

Indeed, problems associated with a fragmented approach to develop capacity in school leadership are easily discernible. According to current disjointed arrangements, school leadership development cannot be based on any consensus about what it means to be a school leader. There is also a danger that the learning and development of school leaders will be drawn towards system initiatives, priorities and policies, rather than concentrating on what practising professionals require of themselves and their colleagues (Dempster, 2001). In other words, there is a danger that leadership programs will lean towards a focus on system priorities rather than a people focus that promotes professional sustenance (Dempster, 2001).

Furthermore, there is a strong possibility that such programs might not discriminate sufficiently between participants on the basis of contexts, prior knowledge and skills, and readiness to undertake further learning (Ramsey, 2000). Significantly, programs designed to prepare, or enhance, the skills of leaders of small schools in rural and remote settings require particular consideration (Mohr, 2000).

Principals of small schools are mostly in their first appointment, have a double load (that is, they have teaching responsibilities also), are usually professionally and physically isolated and face the challenges of conservatism and sometimes poverty and disadvantage (Clarke & Wildy, 2004) and even crisis (Kilpatrick, Johns, Mulford, Falk, & Prescott, 2002) that occurs in small and isolated communities. These difficulties are compounded when the school is located within an indigenous community (Boston, 1999).

The Australian Commonwealth Government is playing a role in influencing national policy on schooling through the auspices of MCEE-TYA comprising all Education ministers in Australia. The role of MCEETYA has escalated over recent years. In response to the changing economic and social demands of education, MCEETYA signed *The Adelaide Declaration on the National Goals of Schooling for the 21st Century* in April 1999 (which superseded The Hobart Declaration of 1989) for the purposes of:

- further strengthening schools as learning communities where teachers, students and their families work in partnership with business, industry and the wider community;
- enhancing the status and quality of the teaching profession;

- continuing to develop curriculum and related systems of assessment, accreditation and credentialling that promote quality and are nationally recognised and valued;
- increasing public confidence in school education through explicit and defensible standards that guide improvement in students' levels of educational achievement and through which the effectiveness, efficiency and equity of schooling can be measured and evaluated (MCEETYA, 1999).

The Adelaide Declaration represented a resolve by Ministers for Education to promote policies that safeguard the entitlement of all young people to high-quality schooling (Caldwell, 2002). As such, it has provided an important framework within which the Commonwealth level of government in cooperation with states and territories has conceived school improvement initiatives including the development of a national agenda for enhancing quality in school leadership. Indeed, the democratic purposes of schools that are evident in the national goals have significant implications for ways in which school leadership is understood and the ways in which school leaders are developed (Mulford, 2004).

Over the past decade, one of MCEETYA's taskforces was devoted to promoting Teacher Quality and Educational Leadership for achieving the national goals of schooling. Among other things, this taskforce provided advice on the development of professional standards for teachers and principals and for encouraging professional leadership in schooling (MCEETYA, 2001). In 2005, this taskforce evolved into the Improving Teacher and School Leadership Capacity Working Group with a brief to coordinate national collaboration to develop a consistent view of school leadership capabilities, and support the sharing of strategies and programs to develop those capabilities (MCEETYA, 2007a, 2007b).

In December 2008, MCEETYA announced The Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008), acknowledging global changes affecting Australian education. The Melbourne Declaration includes a commitment to the development of a National Curriculum, with an initial focus on four areas of English, Mathematics, History and the Sciences. The two goals enshrined in The Melbourne Declaration are: Australian schooling promotes equity and excellence; all young Australians become successful learners, confident and creative individuals, and active and informed citizens (MCEETYA, 2008). The Melbourne Declaration is accompanied by a four-year Action Plan for the states, territories and the Commonwealth Government to work together to achieve these important national goals. Of particular interest in the context of this chapter is the goal of supporting quality teaching and school leadership.

The past decade has witnessed the Commonwealth Government's increasing commitment to a national agenda. In particular, this has been manifested in its pursuit of a strategy to facilitate national discussions and projects dealing with the process of change and the development of priorities for advancing quality teaching that also embraces considerations of school leadership. This strategy was apparent in the measures included in the Commonwealth Government's initiative, *Teachers for the 21st century: Making the difference* (Department of Education & Training and Youth Affairs, 2000). One key element of this initiative was the promotion of quality leaders. Since 2001, the Commonwealth has supported professional dialogue among principals' peak organisations to explore issues, challenges and opportunities associated with school leadership. The Commonwealth envisaged that the debate generated would promote a commitment to the advancement of an 'excellence in school leadership' agenda incorporating the following goals:

- national commitment for continuing the discussion about a united professional voice;
- a national cooperative activity to facilitate national communication and coordination;
- a common conceptual framework for the development and support of school principals and leaders and
- new forms of partnership, alliances, networks to progress the pivotal role of the principal in improving student outcomes (Australian College of Education, 2001).

These goals have been achieved to some extent over the past decade through two important initiatives (Clarke, 2006): the projects of *Principals Australia* (formerly known as The Australian Principals Associations Professional Development Council (APAPDC)); the establishment of a National Institute for Quality Teaching and School Leadership (NIQTSL) later to be known as *Teaching Australia – the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership* (TA).

The national peak organisation, *Principals Australia*, was funded by the Commonwealth to provide professional development for school leaders. This body was driven by government priorities and the availability of funding for this purpose. Nevertheless, *Principals Australia* brought together principals' associations across all education sectors to represent a powerful voice in the advocacy of school leadership throughout the nation.

Certainly, the conversation about school leadership development that was generated within this forum, as well as some promising approaches and practices resulting from the initiative, demonstrate the value of collaborative activity at the national level (Clarke, 2006).

A promising approach in the national conversation about school leadership has been the Leaders Lead project. The Principals Australia website (Principals Australia, 2009) describes how the first phase of this project, Leaders lead: Strengthening the Australian school, began in 2001–02 and comprised a program of national and state/territory seminars and workshops that focused on what it means to be a school leader. This process brought together school leaders from throughout Australia as well as from across the sectors and provided an opportunity to tackle the 'big picture' issues that individual education systems and sectors are thought to neglect. The quality leadership discourse, therefore, began to move beyond familiarisation with operational issues to a consideration of the complexity of school leadership (APAPDC, 2002). This is evidence, perhaps, for the view that leadership development programs benefit from a balance between a system-focused approach of promoting functional knowledge and skills to carry out everyday tasks and a people-focused approach that draws on individual and collective experience of people in their day-to-day experience in education (Dempster, 2001). Achieving this balance between developing capability and competency aspects to leading and managing a school is considered to be a significant challenge in the Australian quest to prepare and support school leaders more effectively (McKenzie et al., 2007).

The first phase of the *Leaders Lead* project was regarded as an exercise in harnessing the voice of school leaders from different contexts to begin to conceptualise a nationally agreed view of what contemporary school leadership entails for Australia. Coherence emerged around themes such as developing a shared vision for the school, making hard decisions, clarity and courage in initiating, enabling and sustaining change, and capacity to sustain the role (APAPDC, 2002).

These emerging themes characterising quality leadership were integrated into the APAPDC Educational Leadership Model developed in response to the concerns generated in the first phase of the project. The model identified four domains of educational leadership (curriculum and pedagogy, organisational leadership and management, political and community leadership, cultural and wise leadership) and associated competencies. It was used as the focus of the second phase of the project *Succession planning: Building leadership capacity for Australian schools*. The model represented a change in thinking about educational leadership in two main respects. First, the model sharpened the focus from the individual school principal to what schools as a whole need from educational leadership. Implicit here is the notion that leadership development is not preoccupied with positional authority, 'opening the way for the principalship to be redefined and restructured' (APAPDC, 2002, p. 1). Second, the model positions students' learning and development as the main object of school leadership. Hence, the model reflects a shift from a managerial understanding of leadership to one that is more visionary and collegial and which focuses on the centrality of student learning.

The shift in thinking about school leadership was apparent in the second phase of the *Leaders Lead* project conducted in 2002–03, *Succession planning: Building leadership capacity for Australian schools* (Principals Australia, 2009). This phase of the project aimed to recognise the importance of maintaining quality leadership in schools by developing a framework for succession planning and a practical tool that can support principals and leadership teams in building leadership capacity in their schools. To this end, a professional development resource, *Learn, Lead, Succeed*, was developed for principals, leadership teams and aspirant leaders to use in their schools. The framework consists of five propositions:

- Leadership starts from within;
- Leadership is about influencing others;
- Leadership develops a rich learning environment;
- Leadership builds professionalism and management capability;
- Leadership inspires leadership actions and aspirations in others (APAPDC, 2007).

These propositions were designed to facilitate a deep knowledge of the components of sustainable school leadership. The framework is grounded in understandings of well-being of the individual, incorporating both individual and organisational leadership. Implicit in the framework is the nexus between the professional, interpersonal and personal demands of leadership and the professional and personal capabilities needed to integrate quality, widespread and sustainable leadership in the school culture (APAPDC, 2007).

The *Principals Australia* website (2009) reports that from 2003 to 2005, more than 3,000 school leaders participated in workshops, engaging with the five propositions and the accompanying resource, *Learn Lead, Succeed*. This degree of engagement from leaders across all states and territories, areas,

sectors and schools has engendered a refinement and endorsement of the five propositions and accompanying professional development resources.

The national conversation about school leadership initiated by the Commonwealth through *Principals Australia* has been fruitful. The opportunity for school leaders from across the country and across contexts to converge in this way has resulted in understandings of what is meant by school leadership and helped to sharpen understandings of its complexity, the knowledge, skills and dispositions required to perform it effectively and the ways in which school leaders can best be assisted to develop the kind of leadership capacity that contemporary schools increasingly demand (Clarke, 2006). The experience also affirms the high level of cooperation that exists among professional associations and attests to the value of learning derived from individual and collective experience of practising leaders. In these ways a significant contribution has been made to forging a coordinated national approach to soliciting, improving and assuring the quality of school leaders, as well as identifying key elements of effective leadership development provision.

The provision of coordinated and effective leadership development was a core focus of another significant national initiative for supporting quality in school leadership, namely, the Commonwealth Government's establishment of NIQTSL. The formation of NIQTSL reflected a high level of cooperation among the professional community. The Commonwealth provided an initial \$10 million to set up the Institute that was launched officially in June 2004. NIQTSL was located in the national capital Canberra on the campus of the Australian National University (ANU), a site that was hoped to promote the Institute's intention to forge close links with the university sector.

According to the then Commonwealth Minister for Education, Science and Training, NIQTSL would have four key functions (Nelson, 2004). The first key function would be the development and implementation of nationally agreed teaching and leadership standards for accreditation purposes. The second key function would be the facilitation and coordination of professional development courses as well as providing a quality assurance role for these courses. Thirdly, NIQTSL would initiate and draw on research that supports the core role of providing intellectual leadership for and on behalf of the profession. Fourthly, NIQTSL would provide teachers and school leaders with a national voice and an ability to influence the national education professional agenda.

Since the launch of the interim NIQTSL, the organisation has been established as a permanent body, TA. A further \$20 million was received from the Commonwealth Government to progress its key initiatives. One initiative relevant to our discussion here was the commissioning of the Australian Council for Education Research (ACER) to provide TA with advice on standards for leadership in schools. A process of consultation elicited the views of the profession on the options for a national approach to the development of standards and professional certification for prospective and established principals. It seems, however, that the process generated some disquiet about TA's intentions regarding standards for school leaders (Teaching Australia, 2007) and raised more questions than it has answered; for example, what is meant by school leaders? What purpose would professional standards for school leaders serve? What is the value of a national system and how should standards be developed? (Teaching Australia, 2007). This hesitant response from the profession as a whole meant that no decision has yet been made about the direction a national system of standards would take.

Notwithstanding the slow progress towards articulating a national set of standards for school leadership, the management-consulting firm HayGroup, in conjunction with the University of Melbourne, was commissioned in 2005 to design and deliver a national leadership program entitled *Leading Australia's Schools*. The national scope of this program was a first for Australia. The program was designed and developed in collaboration with national principals' associations and launched in 2006 with the broad aim of improving the knowledge and leadership skills of Australia's school leaders into the future. The program has catered for two cohorts, each year, of 40 early-career principals selected from all sectors, levels of schooling, states and territories. The three-month course consists of pre-work, a five-day residential workshop, a school-based challenge project, a two-day residential recall session and the development of an ongoing learning community. The course is guided by five themes:

- 1. The nature and challenge of leadership;
- 2. Myself as leader;
- 3. Leading a learning organisation;
- 4. Myself as a leader in education;
- 5. Myself as a leader of the future. (Teaching Australia, 2007)

The 2007 evaluation of the *Leading Australia's Schools* program (Atelier Learning Solutions, 2008) affirmed that the design, orientation and content of the program were successful. Perhaps more pertinently in the context of this chapter, the report also suggested that the program was effective in connecting the local contexts in which principals exercise their leadership to a national perspective of issues affecting school leadership.

Having reviewed the progress made across Australia in adopting a national approach to enhancing the quality of school leadership, we now turn to New Zealand to examine recent policies and practices that impact on the enhancement of the quality of school leadership.

Aligned with a shift in focus for school leaders from management towards the learning environment and particularly towards student learning, attention has shifted to the recruitment and retention of quality school leaders. Recruiting and retaining quality principals has become problematic in New Zealand because of the dwindling pool of applicants. Making the principalship an attractive option and improving retention in spite of job intensification are challenges for the New Zealand education system. Opportunities for principals to develop as leaders before and after appointment were scarce, and were at the best ad hoc, until a national approach was launched in 2000. The imperative for centrally supported leadership development was driven by evidence from New Zealand Education Review Office (ERO) reports (1996, 1997, 2000, 2001). For at least five years, evidence was presented for interventions such as leadership qualifications to increase the pool of aspiring principals, leadership induction, as well as ongoing leadership development for experienced principals. Simultaneously, international research (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1998) confirmed that New Zealand was not as advanced as many other Western countries in providing leadership development opportunities. In line with some of the major international initiatives to address leadership capability and increase recruitment and retention of principals, New Zealand embarked on a number of initiatives during the past two decades.

In the following overview of the initiatives, we distinguish informal from formal leadership development. Informal is funded by individuals, often with the support of their school boards. Formal leadership development is designed and funded by the Ministry of Education. We also distinguish programs undertaken before taking up leadership positions from those that are undertaken by school leaders in post.

Pre-employment leadership education is not nationally funded in New Zealand. In contrast to many other countries, appointment to the principalship in New Zealand is not contingent upon any formal educational leadership qualification or training prerequisites. A study of professional leadership in primary schools (ERO, 1996) recommended that the government and the profession take steps to attend to the issue of 'availability of high level tertiary courses or qualifications that focus on the leadership and management of New Zealand primary schools' (p. 30). A study of professional leadership in secondary schools concluded that 'the challenge to the profession is to develop in their cadre of aspirants for the position of secondary school principal the knowledge and skills that will provide the highest possible quality of professional leadership' (p. 36). By the end of the last decade there was pressure on the government to establish a regulatory environment to support the appointment of high-quality principals in New Zealand schools (ERO, 2001).

In the event, however, New Zealand did not regulate for pre-employment requirements in relation to specific professional qualifications. Nor have such program fees been subsidised with government funding as recommended. Instead, principals and aspiring principals (sometimes with school support) pay personally to enrol in a range of postgraduate programs to build their knowledge and skills as leaders and managers.

In contrast to unfunded, self-initiated university-based programs undertaken by principals and aspirant principals, the New Zealand Ministry of Education embarked on initiatives that may be loosely termed a *program of leadership development* at the beginning of this decade. With considerable government funding, a unit was established to design this work. These initiatives to support the development of principals and aspiring principals are part of a long-term strategy to build leadership capacity in New Zealand schools.

These initiatives are the Educational Leaders website, First-time Principals Program, Principals' Development Planning Centre (PDPC), Principal Professional Learning Communities (PPLC), Leading and Managing Advisory Support and the pilot of the National Aspiring Principals Program. Each is now described briefly.

The Educational Leaders website (www.educationalleaders.govt.nz) is dedicated to build school leadership capability by providing resources that help school leaders to reflect on the nature of leadership and principalship. School leaders can access news about leadership development, journal articles, current research and national and international sites with relevance to school leadership.

First-time Principals Program is a national induction program for firsttime principals, delivered over the first year of their appointment. The program is underpinned by the HayGroup competency framework outlining the skills, knowledge, attributes and competencies needed by first-time New Zealand school principals to be effective in their position (HayGroup, 2001) and consists of residential courses, online support and mentoring. Although not compulsory, more than 95 per cent of newly appointed principals have participated in this form of development. The program caters for the diversity of the group by 'designing a program which presents key ideas to the whole cohort while maximising individualised, contextspecific learning opportunities' (Robinson, Irving, Eddy & Le Fevre, 2008, p. 158). For example, a tool to assess principals' current capability as leaders of teaching and learning, the Self-Assessment of Leadership of Teaching and Learning (SALTAL), provides opportunities for reflection as the basis for writing an individual learning plan subsequently linked to a mentoring program (Robinson et al., 2006, 2008).

PDPC is a professional development initiative for principals with experience of three or more years. Principals participate in a five-day program offering an opportunity to evaluate their current leadership skills and to develop a plan for leadership improvement. Some funding to implement individual plans is provided. This program has proved popular among primary principals but uptake from secondary principals has been minimal.

PPLC caters for 200 principals in networks of 4 or 5 principals in a high trust, highly supportive, academically influenced and structured environment. Principals are engaged in professional readings, reflection and discussion regarding their complex role. Again, this initiative is little used by principals in the secondary sector but is a popular with primary principals, especially those in the regions.

Leading and Managing Advisory Support provides support to school leaders from curriculum experts attached to New Zealand's universities. Since the mid 1990s, consultants with leadership and management expertise have been employed to work with principals. More than 70 advisors (http:// www.leadspace.govt.nz/leadership/lm-advisers.php) across New Zealand are funded by the Ministry of Education to provide in-depth support and advice to school leaders on leadership practices that improve student-learning outcomes.

The Aspiring Principals Program is a recent national pilot program for aspiring principals, chosen from to applicantions invited from teachers. This program of professional learning was designed to prepare aspirants for principalship in a range of New Zealand schools. The year-long program has been coordinated regionally by the Leadership and Management Advisors.

KLP was developed by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with academics and school leaders. KLP presents a model of leadership that reflects the qualities, knowledge and skills required to lead New Zealand schools from the present to the future. Central to the model is *educational leadership* emphasising the principal's role as a leader of learning. The model is positioned within *school context* to portray the complexities of New Zealand's highly devolved system of self-managed schools and the need

for educational leaders to adapt practices to meet the contextual demands of their schools.

In this section of the chapter we have described the range of national initiatives undertaken by Australian and New Zealand governments with the view to enhancing the quality of school leadership. We now turn to a discussion of the key points of contrast and similarity between the contexts, structures, policies and practices of the two settings to examine the extent to which national developments here represent a distinctly antipodean understanding of educational leadership and management. In particular, we focus on the ways in which these understandings are reflected in strategies designed to enhance the quality of school leadership and whether these strategies represent progress towards achieving 'sustainable' school leadership.

CROSS CASE ANALYSIS

We raise four key issues relating to the understanding of educational leadership in Australian and New Zealand contexts and the provision of quality and sustainable school leadership. The key issues centre on geographical, demographic and structural context; the work of the school leader; the shifting focus of school leadership; national approaches to improving school leadership. We demonstrate the few differences and large number of similarities in the two settings. Taken together, we argue, these constitute a distinctive antipodean approach to educational leadership and management and their enhancement and sustainability 'down under'.

Geographic, Demographic and Structural Contexts

First and most dramatic is the difference in size between Australia and New Zealand. With a land mass of nearly 7.7 million square kilometres, Australia is the sixth largest country in the world. New Zealand, on the other hand, with a land mass of 268,680 square kilometres is 3 per cent of the size of Australia. However, the population of Australia at nearly 21 million in 2008 means that the population density of that country is a mere 2.7 persons per square kilometre while New Zealand has a population density of 15.5 persons per square kilometre.

With similar colonial histories, the two countries have richly diverse populations in addition to their unique indigenous populations. Both claim to be multicultural societies. While New Zealand's non-indigenous population has emanated from South Pacific islands, to a large extent, Australia has been settled by waves of European and Asian immigrants, as well as a robust population of South African and New Zealand immigrants. Perhaps the most distinctive difference between the two countries is the social and economic position of their indigenous populations. In contrast to the vibrant and powerful community of *tangata whenua* (indigenous) people that led to New Zealand's strong bicultural commitment, Australia's indigenous groups have only in recent years been granted land rights, and in some parts of the country their populations have disappeared.

Both Australia and New Zealand share similar demographic profiles. Pertinent to this topic is the projected retirement of large proportions of teachers and school principals within the next decade, as the post-war 'baby boomer' generation moves through its 60s. The imminent mass exodus of senior and experienced staff across both countries is compounded by a relatively flat population growth period over the past few decades. Although the school population boom of the 1960s saw the rapid expansion of the provision of schools and the demand for teachers, not all states and territories have seen steady growth in the school population in recent years. Coupled with a contraction of the rural sector and a concentration of population in desirable coastal urban centres, there is likely to be a serious deficit of both teachers and school principals especially outside of the metropolitan schools within 10 years. Already both Australian and New Zealand education authorities are recording shortfalls in applicants for principalship.

Given the differences in population density, it is not surprising that the structures for providing education in the two nations are also dramatically different. While New Zealand has a single education system to provide primary and secondary education to all its students, Australia has 24 different state- and territory-based educational authorities and one national authority. The provision of schooling is best described as fragmented, with differences between states and territories not only in the ages at which students enter and leave school and in the terminology used for all aspects of schooling but, more importantly, in the curriculum offered to students in different Australian jurisdictions. Not only is the provision of education across the country characterised by significant variation, but the relative influences of the two levels of governance – federal and state/territory – have varied over time with increasing federal influence apparent in recent years (Harman, 1998). New Zealand, on the other hand, has a centralised government that serves its North and South Islands, and a common curriculum.

The Work of the School Leader

The fragmented national educational landscape came about because each of the Australian states and territories operated its own highly centralised education systems. However, over the past two decades each has implemented a series of reforms designed to decentralise their operations. New Zealand, too, underwent similar reforms. Initially schools were given new authority to manage budgets, to make decisions and in some cases to interpret curricula to suit local requirements. New Zealand embraced the shift to self-managing schools with greater enthusiasm than their Australian counterparts, particularly with the establishment of boards of trustees to which the school principal was accountable. In Australian jurisdictions, increasingly policies reflected a recentralising of authority. For example, shifts demand increased accountability at local school level for decisions about staffing, resourcing, goal and strategy setting, formerly made centrally by government educational authorities. The decentralisation-recentralisation dynamic has, not surprisingly, contributed to growing tension in the principal's work.

The challenges facing the leaders of schools are not only increasingly complex but also increasingly contradictory (Dempster et al., 2001) all of which require what Duignan (1997) refers to as 'emotional labour' on the part of the school leader. For example, principals are required to adhere to government priorities while simultaneously taking into account local needs; they are expected to work collaboratively and share authority with staff and school councils or boards of trustees and yet are accountable for the decisions made by others (Louden & Wildy, 1999a, 1999b; Wildy, 1999; Wildy & Louden, 2000; Wildy, Robertson & Louden, 2000). Recent OECD research points to factors affecting education systems worldwide (Pont, Nusche & Hopkins, 2008) in that principals are overburdened and that there are fewer people lining up for the job. School leaders are increasingly challenged by pressures not directly emanating from policy shifts, such as changes in the nature of the student population, the impact of new technologies and their own ageing demographic (ACE, 2001; Allen Consulting Group, 2004; McKenzie, Mulford, & Anderson, 2007; Scott, 2003).

We argue that in challenging times school leaders need to be resilient, personally and professionally, and should know how to build resilience in those with whom they work. Furthermore, in times of rapid and relentless change, leaders need the skills not only to initiate change but also to oversee its smooth implementation and, more importantly, to embed change into organisational structures and processes. We argue that these skills require a particular way of approaching their work, which we call a future orientation. In other words, we suggest that if leaders are to be effective in the current and likely future contexts they need to demonstrate sustainable leadership (Hargreaves & Fink, 2006; Pepper & Wildy, 2008). However, the challenges facing school leaders are compounded by the ageing nature of the cohort, the prospect of shortfalls in their teaching complement and uncertainty about the future for them and for their schools. In addition, the focus of their work has been changing.

The Shifting Focus of School Leadership

Under traditional highly centralised arrangements that characterised the Australian and New Zealand educational settings until two decades ago, the principal's work was largely reactive, responding to directives issued centrally. The principal had little discretionary authority and might well have been described as an administrator of centrally imposed and mandated instructions. The policy shifts of the late 1980s and 1990s changed the school principal's role from one of administrator to one of manager. Again, the principal responded to central initiatives but now with increased autonomy and responsibility. More recently in Australia and New Zealand, as elsewhere, the focus has shifted to the leadership of the school principal. In particular the focus has moved to the principal's role in fostering, nurturing and enhancing student learning.

The concept of leadership that is focused on improving learning and teaching has a long history of research and practice (Waters, Marzano & McNulty, 2004; Weber, 1987) and is associated with terms such as educational, instructional, curriculum, pedagogical and academic leadership (Cardno & Collett, 2004). This conception of leadership is closely aligned with researched conceptions of what it means to be an instructional leader (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Southworth, 2004). A similar resonance is evident in the early reform communication of the role to principals (Ballard & Duncan, 1989), which suggested that one of three key functions was the instructional function of leading staff in implementation of programs. In reality, this leadership can be either direct or indirect depending on the school context.

In both Australia and New Zealand, there has been a resurgence of interest in the forms of leadership that are purported to directly or indirectly affect the quality of teaching and learning, and consequently to influence the learning outcomes of students. A recent international report on improving school leadership (Pont et al., 2008) urges policy makers to redefine school leadership 'through an understanding of the practices most likely to improve teaching and learning' (p. 9). White (2008) suggests that several factors have 'prompted school leaders to focus more intently on the pedagogical domain' (p. 17). In the realm of research about educational leadership, the spotlight has been redirected from a focus on school management per se to highlight the leadership of learning (Robinson, 2006, 2007; Robinson, Lloyd & Rowe, 2009).

Old and new conceptions of the leadership of teaching and learning have been brought to bear on a current and significant conceptualisation of educational leadership in the New Zealand context. A recent meta-analysis of leadership effects (Robinson et al., 2009) provides evidence-based direction for stimulating, supporting and sustaining effective educational leadership policy and practice. To influence the quality of student learning, leaders must first influence teachers. In their synthesis of literature about the effective leadership of learning and effective professional development for teachers, Robinson and Timperley (2007) suggest the following specific leadership factors shown to contribute to teacher learning and improved outcomes for students:

- 1. providing educational direction/goal setting;
- 2. ensuring strategic alignment;
- 3. creating a community for improved student success;
- 4. engaging in constructive problem talk; and
- 5. selecting and developing smart tools.

Robinson and colleagues believe that, leaders who impact on teacher learning create opportunities for collaborative activity with teachers. The research suggests that the coconstruction of goals by teachers and those who manage their performance lead to the highest gains for students. Individual goals mesh with schoolwide strategy, which engages the wider community in a commitment to academic improvement and a high degree of accountability for student welfare and achievement. Teachers and leaders develop relationships that enable discussion through honest 'problem talk' and allow problems to be examined and addressed. Leaders have a responsibility to provide conditions that allow productive conversations (Cardno, 2007) to occur in a culture that values honest and trusting relationships between teachers and leaders. Finally, leaders who impact on learning provide teachers with tools and resources for personal skill development (Cardno, 2008) that support a sustained commitment to improve learning outcomes for students. This New Zealand research has influenced current initiatives with views that, although not new, are compelling for both policy makers and practitioners. These views already have and will continue to shape or reshape contemporary conceptions of educational leadership in New Zealand for principals and for leaders of learning at all levels. They have impacted on the descriptions of educational leadership that guide policy and planning, particularly by underpinning the KLP model (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2008a, 2008b) that drives the direction of leadership development in New Zealand.

Within these views of school leadership is the assumption that the scope of leadership is not limited to the role and activities of the principal. Effective principals are skilled sufficiently to delegate aspects of their role to others who are in a position to influence learning and teaching. This is particularly true in the case of larger schools, where the middle managers are both the first line managers and the direct leaders of learning. The notion that forms of distributed leadership (Spillane & Diamond, 2007), such as task distribution or what is commonly known as delegation (Robinson, 2008), could be employed to improve the leadership of learning at all levels is attracting interest in the realms of leadership development. The strength of this interest is compelling the policy makers in New Zealand to now turn their attention to the management and leadership development of middle-level leaders.

National Approaches to Improving School Leadership

Finally we turn to the ways in which education jurisdictions are endeavouring to enhance the quality of school leadership, in terms of both a distributed model and a focus on student learning. In our discussion here we attempt to tease out the uniquely antipodean flavour of these efforts and the extent to which they might be considered to support sustainable leadership.

Unlike New Zealand, Australia has seen little national collaboration around school leadership development. Indeed, the variation in approaches across the country has been startling. Some states have leadership centres; some educational jurisdictions provide for preparation of principals; some have induction programs; some have programs to support specific issues (APPA et al., 2003). Although most Australian school authorities have produced leadership standards frameworks (Dempster, 2001), the current disjointed arrangements mean that school leadership development in Australia is unlikely to be underpinned by a nationally agreed conceptualisation of educational leadership. It is more likely that school leadership development will focus on system imperatives rather than on professional sustenance (Dempster, 2001).

When the Commonwealth Government established the NIQTSL in 2004, the future of enhancing the quality of school leadership appeared promising, especially with the likelihood of close links with the university sector. However, progress over the decade as a whole has been slow, at least on the public face.

TA, which replaced the interim NIQTSL, has been running its *Leading Australia's Schools* program for four years, a program that has been found to be effective in connecting the local contexts in which principals exercise their leadership to a national perspective of issues affecting school leadership. However, this national initiative, although laudable in intent, has little likelihood of meeting the needs of the principals spread across the vast continent of Australia. Its scale is small, providing leadership development opportunities only for early-career principals, and for a mere 80 leaders each year. The prospects of extending this provision to cater for experienced principals and pre-appointment preparation remain speculative.

Overall, preparation for the principalship across Australia is still left largely to chance and even in-post development a matter of learning, serendipitously, the tricks of the trade from colleagues (Wildy & Clarke, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Wildy, Clarke & Slater, 2007). We argue that such an approach can hardly sustain the current leaders of schools, particularly in the challenging circumstances they face. These loose arrangements for preappointment leadership development and in-post support are even less likely to provide an adequate basis for nurturing leaders of learning who can work collaboratively in their schools and communities to provide optimal conditions for students' cognitive, social and emotional nourishment.

Developments in New Zealand appear more straightforward. In response to pressure from internal reviews (ERO, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2001), strategies are in place to redress the lack of principal pre-appointment leadership development. At the beginning of this decade, and with considerable government funding secured for several years, the Ministry of Education embarked on several sequential initiatives that may be loosely termed a *program of leadership development*. These Ministry of Education initiatives provide support and development for principals and aspiring principals and are part of the Ministry's long-term strategy to build leadership capacity in New Zealand schools (Cardno, 2006, 2007; Cardno & Collett, 2004; Cardno & Fitzgerald, 2005).

CONCLUSION

Leadership development has 'suddenly and in some ways quite dramatically, become a major focus of educational systems around the world' (Brundrett & Crawford, 2008, p. 1). A decade ago, few countries other than the United States had paid close attention to the notion of systemic development. Although it may be true that the formalisation of provision for the professional learning of principals is a recent initiative. New Zealand is a small country that has now made a strong policy move towards a national and cohesive program of development for school principals. Although this provision does not mandate for a specialist qualification at higher degree level, it is comprehensive in terms of coverage accorded to the needs of aspiring, newly appointed and experienced principals. Furthermore, it is poised to extend provision to middle-level leaders who are likely to constitute a pool of potential principals. The consolidated program includes a variety of modes of leadership development with a common focus on the primary function of educational leadership, which is the development of the leadership of teaching and learning (Robinson & Timperley, 2007). In 2009, the Ministry of Education is embarking on a comprehensive evaluation of the raft of existing offerings to determine the future direction of a leadership strategy for this nation.

In Australia too, some view this decade as an exciting time for school leadership (Hinton, 2005). Progress towards a national coherent approach for building capacity among school leaders is evident. There has been a discernible shift from a dependence on fragmented practices in the preparation, development and support of school leaders towards some convergence of provision (Clarke, 2006); a convergence that is manifested in the creation of policy and organisational frameworks with the potential to promote a collaborative approach to quality in school leadership. This is an accomplishment in itself within such a vast country that also has a complex federal system of government. Moreover, there is an emerging consensus within the broader education profession about what it means to be a school leader in the contemporary schooling environment and what this understanding engenders for the development of school leaders now and in the future.

The good news is that the national initiatives reported seem to be grounded in sophisticated knowledge and understanding about the nexus among the professional, interpersonal and personal demands of leadership as well as the professional and personal capabilities that are required to exercise effective and sustainable educational leadership. The bad news is that this nexus can only be functional if an appropriate balance is reached between the competencies required of managing a school, the capabilities of leading a school and meeting the needs of the school system (McKenzie et al., 2007). The paradox that remains a formidable challenge in attempts to enhance leadership capacity, at least in Australian schools, is that while many government employers in Australia are enthusiastically advocating educational leadership because of its crucial importance for learning, there is simultaneously reluctance to change the policies requiring school leaders to be preoccupied with managerial responsibilities. In the end, it might well be the case that policy reform is the key to making educational leadership in Australia more effective and sustainable in the future (Watson, 2007).

We believe that the key driver for both policy makers and practitioners should be a concern about what counts as leadership that makes a difference for student learning outcomes. This requires acknowledgement that efforts to improve the quality of school leadership must create results in the form of impact on improving learning outcomes for students. It behoves us then to continue the search for ways to measure this impact and to direct action towards leadership initiatives that can themselves be measured in these terms. This key issue needs to be tackled in a coherent, comprehensive and evidence-driven manner, for progress and subsequent sustainability of quality school leadership in our two antipodean settings.

NOTE

1. 'Kiwi' is the name of a flightless bird native to New Zealand and is used in this context as an adjective instead of New Zealand

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ANALYZING PRINCIPAL INFLUENCE TACTICS FROM A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE: DO PREFERRED INFLUENCE TACTICS AND TARGETED GOALS DIFFER BY NATIONAL CULTURE?

Ibrahim Duyar, Inayet Aydin and Zeki Pehlivan

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this cross-cultural study was to investigate whether the embraced national culture was a distinguishing factor of preferred downward influence tactics and targeted goals by principals of different countries. The participants of the study were the public school principals in Turkey and the United States, two culturally distinct countries. The conceptual framework for the study incorporated the Cultural Dimensions (CDs) of Hofstede and the Profiles of Organizational Influence Strategies (POIS) of Kipnis and Schmidt; two pioneers in their respective fields. The findings of the study supported Hofstede's framework for three of the four dimensions for both countries. By employing a pseudoetic cross-cultural research methodology and a relational causal-comparative research design, the study first tested the reliability and construct validity of POIS (Form S)

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influence tactics scale, both in the Turkish context and in the public education contexts of the two countries. The findings partially supported the applicability of POIS in both countries by yielding a three-factor model for the Turkish context and a four-factor model for the public education context. The multivariate analyses strongly supported literature in regards to the culture-specific nature of leadership influence practices, and it identified national culture as a significantly distinguishing factor of both Turkish and American principals in their preferred influence tactics. Similarly, national culture was also a significantly distinguishing factor of groups in principals' targeted educational goals.

INTRODUCTION

Leadership has been conceptualized as the ability of an individual to motivate and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of an organization (Berson & Sosik, 2007; Furst & Cable, 2008; Northouse, 2007: Schmidt & Yeh, 1992). In the broadest sense, influence is defined as an interactive process in which an agent attempts to convince a target to believe and/or act in certain ways. In management and leadership, influence refers to the behavioral tactics that administrators use to change the attitudes and behaviors of subordinates (downward), peers (lateral), and superiors (upward) to reach organizational and personal goals (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Rao, Hashimato, & Rao, 1997; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl & Chavez, 2002). An effective leader must influence others to carry requests, support proposals, and implement decisions. Organizational effectiveness in large organizations mainly depends on leaders' success in influencing subordinates, peers, and superiors. Downward influence is usually used in gaining employee commitment (Charbonneau, 2004; Yukl, Seiferfert, & Chavez, 2008) and realizing organizational goals (Bass, 1990; Higgins, Judge, & Ferris, 2003; Northouse, 2007). The success of influence attempts depends, to a great extent, on the influence tactics used by the leader (Yukl & Chavez, 2002). Influence tactics define the direction and purpose of influence behavior and provide a framework for those actions. Over the last few decades, a number of researchers have attempted to identify distinct influence tactics and assess their effectiveness.

There is growing evidence in the cross-cultural leadership research that leadership attitudes, values, and behaviors are culture specific and differ across national cultures (Branzei, 2002; Dorfman & House, 2004; Hofstede, 2001; House & Javidan, 2004; Pasa, 2000; Rao et al., 1997; Schwartz, 1994; Smith,

Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996; Smith & Peterson, 2002). Consequently, the types of tactics and their effectiveness may vary considerably by the cultural context in which a leader functions.

Studies have identified exchange, upward appeal, consultation, rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, and ingratiation as the most frequently practiced influence tactics in western countries (e.g., Barbuto & Moss, 2006. Higgins et al., 2003; Kipnis et al., 1980; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl, Kim, & Falbe, 1996). In the light of these findings, a question is in order: Would an influence tactic that results in subordinates' commitment to the organizational goals in the western world necessarily be as effective in countries with different cultural makeup? Few studies have investigated leadership influence tactics from a cross-cultural perspective. As Dorfman (2004) states there is "not much in the way of well grounded research on cross-cultural leadership" (p. 269). Cross-cultural examination of influence tactics in educational leadership is particularly scarce.

The recent burgeoning interest in globalization and international management caused a significant momentum in cross-cultural management and leadership research. Cross-cultural leadership studies in public administration, particularly in educational administration, are still noticeably scarce. While public administration has traditionally transferred private sector management perspectives, the results have been less than effective due to the different nature of public and private sectors. Perhaps the biggest distinction between public and private sector leadership is the realization that the public sector is just that – public – and all the issues, decisions, and deliberations are made in the full view of the public (Guthrie & Schuermann, 2010). While constituencies of private sector are customers, it is the entire public for the public and educational administration. Whereas the purpose of the private enterprise is profit, it is the *common good* for the public sector. Unfortunately, the common good consists of diverse and conflicting demands of general public. While efficiency is the main criteria for private sector, public sector must also maintain equity and adequacy principles (Duyar, McNeal, & Kara, 2006; Smith & Piele, 2006). The task of balancing conflicting principles poses a significant challenge to public administrators in general and educational administrators in particular. For instance, serving students with special needs is not an efficient way of using limited resources. However, the public is responsible for providing with resources for the education of these students at a level where they reach their full potentials under the equity principle (Duyar, 2006). The trend of increased services for equity purposes has coincided with the steady decrease in the efficiency and productivity of public education in the last several decades. In fact, the productivity of American public schools fell by approximately half from 1970 to 2000 (Hoxby, 2004). Similarly, America is losing ground in the international standardized tests as its students continue to score lower than the students of many industrial nations.

In summary, the educational leaders have the most challenging task in efficiently meeting the diverse demands internally while staying competitive globally. Unfortunately, the current cross-cultural leadership literature is far from equipping educational leaders to cope with these issues internally and stay competitive globally.

The current study intended to contribute to the educational research in cross-cultural leadership. Specifically, the study explored whether embraced national culture affects (a) influence tactics practiced and (b) organizational goals targeted by public school principals in Turkey and the United States, two culturally diverse countries. The study aimed to achieve the following four main goals. The *first* goal was to investigate whether Turkey and the United States differ from one another based on embraced CDs of Hofstede's framework. The second goal of the study was to examine whether the POIS, an instrument developed in the private sector, would be applicable in educational administration in Turkey and the United States. Within the scope of this goal, the study methodologically investigated the cross-cultural applicability of a western Anglo-Saxon construct to a Turkish context. Similarly, the study also attempted to examine the applicability of a scale developed for the private sector to educational administration. The *third* goal was to explore whether the principals in Turkey and the United States differ in regards to the tactics they practice to influence teachers. Finally, the *fourth* goal was to examine whether the school principals in Turkey and the United States differ in organizational goals they attempted to achieve.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review is organized in two subsections covering prominent studies in influence tactics and national culture, the two main concepts of the current study.

Influence Tactics

There is little agreement about the best way to classify the influence tactics with respect to primary objectives and underlying causal processes.

Directional classification of influence tactics is widely accepted. The seminal work by Porter, Angle, and Allen (2003) that overviewed the developments in research was organized around three main directions of influence: *downward*, *horizontal*, and *upward* influence tactics. Early studies focused on influence tactics of leaders toward subordinates (downward) (Erez & Rim, 1982; Kipnis et al., 1980). These early studies mainly envision the influence as a one-way process to increase the subordinate performance. Parallel with the progress in understanding leadership in a transformational context, research also started focusing on influence practices between peers (horizontal) and influence tactics toward superiors (upward) (Charbonneau, 2004; Yukl & Chavez, 2002).

Yukl, a prominent scholar in the field, and his associates classified influence tactics according to their primary purpose and time frame. *Proactive tactics* are used in an attempt to influence someone to carry out an immediate request, and they are especially important in situations where the agent has little authority over target persons. *Impression management tactics* are used to create a favorable image and build a better relationship. *Political tactics* are used to influence policy decisions or the allocation of scarce resources (Yukl & Michel, 2006; Yukl & Chavez, 2002).

Once influence tactics and strategies were recognized as critical facets of an organization's social fabric, researchers began the arduous task of developing measures to assess such behaviors. Table 1 presents the three major studies that have played a determining role in the conceptualization

Influence Tactic Scales	Kipnis et al. (1980)	Schriesheim and Hinkin (1990)	Yukl and Falbe (1990), Yukl and Seifert (2002)
Scale 1	Assertiveness	Assertiveness	Pressure
Scale 2	Ingratiation	Ingratiation	Ingratiation
Scale 3	Rationality	Rationality	Rational persuasion
Scale 4	Coalitions	Coalitions	Coalition
Scale 5	Exchange	Exchanges	Exchange
Scale 6	Upward appeals	Upward appeals	Personal appeals
Scale 7	Blocking		Legitimating
Scale 8	Sanctions		Collaboration
Scale 9			Consultation
Scale10			Inspirational appeals
Scale 11			Apprising
Total items	32	18	44

Table 1. Scales of Influence Tactics in Three Influential Studies.

and measurement of influence tactics. The measure of influence provided by Kipnis et al. (1980) represents one of the first full-scale measures designed to capture the totality of upward influence behaviors in organizational settings. These authors analyzed these critical actions to identify distinct influence strategies and tactics. Different from the precedent studies, Kipnis and his colleagues conceptualized influence strategies as the scales of influence tactics. In their conceptual model, each influence strategy comprised tactics representing behavioral acts and incidents.

Kipnis and his colleagues developed an agent self-report questionnaire called the POIS to measure the eight influence tactics. The POIS is one of the most frequently used instruments in international research on managerial influence. It incorporates 32 correlated action items forming seven influence scales: reason, friendliness, assertiveness, sanctions, coalitions, higher authority, and bargaining and exchange. Reason involves relying on data and information by primarily using factual and logical arguments to convince subordinates. Friendliness describes the tactic of influencing someone by causing that person to think well of the influencer. This tactic seeks to create a favorable impression of the influencer so that the target person will be more inclined to do what the influencer wants. Bargaining involves influencing others through negotiation and the exchange of benefits or favors. Assertiveness refers to attempts to influence subordinates by being forceful, or giving the impression of being in charge. Sanctions involve using organizationally derived rewards or punishments. *Coalitions* involve mobilizing others in the firm to support the manager's influence attempts. In using higher authority, administrators rely more on powerful members of the organization to gain subordinate compliance. Higher authority can be used either formally through the chain of command or by asking superiors to informally deal with a subordinate. These seven strategies consist of 33 influence tactics (Kipnis & Schmidt, 1997).

Schriesheim and Hinkin (1990) later conducted a validation study of the POIS using data from respondents who indicated how often they used each type of tactic in upward influence attempts with their boss. Their study found support for six of the proposed tactics (rationality exchange, ingratiation, assertiveness, coalition, and upward appeal), but not for the remaining two tactics (blocking and sanctions). Schriesheim and Hinkin's revised that POIS was tested in subsequent studies of upward influence (Blickle, 2000; Hochwarter, Pearson, Gearld, Perrewe, & Ralston, 2000). While results provided full support in the first study, the second study provided only limited support for the tactic scales. Scale reliabilities were low for some samples, and some of the fit statistics for the confirmatory factor analysis were outside the acceptable range in the second study (Fields, 2002).

Yukl and Falbe (1990) developed the Influence Behavior Ouestionnaire (IBO) by addressing some of the limitations of POIS. Nevertheless, the primary scale structure of POIS was maintained in IBO (Table 1). According to the researchers, self-reports of behavior in POIS are usually not as accurate as ratings of a person's behavior by other people. Unlike the POIS, the IBQ was developed as a target questionnaire. A target rates how often a designated agent uses examples of each proactive tactic in attempts to influence him or her. Consequently, applications of POIS included only peer and upward influence practices. The early version of the IBO included scales for six tactics that are similar to ones in the POIS (i.e., rational persuasion, exchange, ingratiation, pressure, coalition, and upward appeals). The items were newly developed rather than merely revising items from the POIS. In addition, the IBQ included scales to measure four "proactive" tactics based on the leadership and power literature (i.e., consultation, inspirational appeals, personal appeals, and legitimating).

Yukl and Seifert (2002) revised the IBQ that ultimately included 11 proactive tactics. This version of the questionnaire (called the IBQ-R) used the same approach for ordering items as in the earlier IBQ. The order of items was essentially random, and the only constraint was to have each tactic represented equally in the initial, middle, and final parts of the questionnaire. The convergent and discriminant validity, internal consistency reliability, stability of scale scores over time, criterion-related validity for three different criteria (target commitment, target leader-member exchange, and agent effectiveness), and (lack of) bias from respondent characteristics were assessed in a recent study (Yukl et al., 2008). The results provide support for the reliability and validity of the 11 tactic scales in the newest version of the IBQ.

This study adopted the original influence tactic scales developed by Kipnis et al. (1980). The POIS (Form S) was the only appropriate instrument particularly developed to measure downward influence tactics toward subordinates.

Cultural Dimensions

Hofstede (2001) is one of the pioneers who have contributed to our modern day understanding of national culture. He defined culture as the collective programming of the mind – the mental programs or software of the mind. House wright, and Aditya (1997) a contemporary of Hofstede, defined culture as shared values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from the common experiences of members of collectives that are transmitted across generations. House and his colleagues developed the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE), a framework for comparative examination of national cultures and leadership styles (House & Javidan, 2004).

Hofstede's framework identified five primary CDs to assist in differentiating national cultures (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohagy, & Sanders, 1990; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2004). The CDs include power distance index (PDI), individualism (IDV), masculinity (MAS), uncertainty avoidance index (UAI), and longterm orientation (LTO). Power distance index shows the extent to which less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect power to be distributed unequally. It suggests that the followers endorse a society's level of inequality just as much as the leaders. Individualism versus its opposite, collectivism refers to the extent of integration of individuals into groups. On the individualist side, we find societies in which ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him/ herself and his/her immediate family. On the collectivist side, we find societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts, and grandparents), which continue protecting each other in exchange for unquestioned loyalty. *Masculinity* versus its opposite, femininity, refers to the distribution of roles between the genders in the society. Uncertainty avoidance index deals with a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity; it ultimately refers to man's search for truth. It indicates to what extent a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations. Finally, LTO versus short-term orientation is the fifth dimension in Hofstede's national culture framework. Values associated with LTO are thrift and perseverance; values associated with short-term orientation are respect for tradition, fulfilling social obligations, and protecting one's face.

Even though GLOBE provided an in-depth understanding about the interaction of national culture and leadership practices, it focused mainly on leadership styles; that was not quite fitting the purpose of this study. The current study explored the dominant dimensions of Turkish and American cultures by utilizing Hofstede's CDs model. Specifically, the study examined the distinguishing effects of national culture on the preferred influence tactics and targeted educational goals by the school principals in two distinct countries.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical underpinnings of the study included leadership behavior, organizational effectiveness, and cultural effects on principal influence tactics. The study conceives leadership from a transformational perspective in which leaders seek to raise the consciousness of subordinates by appealing to higher ideals and moral values as well as empowering them (Northouse, 2007). According to this view, leadership must also address the followers' sense of self-worth to engage them in true commitment and involvement (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996; Yukl, 2009). The study also acknowledges the importance of cultural factors within the context of national culture in shaping organizational behavior. Thus, the study recognizes the implications of national culture in the selection of influence strategies toward achieving organizational and educational goals. According to this view, both influence tactics of leaders and the goals they attempt to achieve may differ in diverse national cultures.

The conceptual framework of the study incorporated the CDs model of Hofstede (1980) and the POIS of Kipnis and Schmidt (1997). These two perspectives guided the study in exploring the distinguishing effects of national culture on the preferred influence tactics and targeted educational goals by the school principals in two distinct countries (Fig. 1).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section establishes a foundation for the cross-cultural research methodology and the research design adopted by the study in answering the research questions.

Etic versus Emic Methodology to Cross-Cultural Research

Cross-cultural researchers make the *etic* versus *emit* approach distinction in examining construct development and research methods (Laungani, 2007; Rao et al., 1997). The etic and emit concepts are used to raise questions concerning both the extent to which social experience can be represented scientifically and the problem of transferring the application of scientific concepts from one society to another (Pasa, 2000; Peterson & Hunt, 1997). An etic approach assumes that constructs are universal, but manifested differently in various cultures. Differences and commonalities across

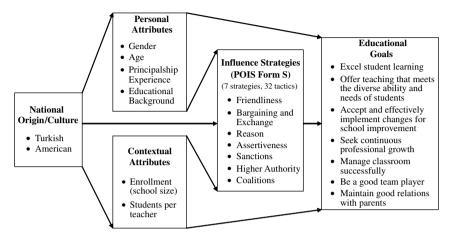


Fig. 1. Conceptual Framework of Preferred Influence Strategies to Realize Educational Goals in a Cross-cultural Environment.

cultures can be identified using functionally equivalent concepts and measures (Peng, Peterson, & Shyi, 1991). An emit approach assumes that constructs and measures are culture-specific and not comparable.

Cross-cultural research on managerial influence has primarily been conducted using constructs and measures developed in the west, and in the United States in particular (e.g., Kipnis et al., 1980; Yukl & Falbe, 1990). In doing so, researchers have excluded information on managerial influence tactics that are unique to other cultures, providing a limited view on influence by managers around the world. The results of Bass (1990) and Dorfman et al. (1997) offered evidence for the validity of both universal and culture-specific perspectives in the study of leadership across cultures. These studies documented that different forms of leadership are more desired in some countries than others.

The trade-off in using either approach is that "... without etics, comparisons lack a frame; without emits, comparisons lack meat" (Berry, 1980, p. 13 cited in Rao et al., 1997). To solve this dilemma, that is, to enable comparisons without making false assumptions of universality or eliminating culture-specific information, cross-cultural psychologists suggested a middle ground where researchers iteratively examine phenomena in different cultures to identify universal and culture-specific constructs (Laungani, 2007). This approach is called *pseudoetic* because researchers begin with a construct that has an emit (i.e., western) culture, and yet attempt to discover

whether the construct is similar in different countries. The current study adopted a pseudoetic approach to identify whether there are universal aspects of managerial influence common to both Turkish and American public school principals. The study also identified unique culture-specific tactics in both countries within the context of preferred influence tactics of public school principals.

Research Design

A descriptive and relational causal-comparative design was adopted to examine the influence strategies practiced by school principals in two culturally different countries. The causal-comparative design was appropriate since there was no manipulation of the independent variables by the researcher; rather they were assumed to be causal, after the fact (Creswell, 2003; Lodico, Spauilding, & Voegtle, 2006). For instance, the researchers did not manipulate the participants' country of origin and therefore culture. The casual-comparative design was used to *compare* groups (countries) representing two national cultures that differ in some characteristics to determine if this *difference* might be related to important variables of interest (Haller & Kleine, 2001). The causal-comparative design was of value in identifying possible causes of observed variations in the behavior patterns of school principals in two countries with distinct national cultures (Frankel & Wallen, 2000) by statistically controlling the extraneous variables (Lodico et al., 2006).

Sampling Procedures and Participants

The intended target populations for this study were the principals of all public schools with 1–8 grades in Turkey and the State of Arkansas of the United States. Cluster random sampling procedures were used to sample principals in schools in both countries. The schools, not the principals, were the unit of analysis in sampling. Geographical location and grade level configuration were the two sampling criteria. The sample size was identified by using the *theoretical sample size table* developed by Anderson (1990). The sizes of the samples were 381 and 220, respectively, for Turkey and the United States, with a 95% confidence interval. The questionnaires in which at least more than half of the items in all three sections completed were included in the analyses. The usable surveys were 154 and 286, respectively, for the United States and Turkey. A total of 440 usable surveys were received, accounting for an overall response rate of 73% for the entire

group. The response rate was slightly higher for Turkey (75%) compared to the United States (70%).

Instrumentation

The current research employed a survey methodology to gather qualitative and quantitative data. As the main data gathering instrument, a questionnaire developed by the research team, included primarily closed response items for the quantitative data and supplementary open-response items for the qualitative data. Two panel-of-experts, one in Turkey and one in the United States, assisted in the development of the questionnaire. The research team crosschecked the accuracy of both Turkish and English versions of the questionnaires.

The questionnaires were organized in three sections. The first section gathered personal and school attribute data. Farmer, Maslyn, Fedor, and Goodman (1997) suggested that individual characteristics and contextual factors shape individual preferences for different influence tactics and goals pursued. Therefore, these data were treated as the control variables in the study. Personal attribute data included gender, age, years of experience, and educational levels of principals. School data consisted of enrollment and student per teacher. Due to the lack of comparable data in Turkey, not the free or reduced lunch but school geographic location data was used as a measure of poverty. The second section of the survey included seven influence tactics, which included 32 items, practiced by the principals toward teachers. This section was adopted from the POIS (Form S) survey. Principals were asked to identify their preferred influence tactics on a four-point scale. The response choices ranged from 1 "never" to 4 "almost always." The last section contained items about educational goals targeted by the principals based on a four-point scale. Similarly, the response choices for the targeted goals ranged from 1 "never" to 4 "almost always." The second and third sections also included an open-ended comments to capture culture-specific data that might not be covered by closed-ended items of the survey.

Validity and reliability of PIOS scales were validated by Kipnis and Schmidt (1997) and partially validated by Schriesheim and Hinkin (1990), and subsequent studies (Blickle, 2000) mainly based on trials in the United States. The Kipnis and Schmidt (1997) study showed that the scales were independent of one another and the scales are reliable. The alpha (α) coefficients of the seven influence scales ranged between 0.61 and 0.71. The current study contributed to the literature by examining the construct validity and reliability of PIOS in the field of education through crosscultural trials in Turkey and the United States.

The questionnaire was administered through KwikSurvey in the United States. KwikSurvey is Web-based survey software that allows creation of professional and secure online surveys. Identical hard copies of mail questionnaires were administered in Turkey.

DATA ANALYSIS

Prior to conducting statistical analyses, the data were examined for assumptions, including normality, homogeneity of variance–covariance matrices, and linearity. Although some of the assumptions were violated, further tests indicated that the violations were not severe. Additional tests (e.g., *Wilks' Lambda* for linearity, *Box's test* for equality of covariance matrices, and *Levene's test* for homogeneity of variances) supported that the assumption violations were not severe. The violations were mainly due to the robustness of multivariate analysis techniques utilized, the skewness of the data, and, particularly, the disproportionate size difference between Turkish and American groups.

The average age of American principals was 48 years (SD = 8.297); 63% of them were women (SD = 0.483). The average principalship experience of this group was 9 years (SD = 6.892). More than three-fourths (77%) of the American principals had a master's degree in educational administration. The 14% held a specialist degree and around 9% had a doctoral degree (SD = 0.635). The average age of Turkish principals was 44 years (SD = 8.371); 91% of them were men (SD = 0.293). The average principalship experience of this group was 7 years (SD = 6.718). While only 12% of the Turkish principals held a master's degree, 71% had bachelor degree and 17% received only a prebachelor degree (SD = 0.576). Less than 1% held a doctoral degree.

The average enrollment of schools (size) in America was 470 students (SD = 249.445) and the average student per teacher was 19 (SD = 4.462). The average enrollment in Turkish schools, on the other hand, was 907 (SD = 706.909) and the average student per teacher was 26 (SD = 9.272).

Principals in both countries practiced some of the strategies rarely or almost never (e.g., sanctions M = 1.25, SD = 0.46, bargaining M = 1.81, SD = 0.65, and higher authority M = 1.35, SD = 0.49). Strikingly, most principals in both countries indicated that they attempted to achieve the identified seven educational goals almost always (e.g., the average ranged

between M = 3.25 and 3.51 on a four-point scale, with all standard deviations (SD) less than 1.00, indicating an agreement among group members on their responses).

FINDINGS

The findings of the study are organized around the four research questions.

Research Question 1: Do Turkey and the United States descriptively differ from one another based on Hofstede's national CDs?

The first question of the study descriptively investigated and compared the national cultural attributes of Turkey and the United States. The CDs framework of Hofstede was used as the criterion for analysis and comparisons. The *national scores* on four CDs (PDI, IDV, MAS, and UAI) provided a criterion for the descriptive analysis and comparisons of cultures of two countries. The world average scores for each CD were also used as criterion in comparisons. The world average scores showed how each country fared in each dimension. The LTO, the fifth CD in the Hofstede's framework, was not included in the analysis due to the lack of Turkish data for this dimension. The research team did not collect individual level data on CDs mainly because of logistical limitations. The national scores of CDs were included in the analysis for the cultures of these two countries. Consequently, only the descriptive analysis of CDs of Turkey and the United States were carried out.

Table 2 displays country CD scores of Turkey and the United States. The PDI score of the United States was considerably lower compared to the world average of 55. This is indicative of a greater equality between societal levels, including government, organizations, and even within families in the United States. This orientation reinforces a cooperative interaction across power levels and creates a more stable cultural environment where the power is equally distributed. The PDI score of Turkey (66), on the other hand, was noticeably higher compared to both the world average and the United States. An examination of highest and lowest national PDI scores of 69 different countries showed that the former east bloc countries such as Slovakia (104) and Russia (93) and some developing countries such as Malaysia (104), Panama (94), and Philippines (93) ranked highest. On the contrary, the developed countries such as Austria (11), Israel (13), and Denmark (18) consistently ranked lowest.

Country	Power Distance Index (PDI)	Individualism (IDV)	Masculinity (MAS)	Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)
Turkey	66	37	45	85
World average	59	44	51	66
United States	40	91	62	46

 Table 2.
 National Culture Dimension Scores of Turkey and the United States.

Source: Compiled from http://www.geert-hofstede.com/index.shtml, retrieved on February 28, 2009.

The United States scored the highest in the IDV dimension among the 69 countries. Austria (90), England (89), Netherlands and Canada (80), and Italy (79) are the other countries that ranked the IDV as their highest CD. The high IDV ranking for the United States indicates a society with a more individualistic attitude and relatively loose bonds with others (Hofstede, 2001). Turkey, on the hand, scored lower on this dimension both compared to the United States and the world average. The low IDV score indicates the presence of a strong collectivist community structure in Turkey.

The United States scored considerably higher in the MAS dimension both compared to Turkey and the world average. This indicates that the United States experiences a higher degree of gender differentiation of roles. The male dominates a significant portion of the societal and power structure (Hofstede, 2001). Turkey, on the other hand, scored noticeably lower than both the United States and the world average.

Finally, the United States scored noticeably low in the UAI compared to both Turkey and the world average. A low ranking in this dimension is indicative of a society that has fewer rules and does not attempt to control all outcomes and results. It also has a greater level of tolerance for a variety of ideas, thoughts, and beliefs. Turkey, on the other hand, ranked the UAI as its highest CD. A high UAI score indicates a presence of a cultural structure where order and rules are valued. This also means a lesser level of tolerance for a variety of ideas, thoughts, and beliefs.

Research Question 2: Is POIS scale (a) as a western construct, applicable to distinctly different Turkish culture and (b) as a construct developed for the private business management, applicable to public education administration?

The second question tested the reliability and construct validity (applicability) of POIS developed by Kipnis and Schmidt (1997). Principals in two countries

were asked to indicate their most frequently used influence tactics by using a four-point Likert scale. The analyses yielded an updated model of influence tactics, which was used in the analyses of the remaining research questions.

Reliability and Construct Validity of the POIS Influence Scale in Turkish Context. To assess the cross-cultural applicability of the seven influence scales and 32 items identified on the POIS influence scale, a reliability test and exploratory factor analysis were conducted. The assumption tests for both techniques revealed that the *determinant* was either 0 or closer to 0 $(d \le 0.0001)$ and, therefore, no solution was possible. A determinant close to 0 might indicate a high collinearity, that is, at least one of the items could be understood as a linear combination of some set of the other items. However, the Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO = 0.869) was greater than 0.70 and Barlett's test of sphericity ($p \le 0.000$) was significant. Therefore, the assumptions were not severely violated.

To assess whether the 32 influence tactics that were summed to create the influence score formed a reliable scale, *Cronbach's alpha* was computed. The α was 0.864, which indicated that the items form an influence scale that has reasonable internal consistency reliability in Turkish culture. A follow-up analysis on collinearity between influence tactics showed that the corrected item–total correlations were moderately high or high (\geq 0.40) for only 12 of the 32 POIS tactics. However, the deletion of none of the items with low corrected item–total correlations noticeably increased the α ; perhaps due to the 0 or close to 0 determinant.

An exploratory factor analysis was performed to assess whether the 32 items actually form 7 tactics as identified in POIS. Exploratory factor analysis is more appropriate when one has the belief that there are latent variables underlying the variables or items one measured (Leech, Barrett, & Morgan, 2005). Exploratory factor analysis helps to determine empirically whether participants' responses to, for instance, *friendliness* items are more similar to each other than to their responses to the *bargaining* items, and so on. A principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted to assess the underlying structure for the 32 items of POIS influence scale. Seven factors were requested, based on the fact that the items were designed to index seven underlying constructs (scales): friendliness, bargaining, reason, assertiveness, sanctions, higher authority, and *collation*. The rotated factor matrix for the seven-factor solution did not yield a simple structure. Further analysis of the scree plot showed that after the first three components, increases in the eigenvalues decline and they were all lower than 1.0.

Principal Influence

The item and factor loadings less than 0.40 were omitted to improve clarity. A total of 29 POIS items with factor loadings over 0.40 were included in the emerged three-factor model. The variances that accounted for the new factors were 17.2, 13.3, and 9.5% for the first, second, and third factors, respectively. The first factor, which seems to index a new influence tactic, was titled *formal pressure*. This factor consisted of 11 items and loaded most strongly on the sanctions and higher authority strategies of POIS. One of the items of this factor had a cross-loading over 0.40 on the third factor. The second factor indexed a new influence tactic titled *logical persuasion*. This factor was composed of 12 items with loadings friendliness, reasoning, and assertiveness tactics of POIS. The third factor indexed a new influence tactic titled *friendly exchange*. This factor included of eight items with loadings friendliness and bargaining tactics of POIS. All three factors accounted for 40.03% of the variance.

Reliability and Construct Validity of the POIS Influence Scale in Public Education. To assess the applicability of a construct developed "in" and "for" private sector "to" public education, the principals in Turkey and the United States were asked to indicate their most frequently practiced influence tactics that were identified in POIS. Reliability and construct validity of POIS influence scale were tested based on the data gathered from two countries with two distinct national cultural orientations.

Similar to the Turkish case, the determinant was 0 or close to 0 for the entire group consisting of both countries, indicating the possibility of a collinearity problem between variables. However, further tests showed that the *Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin* (*KMO* = 0.879) was greater than 0.70 and *Barlett's test of sphericity* ($p \le 0.000$) was significant. It was concluded that the assumptions were not severely violated.

To assess whether the 32 influence tactics that were summed to create the influence score formed a reliable scale, *Cronbach's alpha* was computed. The α was 0.871, which indicated that the items formed an influence scale that has reasonable internal consistency reliability in the public education context. A follow-up analysis on collinearity between influence tactics showed that the corrected item-total correlations were moderately high or high (\geq 0.40) for 19 of the 32 POIS tactics. However, the deletion of none of the items with low corrected item-total correlations noticeably increased the α ; perhaps due to 0 or close to 0 determinant.

An exploratory factor analysis was performed to assess whether the 32 tactic items actually form seven scales as identified in POIS. A principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted to assess the

underlying structure for the 32 items of POIS influence scale. Seven factors were requested, based on the fact that the items were designed to index seven influence scales: *friendliness, bargaining, reason, assertiveness, sanctions, higher authority,* and *collation.* The rotated factor matrix for the seven-factor solution did not yield a simple structure. A further analysis of the scree plot showed that after first four components, increases in the eigenvalues decline and they are all lower than 1.0.

The item and factor loadings less than 0.40 were omitted to improve clarity. A total of 23 POIS tactics with factor loadings over 0.40 included in the emerged four-factor model. The variances accounted for the new factors were 12.0, 13.87, 11.18, and 5.33% for the first, second, third, and fourth factors, respectively. The first factor, which appeared to index a new influence tactic titled *giving the chances*. This factor consisted of eight items and loaded on the bargaining, higher authority, and coalition scales of POIS. One of the items of this factor had a cross-loading over 0.40 on the third factor. The other three factors consistently loaded on only one of the POIS scales and, therefore, their names are kept intact. The second factor indexed *friendliness* and it was composed of seven items with loadings friendliness tactic of POIS. The third factor indexed *assertiveness* scale of POIS and it comprised of six items. All four factors accounted for 42.34% of the variation.

Research Question 3: Do principals in Turkey and the United States differ in regards to the tactics they practice to influence teachers?

A multivariate analysis of covariance (MONCOVA) was conducted to test whether there are differences between Turkish and American principals, on a linear combination of four influence tactics, along with covariates of four personal attributes and two contextual attributes. The independent variable was the *national culture* of principals. The four-factor influence tactics (e.g., *giving the chances, friendliness, assertiveness,* and *reasoning*), which emerged as the outcome of a second question, were treated as the dependent variables. The MANCOVA analysis allowed to control extraneous variables, namely four personal attribute variables (e.g., *gender, age, education level,* and *principalship experience*) and two contextual attribute variables (*enrollment* and *students per teachers*), that were correlated with the dependent variable. The MANCOVA analysis also looked at all dependent variables at once, which thus increased the power of analysis by reducing Type I error. The MANCOVA is affected if variances of the groups to be compared are substantially different, especially if the number of participants in each group differs markedly. Even though *Box's M* test ($p \le 0.00$) indicated the violation of the homogeneity of covariance matrices assumption, *Pillai's trace* test did not support the violation of the assumption severely. *Pillai's trace* test is the best multivariate statistic to use if there is violation of the homogeneity of covariance matrices. The *Pillai's trace* was significant only for two variables (e.g., *Pillai's trace* for age, gender, experience, education, and enrollment were not significant). Furthermore, the presence of a sizable difference between groups ($n_{USA} = 154$ and $n_{TR} = 286$) did not support the violation of the equality of covariance matrices assumption. Last, the *Levene* tests were not significant for any of the variables entered in the analyses, indicating that the variances of these variables are equal across the Turkish and American groups.

A significant difference was found for the *national culture*. The *Wilks'* lambda was $\Lambda = 0.743$, F(4, 429) = 37.10, p = 0.000 and multivariate eta was $\dot{\eta}^2 = 0.51$. A multivariate eta larger than 0.45 indicates a very large effect size, which corresponds to a Cohen's d of $0.81 \ge d \ge 1.00$ (Leech et al., 2005). Similarly, the multivariate analysis yielded a significant difference for student per teacher covariate, Wilks' lambda $\Lambda = 0.977$, F(437, 429) = 2.55, p = 0.039, multivariate *eta* was $\dot{\eta}^2 = 0.15$, a small effect size. Examination of the linear combination of the coefficients in Table 5 indicated that the different variables contributed (independent and/or covariate) to distinguishing the use of each influence tactic. National culture contributed to the use of two of the four influence tactics significantly, with medium to very large effect sizes. The β weights were higher than the significant covariate weights with minus signs. A β weight with minus sign indicates that participants based on national culture scored low on these strategies compared to their other personal and contextual attributes. Three covariates also contributed significantly, but with small β weights and with small effect sizes toward distinguishing groups in the use of influence tactics. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs also supported the parameter estimates given in Table 3.

None of the covariates contributed significantly to a model where the interaction among all independent and covariates added into the model in the further analyses. National culture, however, remained the only significant contributor in distinguishing the groups in regards to the use of two (reasoning and assertiveness) of the four influence strategies. *Wilks' lambda* for national culture was $\Lambda = 0.804$, F(4, 427) = 26.07, p = 0.000,

Influence Tactic	Source	β	р	$\dot{\eta}^2$
Giving the chances	Enrollment	0.001	0.03	0.10
New friendliness	_	-	-	_
New reasoning	Gender	0.472	0.05	0.09
	National origin	-1.237	0.00	0.23
New assertiveness	Student per teacher	-0.050	0.02	0.11
	National origin	-4.480	0.00	0.50

Table 3. Linear Combination of Coefficients Distinguishing the Use of Influence Strategies for Main Effects^a.

^aNonsignificant sources were not shown in the table.

Table 4.	Linear Combination of Coefficients Distinguishing the Use of
	Influence Strategies for Interaction ^a .

Influence Tactic	Source	β	р	$\dot{\eta}^2$
Giving the chances New friendliness	_	_	_	_
New reasoning New assertiveness	National origin National origin	-1.203 -4.480	$\begin{array}{c} 0.00\\ 0.00\end{array}$	0.19 0.43

^aNonsignificant sources were not shown.

multivariate *eta* was $\dot{\eta}^2 = 0.44$, a large effect size that is close to being a very large effect size. Table 4 displays the parameter estimates for this model. Interaction was not significant for any of the influence strategies in either of the two countries.

Research Question 4: Do principals in Turkey and the United States differ in regards to the goals they aim to achieve (by influencing teachers)?

A MONCOVA was conducted to test whether there were differences between Turkish and American principals on a linear combination of the seven educational goals, along with covariates of the four personal attributes and two contextual attributes. The independent variable was the national culture of principals. The seven educational goals identified by the panel of experts were treated as the dependent variables. Four personal attribute variables (e.g., *gender*, *age*, *education level*, and *principalship experience*) and two contextual attribute variables (*enrollment* and *students per teachers*) were added in the models as covariates. Assumption check tests yielded similar results with findings of the third research question. Even though *Box's M* test ($p \le 0.00$) indicated the violation of the homogeneity of covariance matrices assumption, *Pillai's trace* test did not support a severe violation of this assumption. The *Pillai's trace* was significant only one variable entered in the test (e.g., *Pillai's trace* for age, gender, experience, education, and enrollment were not significant). Furthermore, the presence of a sizable difference between groups ($n_{\rm USA} = 154$ and $n_{\rm TR} = 286$) did not support the violation of the equality of covariance matrices assumption. Last, the *Levene* tests were not significant for four of the seven dependent variables, indicating that the variances of these variables are somewhat equal across the Turkish and American groups.

A significant difference was found for *national culture*. The *Wilks' lambda* was $\Lambda = 0.881$, F(7, 426) = 8.19, p = 0.000 and multivariate *eta* was $\dot{\eta}^2 = 0.34$, a medium effect size. None of the covariates in the model was significant. Examination of the linear combination of the coefficients in Table 5 indicated that the different variables contributed (independent and/or covariate) in distinguishing the targeted education goals. National culture was the distinguishing variable in targeting two of the seven identified goals. Two covariates (age and enrollment) also contributed significantly in distinguishing two targeted educational goals. β weights were of significant factors were all with positive signs. The effect sizes ranged from small to medium for the significant factors. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs also supported the parameter estimates given in Table 5.

Targeted Educational Goal	Source	β	р	$\dot{\eta}^2$
Goal 1: Excel student learning	_	_	_	_
Goal 2: Offer teaching that meets the diverse ability & needs of students	Enrollment	0.000	0.04	0.32
Goal 3: Accept and effectively implement changes for school improvement	National origin	0.572	0.00	0.28
Goal 4: Seek continuous professional growth	_	-	-	-
Goal 5: Manage classroom successfully	-	-	-	-
Goal 6: Be a good team player	Age	-0.008	0.05	0.09
	National origin	0.241	0.00	0.14
Goal 7: Maintain good relations with parents	-	-	-	-

Table 5. Linear Combination of Coefficients Distinguishing the Targeted Educational Goal for Main Effects^a.

^aNonsignificant effects were not given.

Targeted Educational Goal	Source	β	р	η^2
Goal 1: Excel student learning	_	_	_	_
Goal 2: Offer teaching that meets the diverse ability & needs of students	Enrollment	0.000	0.04	0.10
Goal 3: Accept and effectively implement changes for school improvement	National origin	0.677	0.00	0.28
Goal 4: Seek continuous professional growth	-	-	-	-
Goal 5: Manage classroom successfully	Gender	0.173	0.05	0.09
	Education	0.160	0.01	0.13
	National Origin	0.225	0.03	0.32
	Interaction (US)	-1.356	0.01	0.14
Goal 6: Be a good team player	Gender	0.282	0.00	0.49
	Experience	0.017	0.00	0.13
Goal 7: Maintain good relations with parents		—	—	-

Table 6. Linear Combination of Coefficients Distinguishing the Targeted Educational Goal for Interaction^a.

^aNonsignificant effects were not given in the table.

None of the covariates contributed significantly for a model where the interaction among all independent and covariates added into the model in further analyses. National culture, however, remained the only significant contributor in distinguishing the groups in regards to the preferred targeted goals. *Wilks' lambda* for national culture was $\Lambda = 0.886$, F(7, 424) = 7.82, p = 0.000, multivariate *eta* was $\eta^2 = 0.34$, a medium effect size. Table 6 displays the parameter estimates for this model. Some of the covariates, along with national culture, were estimated as significant contributors in the model. Only one interaction was a significantly distinguishing factor in targeting the classroom management goal for the American principals.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This empirical study investigated whether embraced national culture was a distinguishing factor in regards to (a) the preferred influence strategies and tactics and (b) the targeted educational goals by public school principals in Turkey and the United States, two culturally diverse countries. By employing a pseudoetic methodology and a relational causal-comparative research design, the study sought answers to four research questions.

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The first question investigated whether Turkey and the United States differ from each other based on Hofstede's CDs. Findings were supportive to the Hofstede's notion that these two countries, indeed, have distinct cultural values on all four dimensions. The findings further supported separate country level studies for Turkey (Ararat, 2005; Kabasakal & Bodur, 2005; Pasa, Kabasakal, & Bodur, 2001). Each country remained on the opposite sides of the spectrum when the dimension scores of Turkey, the United States, and the world averages were ranked and compared. The world average was consistently the midpoint for each of the four dimensions. The comparative ranking of three of the four CDs between the two countries supported Hofstede's framework and literature. For instance, the United States ranked first worldwide in the dimension of IDV. With a more traditional cultural structure, collectivism was more valued in Turkey. In fact, the IDV score of the United States was almost three times higher than the Turkish score in this dimension. Similarly, the United States had relatively lower PDI indicating a low unequal power distribution in society (Hofstede, 2001). Turkey, on the other hand, had a relatively higher score, indicating a relatively unequal power structure in society. Likewise, the uncertainty avoidance index of United States was almost half of Turkey's score in this dimension. The United States scored higher in the MAS dimension than both Turkey and the world average. Consistent with literature. Turkey scored lower than the world average in MAS (Pasa, 2000; Turetgen, Unsal, & Erdem, 2008). This means that Turkey had a more equal role distribution between genders in society. The findings of this study, however, did not support Hofstede's framework for Turkey's cultural position in this dimension. While male principals accounted for only 26% of American principals, 91% of the Turkish principals were male, a clear male dominance in educational administration.

To assess its applicability to a different culture (Turkish) and to educational administration (Turkish and American together), the reliability and construct validity of POIS influence scale were tested. Even though the POIS held fairly high α coefficients for both the Turkish context and the public education context, the data did not support the seven scale structure of POIS. Exploratory factor analyses yielded a three-factor model for Turkish context and a four-factor model for the public education context. These new models explained about 40% of the variation, indicating a moderate strength of the exploratory power of the models. Even though this is a moderate explanation of variation in research, the models still lacked about three-fifths of explanation power.

The new underlying construct structure for Turkey was consistent with literature (Ararat, 2005; Pasa et al., 2001). The study yielded an updated influence scale with reduced number of tactics both for Turkish culture and public education in general. Formal pressure was the most frequently practiced influence tactic by Turkish principals. This finding is consistent with the "task-oriented" tight and assertive management structure of Turkish organizations documented in literature (Pasa et al., 2001). Logical persuasion and friendliness were the complimentary influence tactics, with a balancing role toward the "human and relations aspect" of leadership practices. In contrast, friendliness was the most frequently practiced influence tactic in the public education context, where both groups were considered. This indicated that the American principals distinctly and heavily preferred tactics favoring "human relations"-oriented leadership styles. Task-oriented assertive tactics ranked third in public education context.

The descriptive analyses of the data (Table 1) showed that the *bargaining* and exchange, sanctions, and higher authority influence tactics were rarely practiced by both Turkish and American principals. Consequently, the study provided limited support for the applicability of POIS to public education. This was particularly true for task-focused transactional functions. The analyses of the open-ended responses further questioned the construct validity of POIS and participants asked whether the POIS items were actually "trick negative" questions. This finding further supported the transformational leadership inclinations in education. Through the openresponse feedbacks, respondents offered suggestions for the development of a more valid influence scale in educational administration. "The other" most frequently practiced influence strategies and tactics that were not included in POIS comprised: fostering learning communities, shared decision making, creating a positive culture, recognition of success, and praising achievements, support and capacity building, team building, role modeling, use of research and best practices, respecting teachers, establishing trust, and acknowledging professionalism of teachers. These strategies and tactics should be considered in the development of a more valid influence scale in education.

The multivariate analyses of the data for the third question indicated that, in fact, the Turkish and American principals differ from each other in their preferred influence tactics. Moreover, national culture was a significantly distinguishing factor of Turkish and American principals in their preferred influence tactics (i.e., reasoning and assertiveness), with medium to very large effect sizes. Even though personal and contextual covariates also appeared as distinguishing factors in the *main effects* analyses, their effects disappeared when the *interaction* (effects) of all variables entered into the model. National culture, however, remained a distinguishing factor of Turkish and American principals in their selection of influence strategies. The medium to very large distinguishing effect sizes of national culture provided very strong support to literature, emphasizing the importance of national culture in leadership practices. This finding also has implications for the applicability and construct validity of western leadership constructs in other cultures.

Similarly, the findings of this study indicated that, indeed, Turkish and American principals differ from each other in their targeted educational goals. Moreover, the national culture was a significantly distinguishing factor of Turkish and American principals in their two of the six identified targeted goals. The effects sizes for the selection of goals, however, were comparatively lower than the effect sizes of national culture for the selection of influence strategies. Additionally, personal attributes (age, gender, principalship experience, and educational background) and one contextual attribute (school size) appeared to be more influential in the selection of educational goals compared to their influence on the selection of influence tactics. Based on these findings, researchers and policy makers should consider the effects of national culture in both identifying preferred influence tactic and targeted goals of principals in culturally diverse settings. The findings also encourage researchers and policy makers to consider personal attributes of principals and contextual attributes of schools in the selection of targeted educational goals.

Parallel with economic globalization, cross-cultural studies have mainly focused on managers' influence tactics in private organizations. Few crosscultural studies have been conducted examining the influence tactics of public administrators. Literature is particularly scarce on cross-cultural examination of influence tactics in educational leadership. This study has contributed to the body of knowledge by offering insight on the preferred influence tactics and targeted goals of public school principals in two distinctly diverse cultures.

The study also contributed to the field methodologically by investigating the applicability of a western construct to a conspicuously different Turkish culture. The modified version of the data-gathering instrument (i.e., POIS) allowed to capture culture-specific, as well as universal, influence tactics in the Turkish case. Findings of the study may have implications for other cultures with a similar make-up. Despite its unique contribution to the field, these findings must be considered along with its limitations. Methodologically, for instance, the study was limited to principals' self-reported influence tactics. Target-perceived influence tactics by teachers were not included in the study. Examination of self-reports of influence tactics cannot overrule the possibility of systematic biases. In selfreports, respondents might exaggerate their use of socially desirable influence tactics and understate the use of less acceptable ones. Similarly, the respondents might be biased to select someone whom they were more likely to use socially desirable influence tactics as their target (Pasa, 2000).

Another limitation of the study stemmed from the multifaceted function of leadership in reality. Leadership influence is *not* only limited to downward managerial influence (Yukl & Falbe, 1990). The principals might have exercised three directions of influence tactics, downward, upward, and lateral. However, because of the focus, the study only examined downward influence tactics of principals toward teachers.

Similarly, the context of an organization encompasses both organizational structure and culture. Organizational structures determine the roles, relationships, and rules of engagement for formal relationships (Lampshire, 2008). The study did not attempt to include organizational structure due to the focus and logistical reasons.

Furthermore, the national scores, not the individual scores, on Hofstede's cultural-value dimensions were used as the independent variables in the study. Individual scores of participants may vary and differ from the national scores. Most importantly, empirical comparisons could not be performed due to the lack of individual cultural scores. The descriptive analyses of culture and comparisons of this study might offer limited insight. There is a need for a further research based on individual national culture scores for indebt analyses of diverse national cultures and their effects on leadership practices in education.

Finally, this study was a cross-sectional or one-time study, which examined the phenomenon preferred influence tactics and targeted goals at a certain time. A snapshot study might overlook the trends or changes over time. Further longitudinal studies are needed to examine the trends and changes in each culture as national cultures are also slowly but gradually evolving.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Education plays a crucial role in raising future generations in today's global world. Countries can only stay globally competitive if their education

systems equip future generation with required knowledge and skills. Educational leaders play a key role in bringing their systems to a competitive level. Unfortunately, educational research offers limited insight about being effective leaders in a competitive world. Studies of effective influence strategies particularly are scant in the cross-cultural context. The traditional research transfer from business and management fields to public education has proven to be misleading. Public education offers different dynamics in a more volatile and complicated environment where the education community, policy makers, and social and economic intuitions of the society are actively involved. More educational research is needed to untangle these dynamics and offer valuable insight to becoming effective leaders globally. Such research should study the dynamics and impact of culture on leadership processes beyond a relatively simple admission of leadership processes reflecting the culture in which they are embedded.

Some of the questions for future research would include the following: In an era of teacher leadership, what influence tactics do teachers practice to influence peers and principals? What influence tactics would be more effective to achieve certain goals? Why do some influence tactics fail? What happens when influence tactics fail? What follow-up tactics are used if the initial influence attempts fail? Does use of multiple tactics enhance the chances to achieve goals? What role does social influence play in the adoption of educational innovations? What leadership dispositions are important for a successful influence practice? What contextual factors should be taken into account for a successful influence practice? How can effectiveness of influence tactics be measured in an educational environment? Studies to these questions will help for the development of a sound theory of social influence in educational settings globally.

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VOICES FROM TWO SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC: WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN FINLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

Eva Anneli Adams

ABSTRACT

"Voices from Two Sides of the Atlantic" is a report of a case study that I conducted in 2006 on women's leadership in the United States and Finland. Two participants in each country represent highly accomplished leaders in higher education and one participant in each country is an elected public official. My goal was to determine how the women leaders perceive the social context in which they grew up influenced their leadership; whether a connection exists between socialization, social values, and leadership; how women view themselves as leaders and what values are important for them in their leadership roles. The results demonstrate that national enculturation does not impact leadership execution, but it provides a framework for life, which impacts how the women define their role in society.

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MY RESEARCH INTEREST

Women's leadership is the focus of many leadership studies. Quantitative studies have numerically illustrated that women continue to be marginally represented in high-ranking elected positions. Researchers also investigate effectiveness of women leaders, differences in female–male leadership styles, and follower satisfaction with male and female leaders. These studies give us a limited perspective to the complexity of leadership. For example, they do not help us to understand the dynamics that guide peoples' actions both as social beings and individual operators, and what factors, social or individual, drive peoples' leadership and decision-making processes.

Adamopoulos and Kashima (1999) suggest that culture and the individual are indistinguishable, each constituting the other. Their statement carries a strong implication for leadership research. If we accept the authors' claim that culture and the individual are intricately intertwined, we need to consider how social identity and individual values drive leaders' actions in the interplay of personal versus organizational and societal values. To be sure, cultural expectations vary for women and men in different cultures. Equality, opportunity, achievement, and success are culture-specific terms that pertain to what, when, how, and to what extent a person can pursue them. These values exhibit important contextual variables that directly impact how women perceive their status in society.

By choosing women from two countries with contrasting histories of women's participation in leadership, Finland and the United States, I wanted to give a voice to the participants of my study to describe whether a connection exists between enculturation, social values, and leadership, specifically in how women view themselves as leaders and what values are important for them in their leadership roles. Although data proves women's under-representation in prominent leadership positions in most societies, only during the past two decades have researchers engaged in examining why this is the case. Could answers be found in the social and cultural context of leadership? This is where my research began.

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LEADERSHIP

Leadership occurs within a social context. It is informed by both individual and social behavior, and thus materializes as a connection between culture and psychology. Culture is reformed by the dynamic interplay of individual and social values. In fact, culture is constantly interpreted and created through interactions between individuals and their social surroundings (Misra & Gergen, 1993). Successful transformation of women's access to leadership requires changes in how women perceive their status in society and in how societies support women's emergence to leadership. Wilson (2004) writes that a cultural shift is necessary to enhance women's access to leadership. She contends that culture is crucial to change because it provides role models for the world's power structures. The interconnectedness of individual (self) and cultural (role) values lies at the core of societal change because it enhances individuals' understanding of self in relation to others.

The study of the social context of leadership draws our attention away from the actions of the individual leader to the consideration of the factors that influence and support leadership emergence and the execution of leadership principles. It also allows us to examine socially created expectations for leaders. Socially constructed challenges, such as the perceived notion that gender impacts ability, hinder women's opportunities to pursue leadership. Indeed, Klenke (1996, p. 2) writes, "women really cannot be effective leaders unless they are exceptional by men's standards." Tajfel (1972) discusses how the notion of appropriateness of conduct has direct implications for theories and research in social psychology. His ideas bring important considerations to leadership studies as his theories form a connection between the social system and the individual actor, the leader.

WOMEN IN FINLAND

Nykanen (1995) writes that due to Finland's long history as a poor country, the contribution of both sexes was necessary for survival. This need was elevated during the Second World War when women took on the roles of men and their work. Since then, Finland developed to ranking tenth in the world in life expectancy, education, and income early in the twentieth century (Pietila, 2002). Today, the majority of Finnish women work full time outside the home. Nykanen (p. 1) specifies that this is no longer solely because of economic necessity, but because having one's job and income is regarded as important in terms of independence and personal autonomy and that participation in working life has given power to women.

Nykanen (p. 1) also stresses that Finnish women learned to read and write at the same time as men, because the Lutheran church would not permit illiterates to marry. Consequently, education became one of the basic rights of the Finns, and women's independence and equal status have become primary values of Finnish society. Finnish girls grow up with working mothers and they learn early on that this is acceptable and that women enjoy an equal role in society as contributors to the financial stability of the family. The self-perception of Finnish women does not question women's independence, ability, and right to participate in the society. Nykanen refers to the description of Finnish women in Finnish folklore as "strong, independent and active, and not dominated by men" (p. 1).

Although Finnish women still do not consider themselves equal to men (Pietila, 2002; Setala, 2004), they demonstrate high political participation compared to American women. Finland was the first country in Europe to grant women the right to vote in 1906, and it was also the first country in the world to grant women full political rights, which meant that Finnish women could also run for office. For a brief time in 2001, Finland was the first country to have both a female President and a Prime Minister. Currently, Finland has a female President who was elected for her second term in February 2006. Finland's success as a democratic and equalitarian society is founded on cultural values of equal rights for economic, social, and political citizenship. These values form the premise for Finnish women's approach to ideals of democracy and social justice, as well as their access to economic, cultural, and political life (Pietila, 2002; Setala, 2004).

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Compared to Finland, American women have been engaged in full-time employment for a much shorter period of time, mainly after the Second World War. But the rapidly changing societal landscape now often necessitates women's employment and transforms the social reality for men, women, and children alike. This development changes the dynamics of family life and as an increasing number of American women work outside the family, they also become part of the cause that transforms the society to recognize women's unique and complex roles. For women, the shift also offers opportunities that have been historically limited to them.

Tajfel (1972) discusses the relationship that exists between an individual's free choice for action and what an individual, who is influenced by social norms, rules, and values, can do as a member of society. If we accept Tajfel's perspective that women are both individual actors with a choice and affected by social influences, and we examine women's overall access to leadership, in the United States at least, we can conclude that in order to advance to leadership, women still have to dedicate extra attention to prove their

skills and competencies, as well as break down some societal barriers. The progress is slow.

According to the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP)¹, of the nearly 12,000 people to serve in the US Congress since its founding, only 215 have been women (www.cawp.rutgers.edu/Facts.html, October 24, 2005). In the United States, only 81 of 535 seats in the Congress and 67 of 435 seats in the House of Representatives are occupied by women. Throughout the history of the United States, only 27 women have ever served as state governors (CAWP, 2005). And although the change is gradual, it will impact how women's roles are perceived in society and it will also change how women define themselves as mothers, employees, and leaders (Collins, 2003).

ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Most women's leadership research focuses on only one culture, and researchers have no way to detect any cultural norms that impact how women lead. Moscovici (1972) calls our attention to how real progress in sciences emerges from theoretical confrontation. For him, facts and methods play a less important role. It is for this reason that I looked beyond the familiar, and used a research design that was inspired by European schools of thought. Only limited research has been conducted by comparing women leaders from different countries.

I based my study on the theories of culture, socialization, social identity, and leadership. I treated national culture as the environment, the underlying concept that provides the foundation for other social phenomena, which can be explained by theories, such as Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Moscovici's (1972) theory on social representation, Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, and Gilligan's theory (Gilligan, 1993[1982]) provided a background for women's psychological and moral development. The meaning and impact of national culture was examined by using Hofstede's (2001) theories of dimensions of culture. I used Klenke's (1996) seven essential elements of leadership – integrity, veracity, trust, commitment, morality, shared experiences, and dynamic networks – to identify critical features of leadership. Klenke (p. 10) finds that leaders who embrace these values demonstrate selfdetermination, risk-taking ability, courage, decisiveness, and a strong sense of ethics. This theoretical background formed the outline for all phases of the study.

I conducted the research by using multiple case study methodology. Yin (2003) describes case studies as empirical inquiries that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Two participants from the United States and two from Finland are women with experience in higher education and one woman from the United States and her Finnish counterpart speak for women in public leadership. In each country, one woman is a female scientist, and one has served in an elected administrative leadership role in higher education. All participants are middle-aged women. One of them is African-American and five are white. No religious, political, or sexual preference or affiliation was discussed during the interviews, unless participants brought these topics into discussion.

I met the participants of the study individually, and used an open-ended questionnaire for the interviews. Each interview lasted between one and a half and two hours. Interviews with the Finnish participants were conducted during July 2005 and interviews with the American participants took place during the fall of 2005 and in February of 2006. The interview material was transcribed and the Finnish interview material was translated into English. For data analysis and presentation, I matched the American women with their Finnish counterparts who represent the same profession. As I wanted to help the reader to understand the experiences of these women in their own voices, I reconstructed my meetings with them in the research report by using the interview transcripts and field memorandums that I wrote after each interview. I analyzed the data by using content analysis techniques. The cases represent "the voices of the participants."

All social science methods have to address the issues of construct validity, internal and external validity, and reliability. In this research, I addressed construct validity by developing strict operational measures that I used in all cases. Internal validity was addressed by using pattern-matching techniques to analyze the data and I enhanced external validity by using theory in research design. I examined and analyzed findings by using replication logic. I developed a strict research protocol that allows any researcher to replicate my study to improve reliability. In addition, I used triangulation – public documents, books, and articles on these women – to support the findings.

There are three possible rival explanations that are related to the study. The first one is related to the purposeful selection of participants. All of them are prominent women with extensive experience in their field. It is likely that years of experience that they have spent in their respective positions have influenced how they think. They are well versed in matters that pertain to societal trends and they may have a keen interest in matters that concern women's status in society. The selection rival may also be connected with the possible real-life rival explanation, specifically societal rival. This can relate to emerging social trends, such as increasing awareness to women's leadership issues.

The second possible rival explanation for study findings has to do with instrumentation, the design of the interview questions and the execution of the interviews. To minimize the effect, I used a pilot test and followed the interview protocol but a different set of questions would probably have generated at least slightly different answers.

The third possible rival explanation is investigator bias. With the exception of two American women, I had met all participants before I invited them to take part in the study. It had been at least seven years since I had first met the Finnish participants. It is impossible to know if they responded differently to my questions because we had met previously on a professional level. Consequently, all we have is what these women report and credit to their particular experiences.

There are many limitations to this study. First, researchers (Hofstede, 2001; Ross, 2004; Smith & Bond, 1994, Tajfel, 1972) have documented limitations with studying psychosocial reality. I faced the same theoretical problems as other social scientists who study psychosocial factors of human life, especially when we study the impact of a social system at the individual level. Society has its own structure that is founded in the processes of production and consumption, rituals, symbols, institutions, norms, and values, and which cannot be defined in terms of the characteristics of individuals (Moscovici, 1972). In accordance with these problems, this study is most importantly limited in its scope in studying culture. At best, the findings of the study should be perceived as results of an exploratory research that aims to advance the development of theory.

THE VOICES

The purpose of the study was to investigate how and why women lead the way they lead, to determine whether their national socialization influences their leadership, and to examine if their personal values translate to their leadership. Four "prisms," the Juggle, the Center Pole, Walking the Talk, and Taking Action, emerged from the data. In the following sections, I will report the findings of the two of the prisms, the Juggle and the Center Pole, that include constructs which are associated with culture, socialization, and

self-image, especially what the women had to say on upbringing and family, identity, values, integrity, and care for others. I will first provide a brief theory review, followed by the participants' voices on what these notions mean to their leadership.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CULTURE

Culture occurs as a result of human interaction and it is created and maintained through language and human communication (Hofstede, 2001; Gergen & Gergen, 2003; Moscovici, 1972). Ferraro (1994) views culture as everything that people have, do, and think as members of their society. Rohner (1984) describes culture as an "organized system of meanings which members of that culture attribute to the persons and objects which make up the culture" (p. 36). Anthropologists share the idea that culture comprises "the man-made part of the environment"; whereas social constructionists define culture as "the common and learned way of thinking and behaving among a group of people" (Smith & Bond, 1994). These various definitions of culture reflect slight differences in emphasis but they all share the premise that culture is inherently social because it is instigated, sustained, and exhibited through social systems.

Hofstede (2001, p. 9) identifies culture as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another." He explains that the central element in people's mental programming is the self-concept and that the self-concept provides people with an independent or interdependent perception of self. This perception is a learned cultural concept (p. 210–211).

Ross (2004) challenges traditional definitions of culture. He calls for a new paradigm that incorporates anthropology and psychology to focus on the "direct and indirect exchanges between individuals and by a constantly stimulating social and physical environment." He finds it necessary to "understand how social factors, bundles of which we often call culture, cause certain patterns of agreement and disagreement" (p. 8). For Ross, "culture is an emerging phenomenon evolving out of shared cognitions that themselves arrive out of individual interactions with both the social and the physical environments" (p. 8). Thus, Ross defines culture as an ongoing process in which the individual is an active participant in relation not only to his social and physical environment, but also to other social beings. Compared to other definitions of culture, Ross captures how people and their cognitive processes are inherently interconnected with the evolving society. It is his emphasis in human cognitive processes that is relevant to this study because leadership and people's perception of their reality entail high-level cognitive processes.

In sum, culture provides us with norms and values; it presents us with a framework of how we are supposed to behave. Consequently, values reflect culture-specific behavior and they are complicated to study because they are often deeply embedded in culture (Eastwood, Lamsa, & Sakkinen 2005; Hofstede, 2001; Ross, 2004).

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT SOCIALIZATION

Cultural learning begins at birth. We learn cultural norms and values through socialization processes as members of a cultural group. We learn these as children through our upbringing as members of family and community, and this process continues through our schooling. In contrast, enculturation continues throughout people's lives as they interact with other people, institutions, and organizations. This ongoing process also serves to transfer knowledge from generation to generation.

Sociologists and psychologists agree that most fundamental socialization occurs during our childhood because as children, our cognitive systems are less developed. This is the stage of human development when children become both social and individual as their identities develop as reflections of the expectations and attitudes of others. For example, much of socialization happens through human interaction because language and communication transmit cultural elements (Hofstede, 2001; Moscovici, 1972; Ross, 2004.) The child, through this reinforcement process, is left with a framework of what is expected of a member of society.

Mead (1934) describes socialization and emergence of self: "A self can arise only where there is a social process within which this self had its initiation. It arises within that process" (pp. 41–42). Mead finds that emergence of self does not occur because of its attributes but as a consequence and relation to others. Moscovici (1972) supports Mead's view of the raise of human individuality. He finds (p. 58) that the individual is not a "given" but a creation of society because society influences him/her to become an individual and compels him/her to exhibit uniqueness in his/her behavior. It is important to note that societies differ, in particular, to the degree in which cultures are individualistic or collectivist, and this is usually a cultural boundary. Each society has its own principles that influence how it produces individuals. Moscovici (1972) calls the society a "machine,"

which socializes and individualizes at the same time. He says, "As the individual becomes social, so also do societies which differ from each other both in their origins and in the characteristics of social actors who compose and produce them" (p. 59).

The Voices on Culture and Socialization

The Finnish participants made a strong connection with their culture. A homogenous country with a small population, the Finnish culture and socialization provides women with "an anchor point" as to who they are. Culture explains what Finnish people believe in and why they behave the way they do. Liisa is candid: "In essence, if I should define what being Finnish means by one word, that word is equality." Kaisa elaborates, "Being a Finn gives you strong roots and a solid foundation. This is a small country which offers each child with an equal opportunity."

The Finnish participants also connect leadership characteristics with their national culture. Liisa describes this by saying: "Well, I think we are direct, we stick to what we promise, and I think this also applies to how we make decisions." But, she also finds room for improvement. She says, "We fear failure, we are hesitant to take risks, and I think these are cultural matters that are reflected in leadership. We are direct and we do what we promise. but we cannot fail." Kaisa talks about Finnish leadership: "Well, I believe that certain characteristics are reflected, such as perseverance, emphasis on doing, sticking with schedules and 'management by perkele' that includes both positive and negative aspects of leadership - those are uniquely Finnish." Each participant also talks about a strong work ethic that resulted from Lutheran values. Marja makes an association between the country's history and its leadership quality. She says, "We have had people with substance. ... So, from early on, much was expected of our national leaders." Marja thinks that the strong sense of equality is in the history that formed the country's national identity.

The social and cultural context is different for the American participants. They emphasized individualism, having rights and responsibilities, and one's ability to pursue anything without limitations as being distinctly American. For example, Mary relates being an American with responsibility. She says, "I am going around the mulberry bush to get to this because that is a critical question. It means that I have to be a role model." Tina makes a similar statement. She says, "I have both the right and the responsibility of pursuing my own goals." She continues, "... in determining my own success in order for me to give back to society." Jane describes the importance of one's ability to pursue anything: "...what I think are the great qualities about being an American I think is the emphasis on individualism, emphasis on the you can be whatever you want to be."

Similar to Finnish women, American women also make a connection between their national culture and leadership. For example, Tina explains, "...our national culture in all honesty is driven by individual ambition..." Jane believes that individualism and competitiveness are "part of what's driving a lot of people in this country." Mary, an active member of many organizations, finds that the connection between national culture and leadership is reflected in the many organizations that support the functions of American society.

The responses given above demonstrate that Finnish and American women define their cultures differently. For Finnish women, equality stands above everything whereas American women emphasize individualism. Finnish women define equality from the perspective of social acceptance that reflects the shared value systems of the Finnish society instead of individual equality. In contrast, American women emphasize the individualistic self-concept that reflects the values of US society as a nation where each person is free to pursue his or her individual goals.

The Voices on Upbringing and Family

Both Finnish and American women made a strong connection between their upbringing and leadership. Liisa explains how her family life prepared her to deal with issues of confidence, to speak directly, to handle unpleasant and difficult matters, and to face challenges. She also attributes her selfconfidence with her upbringing. Kaisa agrees to this. She says, "I believe that Finnish childhood provides children with a basic sense of security and this is a good foundation for anything, including leadership. The sense of security leads to self confidence that facilitates creativity and ability to apply knowledge and confidence in work." Marja concurs, "The fact that I was always accepted for who I am… and that one can do anything."

Jane feels that her family never questioned her ability. On the contrary, she states, "...my parents were always encouraging and there was never, well, you don't want to do that, you are a girl, you are a woman." The attitude was "if you put your mind to it, you can do it. So I feel like I was blessed in that sense." Mary's experience was similar. Her mother had great goals for her, and her parents said, "...that we were going to be somebody."

Tina's experience prepared her also for responsibility. "It was the personal responsibility that my parents placed on me and my brothers for our own actions."

The women, irrespective of their country, confirmed that upbringing and socialization were essential to their development. They associate strongly, almost passionately, with the importance of their upbringing. They were raised to believe that they are competent and that they can do anything they want and this resulted in a strong self-image. They ascribe their behavior as adults, leaders, and women because of what they learned as children. Their self-worth and learned values are founded in their childhood and their leadership is much a result of the unquestionable support and encouragement that they enjoyed.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT IDENTITY

The traditional fields of psychology attempt to understand to what degree the people maintain their identity throughout their life experiences, whereas the focus of social psychology is on the impact of society on the individual. Each person has a unique identity but we are also profoundly influenced by social relationships. Layder (2004) explains that the "self" or "personal identity" is how persons regards themselves and how they, and others, relate to, or behave toward themselves (p. 7). Our core being is not determined by the society, we are also influenced by rules, expectations, and how others perceive us. Essentially, our identity entails both psychological and social aspects but we still have limited understanding regarding what role each has in peoples' behavior. We do know that self-perception can be deceiving. Our self-image is a subjective construction of the self, not an objective description of what we are and how we behave in the eyes of the others. The false consciousness that is in our mind and reasons for our behavior might be just a mirror of an idealized self.

Although much of social developmental theory is based on Piaget's study on the cognitive development of the "individual" child, more recent European studies in developmental social psychology have focused on the social perspective of human development (Durkin, 1996). Hofstede (2001, p. 10) explains that identity consists of an answer to the question: Where do I belong? For him, identities entail mutual images, stereotypes, and emotions, and as such his views on identity are socially based. Abrams (1999) and Layder (2004) also emphasize the interdependence of self-concept and intergroup relations. Every individual has a number of social identities or roles that influence how we perceive ourselves through our gender, ethnicity, religion, nationality, career, family role, and so forth. These roles have a great impact on individuals because they define expectations and attribute values to behavior. For women, the many conflicting roles can also serve as a source of discontent. But social identity is not stagnant; an identity that is critical in one context can be unimportant in another context (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Brewer & Brown, 1998; Maalauf (2001); Steele, 2002; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The context determines the most prominent identity in a given situation (i.e., the individual's functioning is based on society's attitudes toward certain identities in that setting; Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005).

If we accept that social identity is a result of a continuous process relative to our life experiences as members of groups, we can turn our attention to how this process allows us to modify and direct our lives. Bandura (1977) writes, "Social learning theory approaches the explanation of human behavior in terms of *a continuous reciprocal* interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants. Bandura's social learning theory provides a perspective to investigate people's self-regulating behavior, the degree to which people can become agents of their life and take charge from being powerless objects of society.

The birth of the women's movement and gender studies can be examined and explained by Bandura's (1977) theory of social learning. Women make conscious and coordinated efforts to promote their skills and competencies. They endorse research and educational opportunities to advance women's status in societies. This action is consistent with Bandura's theory, which claims that people self-direct their lives through social learning. People exercise some measure of control over their own behavior by arranging environmental inducements, generating cognitive supports, and producing consequences for their own actions.

The Voices on Identity

Finnish and American women's answers are consistent as they relate to their identity. They associate their being with both personal and professional roles that they have, but the results also confirm that each participant has a core identity that serves as her primary identity. Liisa describes herself, "…[I am] an ordinary woman in my forties and a mother who deals with the

same problems as the majority of women my age." But, she brings up the intentionality of her identity when she says, "I build my identity to also include other important things because in politics nothing is permanent." Her conscious effort to "build her identity" confirms that Liisa does not want to see herself dependent on her current professional role, she realizes that there are other things that she can do besides her political career.

Kaisa and Marja identify strongly with their professional training. Kaisa wonders, "Who am I, who am I? I think I am mostly a researcher and researcher trainer. That is the core of my being." But Marja does not hesitate: "I am a humanist to the heart. ... A matter of fact is that I am a teacher." Mary is also very comfortable with her being. She answers, "Well, the obvious, the mother, teacher." Tina describes herself as a survivor and a tough person who is also very private and a spirited person. Jane approaches my question in a very similar manner as Kaisa, her Finnish counterpart. She wonders, "Who am I? I'm a mom and grandma, and a wife. I'm a research scientist and administrator now."

Davies et al. (2005) explain that identity is situational. They say that it is the context that determines the most pronounced identity. An example of this is Jane's response. She has many identities and she can shift her role in accordance with the situation.

The Voices on Gender

Gender emerged as a theme in answers that reflect how the participants viewed their culture and socialization. Both Finnish and American women spoke about gender as a societal constrain and they discussed gender as a matter that impedes women's access to leadership. Jane, an American, is particularly straightforward when she speaks, "...for a woman to be as successful as a man she has to be a hell of a lot better. Things are not really going to get equal. ... I think the most blatant discrimination is [gender-based] – it's not gone, but it's pretty hidden. People always question can women handle a crisis, are they going to fall apart? ... So I think there are still issues."

But, American women also realize that their gender can be useful. Tina and Mary acknowledge existing gender inequality but they recognize that gender can also be used as a strategy. Tina, the only female among eight children, she considers her gender an asset: "I believe that there are few things as unnerving as an articulate, confident, and knowledgeable woman." Mary, an African-American woman, lived through the years of segregation. Her inconspicuous comment on gender reflects her capacity to juggle anything. When I asked her about the challenges that women may face, she responded, "…themselves, and the perception that they can't do something or dwelling on the barriers and the challenges."

In addition to gender, the American women articulated difficulties that are associated with women's many gender-driven roles. Tina says, "The first is juggling a family with a career in a mostly inflexible work place. I think there will have to be changes in our traditional working patterns with businesses in order to accommodate working women with children." Jane speaks about the same issue, "I think the other thing that is complex is no matter how 'shared' family responsibilities are; they are not 50/50 in any household that I'm aware of. That means the woman has that much more additional responsibilities."

Gender equality is not an unknown concept for Finnish women. Kaisa, who spent years in Los Angeles, reflects on the national differences in this matter. She says, "Scandinavia is easy. I contend that women's progress to leadership is much easier in the Nordic countries than it is, for example, in the United States. I [do] find [however] that there is a conscious effort and desire to promote women's access and positions in the United States, which of course, is a good and very important thing."

Some theories define gender as an important core identity component but Hofstede's (2001) view of gender as a cultural component emphasizes its social role. The findings of this study suggest that gender is a context-specific variable because women in both countries acknowledge gender-related issues but they report its impact differently. Gender is, of course, intertwined with other factors of identity, but it is noteworthy that none of research participants discussed gender or gender-related matters as a response to the question on their identity.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT VALUES AND INTEGRITY

Whereas social identity provides perspectives about how leaders view themselves, social cognition suggests particular behaviors in which leaders engage. Bandura (1977) writes that personality theories tend to attribute variations of behavior to differences in values, but they do not adequately explain how values regulate conduct (p. 139). A leader's social identity enables us to examine what variables influence the person in a given situation, but values may explain why the person acts in a certain way in a situation. Schwartz (1992) defines values as belief structures that guide behavior across social situations. He proposes that specific values can be classified into broader motivational categories that reflect individual and group needs for interaction and survival.

Johnston (2003) and Flanagan (2002) conducted qualitative studies in women leadership. Both researchers found that most of the women saw themselves as ordinary women, each one spoke about her ties to the traditional female role, and reported that values provided these women with a solid foundation for their decision-making process, and their lives in general. Flanagan writes, "Analysis showed that the definition and application of values have been major factors in the success of the women studied in this research. By clarifying their personal values, they [women] have been able to define leadership philosophies and strategies that have enabled risk-taking and achievements that they perceived would not have been possible otherwise" (p. 1). Similarly, Runkle (2004) and Gimas (2004) studied on how leaders' values impact their style or execution of leadership. Runkle's key findings indicate that value reflection is an essential part of leadership development and Gimas claims that the personal values and beliefs become "the mortar of leaders' leadership foundation."

Schein (2004) has conducted extensive research in the role of culture and leaders' personal values in organizational context. He (p. 17) explains how culture covers behavioral, emotional, and cognitive elements. In relation to this study, the relevance of Schein's work relates specifically to how leaders use their personal values to make decisions and to lead people.

The Voices on Values and Integrity

Kaisa explains how she learned the "value of doing" from her family. She affirms that things should be done "well with honesty and integrity." Kaisa does not expect things to come easy. "Things should be done accurately. What ever one leaves behind should be done carefully and thoroughly." She is passionate about getting people involved, she wants to "establish a state of mind of doing." Kaisa believes that the leader should aspire high and "demonstrate involvement of heart and soul in the process." She specifically mentions that her individual core values are the same as her leadership values.

Marja asserts that the values that she learned as a child formed the foundation for her leadership. She says, "These matters are all connected. Although our family was not super religious, we did value religion and patriotism. ... The values were respect, respect for all people, and

acceptance. These prepared me for leadership." Marja does not differentiate between her core values and leadership values. Instead, she contends: "But these go hand in hand." She believes in fairness, truth, goodness, beauty, equality, fairness, honesty, and openness. She describes how her experience in leading with values is not always agreeable to others: "These are the ones that I have followed and it has not always been appreciated."

Tina believes in fairness. "You still work towards fairness even though you can never achieve them, there can never be an excuse to not try. I just have a sense that fairness to all should be a goal even though it's unrealistic to think that life will ever be fair. We still need to work with those attitudes otherwise you might as well give up. Why bother?" She trusts that "people basically want to do the right thing." Her values guide her in the process and keep her focused, "...you really need to think about that before you get yourself in a position where you're going to be tested or else you'll get pulled away from your original goals, your original values." Tina is direct and wholeheartedly involved in what she does, "I think if I didn't truly believe that the work we do here was good, my heart wouldn't be in it. If my heart wasn't in it, that wouldn't be weak."

Similar to Liisa, Jane appreciates that different people bring different talents to the workplace. She explains, "I think one value that I think is really important is that everyone has something to contribute. So I think that's really important and the trick of course is figuring out what that is and showing people and have people figuring out for themselves what their skill set is." She also speaks about the importance of respect. She says, "I think another value that's really important is that you treat everybody with respect. This I think comes from my parents." Jane does not differentiate between her core values and her leadership values; she thinks they are the same. In fact, her answer is exactly the same as Kaisa's, "I think I already answered the question."

Mary's values are based on her upbringing, "Of course being in a Catholic school, you learn a lot of values even though they were couched in religious terms, but they were values of responsibility." She is conscious of how these matters are connected to her childhood. She reflects on her values and leadership, "I guess that was some kind of a leadership role and following through on a commitment. I think all of that goes back to my childhood." She describes her core values as honesty, fairness, and equity. She also discusses the importance of commitment and she explains, "I believe that you should practice what you preach, model the behavior that you want from other people. ... I do not believe in asking my staff to do anything that I am not willing to do."

Bjerke's (1999) and Schwartz's (1992) research in leadership values suggest that values guide behavior across social situations. The comments by the women are surprisingly uniform and confirm Flanagan (2002), Johnston (2003), Runkle (2004), and Gimas' (2004) research, which found that personal values provided women with a solid foundation for decision making.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CARE FOR OTHERS

Gilligan's (1993[1982]) landmark study, *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*, began a new era in human psychology. Her work illustrated how earlier studies of human psychology have a male-centered view that leads in to the disregarding of women's perspectives. Her own stage theory (1982) of women's moral development suggested that there are two distinct modes of moral judgment, justice and care, that these are gender related, and that the modes of moral judgment might be related to modes of self-definition. Gilligan states (1988):

It is women's elaboration of care considerations that reveals the coherence of a care ethic as a framework for decision. Women's thinking reveals how concerns about responsiveness and human relationship cohere to form a world view or way of constructing social reality, as well as a problems-solving strategy, a focal point for thinking about actions and choice. (Gilligan, Ward & Mclean Taylor, 1988, p. xix)

Gilligan's findings are important as they emphasize the importance of women's connectedness to their environment and the emotional intricacies that are involved when women make decisions that pertain to their careers. Often, the woman is faced with a moral quandary of choosing between what is socially acceptable (i.e., primary caretaker of children) and her personal aspirations. Pursuit of both is challenging. While young women still face a complicated mix of messages regarding what is expected of them, women's growing presence in leadership and access to higher education is gradually changing the public perceptions and it may now be easier for women to pursue leadership than it was, for example, two decades ago. Although many psychologists now disagree with Gilligan's outline of moral development and research that showed that both men and women use both justice and care dimensions in their moral reasoning, her groundbreaking work demonstrated how the inclusion of women changed the previously unquestioned models of human psychology.

The Voices on Care for Others

Care for others is much more than care for the family. It is reflected in nearly everything that the participants in this study say about their leadership, relationships, and their approach to dealing with people in general. It is the foundation for their leadership and decision making.

Mary says that she has always participated in organizations and that she has learned to accomplish so much through her involvement. Her Finnish counterpart, Marja, makes a connection between her leadership and involvement in gymnastics when she was growing up. Participants' comments also reflect how managing family responsibilities and raising children prepare women for leadership responsibilities. Three women discussed this specifically. They believe that this experience prepares women to lead people because as mothers women learn to handle children's different personalities. Liisa states, "... just like in a family with people's differing perspectives, organizations benefit from a diversity of perspectives," She also talks about her friend. Markus, who began his dissertation by making a statement about how family responsibilities make women good leaders. Marja agrees, "Women learn to lead at home because of family and related complex responsibilities. It is a good school." Jane is direct, "I already had four children that I was raising. This sounds silly, but I think actually dealing with four very different teenagers was wonderful training for managing a laboratory because every child was different and every child needed different things."

Interestingly, although American women emphasize individualism and competitiveness as influential traits of US society, their approach to leading people is grounded in collaboration. For instance, they recognize that networking and getting a group of people with diverse skills to collaborate results in more than what one person could accomplish. The women's individual success is based on the success of their employees, team, or affiliates. In addition, these women are not hesitant in doing what it takes to get the task done. For instance, Tina says, "I don't expect anything from anyone else that I'm not willing to give myself though." Jane explains, "I'm really committed to the whole community's success."

Respect is an integral part of these women's care for people. Jane tells, "I don't talk differently to the janitors than I do to the president of the university." Mary is committed to helping others. She mentions, "I love to work with younger women to be a role model to help them." In relation to her staff she says: "I do not believe in asking my staff to do anything that I am not

willing to do. I believe that if things go well, I should lavish praise on everybody. When things go badly, I am willing to accept the responsibility..."

Everything that these women credit to their leadership involves consideration of other people, be it their family, immediate staff, or larger community.

FINAL THOUGHTS

Central to the study was my desire to understand why and how women lead the way they do, whether their national socialization influences their leadership, and what role do personal values play in leadership. The research findings suggest that the themes of the theories of culture, socialization, and leadership are interconnected as illustrated in the following outline. (Fig. 1)

Culture provides the context in which socialization of individuals occurs. It is in this context where we form the norms for acceptable behavior, develop gender- and non-gender-related roles, and establish values for shared belief systems that can be oppressive for some segments of societies. Through socialization, individuals then adopt values and norms that carry over to their leadership execution.

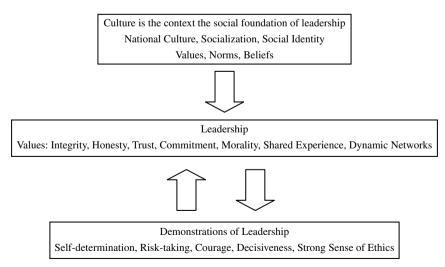


Fig. 1. Outline of the Findings.

These women's leadership, through their self-report, is most consistently reflected within the notions of the Juggle and the Center Pole. The constructs of values, integrity, and care for others are strongly associated with the participants' upbringing and socialization. Their personal morals and values guide their decision making. Everything that they do is driven by their personal core values. The women do not distinguish their leadership role from who they are as private persons. Their leadership is peopleoriented and their experiences are connected to their upbringing and background. They carry the leaders' responsibility but they treat people with respect, fairness, and honesty. And, their leadership includes a strong people-orientation component.

Through the voices of the participants in this study we have learned about some general ideas as to how values, which are learned as children, may translate to leadership behavior later in life. However, as a case study, the findings are limited and much more research is necessary to establish how consistently values guide leadership behavior within and across cultural boundaries. This research suggests that:

- 1. National culture provides a framework for life as it reinforces social structure and defines socially acceptable behavior.
- 2. Personal relationships, a supportive family, and childhood provide a solid foundation for a strong character because an encouraging upbringing is an effective foundation for self-confidence that helps to counterbalance role expectations, dissonance, and role conflict.
- 3. Culture and upbringing are essential to leadership as leadership values and integrity mirror personal values.
- 4. Women's people orientation can be an advantage in leadership because it enables them to build successful teams and pools of competencies within their staff.

NOTE

1. Center for American Women in Politics, housed at Rutgers University, is one of the primary research centers for American women's political information.

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DEVELOPING LEADERS AMONG WOMEN RELIGIOUS IN AFRICA

Mary Salvaterra, Jane Wakahiu, Jane Farr and Gina Zaffino

For many years African women religious have been responding to the desperate needs of their countries. These Catholic Sisters have made a significant impact on education, health care, and other social services. Nevertheless, their services are being stretched as more and more displaced persons enter their countries, many infected with HIV/AIDS. Although they have basic career skills, their work now requires proficiency in leadership to plan and execute projects, network for resources, and engage others in the transformation of Africa.

In 2007, the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation awarded a two-million-dollargrant to develop leadership skills and strategies for women religious in the African nations of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, and Nigeria. Known as the Sisters Leadership Development Initiative (SLDI), the program was initiated by Marywood University in Scranton, PA. Its goal was to develop in African women religious those competencies needed for leadership effectiveness, project management, and sound financial judgment. The program provides five two-week sessions over a three-year period. Participants were selected by their religious superiors to one of three tracks: administration, finance, and project management. Twenty women in each track, a total of 60 women in each of the 5 countries, are currently enrolled. Through a mentoring program designed as a required component of

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SLDI, an additional group of women are being trained by the enrolled participants.

By 2010, approximately 300 women religious will have completed the first phase of the initiative that fosters leadership skills through curricula designed to impart knowledge in basic project management, participatory leadership, strategic planning, financial management, human resource management, written and oral communication, fundraising, project evaluation, and information/communications systems, including computer tools and software applications for management. All these skills are planned to improve the socioeconomic well being of the people that the participants serve in schools, hospitals and clinics, refugee camps, community farms, and other social agencies.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the goals, processes, and early impact of the SLDI program on participants and their ministries. The authors consider five aspects: (1) leadership as understood in the context of African culture and history, (2) the design of the study, (3) the plan of the SLDI, (4) the application or internalization of concepts as articulated in case studies, and (5) discussion and conclusions drawn from the study.

LEADERSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF AFRICA

African women religious have inherited both the cultural and historical concepts of leadership. To understand what motivates them in their service to the poor and to appreciate their need for leadership skills as opposed to proficiency in specific areas of service (nursing, teaching, and counseling), the authors provide a backdrop in the historical and cultural development of African nations.

Leadership involves the ability to inspire and influence the attitudes and behaviors of others (Adler, 1991; Bass, 1985; Bass & Stogdill, 1989; Nanus, 1985; Kotter, 1988). However, a leader in Africa, according to Masango (2003), is "someone who is a servant to the clan, tribe, community or group" (p. 313). This person may be treated as a king, priest, or ruler and exert great power among the people within the community or village, but he is also the one who protects and looks out for his people. Traditionally, in Africa, the villagers and community members share the role of leadership. Finally, the leader acts as a resource for the group and encourages movement to progress. Today, however, the leadership style of the tribal villagers is no longer effective in the face of the magnitude of problems faced by the poor. It is not five or six individuals with malaria in the village; there are now hundreds of children who have been orphaned because of the prevalence of HIV/AIDS virus. The children themselves are also infected with the AIDS virus and have become blind, deaf, and physically disabled; traditional village leaders do not have resources to care for such large numbers of desperate people.

Missionaries from the United States and other countries of the West have served in Africa since precolonial times, but the decline of Catholic missionaries spurred the founding of indigenous African congregations with missions to serve the marginalized. However, these new religious congregations now recognize their inability to reach the ever increasing numbers of vulnerable people. To help the destitute people better, they are presently seeking to develop large-scale projects such as shelters for girls who are potential victims of human trafficking, dispensaries for the sick, schools for girls and boys, vocational institutions for the blind, deaf, and for those who have dropped out of school, as well as home-care and other facilities for the elderly.

In the African context, the family includes not only the immediate family, but also the extended family consisting of brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and in-laws. Children are raised to think of themselves in relation to the group. Within the family structure, parents have obligations to their children and the children to their parents. The family as a whole has obligations to the extended family. Family values are focused on the concern for each other's well being, interdependence, helpfulness, and harmony (Gordon, 2002). However, because of the influence of other cultures, wars, and the consequences of HIV/AIDS, the family structure has been weakened significantly. No longer are the elderly dependent on their children for care. More often than not, the elderly parents are the caretakers of grandchildren who have become orphaned. African women religious see themselves in terms of several definitions of "family." As members of "families," they value their birth families, the tribal units in which they were developed, and their religious congregations. Their service to their people, seen as their family, is a major priority as they live their consecrated lives.

IMPACT OF COLONIALISM/CHRISTIANITY

The arrival of colonialism and Christianity changed traditional religious ways of leadership. Christianity sought to reform African styles of religious

leadership by preaching that Jesus Christ is the only leader to follow and one is guided throughout life by Christ's teaching (Masango, 2003). During this Christian era, methods of mentoring the youth for future leadership were quite different from the traditional ways of developing leaders through sitting around a fire listening to stories about warriors. Masango explains that the new concepts in African leadership under Christianity encouraged growth, justice, and peace, as well as promoted the golden rule – "Do unto others as you would have them do to you."

The colonial take-over revolutionized the style of African leadership forever (Gordon, 2002). The continent was divided into 48 countries with each European force exercising its individual style of rule over the newly acquired territories. The response to colonialism was African resistance. Numerous battles erupted between regions over foreign domination, land, labor, and taxes. Colonialism eventually out maneuvered the Africans. The colonists then introduced Western styles of leadership and forced traditional tribal leaders to collaborate with their European rulers (Masango, 2003).

Many African leaders emerged during the end of the 20th century with the goal of ridding foreign domination and colonial rule over their nations. African nationalism liberated itself from colonial rule in less than one decade and gained independence in the 1960s. Gordon (2002) described the continent as being left with "a façade of democratic leadership with no roots, no precedence, and no people who understood it" (p. 22). The African infrastructure was in a state of religious conflict and political instability. The political system remained an authoritarian power with a lack of responsibility to improve the living conditions of the people. African leaders adopted ethnocentric attitudes from colonial rule, resulting in power struggles and cultural tensions.

Colonialism had destroyed the community style of leadership that had been practiced in Africa for centuries and forced Africans to exercise Western styles of leadership. In African cultures, values and leadership styles were passed down orally. Lacking written accounts of their religious practices and culture, many Africans adopted Western concepts, thereby abandoning their religious beliefs, values, and customs (Masango, 2003). Consequently, there were few dedicated African leaders who cared for their people. Some African-elected officials went so far as to dethrone leaders who resisted colonialism (Obiakor, 2004). Eventually, the negative effect of poor leadership and governance from the age of colonialism has had a negative effect in many African nations.

In the 1960s, Africa's future looked brighter with the end of colonialism and its newly rapid growth. However, during the 1970s, governance and economy in many areas deteriorated, and leadership in many African nations formed single party rule and dictatorships. Since economies declined rapidly, the growth and prosperity of almost all the Sub-Sahara countries slowed significantly (Collier & Gunning, 1999). Therefore, African nations are now the least developed countries in the world with poor economic conditions, disease, poverty, tariffs, trade barriers, civil wars, and greedy leaders whose dictatorships are divisive and ruthless (Collier & Gunning, 1999; Spears, 2007).

The geographic size and excessive number of diverse groups in Africa may be related to its inconsistencies in leadership styles. There are numerous ethnic and political groups. For example, according to Spears (2007), colonial rule fragmented Africa into a multitude of political entities. When most African countries gained independence in the late 1960s, African leaders gained enormous territories that had not been created or defined by Africans. Consequently, as Spears pointed out, they were faced with new challenges such as human rights issues, democracy, legitimacy, and territorial control. Easterly and Levine (1997) claimed that the high levels of ethnolinguistic diversity within each country is the single most important cause for Africa's slow growth, which has led to numerous civil wars. Conversely, Collier and Gunning (1999) found that the ethnic diversity has not been the cause of the slow growth, but rather Africa's lack of democracy in the context of diversity.

The legacy of the colonists was a superficial appearance of democratic leadership. According to Gordon (2002), new political leaders initiated control by discharging opposition parties, looting the treasury, and relying on defensive radicalisms to rebuild the political system. Many regimes spawned dictators who murdered civilians supporting the opposition. Genocides in Rwanda, the Sudan, Uganda, the Congo, and the massacres in Kenya in 2008, as well as in present-day Zimbabwe, resulted from the cruel acts of their "leaders." Many of the leaders, who fostered terror strategies, felt justified in using coercive means because their tactics were similar to those exercised by Western governments during the violent years of state formation (Spears, 2007). As a result, Africa is perceived in the eyes of the world as a continent plagued with corruption, tyranny, dictatorship, administrative incompetence, and violence.

Although political independence freed Africa from European rule, it has negatively increased tribal, social, and economic struggles (Ayittey, 1992; Liking, 2000; Museveni, 2000; Obiakor & Maltby, 1989). However, scholars and politicians claim that state-making Africa is in its infancy and that violent processes are the norm in state reformation and the fight for justice, peace, and prosperity.

African leadership continues to be influenced by a colonial style that burdens its people. Traditional African-centered methods of education, diminished under colonial rule, were intertwined with the body, mind, and soul of the African people. Some scholars believe that by going back to traditional education and providing the youth with African ideas, cultures, and beliefs, a new generation of nation building citizens will emerge (Obiakor, 2004).

Historically in most African regions, traditional education was an integral part of culture throughout a community. Although it varied from one society to another, the goals were often strikingly similar (Nwomonoh, 1998). It was largely focused on learning practical skills that were useful to the individual and for the society as a whole. Traditional African education was generally passed down within a tribe from generation to generation through word of mouth and cultural rituals. The goal of traditional education was to yield complete individuals who were cultured, respectful, and responsive to the needs of the family and community (Objakor, 2004). According to Obiakor, a new generation of leaders will emerge by going back to traditional education and providing young people with African ideas, cultures, and beliefs. "Saving Africa through Africans" appears to be the path to a transformed continent. In the schools, the women religious of Africa have taken up this cause – Saving Africa through Africans – and they have begun the process of providing educational opportunities to all children including those disabled. According to participants in the program, their style of school leadership has become more collaborative. They have adopted a form of "servant leadership." In most of their schools, their focus is that of traditional education, teaching practical skills that are useful to the individual and to the society as a whole, and that fosters national selfefficacy and economic independence. Since the goal of education is to yield individuals who are cultured, respectful, and responsive to the needs of the family and community, African-centered leadership and education may provide wisdom and values that are integral aspects of society. Obiakor's theory is supported by Omolewa (2007) who suggests that the traditional or holistic system education will prepare the young to take their role in society seriously and responsibly. Through passing on cultural values, both boys and girls will feel a part of their community and be willing to work for the common good.

The women religious of Africa have inherited the problems of a troubled political and economic past. They cannot depend on the government or nongovernment organizations (NGO's) to raise the standard of living among their people; they now look within themselves and toward their coworkers for the resources to initiate, implement, and institutionalize comprehensive service projects. Turning to women religious in the United States for guidance, African Sisters sought direction in their goal to address the insurmountable tasks they faced in their countries. Although the Sisters in the United States were not able to send human and financial resources, they did, however, use their expertise in grant writing and networking to empower the African Sisters in solving their problems. Hence the SLDI program was funded through a grant from the Hilton Foundation for the purpose of educating these women in leadership skills.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This case study affirms the concept of *ubuntu* – translated as "I am because we are" – which is the daily African experience. A person is a person through other persons; Africans belong to a bundle of life, the spirit of collectiveness (Tutu, 2000). *Ubuntu* explains why the participants are eager to attend sessions in leadership training; they hope to improve the larger community to which they belong. For many of them, the costs in terms of time and travel to attend the five two-week sessions are great. They travel long distances by bus consuming two to three days over rutted roads and in danger of thieves and thugs along the way. But they believe that sacrifices they make are worthwhile. The knowledge gained is interpreted as beneficial to the community. The program has the potential for women to manipulate and sharpen their leadership skills to facilitate sustainable resource management and utilization.

Ubuntu explains the dedication of the African women religious and Hofstede's (2005) theory "cultural software" frames this chapter. Much like the operating system of computers, culture determines how people operate in their societies and socializes people to act the way they do. Etounga-Manguelle (2000) defines culture as the cloth out of which all Africans are made. Although he recognizes the diversity among the more than 50 nations, Etounga-Manguelle feels that there is a common culture among the people who dwell in the south of the Sahara. That common culture lays emphasis on belonging, connectedness, and community participation – a culture that is people-centered.

Coming from a society that is people-centered, women religious quite naturally look for different venues to serve the people. They commit themselves through their religious congregations to alleviate the sufferings of their people in whatever condition they find them. They care for the sick and elderly, educate both children and adults, operate kitchens, shelter street children, and supervise numerous refugee camps. They are also responsive to many current problems facing the continent, namely, drug and alcohol addiction, and human trafficking. These destructive forces have shattered many families and, consequently, have contributed to the political and economic crises of many African nations. According to Etounga-Manguelle (2000):

Our first objective is to preserve the African culture – one of the most, if not the *most* – humanistic cultures in existence. But it must be regenerated through a process initiated from the inside that would allow Africans to remain themselves while being of their time (p. 75).

Today, the focus is "Saving Africa through Africans," connoting that the most effective way to transform the nations is through the work of the African people themselves. Social capital is at the heart of African transformation – recognizing their own resources and reaching out to each other to improve the economic and health concerns of today. Hence, the goal of African women religious is not only to transform their villages and cities into caring and safe havens for their people but also to preserve their African culture. To accomplish this monumental task effectively and efficiently, they recognize the need to develop skills that empower them to organize, network, and acquire resources. Their goal is to become competent in areas that will facilitate their services to the downtrodden of their countries. Leadership in Africa must be conceived and understood from the cultural norms of how the African women religious view themselves first as Africans and then as women serving the needy (Mkabela, 2005).

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

To determine the effectiveness of teaching leadership skills in five African nations, the authors employed qualitative methodology, drawing upon empirical data from participants in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, and Nigeria. Two of the four authors, along with several Sub-Sahara instructors, taught formal classes in leadership skills under the SLDI program. Another author, a former director of leadership for women in Kenya, was responsible for the evaluation of the program. Her cultural and educational background enabled her to interpret more accurately the participants' responses in the three concentration areas: Administration, Project Management, and Finance. The fourth author, a doctoral student, contributed her expertise in African history and culture to develop the historical and cultural background provided in the chapter.

Data Collection

In Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, the authors conducted small group discussions, interacted with the participants, interviewed individuals, held focus groups, and engaged participants in conversations to encourage them to share their experiences in the program and in their work. In addition, several respondents participated in telephone interviews. All participants self-reported on their mentoring project, a vital aspect of the program, which provided a vehicle for including the people with whom the women religious worked. The case studies cited in this chapter were developed from the interviews conducted with three participants, one in each of the countries of Ghana, Uganda, and Tanzania.

Design of the SLDI Program

Started in 2007, the three-year program involves women religious in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, and Ghana. African and American organizers collaborated in the design of the program. Together they identified the goals, objectives, and competencies of the leadership sessions.

The overarching goal of the Sisters Leadership Development Initiative (SLDI) is to deliver an educational program to cultivate critical competencies and to administer projects and programs that address human suffering and destitution more effectively. To realize the ambitious goal, seven objectives were delineated: (1) ability to transfer the skills and knowledge gained to more effective site management; (2) creative and effective leadership; (3) ability to identify and mobilize resources; (4) awareness of issues that impact the socioeconomic and political life of individuals and communities; (5) enhancement of human relations competencies; (6) development of a strategic plan; and (7) development of plans to ensure the sustainability of the projects.

The three tracks, administrative, financial, and project managements, include instruction in specific competencies. The participants are expected to develop proficiency in communication, team building, creative problem solving, interpersonal skills, self-direction, financial acumen, and technical

and leadership skills. Each track has specific goals and each two-week session focuses on explicit skills. For example, in the administrative track, the topics for instruction over the five sessions include leadership skills, marketing and grant-writing skills, human resource management, ethical leadership and team building, and strategic planning.

Instructors started by asking participants to share what they expected to gain in the five sessions. Since the 300 women religious serve in schools hospitals, clinics, refugee camps, congregational offices as bursars, major religious superiors, etc., their expectations varied with their ministries, but they all sought specific leadership skills: effective communication skills, ability to resolve conflicts, change initiation and implementation, negotiation skills, proficiency in technology, team building, ethical and spiritual understanding of leadership, and strategic planning.

To connect their expectations to their culture and to better understand the participants' aspirations, the instructors asked participants to share their visions (Table 1).

The verbalization of vision statements enabled the Western instructors, not only to get a glimpse of the conditions of the African people, but also to clarify the direction of the leadership program from an African-centered perspective. That direction clearly indicated a desire to initiate, develop, and implement projects that would alleviate the suffering of the people, raise the level of consciousness among their people, and carry out a project effectively and collaboratively. The participants recognized from the beginning that, to move toward their vision, they needed specific skills as stated in their expectations: conflict resolution, change procedures, team building, negotiation skills, etc. The design of the SLDI program then included the facilitation of those skills while moving toward the development of the more specific mission statements, needs assessment, goals, objectives, and action

Table 1. Example of Participants' Dreams.

To educate women to read and write by providing them with evening classes.

To decrease the morbidity and mortality of the region.

To improve the lives of young girls who are prey of human traffickers.

To improve living standards of children in slum areas and refugee camps.

To enable hearing-impaired children to become independent by teaching the skills of carpentry and tailoring.

To teach the men and women of the village how to develop land and become self-sustaining. To enable women to produce products to support their families.

To provide street children with food, shelter, and education.

plans. These components are integral parts in all leadership courses, but the difference in instruction lies mainly in getting a clear understanding of the participants' culture and visions first and then adapting instruction to assist in accomplishing their goals, in other words, stimulating their potential to implement change in their own settings.

Although they all knew about the Internet, many of the participants had never used a computer but were eager to learn computer skills. Since some of the participants live and work in villages that do not have electricity, they took advantage of the training sessions to learn data processing, email, and use of the Internet. Hewlett-Packard Corporation donated computers at each site. The computers and the Internet service enhanced the program with the capability to access information on grants to finance their projects. Grant writing then became an essential part of the program since without outside resources, the participants could not implement their plans.

A mandatory component of the SLDI design is the mentoring project, a strategy to sustain changes and encourage others to learn leadership skills. Since "mentoring" is a strategy to ensure the sustainability of the program. starting with Session 1, each participant was responsible for identifying three individuals to mentor. From the very beginning of the program to its conclusion three years later, each participant (mentor) regularly met with the mentees to share the knowledge and skills learned in the sessions. When the participants learned and practiced negotiation skills, collaboration, team building, etc., they brought the skills to the mentees who, in turn, practiced on others. As a result, new values were extended to their ministries and eventually a transformation occurred – a desired change. In addition to the sustainability of the SLDI program, the mentoring project provided a smooth transition for the implementation of their strategic plans. The participants recognized that they could not implement change alone. They were enthused about sharing what they learned in the workshops with their mentees. Because enthusiasm is contagious, the goals of the program reached out to many others joining in the vast web of change and transformation.

Strategic Plan

The strategic plan in Session 5 is the culminating project of the Sisters Leadership Development Project in all three areas (administration, project management, finance management). It is the summation of all the elements of the other sessions – not only the structure of a plan but also the skills needed to convince others of the need for change. The outcome is a detailed

strategic outline designed to implement their vision, mission, and goals. The following is an example of a strategic plan designed in the last session:

Vision:

A comprehensive, secondary education for teenage boys and girls.

Mission:

To improve the lives of young boys and girls by providing academic and vocational education in Omoro sub-county, Gulu District.

Needs statement:

For the last 20 years, the people of the Gulu District in Uganda have been victims of civil war and strife. Consequently, many young boys and girls have lost their cultural identity and self-esteem. These vulnerable teens are both helpless and hopeless. To provide a hopeful future with the opportunity to learn a trade to support themselves, we will build a coeducational, vocational secondary school.

Academic subjects will be taught to develop knowledge, behaviors skills, and values needed to restore both culture and structure. To earn a living, students will be offered vocational subjects such as agriculture, home improvement, woodworking, and computer skills. To promote positive attitudes, build self-esteem, and cope with the challenges in their society, the school will offer counseling services.

Goal:

To build a comprehensive, coeducational, vocational secondary high school for disadvantaged boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20 in the Omoro sub-county, Gulu District by the year 2014.

Objective 1:

To sensitize the community of the need to establish a coeducational school offering academic and vocational programs.

Action steps:

- 1. Distribute information using pamphlets and banners to describe the school.
- 2. Direct mailings using community addresses.
- 3. Explain the projects at all church services.
- 4. Establish a development committee.

Objective 2:

To construct the building by the end of 2012.

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Action steps:

- 1. Determine the budget estimates for the project.
- 2. Purchase land, survey it, and secure the land title.
- 3. Hire an architect to design the building, seek approval of the foundation body, Ministry of Education.
- 4. Contact district approved engineers.
- 5. Construct building.

Objective 3:

To furnish the building.

Action steps:

- 1. Purchase desks, chairs, equipment for vocational subjects.
- 2. Purchase school supplies paper, pencils, chalk, etc.

Objective 4:

To recruit approximately 200 disadvantaged boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20 by the year 2013.

Action steps:

- 1. Distribute information using pamphlets and banners to describe the school.
- 2. Direct mailings using community addresses.
- 3. Explain the projects at all church services.
- 4. Invite potential students throughout the district to information sessions.

Objective 5

To select qualified administrators and recruit faculty and staff; to organize school management committees such as the Board of Governors, the Parent Teacher Association.

Action steps:

- 1. Advertise positions.
- 2. Interview applicants.
- 3. Hire candidates.
- 4. Provide an orientation to internalize the mission of the school.
- 5. Develop curricula in academic vocational programs.

Interspersed in the lessons on strategic planning were simulations that helped to develop skills in conflict management, resolution of ethical dilemmas, networking, team building, etc. To be effective in their role of instructors, Western facilitators did not impose their opinions about the content and format of instruction. Lessons evolved during the sessions; therefore, instructors could not go with predesigned lesson plans.

APPLICATION OF AFRICAN-CENTERED LEADERSHIP SKILLS

Significant case studies drawn from the participants explicitly demonstrate that empowering individuals with knowledge and practical skills leads to societal change from the grassroots level. The case studies reveal that given opportunity and practical skills, women of Africa can play a significant role in promoting development. The case studies highlight changes that have been facilitated by the skills the participants gained through formal instruction, which in turn helped to bring change in their ministries. Although the cases relate to the mundane of African life, it is imperative to note that most of the African nations depend on agriculture as the only source of employment: food for people, food for sale, and food for economic growth. Agriculture is the engine of growth and development. Most economies in Africa depend on farming as the backbone to generate income for the local people and the government. It is the means through which over half of the nations, citizens earn their livelihood. A few of the African nations depend entirely on agricultural products in the international markets.

Adverse climatic conditions affect food crop causing serious drawback to development and increased poverty level. According to New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD, 2003), decades of war, disease and poverty have resulted in a malnourished population. A fundamental agrarian agenda to strengthen farming skills would improve the health of Africans and enable them to assume an independent lifestyle. For the better part of their lives, women work on the farm because culturally the opportunity for school is dim (Maathai, 2006). Women religious have brought with them farming skills to the convents, and they have established projects to educate the local people in better farming methods to improve their livelihood. Women religious of Africa manifest the capability to utilize knowledge and skills to improve their ministries.

African literature shows that those who acquire an education utilize it for community development. For example, the Kenyan noble prize winner and founder of the Green Belt Movement, Wangari Maathai, is a clear example of how women have not been fully supported; however, with a clear vision and self-driven inspiration they can attain their goals through struggle (Maathai, 2006). In a research study conducted in the countries of Malawi and Uganda, authors, Kaaria, Njuki, Abenakyo, Delve, and Sanginga (2008), found that innovative farming strengthened social organization and industrial capacity of rural communities. The authors indicate that integrating a feminine approach to work had led to changes in women decision-making patterns.

In this chapter, we use three case studies to illustrate that women religious in Africa are forces of change and they have the capability to see what needs to done and the determination to use what is available in their environments to enhance the living conditions of the people whom they serve.

Case 1: Improved Farming Methods in Uganda

A case study of women religious involvement in farming was elucidated by a participant in Uganda. Lucia (pseudonym) became engaged in farming to produce food for the community and to educate the local people in the use of more effective farming methods. The farm is situated on the shore of Lake Victoria – a fresh water body that could be tapped to irrigate the farms; however, the majority of the people in the area do not consider the farming option as a method of self-employment and the sale of produce as a means of income for their families. Lucia and her congregation started the farm where they worked side by side the villagers to grow and sell crops to sustain themselves and develop a sense of self-efficacy. She and seven workers have planted maize, banana trees, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, yams, papaya, bananas, and cassava. Lucia attends workshops on soil science, use of organic fertilizers and irrigation processes and meets the villagers twice a month to teach them how to grow and market their produce.

A drive to the farm leaves one in awe and wonder at how one person can transform a village. First, there was no evidence of a road leading to the farm. After driving along a rutted-dirt path for what seemed an hour, we arrived in the recently cleared area with plenty of fruit trees and vegetable patches. Lucia described the connection of the skills gained in SLDI program and the farm:

I gained the skills in communication, facilitation, teambuilding ... I realized the people in this area watched when I and my employees were working on the farm, yet their land had potential to produce the same food crops ... I have used facilitation, communication and teambuilding skills to educate the people on farming ... most of them can produce their own food crops ... there is much to be done.

Lucia utilized her abilities and skills to facilitate societal change by coordinating meetings with Ugandan villagers to improve their food production. Lucia and other women religious are involved in grassroots efforts to increase food security and sustainability for the people they serve. She is convinced that ...

people here can grow crops for food and for sale to provide school fees for their children ... they have improved their families because they eat well plenty of fresh fruits and vegetables ... I am encouraging them to adopt the new methods ... their crop yield has increased and many more are eager to learn.

Although Lucia's dream is labor intensive – educating villagers in Uganda on how to increase their farm productivity – there is still much to be done to sustain the change. She described her challenge as lack of a financial base for the farmers to buy seeds and pesticides necessary to improve productivity:

I do not have money to help the farmers to buy the seeds for planting ... some are too poor to afford seedlings, plows to clear the land ... so it becomes difficult... but we do not give up hope ... I hope some day we can be able to irrigate the land during the dry season from the waters at Lake Victoria ... there is need for pipeline to bring water close to the people-this would help to irrigate the farms ... I learned grant writing, and I hope to use the skills to find a source for funding to improve the land for the people of this area.

The vision of women religious to achieve development for the people of Africa is an indication that leadership education has stimulated innovative ideas for improvement. As Lucia explained, good farming methods would increase productivity, provide healthy foods, and, ultimately, alleviate malnutrition and poverty. Educating local people on better farming methods is one means to increase their capacity for a sustainable source of revenue. From an African perspective, enabling individuals to support themselves is part of sustainability, the potential to feed themselves and improve their standard of living. Lucia's access to the SLDI program supports Nuwagamba's (2001) theory that lack of education limits autonomy and independence.

Case 2: Palm Oil Project for Women Self-Reliance in Ghana

The palm oil project in Ghana exemplifies the inventiveness of women religious to augment change that will benefit their people. Palm oil is the product obtained from the fruit of a certain type of palm tree; the fruit is processed to provide oil for cooking and for making soap and candles; the residue is used as coal. A Ghanaian SLDI participant, who had the vision to enable the poor women of Ghana, described how she utilized her newly learned skills to raise money to support poor women. Teresina (pseudonym) explained her struggle in initiating a project to empower the poor women who rely on less than one dollar a day for a living. At first, she attempted to educate women on poultry rearing and farming methods, a project she still foresees. At the time of poultry farming aspiration, the SLDI training program geared toward providing women religious with leadership skills was initiated. She never regrets her enrollment because her leadership and managerial skills expanded and enabled her to facilitate change for the community. She refers to her plan as the "Palm oil project for women self reliance in Ghana." She describes how the thought of palm oil project was envisioned through a class assignment on "needs assessment" during grantwriting session:

we were taught to describe the problem as clearly and real as possible so that the funding agency can understand it as we on the ground see it ... the instructor explained the steps involved and told us to develop a grant proposal depending on the needs of the ministry. I knew what I needed and I followed the steps we had learned in class and wrote a grant to build a fence to stop intruders on the property that [sic] we have palm trees and orange trees ... I thought if the women learn to process palm oil they could use it for cooking, making soap, and soap to sell ... I explained the project clearly ... in a few weeks I got a reply with question[s] that needed clarification ... I was awarded the grant.

This became a springboard to achieve her goals. As a Project Manager, Teresina further explains:

The palm oil project came about because I am working to help the women in this area who are poor and lack basic necessities. I am responsible for the project to help these women to be self reliant ... and the processing of this palm oil that we are using has helped them a lot in that they have learned how to make this oil and the end product are used to make soap to wash their clothing, soap to take home to wash their family and soap to sell, at least they can get some money for their families. Economically we are helping to improve their lives by empowering them to become responsible of their lives. They are improving their way of living and hygiene ... I teach them cleanliness and even their diet by processing orange juice from natural fruits and vegetables – this is not just for sale but they eat them because it improves their own health. Through the skills we have gained we are developing the other people ... we share with other people. You know when people are poor they have a lot of conflicts [sic] we also help them to learn to solve their problems through conflict management skills that we have learnt.

Teresina, along with others in the program, exemplifies an agent of change. Transformation is unmistakable. The skills they acquire have facilitated the acceleration of an unexpected reality. Three concepts are evident in Teresina's palm oil project: intellectual capital, strengthening networks and servant leadership. Supposedly, to bring about institutional change, intellectual capital is imperative since it helps to translate knowledge to reality by enabling the community to get involved in project initiatives and development. As a result, participation strengthens networks that facilitate perseverance.

The training program has enabled other women religious like Teresina to make informed choices that help develop a sense of empowerment and new perspectives in skills implementation. Women religious, as change agents, seek to mobilize the community through problem solving. First, Teresina was empowered through skills development that enhanced creative ways to improve the ministry; second, through practical application of the skills, she wrote a successful grant; third, she implemented the grant to improve the life style for the poor women; lastly, she raised awareness of hygiene of the women and fostered dialogue on the issues that face women in Ghana, resulting in community transformation.

Case 3: Working with Deaf Children in Tanzania

Responding to the consequences of the HIV/AIDS on children of infected parents, women religious of Africa engage in programs that educate deaf, blind, and physically disabled children. They have established schools that provide specialized care to special needs children hoping that eventually the children will cultivate an independent lifestyle. Although inclusive education is advocated in many African countries, efforts to include special children are minimal. Women religious have assumed the responsibility to provide such education to promote skills leading to self-sustaining employment. Discussions with Marietta (pseudonym), a participant in Tanzania, revealed her passion to develop employable skills for children with disabilities. Marietta works as an accountant in an elementary school for deaf children in Tanzania. The school has a population of 200 hearingimpaired students. The women religious, teachers, and staff teach life skills and employable trades. For example, female students are trained in tailoring and dressmaking, while males are taught carpentry and farming. Their use of sign language is the only viable method of communication for the deaf culture in Africa. On completion of their vocational education at Marietta's school, some graduates advance to a higher level of education while others initiate self-reliant projects in tailoring, carpentry, or farming.

Marietta stated that she has utilized the skills acquired in the SLDI program, which has been instrumental in introducing carpentry and tailoring into the curriculum. The first hurdle was to secure the equipment and supplies to begin the program. She was convinced that skills in

carpentry and tailoring would contribute to these students' self-reliance, thus enabling them to earn a living beyond their small-scale farm.

In a telephone interview, Marietta shared her thoughts on the SLDI program:

The program has helped me to have confidence in communication, leadership and management ... with the skills I am able to encourage change in the community and society ... the skills have enabled me to discharge my duties and serve the deaf children in a better way ... though it is difficult ... I have learned to listen and to understand their needs as much as they express them ... I look forward to bring change in the school environment.

The training is providing me with leadership skills that I so much longed for ... as an accountant I need skills in communication, leadership, facilitation and management in order to communicate well with people because these people are the ones who support us to help these children ... skills in planning have helped to have better strategies to meet the needs of the children with disability. I was so glad to learn about strategic plan because it helped me to see things from a wider perspective than just day to day service to these children ... but also how to help them in future.

The leadership skills have widened Marietta's horizon in dealing with financial management; she hopes to extend her knowledge and skills to her staff and to the community.

Not all the projects were as extensive that those detailed in the three case studies. Two small undertakings made positive changes as a result of the leadership training. One successful project resulted in Consuela's (pseudonym) attainment of funds to purchase chairs and tables at a nursery school. The number of children at the nursery school had increased significantly and the need for furniture was evident. Consuela, a participant in Kenya, developed a proposal in one of the sessions and presented it to a funding organization. She was awarded with sufficient grant monies to purchase all the furnishings at the nursery school. Another participant, Madeline (pseudonym), recounted her application of leadership training giving further evidence of solving a problem in her institution

I did not know how to plan well when I was made head teacher in a nursery school. The school had run out of funds for supplies. After learning about budgeting and strategic planning, I was able to propose a plan to the school executive committee. We talked about a plan to develop a garden project to harvest maize for food for the children. The plan cut down on the cost of food so that we could use the saved money for supplies.

Madeline's self confidence in taking charge of a situation and the implementation of a plan for change are some of the by-products of the SLDI program.

As a result of the mentoring component, another small project developed from the weekly meetings of mentors and mentees. Edwina (pseudonym), a mentee in Uganda, was impressed with social mobilization as explained by her mentor. She initiated a small bread-baking project. Using her own recipe for sweet bread, Edwina distributed small loaves at the mentoring meetings. Several women who attended the meeting asked Edwina to teach them how to bake bread using her recipe. They then agreed to bake loaves to sell. Gradually the small-scale, bread-baking industry began to gain profits. The mentor's report of Edwina's project illustrates what can happen when people recognize an avenue to support themselves.

The above-described illustrations give evidence that the SLDI has given the participants the leadership theory and skills. The derivatives consist of self-efficacy and a sense of accomplishment.

DISCUSSION

Reflecting on leadership in general, the authors maintain that leadership education provides an opportunity for a better way of life. During sessions when "leadership characteristics" were described, the participants in the three countries invariably mentioned Wangari Maathai of Kenya, who championed the tree planting initiative that sold trees to people to improve the environment. What began as a local initiative has expanded to save the environment from dehydration. Today, the Green Belt Movement is known worldwide for its campaign to plant trees and encourage environmental change. Other great leaders whom they emulate are Nelson Mandela, a statesman who led the antiapartheid movement in South Africa, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, who promoted constructive engagement in opposing apartheid and was a voice for the voiceless. Outside of Africa, they identified Jesus Christ, Mother Teresa of Calcutta, and their own religious founders and foundresses. What is evident is that their examples of exemplary leaders are those who served the poor and sacrificed themselves to improve the lives of their people. So, too, the women religious of Africa, embodying the concept of *umbutu*, are moving forward to initiate, implement, and institutionalize plans of all sizes from clinics, schools, and shelters to bread baking, planting maize for school meals to a palm oil industry.

Greenleaf developed the term "servant leadership" in 1977, and it is the servant leader that the participants strive to become. In spite of all the horrendous difficulties faced by the people of Africa, it is inspiring to witness many African women religious who have dedicated their lives in the service of the poor and want to lead their people out of poverty, disease, and hopelessness. The SLDI has given them a lifeline – skills in leadership to accomplish their dreams.

The literature on leadership has a plethora of descriptions: democratic, visionary, transformative, transactional, charismatic, etc. All the descriptions resonate with the concept of "change." The program participants seek change to improve the standard of living in their countries through education and health care. Their perceptions of leaders are those of change agents. They view themselves as transformative agents whose lives witness a preferential option for the poor.

The foundation of their altruistic drive is indeed the culture of each nation, the customs of their ethnic groups, and their commitment to their religious congregations. Both their African culture and their culture as women have fashioned their awareness of "leadership" to nurture, to console, to free their people from violence, and, ultimately, to sacrifice themselves to transform conditions in their villages. Since many of the African leaders had been sidetracked by corruption and greed, they did not respond to the cries of their people. Corruption ran rampant on the continent and dictators such as Idi Amin (Uganda), Omar al-Bashir (Sudan), or Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe) brought untold suffering on the people of their nations.

In an interview published in the *Washington Post*, Wangari Maathai stated, "The people are learning that you cannot leave decisions only to [political] leaders ... Local groups have to create the political will for change, rather than waiting for others to do things for them. That is where positive, and sustainable, change begins" (Hoagland, 2005, p. 21). The women religious in the SLDI program recognize that there is a critical need to fix economic conditions. As women, they have assumed the responsibility to be the voice for the voiceless poor.

Are ideas and evidence of leadership the same or different across international, national, and cultural contexts? The conditions of poverty, oppression, and deprivation of human rights call forth a style of leadership that is of service to the poor. Whenever dictators (leaders) rule with violence and greed, self-sacrificing men and women are inspired to lead efforts to relieve the repressive conditions. Oscar Romero, Bishop of San Salvador, was murdered when his philosophy of speaking out on behalf of the people contradicted the goals of the Salvadoran political machinery. In Anapu, Brazil, Dorothy Stang led the Trans-Amazon development project, designed to generate jobs and income inside the Amazon region. It supported the creation of a fruit processing industry, the construction of two small 500 kW hydroelectric power plants, and aided reforestation in degraded areas. Stang was murdered for leading efforts to help poor farmers and preserve the environment of the Amazon.

Under similar conditions in first world countries, when people are burdened with poverty and denied human rights, leaders emerge. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a leader who served the poor and disenfranchised, and died demanding rights for African American citizens. Other similar leaders in the United States are Dorothy Day who served the indigent in New York City, and Cesar Estrada Chavez who founded and led the first successful farm workers' union in US history.

Pedagogical Implications of Teaching in Another Culture

In designing a course of study for students in another culture, it is important to heed the advice of Toombs and Tierney (1991): "The curriculum is an intentional design for learning negotiated by faculty in light of their specialized knowledge and *in the context of social expectations and students' needs*" (p. 21) [italics added]. In offering leadership skills in a culture other than our own, we found that we needed to connect first with the culture and then design meaningful lessons. To do so, we used a variety of teaching strategies.

One such strategy was to ask participants to simulate difficulties in negotiating, resolving conflicts, introducing change, etc. We then understood the participants' perceptions of conflicts and other threats to their work. After discussing the weaknesses and strengths of the simulations, we introduced ways to facilitate collaboration. As a review, participants then "recapped" the lessons using scenarios or group discussions. The process enabled instructors to determine whether or not the participants understood the lesson and would be able to apply the skills in the contexts of their work.

The use of case studies was another pedagogical tool that was effective in our sessions. However, the prepared case studies found in textbooks used in our courses in the United States, do not relate to their culture. Instead of prepared case studies, one of the authors, a Kenyan, composed several case studies from her experiences. She then posed questions: "What would you do?" and "Is there a more benevolent way to deal with employee infractions?" Use of case studies often illustrates ethical dilemmas eliciting lively and challenging discussions. Two examples of creative case studies based on lived reality follow: A vacancy has opened up in the school where you are the principal; the position requires a qualified candidate to teach business education and history. Your brother has been searching for a teaching position for more than five years without much success. His area of specialty is math and biology but with much reading he can teach business education and history. The protocol of the school is to advertise for the position; your brother sees the advertisement and decides to come for the interview. You are on the panel that is conducting the interview. What would you do?

Peter is employed at a school as an accountant. You are the principal and think very highly of Peter. He has worked in the school for seven years. He and his wife have five children, and he takes care of his ailing mother who lives in their house. Peter is known by everyone at the school. He is a very hardworking person who sometimes works late without expecting extra pay. You are pleased with Peter's self-giving and sometimes gives him small bonuses because of his extraordinary response to school needs. He fixes things, such as malfunctioning taps in the school. You are grateful when Peter repairs an overflowing bathroom over the weekend. The staff admires Peter's generosity and readiness to volunteer when there is a school event or activity. Others tease him for his unusual kindness. However, Peter has been taking items that belong to the school; he takes food from the school's store without permission. Several items in the consumer science building, such as crockery, cutlery, and laboratory equipments, have disappeared but no one would ever think that Peter was stealing. The staff members in these departments have been forced to pay for the lost items because they are responsible for the equipment in their departments. Often they are angry and accuse each other of theft.

Peter's wife has recently been diagnosed with brain tumor; everyone is sympathetic of Peter's situation: a sick wife and five young children to take care for. Time and again he has had to leave school early or take sick days to take care for the wife who is undergoing chemo therapy in the past few weeks. To express their support, the staff planned to visit Peter's wife at home and express their solidarity with Peter and the family during these difficult time.

The staff discussed and agreed to be transported by the school bus to Peter's house in the vicinity of the city. They arranged that the staff spokesperson speak on their behalf and present to Peter and the wife some money the staff had contributed as a gesture of their solidarity. Some of the staff had even offered to help take care of Peter's youngest children during their off-day. On arrival, Peter who welcomed them; he looked worn out and tired. On entering the house the staff was stunned to find in Peter's house all the items that had been lost in the school's consumer science building and laboratory. Mrs. Kiptanui was visibly upset because she had been forced to pay over \$400 to replace the items that were stolen during her shift in the consumer science. The table linens spread on the tables bore the school's name and consumer science record number. Everyone began talking in whispers; some staff members were furious particularly those who had been charged for the missing items in their departments. During the visit, a couple of staff members had taken pictures of the items to exhibit so that they could take legal action against Peter. The visit at Peter's house was tense although the spokesperson strained to make the staff focus on the reason for their visit. Others whispered they wanted the money they had contributed given back because Peter did not deserve more money after stealing all these items. On their way back to school there was a heated

discussion on the bus of how you, the principal, would proceed. However, you did not respond quickly and in your mind you juggled the trust you had in Peter and his betrayal of that trust.

If you were the Principal of the school:

How would you handle the case? Would you take Peter to court, why and why not? The staff members are angry because the principal made them pay for the lost items – should you pay the staff back their money? Support your answer.

The cases are typical of ethical dilemmas faced by school leaders. They based their responses on responsible and ethical leadership.

Small group discussions proved to be another effective teaching strategy. Since the participants came from different parts of the country, they did not know each other before the first session. The small group discussions led to shared ideas and a better understanding of conditions in other parts of their country. For example, in Uganda one participant works with the refugees near the Sudanese border and lives in danger from attacks by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda. Her stories differ from those of participants who live in the safer areas of southern Uganda. Some live in villages where there is no electricity; others live close to the capital city of Kampala where they have access to electricity and water.

The participants were united by a sincere desire to bring help to their own people through healing, peace education, and a determination to bring financial and sustainable developments to the villages. Common challenges also united them: poverty, lack of materials such as mosquito nets to prevent malaria, and no medicine for the countless number of people suffering from HIV/AIDS. The small groups, thus, provided a mechanism for discussion and sharing of ideas.

CONCLUSIONS

The program has the potential for leaders to manipulate and sharpen the identities for their communities. Also, leadership skills facilitate sustainable resource management and utilization, a method of building self-efficacy among women religious.

Gibson and Marcoulides (1995) found that there was no variance in leadership styles across countries. In their quantitative study, culture was not a significant variable in managerial styles across the United States, Australia, Norway, and Sweden. We, however, conclude that traditional African culture influences the leadership style of the 300 participants in the

5 African countries. These women respect the norms and values upheld by the community they serve in hopes of bringing about change and improvement. Although there has been a cultural evolution in Africa, much of the socialization still holds onto African norms and values. Culture shapes a sense of community responsibility and relationships. For example, the participants were more comfortable in group discussions than working alone – the community aspect was evident in their sharing. Their shared African culture has taught them that everyone belongs to a community. Now they have rallied under the cry "Save Africa through Africans." Understanding African culture, therefore, is essential for Western teachers who hope to teach leadership skills effectively. From this perspective, Western faculty *cannot* intentionally plan learning experiences. They can only provide the scaffold and allow the participants to build up "competencies including communication skills, critical thinking and leadership that form the basis of program and course outcomes" (Jones, 2002. p. 39).

This research has also shown that leadership education is an investment in the culture. In a short period of time, several of the participants brought about significant changes in their communities. Change was prevalent in their ministry and resource mobilization. The strategic plans and the grantwriting lessons empowered them to seek funding for their projects. They had internalized the skills, identified the needs of their communities, and embarked on the execution of their plans. Through the mentorship component of SLDI, others became constructively involved in community projects, a necessary ingredient for sustainable development. The level of dialogue within communities had a transformative effect. Leadership education is an investment that may be used to lead Africa out of poverty and malnutrition.

An outcome of the SLDI program is a new sense of accountability, development, and community participation. In a short period of time, it has become apparent that, if leadership training is expanded to more people in Africa, individual nations may become transformed positively within a couple of decades. Women religious of Africa have a way of reaching out to their communities and the people they serve. They have the experience of women being marginalized, but they know how to practice an inclusive leadership style that energizes the communities for change. The case studies illustrate that women religious are capable of transforming their societies through involving their people in a change agenda. They view power and knowledge as interchangeable and expandable, and they are willing to involve the community to explore viable opportunities together. As a result, changes have been implemented that have already improved the standard of living. From this perspective, leadership education seems to be a viable and an essential contribution that may transform the countries of Africa.

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SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL PRINCIPALS IN AUSTRALIA AND THE US: FINDINGS FROM AN INTERNATIONAL STUDY

Rose M. Ylimaki, David Gurr, Lawrie Drysdale and Jeffrey V. Bennett

This chapter examines how principals in the United States and their counterparts in Australia enact and sustain educational leadership for the benefit of improved student academic and affective performance. There is a growing body of single-nation research that indicates positive relationships exist between core leadership practices and school success (e.g. Day, 2003; Hallinger, 2003). To date, however, there have been few explicit attempts to compare how leadership is manifested in different national contexts.

Neoliberal and neoconservative policy trends are also converging in many developed nations, with, for example, demands for greater accountability in improving student academic achievement, increased policies for decentralized (participatory) management, and developing practices that are more culturally sensitive to an increasingly diverse student body. This chapter draws on findings from a large international study of successful school principalship (The International Successful School Principalship Project: ISSPP) and the literature to focus on leadership practices in Australian and

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the US contexts. Australian and US cases were selected for further analysis in light of their similar accountability and management policy trends and changing demographics. We build on earlier reports from the ISSPP especially: Giles, Jacobson, Johnson, and Ylimaki (2007); Gurr and Drysdale (2007); Gurr, Drysdale, and Mulford (2005, 2007); Mulford (2007); Ylimaki (2007); Ylimaki, Jacobson, and Drysdale (2007). The ISSPP is a large and important body of research that currently contains more than 75 case studies and several thousand survey responses across eight countries, and has produced two books (Leithwood & Day, 2007a; Møller & og Fuglestad, 2006), an additional seven book chapters, two special journal issues (*Journal of Educational Administration*, 43(6), 2005; *International Studies in Educational Administration*, 35(3), 2007), and more than 60 refereed journal papers. Its focus is on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that successful school principals use for implementing leadership practices across a range of successful schools in different countries.

NATIONAL CONTEXTS: UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA

Demographic Changes

Populations in the United States and Australia are also becoming increasingly culturally diverse. In the United States, for example, it is projected that between 1990 and 2050, the percentage of the US population of Hispanic origin will be almost triple, growing from 9% to 25% (making them the largest minority group by far) and the percentage Asian population will be more than double, growing from 3% to 8%. During the same period, the percentage of Black population will remain relatively stable increasing only slightly from 12% to 14%; while the percentage of White population will decline sharply from 76% to 53%. Australia has a long history of skill- and humanitarian-based migration policy. This has resulted in a culturally diverse society, especially in parts of the capital cities of the states and territories. This emphasis looks likely to continue in the future, and will continue to change the Australian society as the humanitarian needs change across the world.

One important outcome of changing demographics evident in the US context is that this diverse group is overpresented in high poverty schools, primarily (e.g. Frankenburg, Lee, & Orfield, 2003). Moreover, children in large urban centers are among the poorest citizens of these countries. The

US National Condition of Education (NCES, 2002), for instance, reports that 15% of all children aged 5–17 years currently live in households where the annual income is below the poverty level, with the percentage almost double (29%) for children living in central cities; a figure some would contend markedly underestimates the magnitude of the problem (Frankenburg et al., 2003). The impact of the humanitarian migration policy at the school level can be profound in Australia, with, for example, many schools in some of the disadvantaged areas of Melbourne having to provide programs for refugee students from several African countries, with many of these students having not experienced any formal education in their first 10 or more years of life.

NEOLIBERAL AND NEOCONSERVATIVE POLICIES AND PRESSURES

Since the beginning of the 1990s, and with renewed pace from the beginning of the twenty-first century, the US and Australian educational systems have been undergoing a process of thorough transformation under the influence of strong international, neoliberal discourses that have linked education to economic prosperity, and to neoconservative trends such as back-to-basics, subject-oriented teaching, and reintroduction of testing programs across the school years, while at the same time there are other pressures that emphasize personalization of learning, team approaches to teaching, and pervasive use of information and communication technologies. Scholars in many countries, including Australia and the United States, have recently documented a more conservative shift in the cultural politics of schooling (e.g. Apple, 2004; Welch, 2003). As Apple (2004) explains, "The rightest policies now taking center change in education and nearly everything else embody a tension between a neoliberal emphasis on 'market values' on the one hand and a neoconservative attachment to 'traditional values' on the other" (p. 6).

A strictly neoliberal agenda would suggest that the state must be minimized, preferably by setting private enterprise loose, whereas a strictly, neoconservative agenda would posit that the state needs to be strong in teaching particular knowledge, norms, and values. Both agendas find room to compromise on a belief that society is falling apart primarily because schools do not do either effectively. Federal and state governments yield too much control over schools, and they do not sufficiently mandate what schools are supposed to teach. The meaning of terms such as leadership, professionals, and learning are thus under profound change (Moos, Krejsler, & Kofod, 2007; Moos, 2003; Ylimaki, 2007).

Scholar Anthony Welch (2003) offers one antidote to stave off the encroaching ills of neoliberalism: resist and insist. Resist the commodification and corrosion of democracy and insist on the conservation of traditions that are worth preserving in a multicultural community. Social science scholar Rosemary Deem speaks out against what she calls 'the new managerialism,' which she sees as the approach of education administrators and government officials to insinuate neoliberalism into educational organizations at all levels. In the next several sections, we describe neoliberal and neoconservative pressures that are evident in current accountability and management policies as well as leadership responses across both countries.

Accountability Policies

Accountability policies in both countries have had a major impact on principals/head teachers of challenging school contexts. In the United States, all schools now operate in a context of high-stakes testing accountability and public visibility as a result of the federal No Child Left Behind Act (2002) and related state testing mandates. Accountability policy in Australia is more developmental in nature, with leading systems using a self-review and independent school review process that meets government, family, and professional accountability needs (Gurr, 2007). While high-stakes testing accountability is not evident in Australia, there is increasing use of state and national testing programs to monitor school improvement and to target funding. Increasing public visibility of school performance is evident across the states and territories, although this is contained to the school level with little emphasis or interest in the publication of results in a format that can result in the construction of league tables.

Management Policies

Over the past 20 years, principals in the United States and Australia have also been required to implement management policies and organizational reforms aimed at bringing about such things as: increased teacher empowerment; a flattening of the educational governance hierarchy to permit greater site-based management and more parent and community involvement in school decision making; and greater utilization of emergent information and communication technologies. In the Australian context, Caldwell and Spinks have promoted and documented the relentless push to school self-management (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988, 1992, 1999). While there is variation across the Australian states and territories and across the major school sectors (government, Catholic, and independent), a high level of school self-management is evident. Since the mid 1990s, many US states and school districts have mandated some form of self-management. Although specific mandates vary by state and school district in the United States, principals are expected to make decisions with a governance council composed of parents, teachers' union members, and sometimes community members and students. Site-based management is a state mandate in the US state featured in this chapter. While these organizational reforms may have increased participation in decision making, they may have also destabilized school cultures (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003).

Organizational decentralization has been a prominent feature of Australian education over the past two decades as well. Victoria (the second largest Australian school system and similar in size to the very largest of the US school districts) was a forerunner in the development of self-management in schools in Australia and one of the first states to initiate and implement self-managed schools internationally. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed continuous and radical change in the Victorian government school system, culminating in the Schools of the Future program in 1993 which introduced large-scale reorganization and the decentralization of numerous functions central to schools, including local selection of staff, control over the school budget, the articulation of school goals in a school charter and the design of a framework for accountability. By 1997, selfmanagement had been extended to all schools and the Victorian system was regarded as one of the most far-reaching examples of this anywhere in the world (Caldwell, Gurr, Hill, & Rowe, 1997).

Leithwood and Riehl (2003) contend that when organizational cultures are relatively stable, they can be maintained through leadership substitutes such as local and state policies (Pitner, 1986; Firestone, 1996). But when organizations such as schools start to become less stable, and take on the characteristics of a 'frontier culture,' members of the school community typically seek strong formal leadership in order to reestablish coherence and direction. In fact, Leithwood, Harris, and Hopkins (2008) argue that stability is an important precondition for successful change. In schools, principals or head teachers are assigned the role and responsibilities of formal leadership, and most people turn to them when schools confront change in the face of organizational instability. As such, organizational instability created by changing demographics, accountability policies, and management/organizational reforms have renewed interest in the effects of leadership on pupil performance in many Western countries, including the United States and Australia.

SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL LEADERSHIP LITERATURE

Many studies of successful school leadership were conducted in the context of research on 'outlier' schools that were effectively educating children of low socioeconomic background (e.g. Levine & Lezotte, 1990; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Such effective schools, as they came to be known, were considered outliers in response to the earlier Coleman Report that concluded out-of-school variables (i.e. socioeconomic status) were more important to student achievement than in-school variables, which largely had no effect. Across these studies (e.g. Levine & Lezotte, 1990; Purkey & Smith, 1983), findings indicated that strong, even directive, instructional leadership by the principal was essential for the creation of safe, orderly, and positive school environments that were conducive to learning in challenging contexts. These scholars also frequently identified the importance of a clear and focused school mission, high expectations for everyone, student time on task, and positive home–school relations. Across these studies, findings also suggested that leadership had a largely indirect effect on student learning and outcomes.

Australian Studies

An emerging interest in the study of school leadership in Australia can be dated to the mid 1960s, although there was little in the way of good empirical research until many years later (Gurr, forthcoming). Successful school leadership studies in Australia included a national survey, interviews, and case study-based exploration of the perceptions of principals, parents, teacher, and students concerning the role of principals, factors which impinge on the role, the relationship between principal role and school effectiveness, and the professional development needs of principals. McGaw, Piper, Banks, & Evans (1993a, 1993b) conducted a national survey of parents, students, teachers, principals, schools, and community members regarding their views on effective schools. Similarly, the frequently cited *Leadership for Organizational Learning and Student Outcomes* (LOLSO) project used a large-scale survey of teachers and students in 96

government schools to explore the link between leadership and student outcomes (Mulford, Silins, & Leithwood, 2004).

Several other Australian scholars conducted small case study projects on successful school leadership (Drysdale, 2001, 2002; Twelves, 2005). A large, interview-based exploration of 50 successful subject departments and cross-school programs across 38 secondary schools – *An Exceptional Schooling Outcomes Project* (AESOP) – explored the nature of success in Australian schools (Dinham, 2005, 2007). Likewise, multiple-perspective case studies and principal and teacher surveys focused on successful school leadership as part of the International Study of Successful Principals Project (Mulford, 2007) and the survey (Ewington et al., 2008; Mulford et al., 2008). Regardless of methodology, Australian studies of successful school leadership suggested an indirect relationship between principals' practices and student learning outcomes.

Drawing on a meta-analysis of leadership studies in the United States, Australia, and other Western countries, Leithwood and Riehl (2005, 2003) identified four core practices as necessary but not sufficient for success in any context:

- (1) *Setting directions*: Leaders set a clear direction by developing and communicating shared goals that encourage a sense of common purpose and high performance expectations (e.g. Petrides & Guiney, 2002).
- (2) *Developing people*: Effective leaders offered teachers intellectual stimulation and individualized support.
- (3) *Redesigning the organization*: Effective leaders were more democratic, redesigning their schools as professional learning communities. In so doing, these principals modified existing school structures and processes to increase professional collaboration and dialogue among teachers and to improve home–school relationships.
- (4) Managing the instructional program: Successful principals also paid close attention to curriculum and instructional improvement efforts in their challenging, high-poverty schools. According to Leithwood and Riehl (2005), four sets of leadership practices are included in this general category, including staffing the school's program with teachers well matched to the school's priorities; providing instructional support; monitoring school activity; and buffering staff from distractions to their work (i.e. protecting instructional time).

Based on the same meta-analysis of single-nation leadership studies, Leithwood and Riehl (2005) posited that principals have a significant, albeit

primarily indirect, impact on teaching and learning. Specifically, successful principals had an indirect influence on the quality of instruction, curriculum design, assessment and student learning, and enhance personal, professional, organizational, and community capacity. These extant leadership studies suggest a common lexicon of effective principal leadership that informed the international successful school principal study (ISSPP). While this literature has provided scholars and leaders with important understandings about how leaders influence school success, these studies do not explicitly consider demographic shifts or the role of macro politics and policies (e.g. neoliberalism and neoconservativism). In the next section, we briefly discuss the research methods and design from that study.

RESEARCH METHODS AND DESIGN

The International Successful School Principal Study has been conducted in four phases: (1) development of a common interview protocol based on the extant literature reviewed above; (2) construction of case studies; (3) development of a survey, using case study findings; and (4) digital videos. Since the ISSPP involves contextually sensitive data concerning individual perceptions about the work of each principal, a multi-case study methodology was employed. Case studies provide an opportunity to uncover causation through 'insight, discovery and interpretation' (Merriam, 1988, p. 10).

Sampling Strategies

Criteria for selection of the case studies were similar in all nations. The focus of the investigation was on the leadership of principals with selection criteria based on the reputation of the schools, the acknowledged success of the principals by peers, and evidence of improved student outcomes over time. These outcomes were measured on the basis of standardized statewide test and examination results, through positive school reports, and other data, where available, such as staff and parent opinion; student participation, engagement, and satisfaction; student attendance retention; suspension; and, student transition from school to work. In both countries, schools were also selected to represent increasingly diverse sites in terms of type (elementary and secondary), location (urban and suburban), and size. In the United States, cases were selected because students made improvements in state tests since the beginning of the principals' tenures. These quantitative data were confirmed through a snowball network method in which we interviewed area superintendents, asking them to identify principals who were successful leaders of their schools. In Australia, selection criteria included schools that had positive school review reports particularly with regard to principal leadership, improved student outcomes on statewide tests, and peer recognition of successful principal leadership.

Data Sources and Collection

In these cases, data were collected at each school using multiple sources including documents from central governing bodies illustrating school achievements and student attainment; ethnographic notes made during visits by the research team to the schools (six visits in the United States and up to six visits in Australia); local school documents; minutes of meetings; press reports; historical sources; and most importantly, interviews with a variety of people, typically including the principal, school council chairperson, assistant principal, curriculum coordinator, teachers, parents, and students (48 interviews in the United States and up to 52 interviewees in Australia). The focus of the interviews was the exploration of perceptions of the success.

Data Analysis

This comparative approach is based on the assumption that the concept of 'success' when applied to school leadership is a contextualized and relational construct, as well as an attribution on the part of those who experience such leadership (Leithwood & Duke, 1999). Cases were analyzed, first within each country, and then, across all eight countries following the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967. More specifically, the comparative analysis enabled us to compare urban and suburban schools (and leaders thereof) that have experienced demographic shifts in recent years. In the next section, we describe case studies from Australia and the US representative of these trends.

EXAMPLE CASES FROM SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS IN TWO NATIONAL CONTEXTS

The six cases used in this chapter were chosen to illustrate not only the powerful but largely indirect leadership (Vicki Forbes and Jan Shrimpton in Australia, Leah Parks in the United States), but also the possibility of direct leadership (John Fleming in Australia, Rosa Davis and Ray Diaz in the United States). Further, we also examined the effect of macro (neoliberal and neoconservative) policies and changing demographics on schools (and leadership thereof). In the following sections, we discuss three cases from each national context (first Australia and then the United States), highlighting relevant leadership practices that study participants associated with school success.

Australia

The following cases are taken from Gurr et al. (2007) and Drysdale, Goode, and Gurr (forthcoming). They were chosen to represent leading in challenging contexts (Bellfield Primary School), primary (Bellfield and South Morang) and secondary (Brentwood) contexts. All schools are in Melbourne, the capital city of the state of Victoria and which has a population of nearly four million. Bellfield is located in a high poverty (more than 80% of families eligible for government financial assistance), moderately ethnically diverse (more than 20% of families from a language background other than English) suburb about 10 km from the center of Melbourne. Brentwood is located in a middle-class (less than 20% of families eligible for government financial assistance), moderately ethnically diverse (more than 20% of families from a language background other than English) suburb about 15km from Melbourne. South Morang is located in a growing outer suburban area, 23 km from Melbourne. The area is middle class (less than 30% of families eligible for government financial assistance), with few students from a language background other than English (less than 5%).

John Fleming: Bellfield Primary School and Haileybury College

John Fleming became the assistant principal (1992) and then principal (1996) of Bellfield Primary School from 1992 to 2005, and from 2006 onward, the head of the K-10 Berwick campus of Haileybury College (2006). Bellfield is a small (with 220 students) government school in a high poverty suburb of Melbourne, while Haileybury College is a large (with more than 2500

students), high-fee, independent school in Melbourne. The contrast between these two schools is dramatic. Yet, this is perhaps the central feature of John's work as a principal, his passion, purpose, mission, and fundamental views about education remain the same – to ensure that the children are provided with an environment in which they can do their best. John knew early in his career that he wanted to be a principal because he is passionate and driven in his quest to make a difference to the lives of children, and being principal gives him the most influence on what happens in a school.

Values, Beliefs, and Vision. At Bellfield, John was actively involved in all aspects of school life. He was the driving force behind the success of the school. Part of the success was in John's clearly articulated beliefs about important aspects of the school such as high expectations for high-poverty students, pedagogy, relationships, and school structure, and his ability to align all with this vision.

Direct Influence on Instruction, Curriculum, and Assessment. John is different from most principals in that he can demonstrate direct influence on the quality of instructional, curriculum and assessment, and student learning, as explained by a Leading Teacher at Bellfield Primary School.

John had a reputation as an excellent teacher and this helps in his leadership. He is the curriculum coordinator of the school – he maintains his interest and knowledge whilst many principals let this go. He doesn't see his job as a lot of principals do – it is not only running a school, but also the kids and the curriculum. He talks to every teacher every day, he is in classrooms, he is aware of what is going on and speaks about curriculum with passion. His knowledge of curriculum and how education works has been a key to teachers taking on-board change so well. He has real credibility because he practices what he preaches.

His clarity of purpose and process is perhaps best illustrated by the following example of the use of explicit instruction and the development of phonemic awareness.

We believe in explicit instruction – we will teach kids how to do these things. Our kids are very strong readers, very strong spellers. They are strong spellers because they know how to break words up into parts and they know what letter sound combinations come together – very strong on phonemic awareness and very strong on phonics.

In this quote, notice the circulation of neoconservative discourse and accountability policies.

Developing Teacher Capacity. John loves the challenge of helping people to develop, and particularly enjoys working with teachers to improve their practice, particularly in light of demographic shifts and increasing poverty in the suburb. Teachers feel supported as reflected in the following comments by a teacher at Bellfield Primary School.

I have been supported from day one and that is what keeps me at this school. The support from the principal, assistant principal and staff is amazing. Compared to other schools there is not that support base because they are too scared to talk to their principal. *The principal is like a co-worker*.

John works extensively with teachers and expects all to show commitment to the students and to the school, and to want to improve. He realizes that not all the teachers will be extraordinary teachers, but if they are willing to support the school direction and to work to improve their practice, then John will support them '100%.' There is a sense of collegiality as noted in the induction and support provided to a beginning teacher at Bellfield Primary School.

I feel really well equipped. When I first began I was part of a mentor program that the principal set up, which meant that every fortnight I met with the leading teacher of the junior school, assistant principal and principal. Any problems or issues I have I can take to the leadership team, either head of junior school or the principal. That really prepared me.

For John getting the most out of teachers is about creating a high expectation, data-driven learning environment. As John describes, it is about creating "a culture in which teachers are accountable, keeping data that is fair dinkum, setting high expectations, going in and watching teachers teach formally..." To lead a school, John believes that teachers want to see that a principal is passionate, determined, and understands the work of classrooms teachers in a diverse environment. John's beliefs also reflect the increasing emphasis in Australian education on performance accountability, high expectations, and the use of data-driven decision-making processes to improve schools.

Vicki Forbes: Brentwood Secondary College

Vicki Forbes was appointed as principal of Brentwood Secondary College in 2000 after being an assistant principal for five years in a high profile 'successful' school that enjoyed a reputation in the community for academic excellence. Brentwood Secondary College is a coeducational, single campus school established in 1969 in a residential eastern suburb of Melbourne. By the mid 1990s the reputation of the school had declined in comparison with other high profile schools in the area. Student enrollment increased from 700

to 800 when Vicki became principal in the year 2000. While the reputation of the school had improved, Vicki believed that the school was underperforming and she set about improving the school's performance in a number of areas, particularly student achievement.

Under Vicki's leadership, school enrollments have continued to increase (1350 in 2007), student achievement in English and mathematics in years 7 to 10, and performance across most study areas at year 12 has continued to improve and is well above state and like school benchmarks (based on socioeconomic and English language background status). The school is now regarded as one of the top performing government schools in the state with Year 12 student learning outcomes that place them in the top 10% of government schools. Student retention figures indicate more than 90% of students in Year 11 go on to Year 12; of these students more than 80% gain some form of post-school study (more than 60% in university, and more than 20% in technical and further education), with the majority of the remaining students securing work (only 2% of students had not secured work or further study four months after completing Year 12). Much of the success was attributable to Vicki's role as an educational leader.

Most of Vicki's impact on student outcomes has been indirect, focusing considerable energy into attracting, retaining, and developing staff, promoting shared leadership and decision making, developing personal and professional capacity of staff through a focus on improving teaching and learning, and building relationships. It is in this last aspect that she has a direct impact on students as she directly influences their values and beliefs about school, which leads to improved learning outcomes.

Values, Beliefs, and Vision. Vicki demonstrated the importance of values and beliefs in making an impact when she stated:

I think we have mistakenly believed that you can't have high expectations, rigor and care and support and trust running together and integrated and that has been a mistake that we have made in the way that schools have been managed ... I think the real challenge is to have the two integrated and I think that is what I have tried to do.

Here Vicki's comments provide us with a contextualized view of the subtleties and complexities involved in contemporary leadership. Much of the mainstream educational administration literature presents a dualistic view of rigor/accountability and caring in schools. Vicki also said she made sure the vision was reenforced and repeated again and again until 'they got it.' All stakeholders interviewed in the study acknowledged the fact that it was transparent and people did get it. She was seen as successfully 'walking

the talk' and used language, words, symbols, and actions to reenforce the school vision and intentions of current accountability policies. One of the assistant principals noted that:

The principal's vision is clearer than in any other school I have been to: we do everything we can to improve teaching and learning – we walk the talk, resources are put into it – professional development programs are put into it.

A student noted the changes in expectations and results they had seen since Vicki arrived:

We are all here for the same reasons: to get the grades and get what we want as students and this has shown in the past two years especially in the increase of students from Brentwood going on to further study and the results achieved by students at the end of year 12. They have raised the bar in the last few years since Miss Forbes has been at our school.

Developing Personal and Professional Capacity: A Focus on Teaching and Learning. When Vicki arrived at the school she believed the school was 'coasting.' Consequently she made 'teaching and learning' a major focus, and began to shift the school management and governance around learning. As the Head of Teaching and Learning noted, Vicki provided "a vision, especially an educational vision of improving teaching and learning in the classroom."

The challenge was to "get inside the classroom door to improve teaching and learning for all students regardless of SES." As she put it,

We must be the only profession in the world that doesn't learn through observation. You have to encourage people to go into each others classrooms ... It is that sharing and the trust that you have with that colleague that will enable you to develop your own skills.

Other strategies included debating issues in staff forums, professional reading, and exchanging new ideas. A change in culture in staff meetings also helped to focus efforts on improving teaching and learning. Rarely was that time now used for administrative matters. Meetings were held once a fortnight with every second meeting characterized by the Head of Teaching and Learning as 'ten minutes of shared reading' and by 'think, pair, share' sessions about 'what we believe about teaching and learning.' These management shifts reflect broader trends toward decentralization as well as Vicki's preferences.

Attracting, Retaining, and Developing Staff. Because the school was growing, Vicki selected key leadership people and was influential in selecting beginning teachers. While she believed the school was underperforming she recognized

that there were talented teachers whose potential was untapped. She commented that it was like finding the silver in the cupboard and polishing it." She consistently challenged staff to be their best or accountable for their performances.

Student Relationships: Changing Values and Beliefs. Relationships with teachers, students, and the community are a cornerstone to Vicki's leadership. Students have been encouraged to develop a strong work ethic, the success of which is evidenced by the high Year 12 results. But just as importantly,

...there is an enormous amount of encouragement to get the best out of the students so that in a way we do make a success of it whether we get the results or not. (Head of Department)

One area in which her leadership that could be described as having a 'direct impact' on student outcomes was her relationship with students. Whether it was in the schoolyard, in her office, or at other school and social activities, she made a point of establishing a trusting relationship with all students and influencing how they viewed school. She used the language and labels of 'high expectations' with teachers and students – discourse widely associated with current accountability polices.

This is where the language we use is so powerful. It is not just about a achievement, it's about being the best you can be, it's about challenging and stretching yourself.

Shared Leadership and Decision Making. Vicki describes her style as consultative and people oriented. She noted that leaders can have high expectations but still be caring. She explained how she encouraged and tried to motivate people to take risks. She also noted that she used a delegating style in order to empower staff to take responsibility, for example, she noted that she often had to 'accept a lesser job' than she would normally do herself in order to 'let go and learn to delegate.' While she thought that leadership was as much an art as a science, she believed that you had to be 'strategic.' Students confirmed her style as 'consultative'; they saw her has being very 'professional,' 'very focused and motivated,' 'open door,' and 'business like.' They felt that they could 'say anything to her' and that she was 'easy to interact with.' Teachers also described her as being collaborative, but one who was prepared to make hard decisions. Here Vicki clearly displays the subtleties and complexities of participatory management and leadership – nuances that are rarely highlighted in the mainstream leadership.

Jan Shrimpton, South Morang Primary School

Prior to Jan's appointment in late 1999, the school had experienced a considerable decline in performance, especially between 1995 and 1999. Jan was appointed to help the school improve and she did this to the extent that the school was identified as a turnaround school as a result of a systemic school review conducted in 2003 (each Victorian government school is currently required to undergo self-assessment and independent verification every four years, and previously every three years; see Gurr, 2007b). Notable improvements included Mathematics and English learning outcomes, staff opinion, parent opinion, resource management, and school image. We initially studied this school in 2004 and returned in 2008 when we also conducted observations of her work. The school has maintained its level of success and the following provides a summary of the key reasons for this sustained success.

Values and Beliefs. Over the 10 years as principal at the school, Jan's philosophy remained the same. She felt it was important to work holistically. For example, while literacy and numeracy were important, so were the arts, social competency, and tolerance of others. Her aim was to bring together the resources to create a community of life-long learners, rather than striving to be the top school in the state. In other words, she resists back-to-basics pressures and insists on holistic education and democratic practices. Jan strongly believed in these educational practices that reflected child-centered education, and these beliefs were demonstrated by her recruitment philosophy:

We recruit for attitude. First of all they must be passionate about teaching, love kids, and want to be part of a team. Then skills come second.

Interestingly, it is this strongly held philosophy that may also be preventing the school from improving further. Jan had clearly turned this school around, but over the past few years key student learning outcomes had plateaued. The school described itself as a 'good' but not a 'great' school. Jan's belief in focusing on a holistic approach to learning rather than being driven only by literacy and numeracy results may have contributed to this. She agreed that her philosophy was at odds with the current government emphases on schools focusing strongly on improving literacy and numeracy outcomes. In this case, there was evidence that the principal (Jan) purposely resisted current political pressures for back-to-basics curriculum and accountability.

Jan has now retired and she believed that it was time for a new person to take the school to the next level. She explained this by discussing a nearby

school where, although the results had dramatically improved, the principal 'had dragged staff kicking and screaming' to achieve these results. It was something that she would never do though as it conflicted with her emphasis on working with staff, parents, and students in a supportive and caring way to develop the whole child, rather then to just be results focused.

Leadership Style. Jan was observed to be influential and purposeful. Her style was open and invitational rather than confrontational, and included a collaborative and consultative approach to decision making. Jan worked well with her assistant principal Julie, and relied on teachers taking on leadership roles. Indeed, it was clear that the success of the school relied on both Jan and Julie, and increasingly on teachers involved in leadership teams (e.g. professional learning teams had been developed at each year level). As one teacher noted, Jan had developed "an open trustworthy place, [one that was] comfortable for all to participate in."

Personal Characteristics. Jan displayed a strong sense of purpose, persistence to see change through to a positive conclusion, a positive selfimage ("I see myself as a successful leader"), a friendly and outgoing personality, and someone with excellent communication skills. For Jan, "there is nothing you cannot achieve and fix if you are persistent, consistent and tenacious." Above all she was a 'people person' enjoying the many daily interactions she had and seeing people grow and develop.

Building Relations. Jan's enjoyment at working with people is reflected in her ability to build relationships with a wide range of individuals and groups. She had demonstrated her capacity to do this when she turned the school environment around from one that was caustic with everyone fighting, to a harmonious and friendly atmosphere. She was able to reach out to the community and establish trust and confidence in the school. She talked about building community through the use of open door polices, lots of meetings with parents, encouraging teachers to invite parents in the classroom, providing parenting programs, and acknowledging parents' good work. She was able to effectively manage staff. For example, if she had to move a staff member from the school she tried to ensure that both the school and the teacher were both satisfied. She empowered young teachers and provided them with quality professional learning and leadership opportunities. Jan believes in the absolute imperative of empowering others, and throughout my career, and especially during my years as principal, I have been committed to this and to valuing diversity and developing successful and happy working teams.

Above all she established trust. She was approachable, and students, teachers, and parents felt they were welcomed to speak to her any time. Overriding all her work with people is her passion to work with all the children and families that come to the school.

I have had a long and enduring commitment to all children receiving the best possible range of educational experiences, opportunities to succeed and to reach their full potential. Within the educational context, I believe children grow and develop best in an environment that is supportive and caring and where attitudes of respecting the rights and differences of others are appreciated and fostered.

As a leader Jan introduced a range of interventions that impacted directly on individuals and groups, and indirectly through programs and processes that emphasized communication rather than sanctions.

United States

The US cases feature principals of two elementary schools (Hope Academy, a Kindergarten through grade 8 school and Canyon Elementary, a K-8 school) and one middle school (Summit Middle School, grades 5–8), all located along the US and Mexico border. The two elementary schools are led by women principals, one of whom is Hispanic the other is Caucasian, and the middle school principal is an Hispanic male.

Hope Academy and Canyon Elementary School are both part of the same city school district; Hope is located in a predominantly minority, high-poverty community on the edge of a Native American reservation, and Canyon is located on the edge of a large urban area, in a middle-class neighborhood with an increasingly diverse population. The district is exclusively an innercity urban district and is ethnically diverse (76% – Hispanic, 11% – White, 7% – Black, 3% – American Indian, 3% – Asian/Pacific Islander) and economically disadvantaged (96%; Department of Education, 2008). Fifty-five percent are English Language Learners (ELL). Summit Elementary is located in an affluent suburban area 35 miles from the city center.

Rosa Davis: Hope Academy

Rosa Davis has been the principal of Hope Academy for five years, and during that time, Hope became one of the top performing schools in the region. Hope Academy has a 60% Native American population with 95% free and/or reduced lunch. Rosa Davis of Hope Academy (all names in this case study are pseudonyms) was selected to highlight indirect educational leadership in the context of a successful suburban elementary school in a very low socioeconomic area along the US–Mexico border. Rosa's leadership is characterized by participatory or distributive leadership practices aimed at social justice for poor and working-class Latino and Native American citizens with limited English proficiency. Teachers and others credited Rosa's impact on school improvement primarily to her curriculum leadership, particularly in relation to her work with bilingual education. As one teacher put it,

Our community is right along the border. Many of our students are primarily Spanishspeaking, but in [our state], bilingual education is illegal. Ms. Davis was unbelievably brave in going to a community organization to get them to supply our students with bilingual education in an after-school program. It's really had a positive effect on the children and our instruction, though. It's just amazing to see how well the children codeswitch and read in both languages.

Rosa's participatory leadership approach (e.g. attracting, retaining, and developing staff and promoting shared leadership) extended to the broader community beyond the school. In particular, interviewees talked at length about the importance of Rosa's role in the development of a community organization that provided coleadership in making the school more academically strong and culturally responsive to the Native American and Latino populations. Along with Rosa's efforts to support Spanish-speaking students, she reached out to the Native American tribal council, having numerous meetings to listen and find out how the school could support cultural and educational needs of the children. As one tribal leader explained, "We never felt like the school respected the Native American culture until [the principal] spent time with us and gradually incorporated changes. If you go in the school at any time, you see Native American symbols along with artifacts from Mexico. Our language and customs are always included in school ceremonies. It makes our kids feel like they are at home and part of the school."

What stood out was the principal's courage and skill in reaching out to tribal leaders of the neighboring reservation as well as respected members of the barrio. Because Rosa reached out to the community elders for the sake of her students, she has been successful in gradually improving language and literacy levels, increasing student self-esteem and empowerment, and developing a greater sense of community engagement with school. *Values and Beliefs.* The researchers and interviewees were struck by Rosa's compassion and empathy toward Hope students, their families, and other citizens surrounding the school. Rosa was a passionate campaigner for social justice, but she purposely used community organizations as the vehicle to improve the surrounding neighborhood, reservation, and the public education system:

The reservation life is extremely difficult for our children, but it doesn't have to mean these kids are destined for a life of poverty and social challenges. I believe that the role of public education is to level the playing field, to work for justice. At the same time, I have come to believe that change must come from the community as well as from within the school. That's why I worked so hard to support community and tribal organizations to develop the economic and social base of the community, to make their neighborhoods better places to live. Public schools must be part of the change but not the only source. If neighborhood and tribal leaders work with public educators, we can give our kids the best possible chance to succeed.

Many school members talked at length about Rosa's passionate commitment to social justice for her students and the broader community. As one teacher stated, "Rosa really takes her job seriously. She sees herself as a passionate campaigner for the children who have struggled with lives of poverty and who lack the social capital to succeed." Rosa also has a strong belief that the school members must work as part of the tribal and barrio communities to empower their citizens in ways that build social capital and economic capital.

Building Relationships, and Showing Respect, Support, and Commitment. Rosa began her tenure by visiting parents and community leaders on their own terms, in their homes on the reservation or in the barrio. Parents and tribal/ community leaders found her approachable, a good listener, and someone who appeared genuinely concerned in making the school responsive to the surrounding culture. She listened to diverse community members in order to learn how to respond to her culturally diverse school population. One Native American parent described Rosa as:

very welcoming and responsive to children and adults. She actually came to my house before she started her job to find out needs of my children. She was very respectful, asked questions, but basically just listened as I talked about my concerns that the school had moved away from the Native American culture.

At the same time, Rosa was upfront regarding her expectations, and "made no apologies for making sure that staff, parents, community members, and the children themselves knew that we all must believe that all children can and will learn in this space."

Understanding the Wider Contextual Influences. Rosa was convinced that the children would be best served by empowering the community to transform their neighborhood by cleaning up vacant areas, refurbishing rundown homes, and planting desert landscapes surrounding the school. By making the school area more beautiful, children would be part of community development in which they believed their elders saw them worthy of the best possible learning space. At the same time, Rosa knew she needed to work with teachers to learn culturally responsive practices appropriate for the Latino and Native American populations they served. She recalled:

I think we're seen as different in the district in that we have our staff meetings in the halls of a community organization. We believe we are part of a neighborhood revitalization project. We're also proud because our instructional programs are very progressive and our school is becoming more beautiful along with the surrounding neighborhood area.

Community Capacity: Developing a Learning Culture and Thick Trust. On arrival at Hope Academy, Rosa was confronted with numerous parents who believed that the school was not serving the needs of their children and teachers who were convinced that the children could not meet the highest state standards. She actively cultivated a child-centered learning culture and democratic decision making that honored the Native American and Latino cultures of the surrounding communities. As Rosa put it, "I've adhered to these commitments because I believed that unless we fostered a community capacity and thick trust, our curriculum work would be disconnected from the children and families we serve." Rosa's efforts to foster a culturally responsive learning culture involved reviewing the curriculum for relevance and coherence and supporting teachers to take risks and develop innovative teaching practices. In the process, Rosa frequently confronted dissension from staff members. She said, "I tried to bring everyone on board, but if teachers were not willing to give more than 100% and work to support community rejuvenation, this was not the place for them. As a result, several teachers left the school within a couple of years, and we were able to hire new teachers who were committed to the cause."

Rosa displays an indirect form of educational leadership in that she places a strong emphasis on looking at children's education in broad terms, as part of community development and engagement in making communities better places to live and learn together. As Rosa argued, student learning is evidenced by "teachers' commitment to professional learning and the use of research in their classrooms, by the beautification of the school and surrounding community, and by deeper engagement of parents and community members actively engaged in public education." These comments are a radical change from the previous school norms, which, as one teacher explained, previously based on "just keeping them [students] quiet and under control." In this case, what stood out was the principal's commitment to student learning as part of community education, cultural respect, and neighborhood revitalization.

Leah Park: Canyon School

Since the beginning of Leah's tenure as Canyon principal seven years ago, the school demographics shifted from primarily Caucasian middle-class to primarily Latino working-class and Spanish-speaking students. Canyon's population features more than 50% Caucasian, 35% Hispanic, 10% African American, and 5% other. As the neighborhoods surrounding the school became increasingly diverse, student assessment scores (and the school's reputation) declined. Leah's leadership effects may be characterized as indirect, providing staff development and peer coaching support for the student-centered instruction that she believed would be more appropriate for the changing population.

Under Leah's leadership, student achievement in English and mathematics has continued to improve and is well above state and like school benchmarks (based on socioeconomic and English language background status). Because bilingual education is illegal in the state, Leah led the creation of a bilingual early childhood center in the community. Many interviewees credited the combination of Leah's community education work and her curriculum leadership skills with school improvement. The school is now regarded as one of the top performing government schools in the state. Much of the success was attributable to Leah's tireless curriculum work aimed at the improvement of learning for all children, regardless of social class, race, or gender. Leah's impact on student outcomes has been primarily indirect, developing shared community leadership and decision making, developing professional capacity of staff through a focus on improving teaching and learning, and building school and community relationships.

Values, Beliefs, and Vision. Leah demonstrated the importance of language and cultural values when she stated:

I think the state has made a mistake in not allowing native Spanish-speaking students to build on that language strength to develop English language and literacy skills. Beyond how mutually supportive language and literacy skills are, we build trust and support with parents and children through bilingual education.

Leah was also seen as successfully 'walking the talk' and used culturally appropriate language, symbols, and actions to reenforce the vision. She also used the language of high expectations in both languages with teachers, parents, and students. Many teachers and parents recognized Leah's culturally responsive leadership practices. One fifth-grade teacher's comments was typical of many others when she said, "The first thing I noticed was the physical change in the building, all the Mexican and Native American artifacts, but gradually, through trainings and a lot of discussion, we learned work with a more diverse student population."

Developing Personal and Professional Capacity: A Focus on Teaching and Learning. When Leah arrived at the school she believed the school needed to create a learner-centered culture. Thus, Leah made curriculum and professional learning a major focus, and she attended regular professional development sessions with teachers, spent time coteaching in classrooms with staff, and fostering peer observations and coaching. Leah's challenge was to cultivate enough trust to invite each other in to observe their practices because peer coaching is essential to build a learning community as well as to help individual teachers improve their practices.

Shared Leadership and Decision Making. Leah describes her leadership style as participatory, open, and caring. She noted that you can have high expectations but still be caring. In Leah's words, "Leadership is a gift you are given by other people. It is a gift when you are given the opportunity to serve the people who consider you a leader and to work with and through them to achieve the greater good for society." While Leah stated that she believed leadership was a gift that others give to the leader, she also noted that there were times she needed to stand up for those who had been marginalized. Teachers confirmed her style as 'service-oriented,' 'caring,' and 'professional.' Parents also described her as being 'collaborative,' but one who was clearly the leader who could 'take a stand when necessary.'

Ray Diaz: Summit School

Ray Diaz has been principal of Summit School for five years. Summit is located in one of the largest and fastest growing suburban areas of the state. The student population of Summit is primarily Caucasian with less than 5%

free and/or reduced lunch. The school district serves 12,850 students (63% – White, 28% – Hispanic, 4% – Black, 3% – Asian/Pacific Islander, 2% – American Indian) over 550 square miles, which has increased from 10,000 to 30,000 residents over the past 10 years. The district in which Summit is located has less economically disadvantaged (31% compared to 45%) and ELL students (4% compared to 11%) than the school district that includes Hope and Canyon Schools (Department of Education, 2009).

Ray knew early in his career that he wanted to be a principal in order to have a broader influence on making a difference to the lives of children. Teachers frequently talked about how Ray "spent time coteaching with them in their classrooms in order to keep his teaching techniques current and to understand the needs of children." During the course of several interviews, Ray stated that he needed to "work in the classrooms to learn how to work 'hands-on' with a more diverse population." Teachers talked at length about how Ray's willingness to roll up his sleeves and work alongside them. As one teacher put it,

He really walks the talk. We've had to revamp the curriculum practices to accommodate changing populations of children. He didn't just tell us what to do... He struggled along with us and it made a difference to how teachers listened and were willing to try new things...me included.

Values, Beliefs, and Vision. At the beginning of his tenure (2006), Ray developed a sophisticated series of curriculum decision-making teams to improve teaching, learning, and the overall school culture. As he put it, "With our changing population, we really needed to come to agreements on how to be student centered rather than curriculum centered." John was actively involved in all aspects of the curriculum teams, and many teachers credited Ray with the extent to which they became deeply engaged in ongoing professional learning that pushed their creativity and improved their teaching practices. Ray believes that teachers want to see a principal who is deeply invested in the school and who deeply understands the work of classrooms teachers and the needs of students. Teachers and parents also talked about Ray's understanding of students' needs. One teacher, for example, stated, "He has gone the extra mile to really understand the kinds of knowledge and customs my child brings with him to school. He respects that but makes sure he learns what he needs to be successful."

Ray also continually articulated his belief that "teachers are leaders of curriculum when they take time to read and apply research." Many teachers talked at length about how the "team meetings cultivated a norm of reflection and peer coaching about teaching practices." In other words, Ray was

exceptionally effective in his ability to align the school decision-making structures with the cultivation of effective relationships, ongoing professional learning, and structured teacher reflections about the effectiveness of teaching practice. Several teachers commented on how the changes in curriculum decision making supported their development as leaders and professionals. Consider, for example, the following comment by an eighth grade teacher: "I feel like I have a leadership role in the school. It's a group leadership, but it helps to know where we are going as a school when I teach my classes."

Direct Influence on Instruction, Curriculum, and Assessment. Ray's clarity of vision and purpose intensified after he disaggregated state assessment data by gender and ethnicity, a process that revealed a gender achievement gap in math and science. Ray struggled with curriculum changes, conducted numerous staff development activities, and regularly taught math classes in order to implement single sex classrooms at Summit. In so doing, Ray and the Summit teachers gradually closed the gender achievement gap. In Ray's words,

We believe in direct instruction, particularly in linear subjects like math and science. We also learned that when we separated students by gender in these areas, the female students developed at a greater pace. So we use research about gender specific learning strategies and we use the latest research available on how to teach math and science. Our students have developed to become scientists and mathematicians. They have learned to think like scholars in these disciplines and it is paying off with higher level thinking skills as well as content proficiency.

Likewise, teachers commented that disciplinary teaching has made an impact on students, particularly students who come in with different funds of knowledge. As one teacher put, "Many of our students come in with ideas about what it means to be a student but they do not have a sense of what it means to be a scientist or a mathematician. Conversations in the home center on different things. So we have to develop that with sensitivity for where these kids come from."

Developing Teacher Capacity. Ray loves the challenge of scaffolding teachers and students to build on their strengths and extend their learning to the highest potential. Ray states, "I love to teach in various school classrooms. I have to roll up my sleeves to really see where the issues are and be able to contribute to instructional discussions and decisions in meaningful ways." Ray also attends professional development activities with his teachers and supports these teachers to utilize what they learned in innovative ways. As Ray describes, "the key piece is in creating a professional learning culture in which teachers work together to set attain

high expectations for themselves and all of their students." Many teachers talked at length about how they appreciated Ray's presence at staff development meetings.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In sum, findings reveal principals who are 'successful' to varying degrees relative to student performance. While all principals acknowledge the importance of learning outcomes, each defines success more broadly than aggregated standardized test scores. All six are concerned with social equity for diverse populations and curriculum for the whole child, meeting their emotional, cultural, and social needs, in addition to academics. Furthermore, these principals are all deeply committed to community development in ways that respect and respond to the national and local cultures in which their schools are situated. At the same time, findings across both countries indicate that current neoliberal and neoconservative discourses and decentralization reforms have shaped the principals' language and practices.

Findings across both countries also suggested that successful school leadership involves a balance of direct and indirect management policies and practices, and this balance is influenced and shaped by the macro national and political context in which it occurs. Further, successful leadership is animated by a set of core values, beliefs, and commitments to improve the whole lives of children and communities. These principals understand the context of their schools, develop an agreed school vision, provide staff with individual support, model excellent teaching and learning, and share leadership when appropriate.

The findings of this paper support and extend the conclusions of Leithwood and Riehl (2005) who, in reviewing many studies of successful school leadership, found that in addition to the core leadership practices of direction setting, developing staff, redesigning the organization around participatory governance, and managing instructional programs, principals ensured there was a safe environment, had clearly articulated core values and expectations, hired staff who were supportive of the school philosophy and teaching increasingly diverse populations, constructed context-sensitive improvement plans, established trust, ensured they were visible in the school, and were good at building of productive coalitions with community organizations. In particular, two of the US cases (Hope and Canyon) and one Australian case (South Morang) fostered community development and partnerships in order to honor and extend their students' cultural capital.

Findings also suggested key differences within each country and across the US and Australian contexts. First, demographic shifts have affected US schools more dramatically because the population changes have been occurring over a longer period of time. Although neoconservative and neoliberal discourses have affected common sense views about curriculum in all schools across both countries, there are differences in the degree to which the principals resisted these political pressures. Further, the Australian principals are accountable for their use of participatory governance as part of management policies. In the United States, all the principals adopted some form of shared governance, but they focused their expectations and school reform efforts on the area for which they are accountable – improved scores on state tests. This focus on test scores clearly affected some principals' curriculum reform efforts as they promoted back-to-basics curriculums aligned with the state tests.

While there were differences among the cases in how leadership was enacted due to features such as school size and cultural contexts, what is overwhelming is the similarity in these larger attributes. We seem to be gathering an understanding of school leadership that will transcend many contexts both at the country and within country levels.

As schools around the world become increasingly diverse, examples of successful leadership in varying contexts are poorly represented in the research literature. We believe these cross-national and intranational understandings provide an important beginning in the establishment of international 'profiles of successful school leaders,' which can contribute to our understanding of leadership practice and provide implications for the preparation, recruitment, and retention of successful school leaders who are more responsive to the needs of 'real schools' throughout the world.

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CULTURE AND SCHOOL LEADERSHIP IN CHINA: EXPLORING SCHOOL LEADERS' VIEWS OF RELATIONSHIP- AND RULE-BASED GOVERNANCE

Wing-Wah Law

ABSTRACT

Numerous Chinese management studies have demonstrated significant differences between Chinese and Western management. This exploratory paper investigates the impact of Chinese culture and Western traditions on China's contemporary school leaders' views of leadership and management, particularly in the areas of relationship building, delegation, and promotion. Data were drawn from questionnaires completed by school leaders and individual interviews with principals from different parts of China. The findings indicate that the differences between Chinese and Western management practices in Chinese schools are not static and should not be over-stressed. To different extents, the respondent school leaders of China were affected by both Chinese and Western values and practices in school leadership and management. Specifically, they were more influenced by Chinese culture in the areas of school management and organization and by Western values and practices in the areas of

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relationship building, staff performance, and promotion. Their leadership and management preferences were also influenced by other factors, including gender, domestic politics, and development.

INTRODUCTION

In the fields of comparative leadership and management and particularly Chinese management studies, many perceive Chinese and Western cultures as offering two different constructs or approaches to understanding and explaining the individual's relationships to self, others, society, and nature (Alon, 2003b; Qi, Wu, & He, 2007). Culture has been used to explain the differences between Chinese and Western management in the concepts and practices of governance, power distribution, and social relations (Ralston, Gustafson, Elsass, Cheung, & Terpstra, 1992). This leads to two major stereotyped dichotomies between Chinese and Western management, respectively: a paternalistic and collective orientation versus a democratic and individualistic orientation and relationship-based governance versus ruleor merit-based governance. While many studies have addressed the first dichotomy (Hofstede, 1980, 1984; Lowe, 2003; Ralston et al., 1992; Wang, 2007), the second dichotomy has been under-researched and is the focus of this exploratory paper.

With reference to China, this empirical work explores contemporary Chinese school leaders' views on the relationship between the broader culture and school leadership and management in three interrelated areas: relationship building (guanxi), job promotion, and power delegation to subordinates. Data were drawn from over 350 questionnaires completed by school leaders (including principals, school-party secretaries, and deputy principals) and 20 individual interviews with principals working in different parts of China. The study reveals three major patterns of Chinese school leadership: coexistence of Confucian authority chains and task-oriented relationships, a preference for performance-based over relationship-based promotion, and a dilemma between a willingness to delegate and a need for monitoring. These patterns further reflect continuities and changes in Chinese school leadership, which can be interpreted as resulting from the dynamic, changing interplay between Chinese and Western cultures. To different extents, the respondent school leaders were affected by both Chinese and Western values and practices in school leadership and management. They were more influenced by Chinese culture in the areas of school management and organization and by Western values and practices in the areas of relationship building, staff performance, and promotion. Their leadership and management preferences were also influenced by other factors, including gender, domestic politics, and development.

The paper first reviews relationship-related dichotomies between Chinese and Western management as presented in management studies. Second, it provides the background of the study and describes its design and implementation. Third, it presents the questionnaire findings of Chinese school leaders' views regarding these three areas, and provides possible explanations for their views by exploring the interview findings. The study then concludes with a discussion of the theoretical implications for understanding culture and leadership in a global age.

CHINESE LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT: RELATIONSHIP BUILDING, PROMOTION, AND DELEGATION

In the comparative business and management literature, there is a prevalent view about the dichotomy between relationship-based governance in the East and rule-based governance in the West (Li, 2002). A rule-based system is defined as one in which public rules are transparent, fair, universally applied, and impartially enforced, whereas a relationship-based system is viewed as one in which public rules are unfair, opaque, and cannot be enforced impartially (Li, Park, & Li, 2004). The East is perceived to be more likely to use personal relations and private information to guide economic and social transactions, while the West is seen to be more dependent on rules and public information. In Chinese management studies, Chinese and Western management are regarded as representing relationship- and rule-based governance, respectively. Chinese leadership and management, as Lockett (1988) contended, revealed four major, interrelated characteristics of Chinese culture: respect for hierarchy and age, a group orientation, face keeping and saving, and the importance of *guanxi* (relationships).

In China, *guanxi* has an extremely high level of importance and has been a dominant form of transactional governance (Davies, Leung, Luk, & Wong, 1995, 2003). *Guanxi* has different English translations, such as connections, networks, social relationships, and human-based relationships (Davies et al., 1995). It is defined as a "set of personal connections which an individual may draw upon to secure resources and advantages when doing business or

in the course of social life" (Davies et al., 2003, p. 42). As Yang (1994) argued, *guanxi* is built upon kinship, friendship, and other types of personal relations in the workplace and the wider society. *Guanxi* can involve affective sentiments, such as emotional attachment, personal favors, and commitment. The cultivation and utilization of *guanxi* often require tactics, obligations, and different forms of giving and receiving. Owing to the culture of such reciprocation in social relations, Chinese management is regarded as relationship-based, and as different from Western management, which is rule-based (Alon, 2003a). While Western managers stress interests in negotiation, their Chinese counterparts focus more on face and reputation at the personal and institutional levels (Yan & Xiao, 2003).

In Chinese organizations, *guanxi* in the horizontal relational web, as Hong and Engeström (2004) argued, is complemented by Confucian authority chains in a vertical power hierarchy. The former is marked by discussion and negotiation, mutual exchange of information, different treatment according to the situation, the importance of long-term trust, respect for others, and reciprocity of loyalty; whereas the latter features order and obedience, topdown information flow, strict following of the rules, interactions that do not necessarily require trust, respect for authority, and loyalty to seniors. Hong and Engeström (2004) further argued that Chinese working people see *guanxi* as a means to gain a sense of belongingness and communication with one another, and often regard good *guanxi* as a most important qualification for being a good leader. In China's competitive environment, *guanxi* as mutual obligation in the relational web may help settle conflicts and provide support and protection in times of need (Faure & Ding, 2003).

Despite China's march toward modernization and opening up to the world since the late 1970s, *guanxi* in organizations and institutions has not disappeared. Yang (1994) argued that *guanxi* as a culturally deep-seated element has not been eradicated but is increasing during China's economic transition. From an institutional perspective, however, Guthrie (1998) criticized Yang for failing to recognize *guanxi* as a system depending on the society's institutional structure and to distinguish the positive aspect of *guanxi* as the building up of good relations to do business from the negative aspect of *guanxi*: *guanxi* as a "backdoor" practice of using social relations in economic and political situations to take care of procedures and get around normal, official, or legal channels. Guthrie further argued that in modern Chinese business, the trend of *guanxi* as relationship building is increasing, but that of *guanxi* practice is decreasing. From an institutional-developmental perspective, Li et al. (2004) argued that choices of governance mode are broadly related to the level of development: that relationship-based

governance is more likely to dominate in countries at early stages of development, whereas rule-based governance is more prevalent in those at later stages. They further contended that as China develops, it is gradually shifting from relationship- to rule-based governance by adopting an "incremental approach" in such a manner that the old ways of using *guanxi* in transactions and exchanges have been preserved, while new laws, rules, and regulations have been gradually introduced (pp. 74–75).

Related to guanxi are two dichotomies between Chinese and Western management: job promotion and delegation of decision-making power to subordinates. As a social resource, *guanxi* can play an important role in job promotion and career advancement in Chinese organizations. As Alon (2003a) pointed out, the job promotion basis in Chinese culture is who one knows, whereas in Western culture it is *what* one knows. This is partly explained as resulting from different cultures in Western societies and China. Western countries use a rule-based capitalistic system, relying on verifiable public information and acceptable legal processes. In comparison, China's economy is mainly relational. Despite its moves toward a rule-based system, transactions in China are mainly based on personal and implicit agreements. To minimize monitoring costs, favors are given to employees who are relatives, classmates, or friends, rather than strangers. Moreover, seniority as an indicator of status in the relational web, rather than merit and performance, remains a most important criterion for promotion, for example, in higher education (Johnson, 1991).

Moreover, Chinese and Western management differ in how decision making and human resources are delegated. Delegation is a process of decision making in which power is transferred from one organizational level to a lower one, and is distributed rather than shared between levels (Leana, 1986). Specifically, delegation includes giving important new tasks to subordinates, devolution to them of responsibility for decisions formerly handled by their superordinates, increase in the amount of autonomy, and discretion in how they do their work (Yukl & Fu, 1999). Autonomy is given to subordinates on an individual basis rather than on a group or dyadic superordinate-subordinate basis (Leana, 1986). In Western countries, for example, in the United Kingdom and the United States, delegation has been widely recognized as an important characteristic of effective management (Joiner, Bakalis, & Choy, 2007; Yukl, 2006; Yukl & Fu, 1999). However, delegation is seen to be inconsistent with "Chinese cultural values of social hierarchy, paternalism and order," and Chinese bosses direct subordinates who are "culturally more comfortable with a paternalistic management style" (Joiner et al., 2007, pp. 127, 135).

A number of Chinese education studies have argued for the significance of culture in understanding and explaining school leadership and educational administration (Cheng, 1995; Cheng & Wong, 1996). Two studies (Bush & Qiang, 2000; Ribbins & Zhang, 2006) found that Chinese school leadership has been influenced by two major forces: market values introduced into the planned economy after economic reform and opening up to the world in the late 1970s and cultural-political culture, namely traditional Chinese culture (notably Confucianism emphasizing, for example, respect for authority, collectivism, and harmony), which is reinforced by Communist political culture through school leaders' political training.

Comparative leadership and management studies of Chinese management can shed light on the impact of culture on educational leadership in China. They have not, however, specifically explored the dichotomies between Chinese and Western management in *guanxi*, promotion, and delegation. As shown later, they also have not explained the coexistence of Chinese school leaders' preferences for Chinese and Western features in these three areas, and therefore how they blur distinctions between Chinese and Western management.

THE STUDY

This study is part of a broader project on education and culture in China and explores the Sino-Western dichotomy in governance as shown in Chinese school leadership. It has three specific research questions:

- What are Chinese school leaders' views on three major domains of school leadership and management: (a) relationship, (b) delegation, and (c) promotion?
- 2. In which domain and to what extent were their views affected by Chinese or Western management? Why?
- 3. Do other factors affect their views? If so, why?

In the first half of 2008, a questionnaire survey and semistructured interviews were used to collect data. The former was a relatively less expensive means to explore the views of more informants, and the latter provided an opportunity for in-depth probing and clarification (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Wiersma & Jurs, 2004).

Based on the literature review on the distinctions between Chinese and Western management in the three selected leadership domains, I developed a draft questionnaire with four parts. Part I covered personal and school information, including types of leadership post, length of leadership experience, political affiliation, school location (region of location, and urban or rural areas), teacher team size, and student enrollment. Part II examined school leaders' views on relationship and connection. About half of the items, which were adapted from Hong and Engeström (2004), focused on the school's internal relationships. The rest of questions were new; for example, respondents were asked about the importance of the school's external relationships, such as the faithful implementation of government's policy and cultivation of relationships with parents and government officials. Part III examined Chinese school leaders' views of staff promotion, and all questions were adapted from Alon (2003a). Part IV asked about the delegation of power to subordinates, and most items were adapted from Joiner et al. (2007) and Yukl and Fu (1999). New items were added, including moral- and relationship-related criteria for delegation. In the last three parts, a five-point Likert scale allowed respondents to indicate the extent of their agreement, ranging from 1 (= strongly disagree, not at all)important, or not at all willing) to 5(= strongly agree, very important, or verv willing).

In a pilot test, five principals completed the questionnaire. Later, each principal was invited to individually discuss the difficulty, clarity, and readability of different question items and the appropriateness of the response options. In the final questionnaire, all items were kept, but the response options of some items concerning personal and school information were revised slightly (such as length of political party membership). The time of completion ranged between 30 and 40 min.

To ensure the survey's reliability, the study adopted two strategies. First, the questionnaire was anonymous so as to encourage greater honesty (Cohen, et al., 2007). Second, the internal consistency of Parts II–IV, as suggested by Wiersma & Jurs (2004), was estimated using the Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient because the question items in these parts had five response options. They were found to have high reliability, with Cronbach's alpha (α) = 0.843. Moreover, the questionnaire's validity was construct-related in such a way that all important aspects of the three tested areas from the literature were covered (Graziano & Raulin, 2007).

The sample included school leaders working in different areas in China. Over 350 questionnaires were distributed and collected through personal connections and in training workshops and seminars for principals in various parts of China, and 347 were effective. Of the latter, 55% were returned from males and 45% from females. About three quarters of school leaders had 10 years or less of leadership experience; and one quarter had over 10 years. Most school leaders were members of Communist Party of China (CPC) (91%), only 2% belonged to other political parties, and 7% had no political affiliation. Of those with a political affiliation, 37.5% had been members for 10 years or less; 46%, 11–20 years; and 16.5%, over 20 years. Regarding the respondents' geographical distribution, about 70% served in the eastern part of China and 30% in the middle and western regions. With regards to level of development, about three quarters of school leaders worked in urban areas and one quarter in rural areas.

After a preliminary analysis of the survey results, semistructured interviews were conducted to solicit in-depth information from school principals. To ensure validity, interviewees were asked three common questions (in addition to basic personal and school information). These questions asked whether (1) Western management, (2) Chinese management, and (3) CPC's values and norms, respectively, had affected their school leadership. For each question, interviewees were specifically asked whether the management tradition concerned affected their leadership in three selected domains: the school's internal and external relationships, assignment of important duties to teachers, and staff promotion. They were further asked to explain reasons for their answers and to offer examples to illustrate. At the same time, during the interviews, flexibility was given by allowing new questions to probe for details as a result of what the interviewees shared. The interview questions were piloted with two principals to check for clarity and difficulty, and the question wording was changed only slightly.

The study conducted individual interviews with 20 principals who had participated in questionnaire survey and were accessible for interviews. Except for one who had no political party affiliation, all were CPC members. Regarding their geographical distribution in China, seven came from Shanghai and two from Jiangsu Province in the Eastern region, four from Hunan Province and four from Shanxi Province in the middle region, and one from Xinjiang Autonomous Region in the western region. Each interview lasted about 70 min, on average, with a range between 60 and 90 min. To enhance reliability and validity, all interviews, as Gratton and Jones (2004) suggested, were audio-taped with permission and transcribed as soon as possible after the interview. This also provided complete interview records and facilitated data analysis.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Three Major Patterns of Chinese School Leadership

This section reports the major findings of the questionnaire survey, which revealed three major patterns regarding Chinese school leaders' views on school leadership and management: the coexistence of Confucian chain authority and guanxi in dealing with relations with subordinates, government officials, and parents; the preference for performance-based promotions to relationship-based ones; and a dilemma between willingness to delegate important tasks to subordinates and eagerness to monitor them. Chinese school leaders' perceptions on school leadership and management were affected by other factors. The statistical analysis shows that the top three significant factors (which had the largest number of items whose mean difference with statistical significance at p < 0.05, 0.01, or 0.001) were: gender (17 of 45 items on the three leadership domains), level of development in terms of urban-rural areas (13) and regions (8), and political affiliation (7). The least influential factors were teacher team size (2), length of political affiliation (3) and current school as the first school in which the respondent took up leadership (3). In the next section, these findings will be elaborated and explained using the interview data.

Coexistence of Elements of Confucian Authority Chain and Guanxi in Governance

The first pattern concerns the domain of relationships in Chinese school leadership: strong preferences for elements of Confucian authority chain coexist with *guanxi* in managing both internal and external school relations (Table 1). Respondent school leaders strongly agreed on the importance of establishing order and obedience among staff, demanding their staff to strictly follow school rules, and emphasizing their staff's achievement or performance. In general, they tended to agree that staff should respect the seniors' authority. In contrast, they disagreed that information should be passed from seniors to juniors and that trust is not necessarily required in school administration. School leaders with less than 10 years of school leadership experience and those without a political affiliation indicated significantly stronger disagreement than their counterparts with over 10 years of school leadership experience and political affiliation, respectively.

Surveyed principals also indicated the high importance of guanxi in internal school management. The rankings of seven elements of mutual

Iable 1. Chinese School Leaders' Preferences in the Domain of School's Internal and External Relationships ^{a,b} .	lese o	chool	Leau	ers' Prei	erence Relati	erences in the Do Relationships ^{a,b} .	Domain ^{a,b}	01 20	1 S.100U	nternai a	nua E.	tterna	_
Domain of School's Internal Mean	Mean	Me	Mean by Gender	Gender	Mean b	y Political	Mean by Political Affiliation		Mean	Mean by Level of Development	Develo	pment	
and External Kelationships	All	Male	Female	Male Female Difference	CPC	NonCPC	NonCPC Difference		Region		1	Urban-rural	ural
	(W)	(WA)		(M _B) in mean (M _A -M _B)	(M _C)	(MD)	ın mean (M _C -M _D)	$\underset{(M_{\rm E})}{\rm East}$	Middle and west (M _F)	$ \begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$	Urban (M _G)	Rural (M _H)	Difference in mean (M _G -M _H)
Order and obedience among your staff needs to be established	3.97	4.02	3.94	0.08	3.99	3.74	0.25	3.91	4.10	-0.19	3.96	3.98	-0.01
Your staff needs to strictly follow the rules in your school	4.50	4.46	4.57	-0.11	4.52	4.23	0.30	4.50	4.47	0.03	4.50	4.48	0.02
Information should be given from the senior to junior levels	2.87	2.81	2.98	-0.17	2.90	2.48	0.42	2.91	2.80	0.11	2.88	2.83	0.05
Your staff should show respect for the authority of their seniors	3.25	3.27	3.26	0.00	3.28	3.00	0.28	3.22	3.33	-0.12	3.22	3.32	-0.09
Your staff should be loyal to 3.24 their seniors	3.24	3.30	3.21	0.08	3.24	3.23	0.01	3.14	3.50	-0.36^{**}	3.21	3.30	-0.08
Trust is not necessarily required in school administration	2.05	2.09	2.05	0.05	2.06	1.81	0.25	1.99	2.18	-0.19	2.03	2.10	-0.08
It is important to emphasize the achievement or performance of your staff	4.21	4.37	4.07	0.30**	4.21	4.29	-0.08	4.18	4.31	-0.13	4.19	4.28	-0.09
Discussion and negotiation between seniors and juniors can be beneficial to both sides	4.78	4.74	4.84	-0.09	4.78	4.81	-0.03	4.77	4.79	-0.02	4.81	4.69	0.12

Table 1. Chinese School Leaders' Preferences in the Domain of School's Internal and External

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Different treatments should	4.64	4.54	4.78	-0.24^{**}	4.63	4.74	-0.11	4.66	4.62	0.04	4.70	4.47	0.23^{*}
be made according to different situations													
Information should be mutually exchanged among all staff	4.10	4.01	4.22	-0.22	4.11	4.00	0.11	4.20	3.84	0.36**	4.09	4.11	-0.03
It is important for senior and 4.83 junior staffs to respect each other	4.83	4.77	4.92	-0.15^{**}	4.82	4.87	-0.05	4.83	4.83	0.00	4.87	4.70	0.17
Loyalty of school leadership to staff is as important as loyalty of staff to school leadership	4.66	4.53	4.82	-0.30***	4.65	4.84	-0.19*	4.66	4.66	0.00	4.69	4.58	0.11
Long-term trust between school leadership and staff is vital	4.85	4.78	4.95	-0.16^{***}	4.85	4.94	-0.09	4.86	4.85	0.01	4.88	4.78	0.0
Personal care and relationships should be emphasized in school administration	4.56	4.49	4.65	-0.15^{*}	4.57	4.52	0.06	4.58	4.53	0.05	4.60	4.45	0.14
The government's educational policies should be faithfully implemented	4.33	4.21	4.49	-0.28**	4.38	3.87	0.51*	4.37	4.25	0.13	4.41	4.11	0.29*
It is important to cultivate and keep good relationships with government/educational officials who are in charge of vour school	4.46	4.39	4.55	-0.16	4.49	4.23	0.26	4.46	4.46	0.00	4.50	4.33	0.17
It is important to listen carefully to and implement faithfully what government/educational officials instruct the school to do	4.18	4.06	4.31	-0.25**	4.21	3.87	0.35	4.25	4.02	0.23*	4.24	3.99	0.25*

				81	n 1	I ubre I. (Communed)	(nani						
Domain of School's Internal Mean	Mean		an by (Mean by Gender	Mean ł	y Political	Mean by Political Affiliation		Mean	Mean by Level of Development	Develo	pment	
and External Kelauonsmps	All		Female	Male Female Difference CPC NonCPC Difference	CPC	NonCPC	Difference		Region		-	Urban-rural	ural
	(W)		(MB)	(M_A) (M_B) in mean (M_C) $(M_A - M_B)$	(MC)	(GM)	$(M_{\rm C}-M_{\rm D}) = \frac{1}{(M_{\rm E})}$	East (M _E)	Middle and west (M _F)	$ \begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$	Urban (M _G)	Rural (M _H)	Difference in mean (M _G -M _H)
It is important to put forward 4.07 your views to government/ educational officials	1 4.07	4.09	4.07	0.01	4.06	4.23	-0.17	4.11	3.97	0.14	4.09	4.01	0.08
It is important to grasp every 3.62 opportunity to report to government/educational officials on the school's achievements	, 3.62	3.67	3.56	0.11	3.64	3.45	0.19	3.62	3.62	0.00	3.62	3.63	-0.01
It is important to raise actively to government/ educational officials the needs and problems of the school	4.14	4.18	4.11	0.07	4.14	4.16	-0.02	4.11	4.20	-0.08	4.09	4.32	-0.23*
It is important to cultivate and keep good relationships with parents of vour schools' students	4.46	4.32	4.65	4.65 -0.33*** 4.46	4.46	4.48	-0.03	4.50	4.36	0.14	4.48	4.39	0.10
It is important to have the support of parents' committee in school management	4.37	4.27		4.52 -0.25**	4.39	4.16	0.23	4.42	4.25	0.17	4.44	4.17	0.27*

It is important to consult parents before introduction	3.80	3.58	4.05	3.80 3.58 4.05 -0.47*** 3.79	3.79	3.90	-0.12	3.90	3.60	0.30^{*}	3.94	3.94 3.40	0.54^{***}
of important school policy It is important to adopt parents' suggestions if they are in line with the school's	4.32	4.27	4.38	4.38 -0.11	4.32	4.29	0.03	4.33	4.26	0.07	4.39	4.11	0.28*
interests It is important to be willing to 3.97 3.87 4.09 -0.22^* consider parents' suggestions even though they are not in line with the solution's interests	3.97	3.87	4.09	-0.22*	3.95	4.10	-0.15	3.94	4.03	-0.09	4.02	3.82	0.20
<i>Source</i> : Items on school's internal relationships were adapted from Hong and Engeström (2004). ^a Because of space limitation, the table presents only the top three factors which had the largest number of items with mean differences of	ternal , the ta	relation able pre	sents o	were adapte only the top	three 1	Hong and actors wh	d Engeströ nich had t	im (2004 he larges). t number	of items	with me	an diff	srences of

Because of space initiation, the table presents only the top three factors which had the largest number of items with mean differences of statistical significance in the three domains. ^b1 = strongly disagree, not at all important, or not at all willing, and 5 = strongly agree, very important, or very willing; Significant difference: *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ****p < 0.001.

relationships between senior and junior school administrators (in descending order) were: long-term trust, respect, discussion and negotiation, loyalty, differential treatment according to different situations, personal care and relation, and exchange of information (Table 1). Female school leaders gave significantly higher ratings than their male counterparts for five out of seven *guanxi* elements.

Regarding external relationships with the government, the respondent school leaders indicated that it is important to cultivate and keep good relationships with government officials, to faithfully implement the government's education policy, and to listen carefully to and carry out what government officials specifically instruct the school to do. First, female respondents showed a significantly higher preference than their male counterparts for faithful implementation of the government's policy and following the specific instructions of government officials. Second, regarding faithful implementation of government policy, subject school leaders with more extensive leadership experience attached more importance than their less experienced counterparts at a very high level of statistical significance. School leaders with CPC membership attached significantly more importance than those of other parties or without party affiliation. Third, subject school leaders in more developed areas gave significantly higher ratings on listening to and faithfully implementing officials' instructions than counterparts in less developed areas.

However, the findings indicate that respondent school leaders actively interacted with government officials. They preferred to grasp every opportunity to report their school's achievements to officials. They strongly agreed that they needed to put forward their views to government officials and raise bring their schools' needs and problems to officials' attention. Regarding the latter, school leaders from rural areas gave significantly higher ratings than their urban counterparts.

With regards to relationships with parents, subject school leaders strongly agreed on the importance of cultivating and keeping good relationships with parents, getting the support of the parents' committee, consulting parents before the introduction of school policy, and adopting parents' suggestions that are in line with the school's interests and even those that are not. First, female school leaders gave higher ratings than their male counterparts on these five items; and the mean differences of four of them were statistically significant. Second, significantly higher ratings on the importance of consultation with parents were given by school leaders (a) with longer leadership experience, (b) with a longer political affiliation, (c) who were

working in China's eastern regions, (d) who were serving in urban areas, and (e) who were managing smaller student enrollments, that is, 1,000 students or less. Third, school leaders with longer school experience and those serving in urban schools were significantly more willing to accept parents' suggestions that might not be in line with the school's interests.

Preference for Performance-based over Relationship-based Promotions

The second pattern is related to Chinese school leaders' preferences in personnel decisions. The finding from the domain of promotion indicated that in Chinese school leaders' eyes, performance is more important than personal relations and acquaintance in promotions. Comparatively, in their own promotion experiences what they knew was more important than who they knew (Table 2). This was further reflected in the criteria for promoting their staff. They strongly held a common principle of promotion: equality of all teachers with similar conditions for promotion. As reflected in the magnitude of the mean difference and significance level, female school leaders preferred this more strongly than their male counterparts, as did school leaders working in the eastern part of China.

Chinese school leaders also shared the same set of priority criteria for staff promotion, leaning more toward performance than relationship. First, Chinese school leaders expressed that teachers with better performance stood a higher chance for promotion. Those who served in urban schools and demonstration schools (which are better resourced and that the government recognizes as models for other schools) attached significantly more importance to the criterion of performance than their counterparts. Second, Chinese school leaders considered teachers' long experience a comparatively more important criterion for promotion than their good relationships with superordinates. School leaders with less leadership experience or without a political affiliation deemed teaching experience as significantly more important than their respective counterparts; there was no significant gender difference in preference of good teaching over good relationships, however.

A Dilemma between Willingness to Delegate and Need for Monitoring

The third pattern of survey findings indicates that Chinese school leaders face a conspicuous dilemma between a strong willingness to delegate important tasks to subordinates and a strong need for close monitoring. The findings from the domain of delegation showed few marked significant differences in this trend by gender, political affiliation, and level of development (Table 3).

Table	2. C	hinese	s Scho	ool Lead	ers' P	referenc	<i>Table 2.</i> Chinese School Leaders' Preferences in the Domain of Promotion ^{4,0} .	Dom	ain of P ₁	omotio	1 ^{4, U} .		
Domain of Promotion	Mean		Mean by Gender	Gender	Mean l	oy Political	Mean by Political Affiliation		Mean ł	Mean by Level of Development	Develo	pment	
	All	Male	Female	Male Female Difference		Non-CPC	CPC Non-CPC Difference		Region		ſ	Urban-Rural	ural
	(W)	(MA)	(MB)	ın Mean (M _A -M _B)	(M _C)	(MD)	m Mean (M _C -M _D)		East Middle & Difference Urban Rural Difference (M_E) west (M_F) in Mean (M_G) (M_H) in Mean $(M_{E}-M_F)$	Difference in Mean (M _E -M _F)	Urban (M _G)	Rural (M _H)	Difference in Mean (M _G -M _H)
In your own promotion experience, who do you know is important	2.68	2.89	2.43	0.47**	2.68	2.87	-0.20	2.58	2.91	-0.33^{*}	2.57	2.98	-0.41^{*}
In your own promotion experience, what do you know is important	3.43	3.50	3.36	0.14	3.43	3.42	0.01	3.39	3.56	-0.17	3.41	3.52	-0.12
Teachers with good performance have a higher chance of promotion	4.01	4.05	3.95	0.11	4.04	3.71	0.33	3.98	4.07	-0.08	4.09	3.77	0.31*
Teachers with longer teaching 3.76 experience have a higher chance of promotion	3.76	3.79	3.72	0.07	3.80	3.55	0.25	3.75	3.82	-0.07	3.83	3.56	0.27
Teachers of protocolar relationships with superordinates have a higher chance of	3.30	3.40	3.16	0.24	3.28	3.35	-0.07	3.18	3.51	-0.33*	3.19	3.59	-0.41
All teachers should have equal opportunity of promotion	4.19	3.93	4.52	4.52 -0.59*** 4.19	4.19	4.26	-0.07	4.35	3.85	0.50***	4.25	4.03	0.22
Source: All items were adapted from Alon (2003a)	oted fro	m Aloi	1 (2003	a).									

Domain of Delegation	Mean	Me	an by	n Mean Mean by Gender Mean by Political Affiliation Mean by Level of Dev	Mean l	Mean by Political Affiliation	Affiliation		Mean ł	Mean by Level of Development	f Develc	opment	
	All	Male	Female	Male Female Difference			Non-CPC Difference		Region			Urban-Rural	ural
	(W)	(MA)	(M ^B)	(M _A) (M _B) in Mean (M _A -M _B)	(M _C)	(MD)	ın Mean (M _C -M _D)	East (M _E)	East Middle & Difference Urban Rural Difference (M_E) west (M_F) in Mean (M_G) (M_H) in Mean (M_E-M_F)	Difference in Mean (M _E -M _F)	Urban (M _G)	Rural (M _H)	Difference in Mean (M _G -M _H)
During delegation, it is important to Give subordinates 4.37 responsibility for making decisions on how to carry	<i>tant to</i> 4.37	. 4.29	4.47	-0.18	4.42	3.87	0.55*	4.35	4.44	-0.09	4.46	4.09	0.37**
out important tasks Give subordinates discretion to decide how to carry out	3.97	3.96	3.99	-0.04	3.98	3.97	0.01	3.98	3.93	0.05	3.96	4.01	-0.05
important tasks Give subordinates advice when thev decide how to	4.43	4.28	4.62	-0.35***	4.47	4.06	0.40^{*}	4.46	4.36	0.10	4.50	4.22	0.29*
implement important tasks Ensure subordinates are supervised by yourself or	3.28	3.17	3.42	-0.25	3.32	2.83	0.49*	3.38	3.03	0.35*	3.35	3.05	0.31
your representative during implementation Allow subordinates to take risk and continue to implement innortant tasks	3.07	3.15	2.95	0.20	3.11	2.77	0.33	3.11	3.00	0.11	3.10	2.99	0.11
even though you feel something is wrong about the implementation Immediately rectify any problem once you find it during implementation	4.02	3.88	4.21	-0.33**	4.04	3.87	0.16	4.08	3.89	0.19	4.05	3.92	0.13

Culture and School Leadership in China

Domain of Delegation	Mean		an by 6	Mean by Gender	Mean l	Mean by Political Affiliation	Affiliation		Mean	Mean by Level of Development	Develo	pment	
)			•									-	
	All	Male	Female	Difference	CPC	Male Female Difference CPC Non-CPC Difference	Difference		Region		ſ	Urban-Rural	ural
		(MA)	(MB)	(,M _A) (,M _B) III Mean (M _C) (,M _A -M _B)	(MC)	(MD)	m mean (M _C -M _D)	East (M _E)	Middle & west (M _F)	m wean $(M_{\rm C}-M_{\rm D})$ East Middle & Difference Urban Rural Difference $(M_{\rm C}-M_{\rm D})$ $(M_{\rm E})$ west $(M_{\rm F})$ in Mean $(M_{\rm G})$ $(M_{\rm H})$ in Mean $(M_{\rm G}-M_{\rm F})$	Urban (M _G)	Rural (M _H)	Difference in Mean (M _G -M _H)
You prefer to delegate important tasks to those who	ant task	s to tho:	se who.	:									
Have competency in doing the important tasks	4.61	4.61 4.56 4.68 -0.12	4.68	-0.12	4.59	4.74	-0.15	4.58	4.65	-0.07	4.61	4.60	0.01
Have high moral standards	4.63	4.57	4.72	-0.15^{*}	4.63	4.65	-0.02	4.60	4.72	-0.12	4.66	4.56	0.10
Have experience in	4.60	4.60	4.62	-0.03	4.61	4.55	0.06	4.59	4.62	-0.03	4.60	4.63	-0.03
implementing similar													
IIIIIportant tasks	010	200		15	, ,		0.00	21 0	10 r	110	, 1 1	- - -	010
Have served longer lor you than others	9.1 <i>5</i>	9.20	3.10	c1.0	17.6	7.90	06.0	01.6	3.41	-0.11	3.21	11.6	01.0
Are able to share your	4.27	4.30	4.25	0.05	4.30	3.90	0.39	4.24	4.36	-0.12	4.33	4.07	0.27
mission and task objectives	s												
Have good internal	4.07	3.99	4.19	-0.20	4.11	3.58	0.53^{*}	4.10	4.03	0.07	4.16	3.82	0.34^{*}
relationships with other colleagues in school													
Have good external	4.03	3.98	4.10	-0.12	4.08	3.58	0.50^{*}	4.05	3.98	0.07	4.07	3.91	0.16
relationships with other													
schools or the government													

Table 3. (Continued)

Sources: Most items were adapted from Joiner et al. (2007), and Yukl and Fu (1999).

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Chinese school leaders were very willing to give subordinates responsibilities for making decisions about important tasks and discretion on deciding how to carry them out. Significantly higher ratings on willingness to give subordinates responsibilities for making decision were given by school leaders with CPC membership and those managing urban schools. Chinese school leaders preferred to delegate important tasks to subordinates who have both competence in doing the tasks and a past record of performance and experiences in similar tasks. They also strongly tended to delegate to those who share their vision and mission. Leaders serving in demonstration schools and managing a larger teaching team found such sharing more significantly important than their respective counterparts.

Chinese school leaders also indicated that other equally important considerations from Chinese management should be taken into account. They considered subordinates' high standard of morality as the number one criterion for delegation, which was ranked slightly higher than the criteria of competence and performance. As compared with their male counterparts, female respondents gave significantly higher ratings. Moreover, Chinese school leaders strongly considered whether the candidates for delegation had a good guanxi web: internal relationships with other colleagues in the school and external relationships with other schools and the government. School leaders with CPC membership deemed the criteria of these two types of relationships as significantly more important than those without such membership. School leaders serving in demonstration schools and urban schools considered the criterion of internal relationship as significantly more important than the respective counterparts. However, Chinese school leaders did not regard having served longer than other colleagues as a very important consideration.

At the same time, surveyed Chinese school leaders preferred to monitor the implementation during delegation. First, they indicated their strong preference for giving advice when delegated subordinates decide how to implement the tasks; a significantly stronger tendency was found among female school leaders, school leaders with CPC membership, and those serving in urban schools and schools with smaller student enrolments. Second, they preferred to closely supervise subordinates during implementation. Third, when problems arise during implementation, they preferred immediate intervention to letting their subordinates continue implementing the important tasks. As compared with their respective counterparts, female leaders and leaders with more leadership experience (over 10 years) showed a stronger tendency to intervene immediately.

Continuities and Changes in Chinese Leadership and Management

This section presents interview findings with a view to providing a deeper explanation of the three patterns identified in the questionnaire survey. These patterns revealed continuities and changes in Chinese leadership and management, which can be explained as a result of a dynamic interplay between Chinese and Western cultures. Some traditional management values in Chinese schools, such as respect for authority, are perpetuated and reinforced by the integration of education and politics, whereas some similar relationships are changing in their functions, because of more exposure to management traditions of other cultures and particularly new practical needs and concerns at home. Some Western management values that may seem inconsistent with Chinese culture, such as delegation and criterion-based promotion, have been adapted to and are widely used in Chinese schools.

Continuation of Confucian Authority Chains by Integrating Educational Administration and Politics

In the questionnaire survey, Chinese school leaders indicated their strong belief in the importance of faithfully implementing government policy and demanding staff to strictly observe the school's rules. School leaders with CPC membership gave higher ratings than their non-CPC counterparts. In interviews, most school leaders admitted that the Chinese culture of respecting seniority and authority was reflected in the manner of handling the relationships with their staff and particularly with government officials. Interview findings further revealed the CPC's strong political influences on school leadership and administration. Principal (P) 2, a CPC member, admitted that the CPC's culture plays an "absolute role in directives. P19, who was also a CPC member, even equated the CPC's will to the state's. Not surprisingly, P13, who did not have any political affiliation, made similar remarks and indicated that he had "absolutely supported the work of (his) school party secretary."

These findings suggest that the continuation of Confucian authority chains can be interpreted as an extension of the paternalistic culture of obedience and respecting authority into contemporary Chinese school management culture, and that such an extension can be explained as resulting from the CPC's continuing efforts to institutionalize and reinforce in educational administration the values of obedience to authority in traditional Chinese management. In contemporary China, which has been under the CPC's leadership since 1949, education and politics have been intertwined. Before the economic reform in the late 1970s, politics took command of virtually all aspects of education, and party secretaries played a vital role in educational administration and school leadership. At the beginning of economic reform, the CPC Central Committee (1985) introduced the principal-responsibility system, which institutionalized the tripartite framework for a division of labor (rather than power) in school administration: The principal is responsible for administration, the school-party secretary (who heads the CPC branch established in the school) concentrates on ideological and political work and supports the principal in administration, and the congress of teachers and other employees is asked to "ensure democratic management and supervision" over school leadership (p. 20).

Despite this framework, the school's internal power hierarchy reinforces its culture of obedience and respect for authority. Owing to an unclear division of power among the principal, school-party secretary, and staff congress in the school's daily administration, the power of leadership in many schools is highly concentrated in the principal's hands. Despite the education bureaucracy's external control (as discussed later), it still has limited power over school policy, and internal management and deployment of human and financial resources (Feng, 2002). A vertical administration hierarchy further strengthens its power. Under the principal are three major, interrelated authority chains: the department of teaching affairs, which oversees different subject groups; the department of political and moral education, which oversees grade-based administrative units; and the department of research. These units have a clear division of labor, detailed job descriptions, and standard working procedures, and represent different levels of power over different domains (Tian & Cheng, 2007).

Moreover, the principal-responsibility system has not significantly changed the relationship between the school and the state. The education bureaucracy continues to have power over not only education policy, but also other major areas, including prescription of the national curriculum, staff establishment, and allocation of human and financial resources (Mao, 2002). The educational administration and politics are not separated, but structurally integrated.

First, in the public school administrative system, the principal and the school-party secretary are of the same grade and are appointed by the education bureaucracy. In many schools, principals are deputy school-party secretaries, and school-party secretaries are deputy principals. It is not rare that principals are also school-party secretaries. Such an arrangement, as admitted by P4, who was also the deputy school-party secretary, can facilitate the "inter-penetration of administration and political work"

(*xingzheng he dangzheng shi huxiang shentou*) and the making of collective decisions through consultation and internal discussion. Such "collective leadership," as P20 explained, is expected to be "ensured and supervised" (*bao zhang jian du*) by the school's CPC party branch.

Second, regardless of their political affiliation, school leaders are required to implement the CPC's political will. The State Education Commission (now called the Ministry of Education) (1991) for the first time issued the National Criteria for the Appointment and Duties of Principals of Primary and Secondary Schools (Pilot). It explicitly spelt out that the first national criterion for appointing school principals is that they support the CPC's leadership, loving the nation and diligently studying Marxism, and their first fundamental duty is to persistently implement the directives, policies, and regulations of the CPC and the State. (University presidents are also required to do so; see Communist Party of China Central Committee and State Council (1993, Article 16).) They are also assessed on these criteria in their annual appraisals; for example, over 10% of marks in principals' appraisals in a district in Zhejiang Province are allocated to assess principals' faithful implementation of policy, regulations, and instructions from higher units of governance (Jinhua City's Jindong District Education Department, 2005).

All this may partly explain why school leaders with CPC membership or longer-leadership experience gave higher ratings with statistical significance for survey items regarding the school-government relationship than their respective counterparts. However, it should be noted that Chinese communist influences on educational administration and leadership is pervasive but not absolute. As expressed by an interviewed principal, who was young and was serving in a more developed area in eastern China (P19), "The interference of politics in education had gradually reduced in recent years" (*zhengzhi ganyu jiaovu de qingkang zai zhubu haozhuan*). One possible reason is that the influence of the communist culture on school leadership, P16 admitted, was more determined by the ability of the school-party secretary and his/her relation with the principal, and that professional norms and values had more influence on the school administration than communist culture. Another possible reason, as P5 indicated, was that in staff development and administration in some schools, the political learning was "diluted" (danhua) by an emphasis on professional development and requirements.

Increasing Attention to Cultivating Task-oriented Relationships as Investments In addition to Confucian authority chains, the questionnaire reveals another preference of surveyed Chinese school leaders in handling school's external and internal relationships: They had a strong tendency to build and cultivate task-oriented relations with government officials, teachers, and parents in response to their demands on and expectations for school leadership. This reflects a shift of Chinese leadership and management in understanding and using *guanxi*, as a merely paternalistic relationship and social resource to get around procedures and regulations, to broader social networking and taskoriented relationships. As they explained in interviews, most school leaders recognized the importance of cultivating relationships, particularly with teachers and parents, about school leadership specially in Western countries, such as Britain and the United States, through various means including reading books, principal-training workshops, and the internet. Despite different emphases and to different extents, they shared a common view of seeing relationship cultivation as investment for practical reasons and needs.

First, Chinese school leaders considered maintaining and fostering a good working relationship with the government as an investment essential for its support for school development, as well as their leadership career. As the questionnaire responses indicated, they highly valued two major means to cultivate their task-oriented relationships with the government: the faithful implementation of the CPC-led government's educational policy and listening carefully to educational officials' words, and a proactive approach to drawing officials' attention to their school through, for example, demonstrating their school's developments and achievements and signaling the school's needs. As P17 explained in an interview, both means could help the school "keep a harmonious relationship with the government" and gain the "trust of officials in school," and this could, in turn, give more freedom to the school and special consideration in the school's allocation of financial and human resources. As some interviewed principals who worked in western and middle regions of China (such as P1, P6, and P9) expressed, this was more important to schools in rural areas or lesser developed regions because they relied more on the government's allocation of resources and had fewer channels to generate income (e.g., sponsorship fees from parents) than their counterparts in urban or more developed areas. This may partly explain why rural-school principals, as shown in the questionnaire survey, communicated more assertively with local government officials about their school's needs and problems than their urban counterparts.

Interviews revealed another reason why school leaders cultivated relationships with government officials, which is related to the close relationships between school leaders' career path and the CPC-led government. School leaders are often required to attend government-organized intensive training, including political learning, studies on education policy and regulations, and professional training (Ministry of Education, 1999). In an interview, P5, who was highly experienced in school leadership, attributed his achievement to "the training and opportunities" provided by the CPC and shared that the CPC "deserved his worship, respect, and faith in it." Moreover, the CPC-led government controls the recruitment and appointment of school principals. Principals of senior-secondary schools or schools with both junior- and senior-secondary sections are stipulated to be nominated, interviewed, appointed, and managed by the education bureau of a level above the county, whereas principals of junior-secondary schools or primary schools by education bureau are controlled at the county level (State Council, 2001).

Unlike the recruitment of principals, which does not involve staff, that of school-party secretaries goes through a nomination process. CPC staff members can nominate three to five candidates to stand for election. Only after being endorsed by the school, can the CPC group candidates stand for election; then all CPC staff members cast their votes for their eligibility and appointability. From the list of voting results, the party committee of the educational bureau selects and appoints one person to be the school-party secretary. Sometimes, however, the person who receives the most votes does not win the post of school-party secretary. This may partly explain why P4 expressed that school leaders should not forget that they are "appointed by the party [CPC]," and why many school leaders judged that having a good relationship with the government is of utmost importance. This seems to contradict the survey finding that their promotion was attributed more to their performance than who they knew. But this does not, because if they did not have good performance, as suggested by an interviewed principal who was also school-party secretary (P15), they would have been unlikely to have been selected in the first place.

Second, Chinese school leaders regarded creating and maintaining caring relationship webs between school leaders and teachers and among teachers as an investment to facilitate school leadership. The survey showed that Chinese school leaders highly valued various aspects of mutual relationships between seniors and juniors, including long-term trust, respect, and personal care and concern. When asked in interviews, many principals (e.g., P3, P8, and P17) mentioned cultivating an environment with "care about people" (*renwen guanhuai*) as one of their major leadership concerns and duties.

Such a caring environment was seen as complementary to the administration system in school leadership. P17 even considered that "making procedures and systems to manage teachers" and "showing concern and care about them" were equally important, and "need to be carefully balanced" when managing the relationship between the school and teachers. P8 regarded these two management aspects as "hard" and "soft" approaches to managing teachers because the former was marked by rigid procedures, rules, and regulations, whereas the latter allowed a "certain extent of flexibility" in handling things and "humanistic elements," such as care and empathy to lubricate and enrich working relationships. Many types of caring were mentioned; examples included having frequent individual conversations with teachers about their life at work and home, sending cards to them, and helping them solve their family problems.

This kind of caring was goal- or task-oriented and for the school's benefit. For example, P6 showed his caring toward teachers by providing them with breakfast so that "they could feel the principal's care and concern about them and start their working with happy mood." As some principals shared, school leaders' acts of showing care to teachers could be a "model for teachers to show care to students," and could help teachers understand the leadership more and strengthen "teachers' bond to the school."

In a similar vein. Chinese school leaders in this study revealed a change in their perception of school-parent relationships. Formerly, parents had been excluded from school management. As reflected in the survey, many Chinese school leaders were very open to parents' participation in the policy-making process by consulting them before introducing important school policies, and adopting their suggestions that may not be in line with the school's interests. In an interview, P7 mentioned that "in the past parents listened to whatever the school said," but "nowadays many parents demand that the school listen to them" and "some parents even want to participate in school affairs." Many interviewed principals expressed that the home-school relationship is increasingly significant and needs to be "carefully cultivated" for the goodness of the school. Their reasons included: parents are an important "asset" or "resource" for schools because they help students learn at home and promote the school's reputation, parents' suggestions are an "important impetus to improving school management and teaching"; and a good home-school relationship functions as a lubricant when conflicts between school/teachers and parents arise.

Cultivating school leaders' good relationships with teachers and parents is affected by three factors, however. The first factor is school size. Some interviewed principals expressed that compared with counterparts at large schools, school leaders serving in small schools found it less difficult to know each teacher and had more chances to interact and consult with parents. This was in line with the survey result shown earlier. Another factor is related to gender difference. Some male principals admitted that they sometimes felt uncomfortable showing care and concern to teachers because

they were not used to doing so. In contrast, most interviewed female principals felt that this was not difficult. One female principal (P8) even regarded her caring about her teachers as "an extension of [her] duties of taking care of members of the family." This may partly explain why in the survey female school leaders gave higher ratings for many of the relationship items than their male counterparts. The third factor is concerned with parents' socioeconomic status, which to large extent is related to the level of their local development. On average, parents in urban or more developed areas are more educated and richer, and therefore place more demands and expectations on schools than their counterparts in rural or less developed areas. P15, who served in Shanghai (a national economic center in eastern part of China), even warned that if parents filed complaints with the school and the school did not have a good relationship with parents and quickly deal with them to their satisfaction, "they might use other channels" to air their complaints, such as going to the mass media, and writing letters to the government's complaint mailbox or even sending direct email to local educational officials.

Rising Importance of Merit- and Performance-Related Criteria in Teacher Assessment

The questionnaire survey shows another (second) change in Chinese leadership and management: a decrease in the significance of relationships on promotion. Surveyed Chinese school leaders indicated that their promotion to leadership posts was more related to competence and performance than to their relationships with senior leaders. They also expressed that they preferred promoting those who have good assessment records and experience to those having good relationships with superordinates. In particular, they advocated the principle of equality for all staff in personnel considerations. When asked about the promotion criteria in interviews, some principals (e.g., P4, P9, and P20) admitted that relationships could still play a part in promotion, but their significance was decreasing. Many interviewed principals expressed a strong preference for performance-based promotion.

These changes in Chinese school leadership may be seen partly as resulting from the reinstatement of law and regulations in governance of the nation and education since the 1980s as a reaction against the command of political leaders, particularly during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) (Law, 2002, 2007). In the 1990s, the CPC-led state began to advocate the principle of governing the nation by law (*yi fa zhi guo*) as a national goal and a strategy to regulate the new patterns of economic and social relationships

and practices arising from economic reform with the use of market forces. In 1999, this principle was enshrined in the Constitution (National People's Congress, 2004, Article 5). A similar principle for governing education by law was advocated. The Teachers' Law clearly stipulates that the assessment of teachers' work "should be objective, fair, and accurate" (National People's Congress, 1993, Article 23).

Against this background, teacher promotion, as explained by interviewedschool leaders, involves a process of two series of assessment exercises in many areas of China. The first one is an internal staff appraisal, which is conducted once or twice a year and serves as the primary documented evidence for remuneration and promotion. During an interview, a school principal working in China's middle region (P9) showed a staff appraisal form, which was made public to his teachers, and explained how it was used in his school. It assessed teachers' achievements and performance in their preparation for and implementation of teaching; public lessons, which are open to teachers of the same school or other schools: extracurricular activities; research and publication; professional development; and attitudes at work. The appraisees would gain points for every met-requirement under each of these categories, or lose points for any unmet-requirement. The major categories and breakdowns of assessments used in this school were quite similar to those used in the eastern part of China, such as Shanghai and Guangzhou (Ng & Chow, 1999; Zhang, 2008). The appraisal results have implications for teachers' salary and application for promotion.¹

The second series of the assessment exercise is specifically for promotion. It comprises two stages: internal assessment and external assessment. In Shanghai, for example, the school forms a promotion and appointment committee (pinren weiyuanhui) for the internal assessment (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2006). This school committee is chaired by the school principal and comprises members from leaders of the staff congress and teacher representatives (who occupy at least one third of the seats). Eligible teachers who want to apply for promotion can submit their portfolio to this committee, which can include annual staff appraisals of the last few years, evidence of offering public lessons at the school and/or local levels, sample lesson plans, one or two single-authored publications on teaching or education reform, and/or public recognition of research achievements, such as local research awards. The school displays applicants' portfolios in a given venue on campus for the public to read during a specified period (e.g., five days). The school committee checks the materials and submits written recommendation to the relevant education bureau for its consideration.

In interviews, many school leaders (e.g., P3, P8, P14, and P17) expressed that they would recommend teachers with good, rather than mediocre, performance records for external assessment, regardless of gender and political affiliation. Their reasons included: "to increase the chances of success," the school's recommendation reflects "the quality of school leaders' professional judgment," to improve the school's image and personal reputation "particularly in the eyes of education officials," and to create internal competition among teachers and become an "impetus" to improving the quality of teachers' teaching and research.

For the external assessment, the education bureau concerned forms a subject-specific assessment panel (Shanghai Municipal Education Commission, 2006). The panel often comprises subject experts from teacher training institutes, local education officials, and/or teachers of other schools who are experts on the subject concerned. The panel assesses the submitted materials and the school's recommendation, and comes to the school to conduct an on-site assessment by observing the applicant's lessons with or without prior notice, assessing his/her teaching performance, and interviewing him/her. Later, the panel (a) deliberates over the applicant's overall performance in teaching, research and publication, and other areas such as professional conduct, (b) decides whether to support the application for promotion by anonymous voting, and (c) makes a recommendation to a committee of higher authority, which vets the application and makes the final decision, also by anonymous voting.

In the late 2000s, some areas began to pilot more stringent external assessments for teacher promotion. In a district in central China's Shanxi Province, for example, the assessment for the ordinary promotion of school teachers from junior to senior rank consists of three stages (Weibin District Education Bureau, 2008). First, teachers take a written examination in a government-designated venue (often not their own schools). They must blind-pick a teaching topic, write an essay that explains how the selected topic could be taught (at least 1,000 words), and draft a lesson plan. After the examination, they are immediately guided to a given room and asked to do a microteaching of the selected topic before an assessment panel, which is followed by an interview by the assessment panel. All parts of the assessment are completed in one day.

Although she complained about the reduction in her power in personnel management, a principal who worked in Shanxi (P5) admitted that this kind of external promotion assessment could "increase the transparency and recognition of promotion" by teachers and the public, and reduce "unnecessary favoritism." Another principal serving in the eastern part of

China (P13) acknowledged that although it is difficult to eliminate the relationship factor's influence on staff promotion, the mechanism "greatly increased the difficulty in the use of personal connections (for personal gains)" (*dada zengjia pao guanxi de nandu*) because it may involve a larger web of relationships than before.

Regulated Delegation as a Leadership Behavior of Accountability

The questionnaire findings revealed a third change in Chinese school leadership: the existence of delegation, which is associated with the Western management tradition. However, unlike their counterparts in Western countries, delegation in the schools of surveyed Chinese school leaders is regulated, not hands-free. It is not a complete shift in the locus of decision-making power from one level to another; rather, it is a process in which school leaders delegate important tasks to subordinates with some degree of autonomy and monitoring at critical points of implementation for the sake of accountability to other stakeholders. This can be explained as Chinese school leaders' adaptation of the Western concept of delegation to the Chinese context for pragmatic reasons.

As reflected in the high ratings given to questionnaire items on the domain of delegation, Chinese school leaders were willing to delegate tasks to subordinates. In interviews, virtually all principals expressed that delegation is necessary for practical reasons. A secondary school principal (P19) who served in a large school with over 2,000 students in Shanghai explained that "delegation is inevitable" because "it [was] impossible for him alone to do all tasks of managing so many teachers and students." Another principal (P8) mentioned that the larger the school, the more delegation in leadership and management was needed. Moreover, regular delegation, as many interviewed principals acknowledged, is facilitated by an almost standardized, three-tier administrative structure established in Chinese schools that extends from school leaders to heads of middle-level administrative units (including the teaching and research unit and the grade coordinating unit) and then to teachers. Regarding ad hoc but important tasks, several principals (e.g., P3 and P8) expressed that they would give some autonomy to the delegatees, for example, to set the task's operational goals, select team members, and arrange an internal division of labor within the team. Before delegating to the next lower levels of governance, collective discussions are often held, which can reinforce the legitimacy of delegation (Wong, 2006).

Moreover, the questionnaire findings suggest that Chinese school leaders share a set of criteria for selecting delegatees that is similar to that used in Western management (Leana, 1986; Yukl & Fu, 1999). First, surveyed Chinese school leaders preferred using competence-based criteria, including evidence of ability and past records of experiences and performance. Second, they gave high ratings to the importance of goal congruence between school leaders and delegatees when delegating responsibilities. In interviews, five principals expressed that the first criterion is more important than the second. Of them, a principal serving in Jiangsu (P3) explained that delegatees were "expected to help accomplish important tasks" and contended that it would be a "wrong decision" if the task was given to "those who did not have enough competence to do the task no matter how large extent they shared your vision and mission." However, some other principals, particularly those from large schools, expressed that competence was the minimum criterion for delegation and sharing a vision and mission is a second one. One principal of a large school in Hunan (P10) explained that he had "many competent teachers to choose from," and would choose those who share "the same mission and vision of running the school" because the selected delegatees "would decide and implement the tasks in the same directions as his" and be "more committed to the task."

While they indicated a strong willingness to delegate, Chinese school leaders expressed their worry about the consequences of delegation, and deemed regulated delegation as a responsible leadership behavior of accountability. Unlike the practice in Western management (Leana, 1986), this study found that in Chinese school leadership, delegation is not a complete shift in locus of decision-making authority from one organizational level to a lower one.

Surveyed Chinese school leaders preferred to exercise monitoring at certain critical points, such as when choosing delegatees, giving advice at the beginning of the task implementation, and engaging in immediate intervention if necessary. In an interview, a senior principal (P1) with nearly 20 years of principalship experience criticized delegation without monitoring as "irresponsibility." When asked about why monitoring is necessary, principals offered many reasons. The four most frequently cited reasons were: the principal, not delegatees, is ultimately "accountable" (jiaodai) to the government and parents; it is preferable to avoid parents' complaints, particularly regarding tasks directly related to students' affairs; delegation is a good opportunity for school leaders to demonstrate their leadership in utilizing human resources and to win staff's confidence and support; and paying attention to details is a personal leadership style. An interviewed principal (P4) who served in an urban secondary school further justified the need for immediate intervention as prevention of the "worsening of the problem" (wenti ehua) arising from delegation and as a "responsible

leadership behavior" (*fu zeren de lingdao xingwei*). He even viewed "handsfree delegation" as being "against the spirit of accountability" because principals were supposed to be answerable for all things that happened in school and they could lose their jobs if anything were to go wrong.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT AS CULTURAL PRACTICES IN A GLOBAL AGE

With reference to China, this exploratory study has revisited the stereotyped dichotomy between relationship-based governance in Chinese management and rule-based governance in Western management. The study's findings indicate that in China's educational system, distinctions between Chinese and Western management are blurred. Chinese and Western management values coexist in Chinese school leaders' styles and preferences, particularly when dealing with different types of relationships, promotion, and delegation of power. The three major patterns of Chinese school leaders' leadership and management approaches in these three areas revealed continuities and changes in Chinese school leadership under the changing influences of intertwined, dynamic interactions of contemporary Chinese culture (comprising traditional Chinese culture and communist politicoideological culture) and Western cultures. Broadly speaking, respondent Chinese school leaders had been more shaped by Chinese traditional culture and communist politics in school administration and the school-government relationship, and by Western culture in social networking, promotion, and delegation. To different extents, their leadership and management preferences were also affected by other factors, including political influences, level of development, and gender differences.

Moreover, this study has three major theoretical implications for understanding the relationship between culture and leadership in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world. Leadership and management are cultural practices in the utilization, mobilization, and coordination of resources to achieve common goals. First, leadership and management are culture-dependent because they are embedded in cultural values and shaped by the culture in which they are exercised. The study has shown that Chinese school leadership is shaped by its national political culture, particularly the close, dynamic relationship between the state and educational administration. Similar to Hong and Engeström's (2004) study on Chinese business organizations, this study found that Confucian authority chains existed in the vertical management hierarchy of surveyed Chinese schools.

Unlike Hong and Engeström (2004), who did not provide a specific explanation, this study has contended that the paternalistic Chinese culture of obedience to and respect for authority is preserved and reinforced by the national political culture and practices of contemporary China. Despite the introduction of a principal-responsibility system, the CPC-led state has ideologically and structurally integrated administration with politics within schools and between schools and government. This integration has defined and strengthened school leaders' political role as agents of the ruling party, which possesses the dominant power of personnel appointment and controls the allocation of resources to schools, in implementing its will and education policy, in addition to their professional role in school leadership. Political affiliation with the ruling party can further reinforce such integration. As compared with their counterparts, school leaders with CPC party membership and longer period of leadership, as this study has revealed, help strengthen the promotion of the paternalistic political culture in the hierarchical relations between school and government.

Second, culture is not static but dynamic, and so are the cultural values of leadership and management in a changing society. Social change can be refracted into and reflected from school leadership and management. Since the 1970s. China has developed quickly in various areas, such as the economy. One of its major changes was the adoption of rule-based governance as a national policy of strategic development (Law, 2006). The study's findings indicate that, as in Western management, performance or merit (rather than relationship, political affiliation, or gender) is a critical criterion that surveyed Chinese school leaders preferred to assess and promote teachers in internal and external assessments. Staff appraisal, which can be found in Anglo-Saxon societies, is widely used in schools across China (Zhang, 2008). Such appraisal not only serves as a means of quality control, but also becomes important evidence for Chinese teachers' merit pay and promotion. External assessment for teacher promotion, which shifts the power from schools to an external authority, is being used in many areas of China. This finding contradicts the prevailing view of an East-West dichotomy in governance, particularly Alon's (2003a) simplistic dichotomy in promotion between relationship-based governance in Chinese culture and rule-based governance in Western culture, because these views assume societal cultures with fairly static characteristics over time.

Instead, this paper proposes that the emphasis on merit and performance in Chinese school leadership in China is more influenced by its domestic development than Western management traditions. As shown earlier, this can be seen as resulting from China's politicocultural change in reaction to its own historical-political context. After suffering from the disastrous Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in which political leaders' words took command, China state's gradually changed its national governance from a leader-based orientation during the early stages of national development (i.e., before economic reform in the late 1970s) to a law- or rule-based orientation in the later stages of national development (i.e., from the 1980s). This argument is broadly in line with the argument of Li et al. (2004), which focuses on the economic and commercial sectors, about the change of governance orientation that accompanies a change of development level. The present study supplemented Li et al., which did not specifically explain Chinese school leadership by providing a useful example from China's education sector. It has also demonstrated that surveyed Chinese school leaders focused more on relationships or established regulations and mechanisms depended on not only the level of national development, but also on the nature, tasks, and needs of school leadership domains in the school or local context.

As in many other countries, such as the United Kingdom (Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003), another important change that impacts the culture of leadership and management in China is the increase in women taking up leadership posts in various sectors. Such an increase can change people's cultural perceptions of gender role and traits in leadership, and therefore can also affect the choices of leadership and management styles (Powell & Graves, 2003). This study found that compared with male counterparts, responding Chinese female school leaders expressed stronger preferences for paternalistic culture in handling working relationships within schools and between schools and government, while at the same time cultivating good task-oriented relationships with government officials, teachers, and parents.

This finding contradicts the "stereotypical differences approach" advocated by some gender studies in China (Li, 1999; Luo, 2001; Zhi & Zhang, 2003), which support explicit gender stereotypes in leadership and administration: Chinese males tend to adopt a more directive, top-down, command-control leadership style; whereas Chinese females prefer a more democratic, interactive, collaborative, and team-oriented style. Instead, this finding can be explained by the "non-stereotypical approach" (Powell, 1997). As in other male-dominant societies (Cubillo & Brown, 2003; Davies, 1987), Chinese female leaders' advancement to top management positions in China is often inhibited by a "glass ceiling." In addition to being socialized themselves into their roles earlier in their careers, they need to be exceptional by doing what male counterparts are expected to do, coopting some traits of male leadership to fulfill masculinity-dominated organizational goals, and making use of female traits (such as caring, interactive, building consensus, and support) to excel in areas that their male counterparts are not as strong. This study also found that in a similar vein, Chinese male school leaders, despite difficulty, coopted female leadership styles, which are deemed important in school settings (Scrivens, 2002; Shakeshaft, 1989).

Third and related to the second major finding, leadership and management as cultural practices are not isolated, and they can be changed as a result of dynamic, complex interaction with the broader culture, as well as cultures in other parts of the world. Some Western management values and practices are reflected in Chinese school leadership. This study found that respondent Chinese school leaders had various channels of exposure to Western traditions of management. Similar to their Western counterparts, they emphasized the positive aspect of *guanxi* – building, developing, and cultivating task-oriented relations with teachers and parents. This study supports Guthrie's (1998) view of the increasing trend toward using guanxi to build relationships and Hong and Engeström's (2004, p. 580) view about how the forms and practical meanings of guanxi in China's modern business have transformed from "paternalistic relation to broader social networking" with new elements, such as task orientation. These views are not specific enough, however, to explain why the surveyed Chinese school leaders so strongly emphasized the cultivation of social relationships. Supplementing previous research, this study found that interviewed Chinese school leaders perceived such cultivation as an important investment for the sake of school development, facilitation in school administration, and even personal career advancement.

Moreover, delegation, which is deemed successful in Western management, can be found in Chinese schools. This study's findings do not support the view of Joiner et al. (2007), who argued that the spirit of delegation is not consistent with Chinese cultural values. On the contrary, this study shows that surveyed school leaders indicated a strong willingness to delegate power to subordinates, particularly through the existing school administration structure. However, they advocated a special form of delegation – regulated delegation – as a responsible leadership behavior of accountability to stakeholders by exercising control at important junctures in the delegation process. This exemplifies the adaptation of a foreign concept or approach into China's domestic context. In a similar vein, some values in Chinese culture can also be found in Western business. Although *guanxi* is a characteristic product of Chinese culture, it is not unique to China but a "universal phenomenon" found in different parts of the world (Davies et al., 2003).

Western business also emphasizes building long-term relationships with clients. Acuff and Wood's (2004) relationship pyramid, for example, reminds business people of the importance of investing resources to build meaningful relationships with a view to winning people's respect and bond to their business.

To conclude, this exploratory paper on China shows that although certain leadership traditions and practices may be characteristic of a particular society, they are not necessarily exclusive to that society. Leadership and management as cultural practices are shaped by their unique societal culture and should be understood and interpreted in their own context with cultural sensitivity. Dichotomies in leadership traditions between societies may arise, but they should not be over-emphasized, because leadership traditions and practices evolve with changing societies and even the changing world. Because new patterns of similarities and differences may arise, they need to be deconstructed to facilitate cross-fertilization of leadership traditions and practices of different societies, particularly in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world in a global age. This does not mean undermining the influence of culture on leadership, nor promoting the convergence of leadership traditions and practices in the world, which has never happened. but allowing dynamic changes in leadership traditions and practices according to their evolving contexts.

As a China study, this empirical work has some limitations, including the small number of Chinese school leaders selected (because of the availability of funds), the nonrepresentativeness of school leaders responding to questionnaire and interview questions, and the lack of teachers' perspectives on their principals' leadership and management. However, there is no intent to generalize the findings to other school leaders in China. Future research could be conducted on a larger scale with representative sample populations from China's areas with different levels of development. Chinese teachers' views also should be solicited so as to provide an alternative perspective on the management and leadership of their school leaders, particularly in the sensitive areas of relationship, promotion, and delegation. Moreover, this study is limited by its survey to only Chinese school leaders' views, and not those of their Western counterparts. To reexamine long-established views about Sino-Western dichotomies in leadership and management traditions, comparative empirical studies could be conducted to obtain comparative data across two societies (China and a Western country, such as the United States). In the field of school leadership and management, more comparative research should be done to investigate and understand how increasing interconnectivity and interdependence between cultures affect the traditions and practices of school leadership in different societies in a global age.

NOTE

1. In China, a teacher's salary comprises two main parts: fixed basic salary and floating allowance. The latter depends on, for example, the type and amount of teaching and nonteaching duties, and the results of appraisal. This kind of remuneration, as Wong (2006, p. 84) pointed out, can be regarded as "merit pay" and is consistent with the Chinese culture of meritocracy.

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COMPARISONS BETWEEN TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND THE CONFUCIAN IDEA OF TRANSFORMATION

Jingping Sun

ABSTRACT

This chapter examines the similarities and differences between the concepts of transformational leadership as developed within North America and the Confucian idea of transformation. It argues that Confucian tradition encompasses the essential elements embedded in the concept of transformational leadership. The former differentiates from the latter in its deeper degree of transformation, emphasis on morality and culture, and its focus on transformation from the inside outwards. The two greatest educators in Chinese history, Confucius and Cai Yuanpei, are evaluated in terms of their transformational leadership qualities in the Western sense. By looking at Confucius and Cai Yuanpei as successful transformational leaders, the chapter identifies four important factors from Chinese cases that may contribute to the success of this type of leadership. Implications of this comparison are discussed as they may inform the knowledge, research and practices of transformational leadership.

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The concept of transformational leadership has been introduced and supported by many scholars in North America during the past three decades. Leithwood and his colleagues, as leading scholars in the field of leadership in education, claim that transformational leadership meets the demands of the school-restructuring environment of the twenty-first century (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999). Transformational leadership, with its strength in influencing people's beliefs and emotions (Leithwood & Sun, 2009) and to transform organizations (Bass, 1985), fits contexts that require constant change. Mainland China, a country in constant transformation, provides such an ever-changing educational context in which politics and education have been under continual reform and reconstruction for years. In such changing contexts, the Confucian idea of transformation, which emphasizes the transformation of the self and the state as the ultimate goals of human metaphysical existence, has persistently influenced Chinese education and scholars for 2,000 years and higher learning for a 100 years (Hayhoe, 1999), and even today continues to influence university (Hayhoe, 2006) and school leaders in contemporary China (Ribbins & Zhang, 2006). An intriguing question arises: have there been any transformational leaders in the history of Chinese education? Are there any similarities between the concepts of Western transformational leadership and the Confucian idea of transformation? Are there any lessons for the newly advocated leadership in North America that can be drawn from transformational leaders in the history of Chinese education? This chapter intends to address these questions with an emphasis on the nature or essence of leadership influence embedded in the Confucian idea of transformation in the context of Chinese higher education.

The term "transformational leadership" has been used in the Englishspeaking West often for instrumental purposes, in the process of pursuing a best or effective leadership model for organizational effectiveness or educational changes. Developed and highly concentrated over decades, conceptualizations of transformational leadership today are more behavior oriented, although the rationales based on which it was developed involved a broader domain of knowledge or theories such as political history and Maslow's (1954 in Bass, 1985) need hierarchy, and had moral emphasis in early works. Confucianism, as a combination of philosophy, educational theories and scholarly thought about the meaning of education and its proper development for human growth and societal change, is far reaching and has many implications and applications in the areas of teaching, learning and governing. It involves leading by means of transformation and transforming for a better leadership of oneself and of the organization or the state. This chapter focuses on transformation in Confucianism as it relates

to sources of leadership, the nature of leadership and typical, effective leadership behaviors in the field of education. It is this focus that makes the comparison between transformational leadership and Confucian ideas of transformation possible. In the history of educational administration in China, there is no such notion as "Confucian transformation leadership" and there has been no empirical research on leadership from this perspective. In this chapter, I will identify, in order to make this comparison, the essential elements of Confucian leadership embedded in the Confucian idea of transformation as evidenced in the classical works of Confucius, his disciples and Confucian scholars. I will use these essential elements as a framework to understand Confucian transformation as it relates to educational leadership. In the following sections. I first examine the essential elements or nature of transformational leadership by identifying and synthesizing the commonalities among the various conceptualizations and models of this type of leadership as developed by Western scholars so far. The essential elements include both the key conceptual components and the key leadership practices of this type of leadership. These core attributes serve as a conceptual framework for the later analysis of educational leaders in Chinese history as possible transformational leaders. I then also synthesize the core attributes of the Confucian concept of transforming a person and a society, a major component of Confucianism that relates to leadership influence. I then compare the concept of transformational leadership and the Confucian idea of transformation. Next I evaluate the two greatest educators in Chinese history, Confucius and Cai Yuanpei, in terms of their transformational leadership in the Western sense. This demonstrates that transformational leaders who are of the Confucian tradition do exist in both ancient and contemporary China. Following this, the crucial factors that contribute to the success of this type of leadership are generalized from Confucius' ideas on transformation and from both his and Cai Yuanpei's experiences as transformational leaders. Finally, implications are discussed as they may inform the knowledge, research and practices of transformational leadership.

A COMPARATIVE PROCEDURE AND SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

The method of comparative studies is used in this study. The purpose and method of comparative education is to explain educational phenomenon in

the sense of professionalism by using cross-nation data (Noah & Eckstein, 1998). This method can best serve the purpose of this research since it draws lessons for the study of transformational leadership by comparing it with Confucian transformation in Chinese contexts. Data collected for this study are based on three types of literature: leading classical theoretical works and empirical evidence in both contexts, and life stories and/or case studies of key educators in Chinese contexts. The origin and major developments of transformational leadership as conveyed in the major works of the distinguished scholars such as Burns (1978), Bass (1985), Bass and Avolio (1993). Leithwood and his colleagues (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach 1999; Leithwood, Aitken, & Jantzi, 2006) from both educational and non-educational contexts were selected and reviewed. As to classical works for the analysis of Confucian transformation, not only the classical works in the field are chosen, but the translators and authors of these books, such as Tu Wei Ming and Yao Xinzhong, are also carefully selected based on their status as leading scholars, and on the fact that they are themselves bilingual and have gained recognition in North America for their studies of Confucianism.

One big challenge to the selection of the materials used to analyze Confucian transformation is the authenticity of his original ideas due to their remote origin 2,000 years ago, the vast number of sources on his works and the different schools of development of his doctrines. This is complicated further by diverse translations and interpretations by both Western and Eastern scholars. Chen Jingpan, the late committee consultant of the China Confucius Foundation in China, suggested studying Confucius as an educator – first from the more reliable records of his immediate disciples, concerning the life and teaching of their Master, and then from the genuine writings of some of the greatest Confucian scholars in the period nearest to Confucius' time and those by scholars in later generations who offer authentic interpretation of Confucius. Following Chen's suggestion, which is generally agreed on in this field, I selected the Four Books (i.e., The Analects as an authentic work of the age of Confucius as a basis for the study of Confucius' original ideas; The Great Learning as some records of the sayings of Confucius and his disciples; *Mencius* and *Chung yong* as Mencius' school of the orthodox development of Confucianism), and Zhu Xi's seminal development of Confucianism, known as the neo-Confucianism in the Song-Ming dynasties (the Chinese modern historical period) for the basic resources in understanding the Confucian idea of transformation.

Transformational leadership as developed by the English-speaking West has been researched and applied in both public school and higher education contexts. Empirical research conducted in both contexts was included in the analysis. This type of evidence was searched for and obtained from books. leading journals in the field of educational administration and unpublished doctoral dissertations through the online database Proquest Dissertations & Theses. In the Chinese context, empirical research is rare in the field of educational administration. Although hundreds of books in this field have been published since the implementation of the "open door" policy in the 1980s, they are mainly comprised of description and explanation of the phenomenon of management in education, or they explain or advocate how best to regulate management behaviors in school or university contexts (Zhang, 2006). Only a few empirical studies were identified in this context, and these were conducted mainly in elementary or secondary schools in Mainland China or Hong Kong. In post-secondary school settings, narrative literature was located and used to discuss transformational leadership in the absence of research and theories in this area. This narrative literature depicts the life and activities of influential Chinese educators who demonstrated transformational leadership in Western sense. Their approaches to education were deeply rooted in views of human perfection and one's responsibility for society and views of learning that owed much to the Confucian philosophical tradition and Confucius' idea of transformation. This type of literature includes case studies.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

The term transformational leadership was first introduced and systematically discussed by Downton (1973). The conceptualization of transformational leadership as an important approach is usually seen as beginning with Burn's (1978) classic work, *Leadership*. According to Burns, the transformational leader changes the outlook and the behavior of followers. The purpose of influence is to motivate followers to work toward transcendental goals instead of immediate self-interest, and toward achievement and selfactualization instead of safety and security. The nature of the influence of transformational leadership is the elevation of motivation and morality both in the leader and the followers with the outcome of heightened effort from subordinates. He saw transformational leadership as the opposite of transactional leadership on a single continuum, with the former focusing on the mutual stimulation and elevation of both leader and subordinates while the latter focuses on economic exchanges between leaders' expectation and subordinates' material and psychological needs.

The origin of the concept of transformational leadership is also associated with Weber's (1921) coining of "charisma" from the Greek, meaning "divine gift". From his political science perspective, Max Weber (1921) defined charismatic leaders as the ones who use their considerable emotional appeal to direct their followers. Many scholars who developed the concept of transformational leadership thereafter incorporated charisma as one of the most important components of transformational leadership.

Bass (1985) applied Burns' idea of the leader as the transforming agent to organizational leadership. The essential point is that the leaders strive to go beyond the bounds of the usual to bring about a change in follower's thinking that will redirect follower action. He agreed with Burns (1978) about the nature of influence involved in transformational leadership, that is, the process by which the leader arouses the followers' higher order needs in Maslow's (1954 in Bass, 1985) hierarchy, transcends their personal interests into the organizational goals and energizes their extra efforts to accomplish organizational goals. However, he expanded the meaning of transformational leadership in three ways. While Burns saw an upward shift in the level of followers' need as fundamental to the process of transformation, Bass (1985) suggested that the expansion of needs on the same level or even a downward shift could also be evidence of a transformation, though he acknowledged in his book that in the world of work, transformational processes usually involve the upgrading of needs. He also argues that in the process of transformation the change can be either good or bad, and that transactional leadership is a necessary component of transformational leadership. Later, Bass and his associates formulated the two-factor theory of transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1993). Basically, Bass and his colleagues placed more emphasis on the characteristics of leadership practices and their influential outcomes rather than on the nature and the power of the moral elevation of this type of leadership.

Another major development in the concept of transformational leadership, much more remote from its origin in charisma than that of Bass and his associates was established by Tichy and Devanna (1990), in the context of American corporations. Their reflections on the fall from supremacy of the American position in the world economic structure in the 1970s and 1980s led to their research on competition among companies and their discovery that "the key to global competitiveness will be the widespread capability of institutions around the world to continuously transform" (Tichy & Devanna, 1990, p. iv). They focused on the process of transformation of the organization itself and on how leaders carried out the change process. They proposed that organizational transformation could be brought about in terms of a "three-act play". This three-act "drama" includes recognizing the need for change (Act I), creating a new vision (Act II) and institutionalizing change (Act III).

Though very different from previous developments of the conceptualization of transformational leadership, Tichy and Devanna's (1990) version of transformational leadership shares major components with that depicted by Bass and Avolio (1993). They presented transformational leaders as demonstrating both transformational dimensions, such as creating a vision, attending to individuals' needs and their growth, and motivating them to commit to the change, and transactional dimensions, such as initiating structure, making policies and using human resource systems to enhance every step in the change process, as Bass and Avolio (1993) did. The leaders also maintain a collaborative, professional organizational culture, providing staff with individual consideration, enhancing their commitment to change by arousing their self-recognition and by encouraging their pursuit of personal growth, which is consistent with the individual consideration and intellectual stimulation dimensions of transformational leadership conceptualized by Bass and his associates. Finally, both concepts of development recognize the change in organizational members' beliefs and commitments as the demonstration of transformation.

In the educational context, since the first book on school administration written by William Payne in 1875, the study of educational administration and leadership in North America as a separate disciplinary inquiry has a more than 100 years of history. It has undergone several periods of development: (1) philosophizing generalizations of broad related phenomena (Speculative: 1875–1900); (2) discovering fact-based "laws" and describing school system (Positive: 1901–1925); (3) developing prescriptive generalizations (Pragmatic Positivistic; 1926–1950); (4) precisely defining concepts and theorizing descriptive and explanatory generalizations (Logical positivistic; 1951–1966); (5) developing interpretive generalizations through interpretive argumentation and those denoting critique (Postpositivistic, Phenomenological, Critical; 1967-1985; Culbertson, 1988). Since 1986, diverse perspectives (e.g., phenomenological, constructuralist, poststructuralist approach, critical theories) have vied for center stage. It is in this most recent period, searching for appropriate forms or models of leadership to meet the needs of new era such as the initiatives of restructuring, accountability and globalization that transformational leadership in the educational context emerged.

During the 1980s in North America, growing dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of previous school reform projects, largely implemented in a topdown manner, led to increased research on the comprehensiveness of school improvement and the sophistication of leadership. It is found that when leaders collaboratively define the essential purposes of teaching and learning and then empower the entire school community to become energized and focused, teaching and learning became transformative successfully (Sagor, 1992). Also, a collaborative school culture and individual consideration of staff, which stimulate school improvement and the organization's capacity to become hooked on change, draw more attention. Thus, transformational leadership, which fosters teacher development, helps teachers solve problems more effectively, and develops and maintains a collaborative, professional school culture (Liontos, 1992), suited the call. Based on both theoretical arguments and empirical studies, Leithwood et al. (1999) argue that transformational leadership fits the demands of school restructuring initiatives in changing times. It is a similar case in the higher education context. In its conceptualization and practice, leadership in higher education has undergone a paradigmatic shift in the past 20 years. It has moved from being leader centered, individualistic, hierarchical, focused on universal characteristics and emphasizing power over followers to a new vision in which leadership is process centered, collective or collaborative, context bound, nonhierarchical, democratic and focused on mutual power and influence (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006). Today leadership aims to invoke change and establish an institutional vision that is shared by the leader and his or her colleagues rather than owned by the leader himself or herself. In contrast to the 1989 monograph (Bensimon, Neumann, & Birnbaum, 1989), Kezar and her colleagues, in their recent ASHE (Association for the Study of Higher Education) Report (Kezar et al., 2006), explicitly challenge the reader to begin practicing transformational and transactional leadership.

This model of transformational leadership has been most fully developed by Leithwood and his colleagues (e.g., Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990; Leithwood, 1992; Leithwood, Tomlinson, & Genge, 1996; Leithwood et al., 1999) in the educational contexts. Their latest versions (Leithwood et al., 2006; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005) define transformational leadership as including four broad categories of practices (Setting directions, Developing people, Redesigning the organisation and Managing the instructional program) with a total of 16 more specific sets of practice, and measure it using their newly revised instrument *School Leadership and Management*. The 16 dimensions of transformational school leadership practices include developing a widely shared vision for the school, building consensus about school goals and priorities, holding high performance expectations (direction-setting leadership function), providing intellectual stimulation, providing individualized support, modeling behavior (developing people). strengthening school culture, building collaborative structures, creating participative structures and providing a community focus (redesigning the organization), along with the transactional and managerial aggregate including management by exception, contingent reward, buffering, managing instruction, monitoring and providing resources. This model incorporates most of the key components that preceding scholars and researchers had emphasized in developing this type of leadership. Empirical research has demonstrated that faculty and chairs have perceived this type of leadership to be applicable to the role of department chairs (Gittens, 2009). Community college presidents, for example, preferred to use a set of transformational behaviors (Attributed idealized influence, Behavioral idealized influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual stimulation and Individualized consideration) as well as the transactional behavior Contingent reward, and these leadership behaviors are positively associated with a set of productive leadership outcomes (Gilbert, 1997). Transformational leadership is significantly, positively related to teachers' perceptions of leader effectiveness, teachers' commitment to change, teachers' satisfaction with leaders and their willingness to make extra effort and productive school culture and organizational learning. It has a particularly strong influence on teachers' beliefs and emotions (for details see reviews by Leithwood et al., 1996; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005, Leithwood & Sun 2009). The dimensions of vision-building, individual support, intellectual stimulation, modeling, culture-building and high performance expectations are particularly responsible for this. These dimensions, plus the development of consensus about group goals and contingent rewards, account for transformational leadership being a powerful stimulant to improvement (Leithwood et al., 1991a, 1992b, 1993b,c in Leithwood et al., 1999). As to the moral dimension of transformation, it may be inferred from their work that Leithwood and his colleagues align themselves with Burns (1978) and Tichy and Devanna (1990) rather than with Bass (1985) and that, in their view, the organization is, or aims to be, transformed for the better.

THE ESSENCE AND CORE VALUES OF TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

By comparing and analyzing trends in the development of the concept of transformational leadership, the following elements can be identified, which differentiate transformational leadership from other types of leadership.

- (1) The transformational leader is an agent of change and initiating changes in the organization is the strength of this type of leadership. As to the direction of the transformation, this chapter adopts Burns' position, that is, the organization is transformed for the better in a moral sense and the individual is transformed upward in Maslow's need hierarchy.
- (2) In order to initiate change, the leader will focus on influencing organizational members' beliefs and developing their capacity to change, thus allowing the followers to change their own behaviors. The manifestations of change in people's beliefs are changes in their ways of thinking and correspondent changes in behavior, the appearance of a new culture (including values, symbols and norms) in the organization and the followers transcending their own interests for the goals of the organization.
- (3) What transforms peoples' beliefs and behaviors is not coercion or material, physical, or psychological rewards, but the leaders' influence through their leadership practices. The typical practices that are unique to transformational leadership include developing a widely shared vision/idealized influence, providing intellectual stimulation, inspiration and individualized consideration, modeling, holding high performance expectations, strengthening school culture and creating participative, collaborative structures.
- (4) The result of this type of leadership is the fostering of follower autonomy. The outcome of transformation is that the leader's colleagues empower themselves to realize the organizational goals and even make extra efforts for the benefit of the organization.
- (5) Finally, the core values embedded in the concept of transformational leadership are (a) change is good; (b) the leader has respect for, trust in and high expectations of his or her colleagues; c) the leader is a moral model and d) both the leader and the followers are morally elevated in the process of transformation.

THE ORIGIN AND MAJOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONFUCIAN IDEA OF TRANSFORMATION

Confucianism has inspired, bound, upheld and underpinned Chinese education in a complex and interlaced way for 2,000 years. It originated

in China during the time of Confucius (552-479 BC). It dominated Chinese culture until the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE), when Confucianism lost some of its influence while Daoism flourished alongside Buddhism, giving it support (Havhoe, 2006). Confucian thought began to reassert itself toward the end of the Tang dynasty, in the face of increasing problems in the ruling imperial house, and also due to the fact that Buddhism and Daoism had little to say about core issues of good government and societal development. Many scholars were involved in bringing about the neo-Confucian revival of the Song dynasty (i.e., the next dynasty following the Tang), among them Zhu Xi, a leading scholar in this respect at that time (the twelfth century CE). The Confucian ideology remained the major influence on Chinese culture until the Revolution of 1911 when Chinese scholars began accepting new thoughts, a large part of which were European and American educational ideas. Since the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and especially after the establishment of the new China under the governance of Chairman Mao starting in 1949, Confucian educational ideas were subject to vigorous criticism for their tendency to hierarchy, rigidity, conformism and suppression of creativity and were even demolished in waves of political movements, giving way to Marxist ideas and liberal modernity. The Confucian tradition suffered severe setbacks during the 10 years of Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). It was with the death of Mao in 1976 and the subsequent rise to power of Deng Xiaoping beginning in 1977, that a new era free from political turmoil began in Mainland China and scholars resumed the study of Confucianism as a formal line of inquiry.

The history of education in China spans several thousand years and is hard to describe it briefly. However, one of the biggest features in its long history is the whole system of Civil Service Examinations. Confucian doctrines dominated schooling and education in the institutions that this system cognated, such as the Hanlin Academy, Guosijian (the college for the sons of the emperor) and the institution of supreme learning (*taixue*). The Civil Service Examination system involved institutions at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels that made possible a "ladder of success" through a series of examinations, culminating in the palace examination in the presence of the emperor himself (Ho, 1962). This imperial examination system began to take form around 400 CE and lasted right up to 1911 (Hayhoe, 1999). Those who aspired to scholarship and to official government positions were required to participate in the increasingly sophisticated examination system in order to be selected as scholar-officials to lead government. The imperial examination system involved ladders' examinations and the integrated canon of classical texts that Confucius, his disciples and Confucian scholars formed and developed (e.g., the Four Books) became the most important, influential and long-lasting readings for all examinees over this long period (Hayhoe, 1999). It was largely through this system that Confucianism influenced education and governance and that Confucian ideology was passed down from generation to generation. Scholars studied and inherited Confucian ideas and became government officials because of their expertise in this area. They, in turn, lead government using the Confucian knowledge and theories they possessed. It is from this perspective and the consideration of its long-lasting influence that the Confucian idea of transformation, a main part of the Confucian doctrines, can be regarded as a theory of and for leadership. It is on this basis that I portray Confucius as a leader, although he is usually portrayed as a teacher in most of the literature about him.

The widely accepted date for the beginning of universities in Chinese higher education history is the late nineteenth century, when a few modern higher education institutions, such as Beivang gongxue (the forerunner of Tianiin University) and the Imperial University (Peking University). were founded (Hayhoe, 1999). Traditional institutions had more or less disappeared by the time of the 1911 revolution, yet the values associated with them persisted and have informed struggles and conflicts in the development of higher education right up to the present time (Hayhoe, 1999). Since 1911. Chinese higher education has experienced diverse influences from American and European college and university models and various types of experimentation in the period up to the 1950s, a uniformity in the patterns of education copying the Soviet Union model in the period of "socialist construction" after 1949, a return to China's own experience with the appearance of colleges for training cadres to work in military and party organizations such as Yan'an institutions, the abolition of the Ministry of Higher Education in 1958 and the cessation of enrollment in higher education during the Cultural Revolution period from 1966 to 1976. It was after 1978 when Deng Xiaoping launched the modernization movement that Chinese higher education began rapid development and reform. Educational administration as a disciplinary inquiry emerged in the 1980s when scholars began to inquiry the nature of educational administration and its research methods and when educational administration research institutions established in some leading universities during that period. The theories in this field have been oriented mainly toward experience and application, focusing on explaining the phenomenon of management, how best to "manage" schools or universities and the regulation of educational administration behaviors since then (Zhang, 2006). It may seem that, since

the birth of Chinese universities, there has not been any connection between Confucian heritage and educational management. However, in contemporary China, the influence of Confucian transformation on educational administration, occurs more through the leadership of educators who were influenced by the Confucian tradition, rather than through domination in formally recognized textbooks or field theories, although excerpts of classical works of Confucianism are still part of the literacy textbooks used in secondary schooling in Mainland China today. "Confucianism has played a key role in influencing the nature of school leadership in China which remains overwhelmingly male, with a balance of hierarchy and collectivism" (Bush & Qiang, 2000). Ribbins and Zhang (2006) studied selected head teachers in rural China and provided responses from Chuxiong head teachers that demonstrate that Confucianism remains highly valued in China even today though it was officially abandoned nearly a 100 years ago. For the head teachers they interviewed, Confucianism remains relevant to this day at all levels of society including the nation, the school and the family. Some of the head teachers argued that this could be explained by its emphasis on the need for self-cultivation and the search for ethical and moral perfection and that they were deeply influenced by Confucianism and were guided by the sayings of Confucius in practice. In the higher education context, Hayhoe (2006) argued, based on interviews with influential Chinese educators, that in spite of the severe setbacks Confucian heritage underwent throughout history, correlated with the ups and downs of education as influenced by political movements, many of the intellectuals and political leaders who built up the modern system of schools and universities continued to be influenced by aspects of Confucian thoughts. These influential Chinese educators include outstanding university administrators and scholars such as Zhu, Jiusi (a visionary university leader), Pan, Maoyuan (founder of higher education studies in China). In the absence of research on the connection between the Confucian idea of transformation and educational leadership in contemporary China, I will illustrate transformation leadership in the Confucian tradition in the later contexts by using the case of Cai YuanPei, one of the most influential educators in Chinese educational history.

After explaining briefly the connection among Confucian ideology, Chinese education (in particular, higher education) and education management in China, I will turn to the Confucian idea of transformation. Since the origin of Confucianism, Confucius' disciples, Confucian scholars and Confucian schools of thought interpreted and developed Confucius' original ideas in their own ways. Although there were differences in emphasis among different understandings of Confucianism, the backbone of the doctrines and core values have remained the same. One pair of essential principles in Confucian philosophy is humanity (*ren*) and propriety (*li*; Fingarette, 1972). Transformation of the self and the state and the transcendence of moral rationality are the backbone of Confucian humanism. In the following texts, I will discuss the Confucian idea of the transformation of oneself and the state as evidenced in the Four Books and neo-Confucianism.

The Analects or Lun Yu is a collection of records of the conversations between Confucius and his disciples. It is the original source for examining Confucian ideas about transformation. Tu, Wei Ming (1993) retrieves and examines the three core concepts in The Analects, namely, tao (the Way), hsüeh (learning) and cheng (politics) in the classical period (sixth to third century). According to Tu's interpretation of Lun Yu, Confucius believes in the transformability of human beings and in their roles as guardians of human civilization. Morals and virtues transcend life and death and endless self-cultivation is the ultimate goal of human existence, or tao. Self-cultivation, though seemingly an individual matter, "is not the private possession of a single individual, but a shared experience that underlies common humanity" (Tu, 1985, p. 57). The transformation is creative by actively practicing rituals and interacting with other people. For example, "the governing principle of the father-son relationship is reciprocity rather than subjugation. It is the realization of the father's ego-ideal, not merely the respect for the father in the flesh, that defines the son's filial piety" (Tu, 1985, p. 14). Therefore, transformation of oneself is an independent, autonomous and self-directed process in the Confucian tradition on one hand. On the other hand, one becomes fully human through continuous interaction with other human beings, communal participation and the active practice of rituals (e.g., the Confucian six arts). During this process, the culture is guarded and transmitted.

Confucians not only aim to transform themselves but also strive to transform society into a moral community, either by fulfilling official positions or by undertaking the roles of teachers and advisers. Confucians contend that the transformative power of a benevolent government depends on the self-cultivation of an ethical ruler. The rulers need to transform themselves first and then can transform the state.

Mencius, or Meng Zi (171–289 BC), the greatest of all the Confucians, developed Confucius' doctrine to an astonishing degree. His masterpiece, *Mencius*, is largely derived from the doctrine of his beloved master but contains one aberration that makes *Mencius* almost a separate doctrine. Mencius, unlike Confucius, believed that human nature is essentially good

(Feibleman, 1976). "Goodness is internal. The place to find the Way is in oneself.... Benevolence, dutifulness, righteousness, propriety and wisdom do not come from the outside but are in man originally" (Feibleman, 1976, p. 136). Therefore, according to Feibleman's interpretation of *Mencius*, selftransformation is an obligatory process in which a man recovers his original good nature and his innate capacity to do good. Thus, evil, which is not innate but in external influences, can be avoided. This transformational process leads one to become a great man if he makes the most of his native endowment and develops it to the utmost. In this way, he can fulfill his destiny and serve heaven. By taking the self-cultivation of a single person as the root of not only human self-understanding but also divine knowledge, Mencius suggested that ultimately self-transformation is a communal act rather than a lonely quest for one's inner spirituality. Human relations are thus an integral part of one's quest for spiritual fulfillment (Tu, 1985). Therefore, just as in The Analects, Mencius' conceptualization of selfcultivation also involves the establishment of an ever-expanding circle of human relations.

The Great Learning illustrates the important techniques for selfcultivation. Two essential techniques are contemplation and reflection. The learning process is a spiral of withdrawing to a peaceful repose, deliberating, then putting thoughts attained in deliberation into practice to resolve the practical problems of the world (Feibleman, 1976). In order to develop a clear character, to love people and to pursue the highest good (three goals of The Great Learning), there is a correct procedure, which begins with the extension of knowledge. There is an investigation of things, then the will becomes sincere, the mind is rectified, personal life is cultivated, the family regulated, the state put in order and peace is established throughout the world (Feibleman, 1976). Therefore, according to The Great Learning, transformation needs speculation and deep reflection. Unlike Mencius, who maintains that self-cultivation is the root of divine knowledge, according to The Great Learning, transformation begins with learning extensive knowledge. Thus, one can transform one's mind (by allowing no selfdeception in one's will, and not allowing personal feelings to interfere with correct reasoning) and transform one's personal life. Then, based on the transformation of oneself, one can go on to change family and the state and the whole world in turn.

Chung yung insists that self-cultivation necessarily involves a process of inner moral and spiritual transformation. The unique feature of *Chung yung* is its focus on the profound person's quest for self-realization (Tu, 1989). That is to say, one's intrinsic demand of the pursuit for self-realization and

self-perfection is the original force for oneself to conduct self-cultivation. The profound person also has profound concern for common sense. The profound person seeks to enact the ultimate meaning of life in ordinary human existence. He recognizes the possibility of a complete realization of the ideal of the unity of man and heaven and believes that all human beings are endowed with the inner strength to realize themselves by reaching the fullest state of identification with the cosmos. This argument of the profound person is largely similar to the sage in *The Analects*. The inner strength possessed by all human beings to realize full identification with heaven (as argued by *Chung yung*) is on the whole consistent with the anthropocosmic union between man and heaven in *The Analects* and with Mencius' fulfillment of one's destiny and service of heaven by making the most of one's native endowment.

Neo-Confucianism is another major development of Confucian doctrines. Zhu Xi's thoughts represent the culmination of neo-Confucianism (Yao, 2000). Zhu Xi's theories are centered on *li* (Principle). According to Yao's (2000) interpretation of Zhu Xi's doctrine, principle is the origin of the world, which is composed of principle and material force (qi). The Principle exists particularly in everything with their own principles but governs all things universally. The material force produces various things based on the principle inherent in all things, which is substantialized and individualized in different things by material force. Human nature, like principle, is endowed with filial piety, loyalty, humanity, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, which is the heart/mind of the Way (dao xin) (Yao, 2000). Humans are also born with material forces full of danger and selfish desire, which is the heart/mind of humans. Thus, according to Zhu Xi, transformation is a process of moral cultivation, that is, getting rid of selfish desires and feelings and letting the goodness inside shine. Due to differences in clarity and purity of the material forces received, only those who receive the purest material force may become virtuous people (xin ren), finally. However, those who strive to improve their physical qualities to make up for their native weakness can also become virtuous persons.

On the surface, Zhu Xi's idea of transformation is the exact opposite of Mencius', who believes in the inner goodness of all human beings and who believes that the process of cultivation is to recover the good and to become fully human rather than getting rid of negative human desires. However, the core of the two conceptualizations of transformation are the same: human beings need self-cultivation in order to reach the state of profundity or perfection, and the process of transformation is a moral elevation, no matter whether one conceives of individuals as originally good or evil. As to the procedure of transformation, Zhu Xi also contends that moral cultivation must start with the investigation of things, which is same as what is taught in *The Great Learning*.

THE ESSENCE AND CORE VALUES EMBEDDED IN CONFUCIAN IDEA OF TRANSFORMATION

By summarizing the conceptualizations of transformation in the Four Books and Zhu Xi's neo-Confucianism as briefly discussed above, the following four essential elements of Confucian transformation can be identified:

- (1) Transformation is the inner quest of each human being to become human. Each human being has sufficient internal resources for ultimate self-transformation and this self-transformation is ceaseless.
- (2) Confucius' idea of transformation includes the transformation of oneself, the regulation of a family and the transformation of the state, in that order. Only as an individual is transformed, can he or she regulate his or her family and then lead the larger organizations.
- (3) Confucius' transformation rests essentially on constant learning. Learning to be human involves spiritual understanding and reflection about one's inner self, both body and mind, acquiring knowledge (whether it was originally endowed and needs recovering as Mencius argues or begins with the investigation of things as claimed in *The Great Learning* and by Zhu Xi), interacting with people and practicing rituals. To the Confucians, the process of learning knowledge is the process of becoming moral. Morals and knowledge are inseparable.
- (4) The nature of transformation is the development of virtues until moral excellence is reached. The process of self-cultivation and the moralization of governance is a process of transmitting values and culture. The central morality and root of the culture is *ren* (humanity), symbolizing a holistic manifestation of humanity in its most common and highest state of perfection in Confucianism. Based on *ren*, systems of moralities are set and argued for regarding individuals, families and the state.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND CONFUCIUS' IDEA OF TRANSFORMATION

Fundamentally, transformational leadership and Confucian ideas of transformation share essential similarities. They overlap in the four essences of transformational leadership theories while differing from each other in five ways. First, both emphasize the need for change and both argue for change initiation. But they differentiate in the context, the purpose and the degree of change. Transformational leadership is advocated in the context of school restructuring in North America. The ultimate goal of this type of leadership is to develop the organization's capacity to change in order to meet the external demand for school development. By contrast, Confucius advocates self-cultivation and the transformation of the state for the sake of individuals' inner development as human beings. Confucianism also arose to establish a moral governance full of harmony and order during a time of political violence and social disorder in Spring and Autumn and Wars times.

Compared with the Western conception of transformational leadership, Confucian transformation emphasizes a deeper and more constant transformation. A transformational leader aims to engage people to work toward a shared vision and to transform an organization to adapt to a new era and new demands. Transformational leadership specifies a particular goal for the transformation at a given time. Confucianists believe in the need for people's internal transformation in order to become full human beings. For Confucianists, the process of being human is the process of transformation. The process of transformation starts when you are born and never stops until you reach a state of perfection in which you unite with and serve heaven. Obviously, transformational leadership theory does not contain this concept of the ontological inseparability of heaven and man that enables human beings to realize perfection and to act as the cocreators of the cosmos. Through constant transformation, people develop a sense of responsibility for themselves, their families, their country and the world, and fulfill these responsibilities one by one.

Secondly, both transformational leadership and Confucian transformation center on influencing people's beliefs and on developing people. A considerable body of empirical research demonstrated that transformational school leaders are effective in influencing teachers' beliefs and emotions (Leithwood & Sun, 2009). Leithwood and his colleagues have developed transformational leadership as explicitly having the function of developing people (e.g., Leithwood, Louis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004). The change in people's beliefs and capacity involved in transformational leadership is more or less confined to their thoughts and actions that pertain to their adaptation to change initiatives individually and cooperatively. This change is not stressed to the extent that it is in Confucian transformation. Confucian transformation is more complete and inwardly driven. It involves transformation from non-human to human and to cocreator of the cosmos, and encompasses the fulfillment of one's responsibilities toward oneself, the family, and society. This means that Confucian transformation has strength in developing people since it involves passing on these "beliefs" to following generations of Confucian scholars and allowing them to become hooked on change and self-transformation and to dedicate their lives to the transformation of the state.

Concerning the means of influencing people's beliefs, both transformational leaders and Confucius and Confucians influence followers through providing the following practices: idealized influence, intellectual stimulation, inspiration, individualized consideration (referred to as four "I"s), and particularly, modeling. Confucius inspires his disciples to commit to the transformation of themselves and of their country by his own modeling of this idea. Personal exemplification is the most authentic and effective pedagogy for influencing people. To Confucianists, "only teaching that has the force of personal example can touch the heart, purify the soul, and elevate the spirit" (Tu, 1993, p. 41). Confucius' modeling overlaps all the four "I"s. Confucius epitomized idealized influence, based his approach on inspirational motivation, committed to the intellectual stimulation of his disciples, and provided individualized consideration for them (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1998). A difference lies in the fact that Confucian transformation emphasizes transformation as a process of transmitting culture and elevating morality in nature while Western scholars do not conceptualize transformational leadership in this way. The initial impetus for a person to cultivate oneself, in Confucianism, comes from the knowledge of the transformations of his forefathers, which is transmitted and evolves with the culture. Though some scholars include culture building as one of transformational leadership behaviors they do not stress them to the extent as the Confucian transformation does. Confucius goes even further to point out that the power of transformation comes fundamentally from morality and that the nature of transformation is a process of moralization. In this point, Hodgkinson's Educational leadership: The moral art (1991) has a lot of commonalities with that of Confucius. Confucians believe that human existence is fundamentally moral and that influence comes from the moral excellence of the profound sage. In his view described in *Chung yung* (K'ung, 1920), Confucius contended that when the passions, such as joy, anger, grief and pleasure, each awaken and all attain due measure and degree, our true self or moral being attains moral order. He argues that only after a person attains order in his own moral being can he influence others. Only after he influences others can he have power.

Finally, both transformational leaders and Confucian transformation foster followers' autonomy. A difference lies between them. Followers are empowered, inspired and influenced to change by transformational leaders. The leader's achieving a shared vision and building consensus on goals among organizational members play an important role here. This is more of an outside-inside process of influence on the followers, or on both the leader and the followers in Burns' (1978) claim of mutual influence. Confucian transformation is more of an inside-outside process. That is, transformation begins with one's inner demand to become human and only when one is transformed he can transform others. "The internality of the profound person's quest for self-realization, its ability to produce a persuasive effect upon others is very great" (K'ung, 1920, p. 89). As a true leader of humanity, the profound person can set in motion a process of moral transformation in society through his exemplary living without imposing any coercive measures and without resorting to rewards. The power of a profound person's leadership is so great that "the profound person is reverent without any movement and truthful without any words" (K'ung, 1920, p. 90). Though other profound persons do inspire one to follow the same path, one largely depends on oneself to transform through individual learning, interacting with people and practicing rituals. The strength of the profound person is an inner strength which results from intellectual integrity and moral rectitude rather than from a conscious attempt to gain social approval (K'ung, 1920).

In summary, transformational leadership and Confucius' ideas of transformation (both educational leadership theories in a sense) overlap in the four essences. The Confucian idea of transformation is a theory of transformational leadership in the context of China. But compared with the Western conception of transformational leadership, the Confucian transformation is deeper and emphasizes on morality and transmission of culture. A contrast between these two is that transformational leadership is more of an outside–inside process while transformation in Confucianism is more inward driven.

CONFUCIAN TRANSFORMATION LEADERS

As discussed above, transformational leadership as developed in the English-speaking West shares essential commonalities with that developed from the Confucian tradition. Confucius' own leadership can further endorse this point. Since, for most of his lifetime, Confucius was devoted to teaching, most of the literature portrays him as a teacher. Here I will focus on the leadership dimension of his image. He is a great leader considering his long-lasting influence on Chinese education, culture and society, and in particular, the development of generations and generations of Confucian scholars. In his lifetime, Confucius also served in official positions. He was once the chief magistrate of the city of Chung-tu, which greatly thrived and improved under his care. On one hand, Confucius was a transformational leader in that he possessed and demonstrated all the four essential elements involved in transformational leadership as identified previously in this chapter. He believed in the necessity of change and transformed himself successfully. He also initiated changes and changed people's beliefs and behaviors successfully. For example, when he was appointed as Chief Justice of Lu by Duke Ting in 502 BC, he tremendously transformed the government morally for the better Dawson (1915). He consulted with those present at a case about their opinions, and decided according to the best opinion offered. His leadership resulted in a great reduction of wrongdoing. "Loyalty and good faith replaced dishonesty and dissoluteness, and became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility that of the women" (Dawson, 1915, p. xviii).

Bernard Bass, a major developer of transformational leadership, argued with his colleague that Confucius demonstrated the four "I"s (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1998) and has claimed that Confucius was a true transformational leader. On the other hand, Confucius' transformational leadership possesses its own unique features as identified in the previous section, such as emphasizing moral excellence as the source of leadership, transmitting culture as part of leadership influence process and devoting to constant, inner-driven transformation as the fundamental nature of leadership.

The existence of numerous Confucian scholars from the classical period all the way into the twenty-first century proves that Confucius has driven scholars to dedicate themselves to self-transformation and to commit themselves to reform their countries. In contemporary China, Confucian transformational leadership is demonstrated by and reflected in educational leaders, rather than in orthodox theories in texts. In the following section, I will use Cai Yuanpei as one typical example to further discuss why the Confucian idea of transformation has had such a powerful, long-lasting influence. The following discussion is twofold: on the one hand, I will show that Cai Yuanpei demonstrated transformational leadership in the Western sense; on the other hand, I will explore his unique leadership features that are from the Confucian idea of transformation as a source of inspiration which may inform the development of Western transformational leadership. The analysis of Cai's leadership was based on the literature about Cai's autobiography (Cai, 1999) and Cai's life and activities described by the following scholars: Duiker (1977); Gao and Wang (2000); Li (1988); Liang (1983).

Cai Yuanpei, an outstanding educator in modern China (Liang, 1983), is a Confucian follower. That Confucius' leadership of transformation is very powerful and profound can be proven by the fact that Cai Yuanpei dedicated his whole life to self-cultivation and to save the country essentially under the influence of Confucian transformation. The result of this was that he became, as this chapter will show hereafter, a transformational leader himself and made his mark on Chinese history through his educational reforms. Cai Yuanpei, had served as the Minister of Education in 1912 (Hayhoe, 1999). In his youth, Cai Yuanpai (1868–1940) followed the typical path of Confucian self-cultivation. He strove hard along the hierarchy of civil imperial examinations until he was honored by Emperor Guang Xu as Hanlin, the highest honor accorded to the scholar in Confucian China, in 1892. However, Confucian texts could not provide an effective measure to save the late Qing government, which was humiliated and downtrodden at the hands of foreign powers in the late nineteenth century. But Confucian ideas of transformation of oneself and the state had rooted so deeply in Cai Yuanpei that they became his own beliefs. It was his persistent inner pursuit of self-perfection that drove him to read beyond Confucian classics. And it was also out of his deep concern for the country, after years of serious study, that he became convinced that the true future of China lay in developing education and awakening the Chinese people. Thus, he became dedicated to education and education reforms all his life.

He successfully transformed Beijing University from an old, corrupt university full of feudalism and bureaucracy, lacking interest in knowledge or research, into a new institute where the pursuit of academics, morality and respect are highly appreciated. Beijing University (also called Peking University) was one of the first universities founded in China and remains one of the leading universities in the present day. Beginning in September 1916, when he was appointed president of the university, Cai Yuanpei brought many significant changes to the institution. "Cai Yuanpei clearly stated that the first essential change for Beijing University was to change students' attitudes" (Liang, 1983, p. 135). He hired a group of wellestablished scholars from across China, including the foremost representatives of both the New Culture capitalized and the old tradition (Liang, 1983). These scholars realized his vision of accepting change, utilizing new pedagogy, being dedicated to academic exploration, inspiring students, modeling morality and encouraging independent research, and, above all, free thinking (si xiang zi you) as well as various other theories, including the coexistence of Occidental knowledge and Chinese old tradition (jian rong bing bao). The compulsory credit system was changed to an elective credit system (Liang, 1983), which greatly enhanced the students' interest in their studies. Democratic administration and professor administration (jiao shou zhi xiao) were established (Liang, 1983), which greatly empowered the agents of change. Also, many organizations and leagues for academic learning and development, various newspapers and various activity societies were founded during Cai Yuanpei's reforms, which further enhanced his educational vision for Beijing University and institutionalized the new culture of the school. With all these changes, together with numerous others that he initiated and implemented at Beijing University, Cai completely transformed its teachers' and students' beliefs and behaviors. Under his influence, students and teachers developed incredibly autonomous capabilities in academic learning, political approbation and social activities. The May Fourth Movement is the best example of this. Under the influence of Cai's commitment to save the country through education, the students of Beijing University developed compassion and deep concern for their motherland. On May 4, 1919, they demonstrated, opposing the acquiescence of the government to the inequality of the Treaty of Versailles. The movement ended with the students' victory and successfully preserved Cai's position as president of the university through the united effort of the teachers. "The patterns of autonomy and academic freedom instituted at that time led to contradictions in the Chinese context that have reverberated through Chinese history from the May Fourth Movement of 1919 up to the Tiananmen events of 1989, with Peking University constantly finding itself at the center of these movements" (Hayhoe, 1999, p. 21).

Cai also demonstrated all the typical components of transformational leadership (e.g., the four "I"s). Obviously, his educational idea of "free thinking" and the "coexistence of various theories" are the best examples of his challenge to the status quo. He encouraged students and teachers not to be bound by one theory and continually to discover new things by comparing seemingly contradictory theories. He inspired others through his excellent modeling and his high expectations of the students. He believed the "students could start by transforming themselves and then extend their concern to the nation, and, finally, to the whole world" (Duiker, 1977, p. 14). He also provided individual consideration to many of his students, including making recommendations for students in various universities to study abroad or to enter into advanced programs, and networking to encourage academic scholars to teach or to accept certain desirable positions (Gao & Wang, 2000).

LESSONS DRAWN FROM CONFUCIUS AND CAI YUANPEI AS SUCCESSFUL CONFUCIAN TRANSFORMATION LEADERS

First of all, the great successes of both Confucius and Cai Yuanpei as transformational leaders in China prove that transformational leadership has transformative power and profound influence on followers in terms of changing their beliefs and behaviors. It is very effective in making people transcend their personal goals for organizational goals and in empowering them to make efforts for the good of the organization.

Confucius and Cai share three significant similarities that are crucial to their success. The first is a responsibility for endless self-cultivation and the service of one's country. This belief, internalized in the leader, makes followers commit to change and transcend their own interests for the organizational goals more easily and willingly. It makes the transformation an inside-out process.

By analyzing the birth of Cai's own educational theories, we can see the vitality and power of Confucian transformation. Acting out the Confucian ideal of transformation, he decided to save his country by developing education. Interestingly, in order to fulfill his goal, he decided to resort to New Learning, or Occidental knowledge, instead of Confucian texts. The late nineteenth century in China was a period full of conflicts between new ideas, for example, evolutionary theory, social politics, capitalist reformism and Kang Youwei's reform movement (*bian fa wei xin*). At this point in time, during his late adulthood, Cai Yuanpei's worldview may have been filled with confusion over the dual influences of Confucianism and emerging Western ideas. Finally, he realized that one cannot bind others to one's own theories and neither can one let one's theories bind oneself. Conflicting theories can exist and develop as long as they are built on reason and logic.

Only by freely examining these conflicting theories (such as idealism and materialism, economic interference and laissez-faire economics, the optimistic cosmos and the pessimistic cosmos) can one develop original inquiry and independent research ability, which in turn fosters revolutionary insights and promotes the advance of each theory continuously. Thus, Cai's famous educational ideas, known as "free thinking" and "coexistence of theoretical variety", were shaped, which helped significantly to develop the capacity of Beijing University, to get it hooked on change from that time forward and let it stand always at the forefront of both academic advancement and political reform in Chinese higher learning history.

Again, out of loyalty to his country, Cai joined the Tong Meng Hui (Revolutionary Alliance) and became a revolutionary. Though having no commitment to Local Communism in China, he did contribute to the spread of Marxism among students and intellectuals by allowing Marxist theory to coexist with other theories at Beijing University. Later, when he was the first president of the higher learning executive institute in 1927, it was decreed that the ceremonial rituals of Confucian worship be abandoned as he believed in the separation of higher learning from politics and religion (Liang, 1983). Though he discarded his identity as a Confucian, belief in Confucian transformation was always in his mind, inspiring and informing his actions.

Thus, we can see that the Confucian idea of transformation of oneself and the state is not a rigid doctrine that binds people's thinking. Rather, it advocates constant improvement of both self and the organization or the state. This belief fosters in people a desire to adapt to change in new conditions. This is the life and strength of the Confucian idea of transformation. This may also be the source of vitality for transformational leadership. Leithwood et al. (1999) argue that the purpose of transformational leadership is to develop the capacity of the organization to change, since the twenty-first century is characterized by uncertainties in means and ends. Therefore, it can be suggested that a belief in the constant improvement of oneself and in change for the better in an organization, if it were emphasized in transformational leadership as it is in Confucian transformation, might make transformational leadership more valuable and functional.

As to whether the ultimate goal of Confucian transformation (to transform the world into a place of peace, harmony and order and to be united with heaven) can be applied to a Western context in modern times and be useful in transformational leadership theory needs further examination. However, Tu, Y. G. (1996) thoroughly believes that traditional Chinese philosophy, with the unity of heaven and humanity as its paradigm, is able to cure human minds of the evils of scientism, modernism and, especially, commercialism. The cultivation of the sphere of the mind in terms of the unity of nature with humanity and of the ego with others provides an excellent venue for handling the contradictions between these opposing elements.

The second similarity between Confucius' and Cai's leadership experiences is that both Confucius and Cai Yuanpei were dedicated to culture building. The influence of Confucian transformation lies not in the transmission of knowledge but also in the transmission of values and culture. It is because of this dimension of Confucian transformation that Confucius' doctrinal and idealistic values were persistently guarded, developed and passed down from generation to generation, remaining in Chinese psychology and underlining Chinese peoples' beliefs, attitudes and behaviors (Yao, 2000).

In order to preserve the culture, Confucius emphasized practicing rituals. Yao (2000) points out this is the single main reason for the rise of Confucianism in Chinese history. *Chung yung* (K'ung, 1920) maintains that true leadership must entail a moral awareness of the existing cultural mode. Specifically, leadership involves a profound knowledge and a timely application of the rituals, institutions and language that govern the fiduciary community of which the leader is a part. Without such knowledge and application of rituals, people would not be persuaded to participate. As a result, the community would not be a shared experience but an abstraction.

History proves the largest influence that Cai had on Beijing University was also on its culture. Even today, some of aspects of Beijing University culture that Cai established in 1919 still exist, though they have become eroded for various reasons in later years. These include the appreciation of academic exploration, an inclination to accept new knowledge, students' and teachers' deep concern for their country and their sense of saving their country. The successful transformation of Beijing University may have relied heavily on Cai's attempt to build its culture. It was successful culture building that institutionalized and sustained in both students and teachers the changes initiated through policies and supported by structures. The values of Cai Yuanpei's educational beliefs were not only housed in policy making and implementation, but also strengthened by his public communication of his vision, his excellent modeling, his support for teachers acting in accordance with his values and his support of students' activities. All kinds of societies, leagues and associations, the concepts of free thought and a free press, and aesthetic cultivation, all proposed and supported by Cai, played a crucial role in culture building. In all these activities, healthy habits,

the pursuit of academic learning, originality in independent research, concern for the nation and an ambition to contribute to the country were highly valued and became norms at Beijing University. The organization of these groups and participation in these activities closely resembled Confucius' preservation and practice of rituals, because they housed and transmitted organizational culture. Also, Cai's ideas of "free thinking" and "coexistence of various theories" permeated the campus of Beijing University. All these culture-building efforts increased the capacity of the university to adapt to change constantly, which converges with Leithwood's (1999) argument that the focus and the outcome of transformational leadership is increasing the capacity of an organization to improve continuously. It can be concluded that culture building is a very significant measure for implementing, institutionalizing and sustaining change. The strength of transformational leadership also lies in fostering new culture, which endorses Confucius' claim for transformation as culture transmitting in nature.

Theoretically, Tu, Y. G. (1996) argues that culture, "in the broadest sense, is all the activities (and results thereof) of human beings in their nonnatural existence" (p 43). Therefore, he argues that culture embodies and underpins all leadership practices. He points out the close relationship between Confucianism and Chinese higher education and contends that a grasp of this cultural structure is key to the understanding of the spirit of Chinese higher education. Though for a century Chinese universities have been under constant reform from both governmental and local change initiatives, it is the culture underlying and underpinning them that interacts and interferes with, bounces against, balances, expels, reshapes and institutionalizes the changes (Hayhoe, 1999). The profound influence of culture on institutional developments in Chinese history shows that leadership that aims to deal with change can find its strength in culture building.

Thirdly, as the transmitters of culture and values, Confucian transformational leaders should be moral, because their influential power comes from their morality. Confucius believed in the infectious power of good in a topdown manner. That is to say, "if a prince set his ministers a good example, they would do the same by the people, and all the land would follow virtues and peace" (*The Analects*, 442, p. xv). The only method for the leader to develop the "Way" would be to have the corresponding virtue himself, then use his throne to govern, and then obtain order, finally realizing peace and harmony. Confucius himself attained the highest moral excellence (Tu, 1993) and has become the source of all moral order and the inspiration for scholars for 2,000 years in China. Like Confucius, Cai Yuanpei's life was a model of moral excellence. He was honored as "the model of the human world" (*ren shi kai mo*; Li, 1988, p. i). "The need for order, harmony, and ultimate goodness of man was strongly ingrained in his thought" (Duiker, 1977, p.7). The ultimate goal of his political ideas was world peace. He believed the means to achieve it was through *ge wu er zhi zhi* (knowledge and learning beginning with investigating things), through the *Jun zi* (virtuous man)'s modeling, and through moral governance.

In summary, it is evident from both Confucius' and Cai's success as transformational leaders that crucial factors that contribute to the powerful effectiveness of Confucian transformational leadership are a deep belief in and the practice of both self-cultivation and the transformation of the organization for the better, the leader's dedication to culture building and the leader as a moral model.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter compares the transformational leadership embedded in the Confucian idea of transformation and transformational leadership as developed within North America and finds essential commonalities between them. Though ideologies and cultures are dramatically different between centrally governed China and the highly individually oriented North American context, leadership development in both the West and China seem to follow an inevitable progression toward the ultimate enlightenment of transformational leadership. Both types of leadership emerged in "times of crisis" and suffered criticism and survived setbacks. Confucian transformational leadership emerged in the time of the Spring and Autumn War when political conflicts were severe. It has persisted in modern China, where Chinese universities have continually experienced dramatic physical structural changes and reform initiatives from the transition stage in the nationalist period to the struggle among factions within the communist party in the Socialist period and the reformation of higher education beginning in 1978 (Hayhoe, 1999). Confucian transformational leadership suffered criticism when Buddhism and Daoism flourished in the Tang dynasty, when Chinese scholars began accepting new ideas in the early decades of the twentieth century and during political movements in the middle of the twentieth century in China. However, it was revived when the new thoughts, theories or ideologies were not effective in informing practice, providing good governance and fostering social development. It has evolved

in response to criticism by generations of Confucian scholars who have added insights to it. Similarly, in North America, transformational leadership as a new form of leadership reignited the interest in leadership research when it faced a series of crises in the 1970s and 1980s and scholars were pessimistic and dissatisfied with previous leadership theories such as trait, behavioral, contingency and rational schools of leadership (Antonakis, Cianciolo, & Sternberg, 2004). That being said, the earliest transformational leader in the West can be said to be Socrates, as Bass and Steidlmeier (1998) proposed virtuous persons such as Socrates to be transformational. Western transformational leadership was argued for and promoted to meet the challenges of school restructuring that have surfaced during waves of educational reforms in North America since the 1970s, such as the planned change implementation and the effective school movement. It also has experienced criticism. It was criticized for its implicit emphasis on elitism and on inspiration based on emotional bonds between the leader and followers rather than on rational arguments (e.g., Allix, 2000), and for too much emphasis on the "great man" or the "gifted individuals" (e.g., Ryan, 2002). To date, the conception of this type of leadership has been developed by addressing these critiques in such ways as an increased emphasis on the development of widely shared goals and the development of people, and a move toward a more collective, rational approach to organizational change (see Leithwood and his colleagues' model, for example, in Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005). Through development over time, Western transformational leadership and Confucian transformational leadership have converged in the essential commonalities discussed above. It is the strength of these essential components that have allowed these two types of leadership to persist, survive, respond to criticism and have exerted profound influence over time.

The vitality of transformational leadership relies on its continuing evolution. Comparative study can add to its strength by offering a good tool for mining insights from other contexts or cultures and can yield useful results that cannot easily be discovered within contexts or cultures akin to the one in which it was initially developed. As can be learned from Chinese culture, transformational leadership may be more powerful and influential if the leader believes in and is acting on constant change and improvement in oneself and in the organization and focuses on transferring this belief to others. Leadership may also be more successful if the leader is ethical, pursues and models moral excellence, takes effective measures for building organizational culture to transform the organization and to sustain change, and supports freethinking and the coexistence of theories as important ways of challenging the status quo, providing intellectual stimulation and building the organizational capacity for change. How these features of Confucian transformation can inform transformational leadership theories and practices in Western contexts deserves further exploration. Taking the moral dimension of leadership as an example, a school of scholars in North America (e.g., Hodgkinson, 1991; Sergiovanni, 1992) has emphasized its importance and developed moral leadership. Based on these types of theories, Begley (2001) argues for the pursuit of authentic leadership -avalue-informed, sophisticated, open-ended, knowledge-based, creative, visionary and skillful leadership. Bass and Steidlmeier (1998), based on their conclusion that virtuous people such as Socrates and Confucius are transformational, argue that transformational leadership must be authentic, value centered and grounded in moral foundations. They contend that transformational leaders achieve the congruence of values and realize the greatest happiness and thus fit the major themes of the modern Western ethical agenda such as liberty. Begley and Wong (2001) contend that the unique approach to ethical leadership characteristic of Eastern cultures could enrich research on educational leadership done from the Western perspective and could yield new research paradigms. Indeed, there is considerable room for this line of inquiry, drawing lessons from Chinese contexts or those of other nations and incorporating them into existing ideas in order to advance the theories of transformational leadership, making it more effective and helping it fit broader contexts.

Methodologically, the arguments of this chapter are based on "soft data" including descriptions of leadership by others and my own reflections. Some problems inherited from the comparative study exist, such as the problem of bias caused by the investigator's view of the study and data selection. Noah and Eckstein (1998) suggest that a method that incorporates the intuitive insights and speculative reflections of the observer but submits them to systematic, empirical testing offers the best hope for fulfilling the potential of comparative education. Thus, there is much room for empirical research that inquires into the comparison of educational administration between the West and China. In particular, more empirical research is needed in the Chinese context in order to make systematic cross-continental comparisons possible. As we move into the twenty-first century, our educational contexts are characterized by new features such as accountability, globalization and diversity. Transformational leadership needs to continue to absorb new elements to enhance its effectiveness and strength in new contexts. The thousands of years of long-lasting impact exerted by Confucian transformational leadership can strengthen our confidence in continuing the

exploration of transformational leadership to suit our needs. With more empirical research and parallel evidence emerging, comparative studies across continents can shed more light on the advance of this type of leadership on an international platform. They help to inform a more integrated, cross-cultural, sophisticated leadership theory to meet the demands of the twenty-first century.

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ISSUES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN MEXICO

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The purpose of this paper is to explore the evolution of the study of the principalship and the challenges that school directors face in Mexico. The context, trends, and research findings can elucidate issues in educational administration preparation. This work is part of the *International Study of Principal Preparation* (ISPP), a major international collaboration across 13 countries: Australia, Canada, China, England, Germany, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Scotland, South Africa, Tanzania, Turkey, and the United States.

One of the most important reasons to study the role of the school principal is to discover how the exercise of leadership affects student learning. Hallinger and Heck (1997) reviewed published journal articles in English from diverse cultural contexts. They found that the principal did not affect student achievement directly, but small effects were evident in studies that examined intervening variables. These studies reported that 3–5% of the variation in student achievement can result from school leadership. The most promising studies looked at the reciprocal relationship between the principal and other variables over time. Liethwood, Harris, and Hopkins (2008) also supported the conclusion that leadership makes a difference in student achievement. A recent issue of *School Leadership and Management* was devoted to the effect of leaders on instruction (Day, Sammons, Hopkins, Leithwood & Kington, 2008; Leithwood & Day, 2008; Leithwood,

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Harris & Hopkins, 2008; Gu, Sammons, & Mehta, 2008; Day, Leithwood & Sammons, 2008).

Educational Administration as a field was initiated and developed in Anglo-Saxon countries, chiefly in the United Sates, In 1875, Harold Payne, school superintendent of Adrian, Michigan wrote the first book on educational administration: Chapters on School Supervision (Culbertson, 1988). The field evolved at rapid pace. By 1881, Payne launched the first course to train principals and superintendents. In 1905, Teachers College awarded the first eight doctorates in the field; among the graduates were Ellwood Cubberly and George Strayer (Culbertson, 1988). Since that time, educational administration as a field of study has been strongly related to the principalship and superintendency. As early as the last decade of the 19th century, books and studies on the matter have been relentlessly published. For instance, Blodgett (1898) published The Relation of a Principal to the Community: An Address before the Conference of Academic Principals of the State of New York. The principalship moved toward becoming an independent educational profession in 1921 when the National Association of Elementary School Principals was founded. Today, over 30,000 principals are members.

The fact that the principalship has been an important issue in the United States since the 19th century is probably due to the organization and administration of the educational system, which, in spite of state regulations and interventions, has remained decentralized. Parents and local communities still have an important role in the administration of schools, and the selection and appointment of principals and superintendents. Unlike most of the world's educational systems, Anglo-Saxon countries, especially the United States, were organized from the outset in decentralized way.

Three major developments in Anglo-Saxon countries have influenced interest in the principalship in Iberoamerican countries (Spain, Portugal, and Latin America). The first was the decentralization movement that began around the world in the 1970s. Brazil was the first Latin American country to embrace that movement (Sobrinho, 1978). In the 1980s and early 1990s, other Latin American countries began a decentralization process of their educational systems (Prawda, 1993). Decentralization entails broadening citizen participation and improving local governance (Jütting et al., 2004) Hence, principals and schools have more autonomy and decision-making power.

The second factor was concern for school quality. In the late 1970s, the school effectiveness movement began to show that principal leadership was crucial to foster achievement in schools. This effort to increase student

achievement was followed by an emphasis on school improvement (Scheerens, 2000).

The third factor was the interest of scholars in the study of principalship around the world. By the second half of the 1990s, a new trend of studies on educational administration and the principalship emerged. English speaking researchers began to show interest in educational administration from an international perspective. *The Handbook of Research on Educational Administration* dedicated a chapter to internationalization of educational administration (Chapman, Sackney, & Aspin, 1999).

Early in the present decade, Bush and Jackson (2002) and Hallinger (2003) reported international studies of school leadership. One of the most frequently cited studies in the international principalship literature is, *Preparing School Leaders for the 21st Century* (Huber, 2004), which gives an account of the state of the principalship and school leadership in 15 countries of Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America.

The interest in the study of the principalship in developing countries has grown in the current decade. Oplatka (2004) analyzed 25 empirical studies on the principalship in developing countries published in 14 English language journals. He found four key factors: limited autonomy, lack of instructional leadership, autocratic style of leadership, and low degree of change initiation. The most recent indicator of the growing international interest on principalship is the ISPP, formed by a multinational group of scholars. ISPP is mainly dedicated to the study of the preparation of novice principals. Scholarly works have been published or presented in journals and forums in Europe, the United States, Australia, Africa, and Mexico. A recent issue of the *Journal of Educational Administration* (Webber, 2008) presented six of these studies.

In Iberoamerican countries (Spain, Portugal, and Latin America) interest in principals is increasing. In 2006, the Revista Electrónica Iberoamericana sobre Calidad (Iberoamerican Electronic Review on Quality, Effectiveness, and Educational Change) released an issue on the principalship. Yet, there is much to learn about how the principalship has evolved, what has been studied in Latin America, and what decentralization reforms occurred in past decades.

THE MEXICAN CONTEXT

In 1992, Mexican authorities and Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación, (SNTE, National Education Workers Union) signed an

agreement to decentralize the educational system called ANMEB (National Agreement on the Modernization of Basic Education), in which the Ministry of Education transferred basic education services to the 32 states of the country. *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP, the Federal Ministry of Education) still had the power to allocate money and enforce a national curriculum. SNTE, considered the largest and most powerful union in Latin America with 1.5 million affiliates, allowed the reform with the condition of keeping its status as national union.

Since the 1990s, little progress has been made on the advancement of decentralization. Technically speaking, Mexico has not surpassed the deconcentration phase, which typically transfers tasks and work, but not authority to the states, counties, and schools. The higher stages of decentralization are delegation and devolution of authority (Hanson, 1997). This stage of decentralization has brought new actors into the educational policy arena such as Congress, Governors, and state educational administrators (Zorrilla Fierro & Pérez, 2006). The union (SNTE) also has a bargaining power. It was part of the National Revolutionary Party (PRI) that governed Mexico for 71 years and has gained the ability to govern education from within. Major educational reform must be launched and implemented with the consent of the union, which also participates in the appointment and removal of teachers, principals and school supervisors. In most cases, teachers who perform poorly or have several absences during the school year are not easily fired, but transferred to another school.

In 1989, Mexico launched the Educational Modernization Program (*Programa para la Modernización Educativa*), which intended to revamp the whole educational system. The policy and aims of that program set forth the foundations for the reforms that followed in the current decade. The ultimate purpose of that reform was to improve the quality of education across all educational levels.

In 1994, Mexico was admitted as a permanent member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). As an OECD member, Mexico has participated in PISA evaluations since 2000. Results place Mexico behind Turkey and Chile and slightly ahead of Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia. Mexico lags far behind in reading, math, and science compared to the rest of their developed partners (OECD, 2007). PISA results have exerted pressure on the educational system to perform better. Mexico is not satisfied with similar academic performance to other Latin American countries. It is aiming for comparable academic performance to its Asian, European, and North American counterparts. Such an aim has put pressure on elementary and secondary educational systems.

Following international trends, elementary and junior high schools have begun to be accountable for educational achievement. National assessment of elementary schools was suspended in the late 1960s and reissued in 2005. Today schools, teachers, and pupils receive an individual report on performance and how they rank among other schools, counties, and states. The best schools and pupils are awarded public recognition at state and federal level.

The national union of teachers (SNTE) has been a fundamental factor in educational practices. Historically, reforms promoted by the Ministry of Education (SEP) have depended on negotiations with the union. The Alliance for Education is more of a strategy to create a policy than a reform. The Calderon administration (2007–2012) took some of the recommendations that Reimers (2006) made it at the end of the Fox administration (2001–2006). The goals are to transform educational quality with the objective of creating greater commitment. The approach is to bring together state and municipal governments, legislatures, state authorities, parents, students, business, and academia to construct a state policy.

Reimers (2006) suggested that the Mexican government make an effort to increase professional development of administrators, strengthen the administrative sector through human resources management, reform the system of finance, and decentralize the organization of education. The key factor for Reimers was new management of human resources because the interests of the union are as much for the benefit of labor as for quality education for students.

The analysis of the Sectoral Program 2007–2012 found increased levels of failure, a higher number of drop outs, and lower levels of student achievement at the elementary level. This report warned that the quality of education was not moving toward a knowledge society and that students were not becoming globally competitive. Thus, one of the first actions of the new government was to form a pact with the union to create the Alliance for Education and announce goals to increase the level of education. The major proposals were to create entrance and promotion examinations for students, require certification and professionalization of teachers, and establish incentives to promote individual effort of teachers based on student achievement results.

The Alliance for Education has had a high cost. Teachers at local and national levels have become polarized between those who support and oppose the union. Teachers reorganized and started new unions and supported different political parties depending on the state context and participated in wide ranging demonstrations (López-Gorosave & Martínez-Martinez, 2009). These movements demanded a place at the negotiating table and heightened risks and increased tension.

The national press reported that almost half of the states (14) did not hire teachers based upon the examinations of 2009. The conditions are much different from what occurred with ANMEB in 1992. The new effort is a political strategy that is necessary but fragile. It is based on threads that can easily be broken.

In spite of these difficulties, the Alliance has brought about major changes within the realm of elementary education. For instance, for a job, most new teachers are selected by examination. This reform has also poured billions of pesos into the improvement school physical plants. The reform began in the May 2008, and it is still too early to evaluate the impact of such changes.

It aims to transform preschool, elementary, and secondary education and improve educational quality. Before this reform teachers and principals were part of a system of economic incentives, which considered, graduate studies, in-service teacher training, seniority, and other measures of academic achievement. The Alliance for Educational reform ties teacher and principal incentives to testing results. This policy represents a major change in the Mexican educational system. A study carried out by the RAND Corporation demonstrated that incentives for principals were weakly related to school performance (McEwan & Santibañez, 2005). Now the incentives are considerable. At level A (the lowest) teachers and principals receive 24.5% of their base wage, while at level E (the highest) teachers receive up to 197%.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THE PRINCIPALSHIP IN MEXICO

Interest in the study of the principalship in Mexico is on the rise. The federal government has promoted decentralization, additional research and programs to improve supervision and the principalship. These developments can be traced to trends that date from the 1930s and 1940s. There are four phases: (1) the beginnings of the field, (2) the new management movement, (3) cross-cultural studies, and (4) the ISPP, in which a new trend is emerging: the partnership of Mexican, Spanish, and Anglo-Saxon scholars in the ISPP.

Beginnings of the Field

During 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, Mexican educators began to be concerned with the field of educational administration field. Rafael Ramírez (1885–1959) was a rural teacher, who became national director of Mexico's Rural School Department during the late 1920s. Ramírez is considered one of the foremost Mexican educators of the last century. He probably has written more on education than any other Mexican; his complete works were printed in 11 volumes.

Riding (1984) portrayed the relationship between Mexico and the United States as distant neighbors. Education is not the exception, most educational innovations, in spite of having been initiated in the United States come through Spain, but it has not been always that way. During the mid-to-late 1920s of the last century, Mexican educators visited the United States to get acquainted with the elementary and secondary educational systems. Rafael Ramírez was among them. Ramírez went to the United States at least two times (1925 and 1928) to visit rural schools in many states across the country from Texas to Minnesota. Ramírez witnessed that the majority of US children attended one-room schools. He was impressed by the projects of consolidation and standardization of US rural schools; several one-room schools were merged into a larger school to serve several communities and to offer a minimum standard for facilities and services.

Educational Administration as a field was initiated in Mexico by Ramírez. Two topics were his main interest: organization and supervision of rural schools. What he saw in the United States influenced his work in the organization of rural school in Mexico. Ramírez barely cited the role of principals (Ramírez, 1963a, 1963b). At that time, the majority of elementary schools in Mexico were one-room schools that had no principal's office. Supervisors were the key for the administration of scattered rural schools. Ramírez's ideas on supervision and organization of rural schools were ahead of his time. He blended the most advanced ideas on US supervision with his own practitioner wisdom. Thus far, no major book or work on educational administration has been produced in Mexico to match the professional wisdom of Ramírez. He laid the foundations of the educational administration field. Unfortunately, his work did not receive recognition in the following decades.

The New Management Movement

The field of educational administration remained dormant for over four decades until 1979 when the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (Teachers College) offered a major in Educational Administration. Prior to that degree, there were no educational policies or scholarly works in the field. The Ministry of Education produced organizational handbooks for principals and supervisors.

The field resurged with the Educational Modernization Program. The first works were indigenously produced; they did not have a direct influence from any educational administration approach, rather they were based on the new pedagogy of the late 1980s. The first work dealt with the school academic council (*consejo técnico escolar*). Ezpleta (1990) unveiled the bureaucratic structure of school councils and made recommendations for their transformation.

In the early 1990s, educational administration in Latin America revived with the new educational management (*nueva gestión educativa*). The Spanish word *gestión* is equivalent to management in English. While *gestión* means to bring about or conduct activities aimed at achieving a specific purpose, the word administration means to govern or exercise authority. In a strict sense, educational *gestión* has the same meaning given to educational administration as a discipline (García Garduño, 2004).

The connotation of *gestión educativa* for Mexican and Latin American scholars is participative management, leadership, and planning. The Chilean author, Juan Casassús, and the Argentinian author, Pilar Pozner, have clarified the definition. Casassús (2000) defined *gestión educativa* as, "the capacity to connect the structure, strategy, systems, style, capacities, and people with the overall objective of the organization." In other words, *gestión* is "the capacity to use resources in a way to achieve the desired outcome" (p. 4).

Pozner (2000) advanced Casassús' definition when she called for strategic management (*gestión estratégica*) that she defined as, "the union of theory and practice, horizontally and vertically integrated within an educational system to fulfill social mandates" (p. 17) Under these definitions, *gestión* is associated with the capacity to bring together all resources and means to achieve the goals of the school. It is a broad definition. *Gestión* encompasses planning, management, curriculum, and leadership. Pozner and Casassús argue that educational management (*gestión educativa*) and school administration are different; the latter is related to a bureaucratic-authoritarian style of administration, the former to participative-organic style of management. Table 1 summarizes the distinction made between school administration and educational management.

The differences between school administration and *gestión* are ideological rather than discipline-based. Bureaucratic hierarchical style of management

	-
School Administration	Educational Management (Gestión Educativa)
Instruction has a low profile	Centrality of instruction
Baja presencia de lo pedagógico	Centralidad de lo pedagógico
Emphasis on routines	Ability to deal with complexity
Énfasis en la rutinas	Habilidad para tratar con complejo
Isolated and fragmented work	Team work
Trabajo aislado y fragmentado	Trabajo en equipo
Structures closed to innovation	Openness to learning and innovation
Estructuras cerradas a la innovación	Apertura al aprendizaje y a la innovación
Impersonal authority	Coaching and counseling for professionalizing
Autoridad impersonal y fiscalizadora	Asesoramiento y orientación profesionalizantes
Loosely structured	Organizational cultures united on a vision on the future
Estructuras desacopladas	Culturas organizacionales cohesionadas por una visión de futuro
Simplified observations and frameworks	Systematic interventions and stragegies
Observaciones simplificadas y esquemáticas	Intervenciones sistémicas y estratégicas

Table 1.Differences between School Administration and Educational
Management made by Latin American Scholars.

Source: Pozner (2000, p. 16).

contrasts with participative management, organizational learning, and strategic thinking. *Gestión educativa* in Latin America was influenced by French institutional pedagogy, the works of Carl Rogers, (García Garduño, 2004) and Brazilian scholar Namo de Mello (1998). The Ministry of Education printed one million copies of her book for teachers and administrators.

Unlike the early initiation of educational administration, the *gestión* educativa approach was not mainly initiated by practitioners like Rafael Ramírez, the most representative *gestion educativa* scholars worked in research institutes or higher education; few of them were certified teachers. Probably for this reason, this movement adopted a nomothetic approach to the study of educational administration; it is based on hypothesis, principles, and postulates rather than detailed study of the situation and experiences of school practitioners (idiographic). The nomothetic approach emphasized participative leadership rather than an empirical account of what problems faced by schools. The approach also affected the orientation of graduate programs and in-service training courses. The *gestión educativa* movement brought about projects to improve schools and administration. The first one focused on improvement of supervision, the second on schools and principals.

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Improvement of Supervision

After the National Agreement of Modernization of Basic Education, Mexican states were in charge of delivering basic education services. They launched programs to reform supervision across the country through in-service training courses and certificate programs delivered by higher education institutions, as well as a redesign of the supervision functions and activities. This program was essentially local, with little influence from international scholars or agencies. It was believed that supervision activities and supervisors could have a key role in transforming the state of schools. Yet the results showed that supervisors have a limited role and that it was difficult to transform the bureaucratic structure of the supervision (Calvo Pontón, Zorrilla Fierro, Tapia García & Conde Flores, 2002). The designers of these programs neglected school improvement research and school effectiveness research, which insisted that principals play a more important role in improving school quality.

Improvement of Schools

By the mid-1990s, the efforts to improve school administration focused on a new program called *Provecto Escolar* (School Project). This program was designed after the Spanish Provecto Educativo de Centro (School Educational Project), which was successful in Spanish elementary schools. Fondo Mixto de Cooperación Técnica v Científica (Mixed Fund for Technical and Scientific Cooperation), a Spanish government agency, partially funded the project. Antúnez served as consultant. In Mexico, school project is defined as a tool for raising school quality. School Project employs two main tools to achieve its goals: participation and consensus of the school community on school goals. The elaboration of the school project is based on a diagnostic of school needs and problems that obstruct school quality (Secretaria de Educacion Publica, 1999a, 1999b). School Project gave principals a leadership role in involving the school and community in designing and implementing the project. One important limitation of the school project was that the government did not supply schools with the necessary material and economic resources to achieve the goals set. Most schools did not achieve their improvement goals.

Such limitations of the School Project were remediated by implementing a new program called PEC (Schools Quality Program) in 2001. Schools wishing to apply for PEC needed to submit a proposal. The federal government has been the main supporter of the program, but states and counties also allocated funds. Selected schools are entitled to receive funds from those sources (between \$10,000 and 15,000). Between 2002 and 2006, there were 30,000 participating schools that received \$250 million (El periódico del Magisterio, 2006). Funds are chiefly used to improve school facilities and services and for principal and teacher development. Under the PEC program, the principal attended professional development programs (Masters, specialization and certificates programs) delivered by higher education institutions. Likewise, several in-service courses were offered by federal and state governments.

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE MEXICAN PRINCIPALSHIP

Research on the principalship in Mexico began in the early 1990s and increased during the current decade when the majority of the studies have been carried out. Research on the principalship comes primarily from higher education programs supported by the federal government. This section is intended to analyze research findings on principalship. Findings have been grouped into three topics: (1) structural conditions that affect the job, (2) problems and dilemmas, and (3) principalship effectiveness.

Structural Conditions that Affect the Job

The National Revolutionary Party, which ruled Mexico for 71 years, imposed its dominance by coopting unions, social sectors, and organizations. One way was to empower unions, especially their heads, by placing them in federal and state offices, sometimes in the Ministry of Education (SEP). SNTE, the national union, has representatives on official committees who intervene in the process for appointing, promoting, and firing supervisors, principals, teachers, and other unionized employees. The principal post is partly dependent on union policies and decisions. It is difficult to be appointed, promoted, or fired without union consent. Principals do not require formal preparation to enter the job. Principals are mainly appointed on the basis of seniority, professional development and in-service training courses that are generally area not related to the principalship. Learning to be a principal is sink or swim (Slater, Garcia, & Gorosave, 2007). Although there is a serious effort to give in-service training to principals by federal and state programs, training is chiefly based on nomothetic approaches that use general principles and explanations rather than cases studies, mentoring, and reflective analysis.

Recently, national and state workshops for principals have incorporated case studies and reflective analysis. Alvarez (2004) carried out an evaluation of university programs and national workshops using a self-rated instrument. Students reported that they gained from university programs in their ability to manage their job.

The Mexican road toward educational decentralization is not yet complete. Schools as well as principals lack autonomy. Centralized style of management demands filling out papers and data demanded by state and federal agencies; (Zorrilla Fierro & Pérez, 2006). Slater, Garcia, and Gorosave (2008) reported that directors had an enormous amount of paper work, but had little training in the laws, rules, regulations, and policies that they were supposed to implement.

Another important issue is the double shift of teachers and principals. The double shift was created in 1972 as response to the baby boom. School space was insufficient to give admission to growing enrollment. Slater, et al. (2007) reported that many teachers have second jobs outside of school to supplement their income. They are protected by the national union. The lack of teacher time in school and the need to devote energy to other work can create a lack of investment. There was a gap between the mission of the director to educate students and the needs of teachers to have time to plan. Today the situation is changing, due to declining enrollment; afternoon schools are closing. New educational policy is favoring the creation of more full-time schools.

Studies in Mexico City and Baja California reported two major challenges of principals (Slater, et al., 2005a, 2005b). The directors were eager to talk about their struggles in communities with problems of poverty, drug addiction, and transience of families. They expressed concerns about the attitude of teachers and their frequent absences. They wanted to know how to motivate those with whom they worked: teachers, staff, and supervisors. They expressed frustration with teachers who did not share their dedication.

Principals have little leverage to run the school. Union intervention, lack of autonomy, absence of prior training, and pressure from teachers, parents, the supervisor and community limit the principal's authority. Fierro (2006) and Loera, Hernández, and García (2006) conducted two of the most

extensive studies on the principalship. They agree on the fragility of the school structure to achieve goals. Loera asserted:

The school as an institution is highly vulnerable. As an organization it is especially sensitive to principal and faculty turnover, to the allocation of resources, and general educational policy, especially those that are critical such as instructional materials, in-service training, economic incentives policies and general regulations of school life." (10)

Fierro (2006) pointed out that the post of the principal is weak, due to the fact that institutional and organizational norms are fragile. The principal's decisions are generally negotiated in favor of teachers or other members rather than the well-being of the school and pupils.

Dilemmas of the Principalship

Fierro (2006) found similar problems among experienced principals and extended her work to look at moral issues. She conducted a qualitative study of 248 preschool, elementary, and junior high school principals in rural and urban schools in Central Mexico; half of them were elementary principals. She employed narrative techniques to analyze cases. Fierro's study indicated that the most frequent conflicts principals confront are: lack of commitment with duties of teachers and other personnel, discipline, and low achievement of students, conflict derived from extracurricular and cultural activities, and handling legal documents and school reports.

Principals confront moral conflicts to manage or solve problems. Fierro (2006) understands moral conflicts to exist when a principal experiences difficulties ascertaining how to act in situations with opposing interests, values, or points of view or that present different ways of acting. Principals must decide to protect what they view as most important, which is usually related to the personal wellbeing of teachers rather than the school or students. Teachers take for granted that principals are their peers; peers are loyal to each other. It is transactional leadership; principals tolerate teacher faults in exchange for support to remain in office.

School and Principal Effectiveness

Not all studies portray a dark side of the principalship. A handful of studies depict what constitutes a successful school and principalship, and how they are different from their low performing counterparts. García Garduño

(1999) synthesized studies on effective principals and supervisors. He found that effective Mexican principals and supervisors share some characteristics with those depicted in effective principalship literature from the United States. Mexican effective principals: have good interpersonal relationships with parents and teachers, support teachers, delegate responsibilities to them, promote parent participation in school matters, act frequently as instructional leaders, and are innovative.

The two most important studies carried out on the effective principal are Pastrana (1997). Both are qualitative and unique within the Mexican and Iberoamerican literature. Pastrana carried out an original ethnographic study on a successful principal of a working class neighborhood on the outskirts of Mexico City. It is akin to Wolcott's *The Man in the Principal's Office* (1973). Pastrana depicts how a successful principal of an elementary school deals with the organization of activities such as the allocation of teachers to different grades and the relationship with parents as well as and how the principal stands against supervisor decisions when they adversely affect teacher and school performance.

The most extensive study on principalship effectiveness was conducted by Loera colleagues. He was hired to evaluate the multimillion dollar project on school improvement known a PEC. The author employed a sample of 128 rural and urban elementary schools in 15 Mexican states, which had experienced increasing gains in Math and Spanish in the last year. He compared them with others that had decreased in achievement.

Loera reported teaching practices in both types of schools. He employed vignettes, observations of school practices and parent interviews. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate Loera's detailed and original taxonomy of school and principal effectiveness. He identified five types of incremental schools and principal leadership.

Table 2 shows that effective principals have different management and leadership styles. The majority of the incremental schools have leadership styles frequently cited in the international literature. As effective schools and principals have different types of management and leadership styles. Yet, the majority of the incremental schools have leadership styles frequently cited in the international literature; 78% of the incremental schools that excel have strong instructional leadership, and effective principals promote positive organizational climate. By contrast, Table 3 shows schools characterized by negative organizational climate, authoritarian principals, and low interest and participation of faculty in student learning.

Type of School and Principal Leadership	Features
1. Management (gestion) based on instructional leadership (40% cases)	Schools have academic councils (<i>consejos técnicos escolares</i>) that meet regularly to discuss matters directly related to student learning; teachers give additional time to low achieving students; schools have high expectations and believe in the capacity of students to learn.
 Positive social capital schools (38% of cases) 	Schools have an organizational climate dominated by trust between teachers and principals which allows high participation of teachers. Parents support teachers and have good communication, attend parent meetings and, occasionally, participate in school decision making.
3. School management oriented to fulfill norms and regulations (11% of the cases)	In this kind of school principals are characterized by following the school handbook; the school is well organized. Discipline and punctuality for teachers and students are emphasized.
4. Management oriented to improve physical facilities of schools (4.6% of cases)	Principals are actively dedicated to bring support to improve physical facilities and keep them clean and in good shape.
5. Inertial positive model (6% of cases)	In this type of schools no clear features emerged; it was not possible to identify a clear style of management.

Table 2.	Types of Management and Principal Leadership in Elementary
	Schools in Mexico.

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION PREPARATION

There are multiple areas that require attention for Mexican education to improve. The appointment process (*escalafón*), the structure of the school day (*doble turno*), the centralization of authority, and lack of resources are systemic problems that need to be addressed. These efforts will require new policy initiatives with the genuine intent of reforming schools. For any of these to succeed, they will have to be coupled with positive leadership.

The principal needs to combine commitment to values with the political skills to unite people, take action, and act strategically. An improved system could create better leaders; but paradoxically, better leaders are needed to create an improved system.

Programs of principal preparation are scarce in Mexico. The first task is to consider the best way to provide preservice and in-service training. The experiences of the United States, Canada, England, and Scotland may or

Type of Decremental School and Principal Leadership	Features			
1. Negative social capital schools (28% of cases)	Schools have visible conflicts either among teaching staff or with school parents. They have poor communication, tension, and coalitions groups are obstacles to school learning.			
2. Formal normative management (17% of cases)	Schools are characterized as highly bureaucratic. Principals spend most of their time attending to administrative matters.			
3. Inertial decremental (17% of cases)	Schools show a slow process of decay.			
4. Unarticulated cluster model (15.6% of cases)	Teachers work in isolated way, they spend as little time as possible in the school; teachers look forward to transferring to another school; there are neither visible conflicts nor agreements on the orientation of academic work.			
5. Depressive situation model (11% of cases)	This model is associated with small or one-room schools; teachers manifest high personal dissatisfaction as well low expectations of student work.			
6. Authoritarian model (9.% of cases)	Principals centralize most decisions without considering the point of view of teaching staff.			

Table 3.	Types of N	lanagement	and Princi	pal Le	adershi	p in
Ι	Decremental	Elementary	Schools in	Mexio	.00	

may not be relevant to Mexico. They have developed the profession of educational administration, which requires a common body of knowledge and skills for practice. Membership in the profession is restricted to those who complete courses and obtain degrees.

The Australian context may be more relevant to Mexico. There are no formal preparation programs. Clarke, Wildy, and Pepper (2007) studied firstyear principals in Australia. They found that new principals had to reevaluate their initial views of the job as they developed an emerging sense of realism. They gained a new appreciation of the challenge of people issues. They also began to see competing tensions, particularly between the demands of the department versus their own observations of what needed to be done in their schools. Their concerns were similar to what South African principals called "liaising with authorities" (Mentz & Webber 2007). These principals came to feel the exhaustion of the role and the need to balance life and work.

The Australian experience presents similar issues to the work by Loera colleagues, which can serve as an initial framework to consider how

educational administration preparation can be connected to school improvement. Principals should learn to be:

- 1. instructional leaders who are able to work with teachers and parents to promote high expectations and belief in the capacity of students to learn,
- 2. communicators who develop social capital and are able to create an organizational climate of trust with a high level of participation from parents and teachers,
- 3. managers who can work with authorities to complete requirements and implement policies particularly in relation to discipline and punctuality for teachers and students, and
- 4. builders who can improve physical facilities and keep them clean and in good shape.

Idiographic Studies

At the same time, additional research is needed to establish the kind of preparation needed for the Mexican context. We reported earlier that most scholars working in research institutes or higher education had adopted a nomothetic approach based on hypotheses, principles, and postulates rather than detailed study of the situation and experiences of school practitioners. To progress in educational administration in Mexico, there is a need for a more balanced approach to include idiographic approaches that provide an empirical account of problems schools face.

The use of stories comes from the narrative tradition of educational research. Bruner (1991) described the characteristics of narrative. Stories are structured in time and proceed chronologically. They tell particular details of one context and in so doing attempt to connect to general experience. There are multiple meanings and levels to the story. There is a central conflict or dilemma. A good story is coherent and connects to multiple worlds. As stories accumulate, they create tradition.

A good start for the accumulation of stories of beginning school administrators world-wide has come from a recent issue of the *Journal of Educational Administration* (Cowie & Crawford, 2008; Onguko, Abdalla, & Webber, 2008; Nelson, De La Colina, & Boone, 2008; Scott & Webber, 2008; Sherman, 2008; Slater, Garcia, & Gorosave, 2008; Webber, 2008; Wildy & Clarke, 2008).

In addition to preparation, there needs to be a good match and a careful introduction to a first administrative placement. Each new principal will bring a combination of skills to the school. Not all combinations will be effective in all schools. A school with a young faculty looking for inspiration and direction might do well with a director who emphasized school vision. A school that lacked clear procedures would need a director with a strong management approach. One could conceive of different combinations that would create a matrix of types of leadership skills and contextual factors inside an outside of the school.

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IS 'EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP' A NATIONAL-CONTEXTUAL FIELD OF STUDY? SOME INSIGHTS FROM AN ANALYSIS OF THE FIELD'S MAJOR JOURNALS

Izhar Oplatka and Audrey Addi-Raccah

INTRODUCTION

Knowledge production in modern societies takes place in diverse arenas, such as corporations, research institutions, entrepreneurial agencies and universities. This last arena is embedded with disciplines and fields of study demarcated by institutional and scholarly boundaries within which intellectual work is conducted (Gunter, 2002). Each field (and discipline) has its own special interests, structured activities, rules of access, meanings and positions (Fitz, 1999) that provide 'the intellectual lenses through which problems are defined and their solutions sought' (English, 2001, p. 32).

Yet fields are also dynamic arenas of struggles, 'as their occupants seek to determine what knowledge and practices are to be regarded as legitimate and in what knowledge forms and practices they are prepared to invest' (Fitz, 1999, p. 313). Social and political forces, of their times influence the scholarship, structure, power relations and resources of a field, and field

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members engage in the practice of differentiation (i.e. how their field is differentiated from other fields, what are the boundaries of their own field) and, with the help of this differentiation, recognise just who they are and what they do (Messer-Davidow, Shumway, & Sylvan, 1993).

Despite the institutional and national diversity of fields of study, they have recognisable identities and particular cultural attributes (Becher, 1989), let alone those belonging to the Social Sciences. Social Sciences' focuses of interest are articulated also by the different national and cultural contexts in which the field members live and work. Educational Administration (EA), as a field of study that pertains to the human sciences, is not exceptional in this respect.

Years of debate in the field of EA has revolved around the universal nature of 'administration' and 'management', two major characteristics of modern organisations. Scholars like Hodgkinson (1978) and Foster (1999) asked whether administration and administrative processes occur in substantially the same generalised form in all kinds of organisations and whether they are prescribed by organisational and national contexts. Foster (1999) ardently claimed that 'knowledge is always produced in specific contexts, which are time and space dependent' (p. 104), which means that our knowledge in EA is unlikely to be universal. When the field's members moved to explore the characteristics of educational leadership (EL), an area of study gaining the bulk of interest in the field in our time (Thomas, 2010), the universality–particularity debate continued. Put differently, the emergent field of EL is likely to be influenced both by universal and national elements.

Based on a qualitative content analysis (QCA) of journal papers in the emergent field of EL, this chapter aims to answer four questions: (a) To what extent do international field members highlight particular research topics, and do some issues clearly constitute the central focus of research worldwide? (b) What are the prominent distinctions among countries in respect to topics addressed? (c) Is there any mutual exchange of knowledge among scholars from different countries? The body of knowledge produced by an analysis of journal papers provides an opportunity to glean information about the distinctive intellectual quality of the field, the reshaping of its boundaries, and the potential redefinition of the current knowledge base (Fitz, 1999).

Academic journals are an arena where dialogue about knowledge production and the nature of the field takes place (Gunter, 2002), as well as reflecting and defining lines of inquiry developed by those in the field (Thomas, 2010). Thus, in cases where most authors in the field of EL cite

works focused on EL from their own countries, as well as examining and exploring forms of EL in the particular context of their own country, we may start constructing EL as a national-contextual field of study. In this respect, we may 'talk' about an American field of EL, an English field of EL and the like.

The proposed chapter may provide deeper insights into the ways by which dominant, mostly western, ideas about EL interact with contextual constructions of EL, and might shed light on international differences in the meaning of EL and leadership theory. It mainly focuses on the domain of EL as a field, and implicitly is a kind of state-of-the-field review.

In the remainder of this chapter, a brief historical review of the field of EA within which the emergent field of EL is rooted is presented, followed by some information about the methodology used to analyse the journal papers. Then, the products of this analysis are displayed and the chapter ends with some theoretical and epistemological conclusions and implications.

THE FIELD OF EL: A SCHOLARLY HISTORICAL VIEW

The new field of EL is rooted in the field of EA that has long been considered to be a field of study concerned with the management and operation of educational organisations (Bush, 1999). Since the establishment of EA as an academic field, scholars have narrated its intellectual history (e.g. Heck & Hallinger, 2005; Oplatka, 2009), sought to understand the theoretical and practical nature of the field (e.g. Ribbins, 2006) and reviewed the knowledge to obtain an overview of the dominant concerns and trends within the field using textbooks, curricula, course syllabi, proceedings of international conferences, doctoral dissertations and journal articles (e.g. Fitz, 1999; Murphy, Vriesenga, & Storey, 2007; Oplatka, 2007, 2008; Swafford, 1990).

Nearly since the establishment of EA as a field of study, scholars have debated the absence of clear boundaries and a unified, cumulative knowledge base, coherent conceptual unity and consensus over theoretical issues in the field (e.g. Glatter, 1987; Willower, 1985). Underlying this debate was the common recognition that the field's knowledge base is too diffuse, incomplete, broad, diverse, complex and fragmentised (Bush, 1999; Hoy, 1996), covering a multitude of ideas and activities representing considerable differences of views among various groups within the profession. Under these

circumstances, some scholars debated the impact of diversification and specialisation on the field. McCarthy (1986) commented:

Perhaps, specialisation was a necessary developmental stage to broaden perspectives and the acceptance of various conceptual lenses through which to view the organisation and administration of schools. The term 'research in EA' is no longer considered synonymous with organisational theory. I see it not as a sign of fragmentation but as a positive development that reduces parochialism in the field as a whole (p. 11).

The picture arising is of extended boundaries, i.e. multiple paradigms and a tremendous variety of topics and subject areas published in the field's texts, which made it virtually impossible, according to Swafford (1990), 'to say precisely what defines research and scholarship in EA' (p. 18).

It is widely accepted that the accumulation of coherent, systematic knowledge is impeded, an integration of research studies into holistic coordination of research programmes is minimised, and in-depth and consistent investigation of a particular topic is rare (Heck & Hallinger, 2005; Pounder, 2000). This situation is explained by the strong, practical orientation (i.e. when the policy changes, research focuses change accordingly), the search for fashionable submissions, and the nature of social sciences (Oplatka, 2009).

Much debate has concerned the scientific versus applied (practical) nature of the field (e.g. Haller & Knapp, 1985; Keedy, 2005; Ribbins, 1999). For many scholars, the aim of EA as an applied field of study was to transmit and develop theoretically grounded knowledge organised around the problems of practice, as well as to 'inform thoughtful administrative practice and assist the implementation of values in practice' (Willower, 1979, p. 37). It was argued that EA was neither comparable to physics or chemistry, nor a discipline or field of inquiry, but rather a field of practice requiring a theory of practice based on the special features of educational institutions.

Scholars also highlighted the important place of scientific inquiry in the field because its main purpose was 'the free search for ideas and their critical examination' (Willower, 1979, p. 37). In addition, one could not run a school effectively without using theory to inform one's activities and decisions, because theories offer tentative explanations of reality that help administrators grasp the order and regularities of social behaviour in organisations, gaining insights informed by theoretical knowledge, and changing the reality adequately (Hoy, 1996). There are also some concerns about the quality of research in this field due to the over-emphasis on practice and utility (Johnson & Fauske, 2005; Ribbins, 2004), the high proportion of non-empirical work (Gorard, 2005) and the over-polarisation of qualitative-based inquiries (Heck & Hallinger, 2005).

Since the 1990s, however, increased attention that is given by governments to reviewing educational policy, practice and research (Mulford, 2005), and to the need for effective leadership development for school improvement (Bush, 2004; Macbeath, 2007), has led many field members to focus by and large on EL. The dominance of EL in the field's discourse has not been without criticism. It was argued that 'leadership' remains, in large part, a theoretical enigma and paradox (Allix & Gronn, 2005), that too much research is about leadership rather than leading and leaders (Gunter & Ribbins, 2002; Ribbins, 2006), and that most literature on EL is from England or the USA (Mulford, 2005). Gorard (2005) adds another critical outlook, suggesting that 'the field is very inward-looking, apparently unwilling to test the impact of leadership on anything but management itself' (p. 158).

Thus, consistent with many voices nowadays that encourage critical examinations and assessments of the field's development, construction, maturity, progress and future directions (e.g. Foskett, Lumby, & Fidler, 2005; Heck & Hallinger, 2005; Johnson & Owens, 2005), this chapter reflects upon current universal and particular patterns of thinking in the field.

MODES OF INQUIRY

The primary methodology employed in the study was QCA, named also ethnographic content analysis, because a journal paper is seen as a document susceptible to textual analysis. A document can be defined as 'any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis' (Altheide, 1996, p. 2). QCA combines both quantitative and QCA. It involves collecting numerical and narrative data, i.e. the emphasis is on simultaneously obtaining categorical and unique data for every text studied.

Thus, QCA provides a way of obtaining data to measure the frequency and extent of messages following a serial progression of category construction-sampling-data collection and coding. In this sense, it is used as a method to determine the objective content of messages of written documents. But, as opposed to traditional content analysis, in which the protocol is the instrument, the investigator is continually central in QCA, although protocols may be used in later phases of the study.

In fact, it is the reflexive and highly interactive nature of the investigator, concepts, data collection and analysis that is unique in this method. Besides providing numerical information, it is important to expose the reader to descriptive, interpretive information, thereby illustrating the usefulness of constant comparison for discovering emergent patterns, emphases and

themes in an analysis of documents and texts (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Thus, QCA enables researchers to refer not only to categories and variables that initially guide the study, but also to others which emerge throughout the study, including the use of constant comparison of relevant textual parts, image, meanings and nuances (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Sample

For this article, we reviewed the papers about EL published during the year 2007 in four dominant refereed journals in the area of EL – 'Journal of Educational Administration (JEA)', 'International Journal of Leadership in Education (IJLE)', 'Educational Administration Quarterly (EAQ)', 'Educational Management, Administration & Leadership (EMAL)'. While the two first journals are more internationally oriented, the two others are more nationally focused (the USA and the UK, respectively), which, in turn, allows ample comparison among countries.

Only papers focusing on 'EL' were chosen for this review. Their identification was based on two criteria: (1) the term 'EL' or 'school leadership' appears either in their title or key words; (2) the abstract contains some reference to issues of leadership in education.

For the citation analysis, we chose only items of which the location can be identified, such as books, book chapter, reports and dissertations. Electronic items and those of the papers' authors were excluded. We are aware, however, that the publisher's location does not necessarily represent the author's nationality. Yet, given the propensity of authors to publish in their own countries, as is seen from our data, it is likely that most authors' nationality correspond to those of the publisher's location, except in cases of authors from non-English speaking countries, which comprise very few cases in our data.

Nevertheless, we partially solved this weakness by (a) tracing the authors' nationality in cases we felt (based on our personal knowledge as researchers in the field of EL) that the authors' nationality is different from that of the publisher's location, and (b) by examining randomly 10% of the book authorship to trace inconsistencies.

The study included 60 papers. Table 1 presents the papers' sample by addressing the representation of EL papers in each journal. From Table 1, we can see that about half of the overall papers published in the four journals are focused on EL. However, there are significant differences among the journals: the EMAL 2007 issues appear to be concentrated mainly on EL compared to EAQ or JEA, in which only one-third of their papers addressed this topic.

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The Journal	Number of Papers	Number of Papers about EL		
		N	Percentage	
JEA	40	14	35.0	
EAQ	22	7	31.8	
EMAL	25	21	84.0	
IJLE	26	18	69.2	
Total	113	60	53.1*	

Table 1. The Ratio of Papers about EL in 2007.

**p*<0.05.

EMAL is the journal of the British Educational Leadership, Management and Administration Society, while EAQ is published under the auspices of the University Council of Educational Administration in the USA. Thus, the distinctions indicated in Table 1 imply some differences in the emphasis given to the issue of EL in each country.

The Method of Analysis

Based on the QCA approach, the degree to which journal articles differ by country (in terms of type, topic and citations) was accompanied by efforts to understand the subtle differences in meanings and interpretations. Therefore, every statistical analysis of the data, such as the frequency of the occurrence of each category identified in each journal paper, is accompanied by a description of the items comprising this category.

The analysis is organised around three central issues: the background characteristics of the authors (e.g. authors' countries and institutional affiliations), topics addressed, and the reference list. In the first stage, the personal details of the authors were collected based on the contact details of authors provided by the journal. Then, each paper was coded on four variables: topic, type of paper (empirical, comment, conceptual etc.), subjects and methodology (if available) and the number of occurrences of the emergent categories were counted. A similar procedure has been commonly used in the field's reviews (e.g. Murphy et al., 2007; Oplatka, 2007).

Topic analysis was based on common categories/themes in the study of EL (e.g. leadership, policy focus, organisational features etc.) provided by Swafford (1990) and Murphy et al. (2007). With a list of these themes at hand, we first tried to match every paper's purpose/topic to the appropriate category. We found it very important first to adhere to common themes

prior to any attempt to devise new categories and topics, lest some of them be just new titles for existing themes. When a certain paper did not match any of the common categories, it was categorised into a temporary, new subtheme. The open coding of the papers was followed by a comparison of the papers within every category and between the categories to verify clear boundaries between the categories and trace inconsistencies.

The reference list was analysed by counting the total number of items in each paper, then separating books, edited book, dissertations and reports from the other items and counting the occurrences according to the author's nation: the USA, the UK, Anglo-American nations (Canada, Australia, Hong Kong and New Zealand) and other countries, i.e. the rest of the countries on the globe.

Based on these data we computed descriptive statistics including frequencies and measures of central tendencies and dispersion. In addition, we conducted chi-square analyses to examine cross-national differences along papers' characteristics. In all these analyses, we referred to each paper as the unit of analysis. Another analysis aggregated the citations from within all the papers to examine the link between the cited works and authors' national categories. In this analysis, we referred to each citation as the unit analysis. A more detailed description of the data analyses are incorporated in the results presented in the next section.

RESULTS

In the current chapter, we aim to learn about some of the characteristics of the EL field and to explore the extent to which this field varies from one country to another. First, we present the sample of the study and then we test for differences in the papers' characteristics according to authors' country. By taking this course, we are able to indicate whether the field of EL is based on cross-national or local knowledge based. To this end, we examine if there is an exchange of knowledge beyond the particular country in which a study takes place.

First, we present the distribution of the papers by the authors' country. Table 2 shows that authors from the USA, and to a lesser extent from the UK, are the most dominant in the field of EL as reflected in the four journals included in this study (41.7% and 28.3%, respectively). Authors from other Anglo-American nations contributed to the field of EL to a lesser extent, whereas the representation of authors from other countries is marginal. Given this disparity, in the following analyses, we divided the countries into

Authors' Countries	Number of Papers	Percentage	
USA	25	41.7	
UK	17	28.3	
Australia	6	10.0	
Hong Kong	3	5.0	
Canada	3	5.0	
Sweden	1	1.7	
Belgium	1	1.7	
New Zealand	1	1.7	
Cyprus	1	1.7	
Norway	1	1.7	
Iceland	1	1.7	
Total	60	100	

Table 2. The Distribution of the Countries of the First Authors.

Table 3. The Distribution of Papers' Type by Authors' Country.

Type of Paper	USA	UK	Anglo-American Nations	Other Countries	Total
Empirical					
Qualitative	48.0	41.2	46.2	60.0	46.7
Quantitative	20.0	5.9	7.7	20.0	13.3
Triangulation	_	5.9	-	-	3.3
Case study	_	11.8	7.6	20.0	6.7
Conceptual/review	24.0	17.6	38.5	-	23.3
Evaluative	_	11.8	-	-	3.3
Viewpoint (comment)	8.0	6.7	-	-	1.7
Methodological issues	_	5.9	-	-	1.7
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	25	17	13	5	60

four categories as follow: the USA, the UK, other Anglo-American nations and 'other countries' (most of them from mainland Europe).

Table 3 shows the distribution of the papers' type related to EL by authors' country. Papers' type represents the epistemology that guides the different papers and may provide insight into the nature of works with which members of the field of EL are usually concerned. Basically, no significant differences were found between conceptual (i.e. works that either develop theoretical hypotheses and cover philosophical discussion or review an area of study) and empirical papers (i.e. papers reporting on any type of research undertaken by the author(s)). But, inconsistent with Gorard (2005), who claimed that the field of EL suffers a high proportion of non-empirical works in its journals, it is evident from Table 3 that most of the papers (73.3%) are empirical rather than conceptually based.

Within the 'empirical domain' there is a clear preference for qualitative methods, a finding that corroborates previous reflections on the field (Foskett et al., 2005). For example, the field's authors used 'think aloud' procedures to trace the values that school leaders use when solving problems, an ethnographic study to investigate how race influences leadership practices, and interviews to examine how school leaders perceive their socialisation processes.

Due to data limitations,¹ we cannot indicate significant differences in papers' type among authors from different countries, but we can trace some trends. In this context, it is quite clear that UK authors tend to publish diverse types of papers (e.g. the use of survey and interview data in a study on leaders' spiritual experiences, exploring the history of practitioner-based inquiry, and issues arising from the use of self-report questionnaires in cross-cultural contexts), whereas authors from Anglo-American nations tend to address conceptual and theoretical issues related to EL. For instance, authors from Hong Kong conceptualised the relations between authentic leadership and intercultural schools, authors from Canada reviewed the literature on emotions and EL, and Australian authors analyse the links between emotional leadership and organisational culture.

Table 4 focuses on the topics addressed in the four journals and shows that most of the research on EL is focused on different types of leadership (e.g. participative, distributed, instructional), with an emphasis on moral leadership, an emergent topic in the field that includes also ethical leadership and leadership for social justice and may reflect common critical stands against the neo-liberal movement. In fact, the journals we reviewed included at least one paper concerning moral leadership. Among the papers centring on this issue are those that address leaders' perceptions of race and demographic changes, the inculcation of social justice ideologies in schools, black leadership, nurturing moral consciousness and leaders' conceptions of whiteness and anti-racism.

In addition, although to a lesser extent, leadership development and leaders' careers seem to preoccupy the field of EL. The first topic includes papers that explore the link between Sandray Therapy and leadership development, examine traditional and personal admissions criteria into principal preparation programmes, shed light on professional distribution of graduate degrees in EL, and the use of distance technology in leadership preparation programmes. The second topic includes papers that explore the

		• `	· · · ·		
Topic Addressed	USA	UK	Anglo-American Nations	Other Countries	Total
N	25	15	13	5	60
Moral leadership	24.0	6.6	46.1	60.0	26.7
Leadership development	24.0	6.6	7.6	-	15.0
Instructional leader	8.0	6.6	7.6	20.0	8.3
Transformational leadership	4.0	6.6	7.6	_	3.3
Participative/distributed leadership	4.0	20.0	7.6	—	10.0
School environment	4.0	6.6	-	_	5.0
Teacher/middle leadership	4.0	13.3	-	-	5.0
Human resource management	16.0	6.6	23.0	_	5.0
The leader's career	8.0	13.3	-	20.0	8.3
Higher education leadership	-	6.6	-	_	1.7
Unclear topic	4.0	6.6	-	-	6.7
Total percentage	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	25	17	13	5	60

Table 4. Distribution of the Topic Addressed in the Articles by Authors' Country (in percentages).

childhood experiences of women university presidents, the well-being of primary school principals, career stages and principal performance and the professional socialization of new principals.

While we looked for differences across countries, two clear trends emerged: (1) compared to researchers from other countries, US and UK authors deal with a wide range of topics related with EL and (2) US authors study EL from angles different from those of researchers from the UK. In the USA, moral leadership and leadership development are more prominent whereas the topic of distributive/participative leadership is more frequent among the UK authors (e.g. appreciative inquiry as a process for leading school movement, collaborative practice in schools, and the confusions in models of distributed leadership). Authors from both Anglo-American nations and 'other countries' seem to be quite similar in their preference for moral leadership to the authors from the USA, a clue to some American global influence on the field's members.

In addition, researchers from Anglo-American nations tend to deal with issues related to human resources management (e.g. managing chronic excuse-making behaviour of faculty, emotional aspects of principal-teachers relations). However, the representation of these two topics in the field of EL is not dominant. That is, while there are common issues that dominate the field of EL, there are also topics that are particular to each country.

Author's Nation	Cited Works' Countries				
	USA	UK	Anglo-American	Other countries	Total (%)
USA	90.8	34.4	56.9	51.4	63.5
UK	5.8	62.2	18.5	29.4	26.9
Anglo-American nations	2.5	2.8	19.1	8.3	6.8
Other countries	0.5	0.6	5.5	10.9	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100	100	100.0*
Ν	633	450	345	146	1579

Table 5. The Distribution of Citations by Authors' Country.

 $\chi^2 = 635.8$; Cramer's V = 0.37; P < 0.001.

The following part focuses on knowledge exchange. For that purpose, we address in Table 5 the overall cited works across all the papers in the sample as an indication for the sources of the knowledge base of the EL field. Table 5 shows that most of the citations (63.5%) are of US publications. Less than a third is from the UK and a very low percentage is from other countries. The data also show that there is a significant link between the authors' country and the sources of knowledge base cited in their publications.

It is evident, though, that American publications are based mostly on references of US authors (in some papers on references of American authors solely). Put differently, American authors are less influenced by international references and even seem to ignore the field's developments in other parts of the globe. The published works written by UK authors tend to include citations from UK colleagues to a large degree, and also from the USA. One-third of the citations in papers written by English authors are from the USA. Yet, it is worth noting that many of them refer to general management (e.g. classic books on organisations, management, psychology of organisations) or research methods (e.g. introductory books about qualitative research, case study etc.), and to a lesser extent to publications focused on EL or related areas of studies in education.

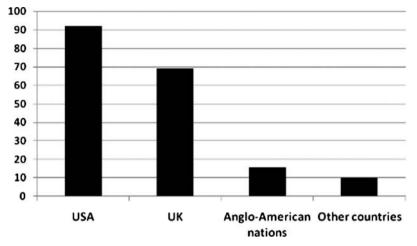
As for papers written by authors from Anglo-American nations or from 'other countries', they were found to be based on American publications more than on those from the UK. Surprisingly, this line of citation also characterises authors from Anglo-American nations that have traditionally been part of the Commonwealth and are historically more oriented towards the UK. In addition, authors from 'other countries', interestingly, hardly address the knowledge base produced in their own countries, except in cases of local governmental reports or legislations. On the whole, the findings of this analysis point to the dominant influences of US authors on the field of EL even in local education arenas that differ largely from those in the USA.

The above conclusion is based on the references listed across all papers. However, there may be some differences among papers in the scope and type of work cited due to factors, such as paper type, topic addressed, availability of relevant knowledge, and authors' preferences or journal policy. In fact, it was found that the average number of items in the reference list was 46.78 per paper, ranging from 3 to 107 references. The average number of references used for the present analysis was 27.88 per paper, ranging from 2 to 55. Hence, to examine if the trends presented above (Table 5) characterise individual authors, we computed the percentage of local references cited in each paper, as an indication for authors' local source of knowledge base. In this case, the unit of analysis was the paper.

Preliminary results indicate that on average 61% of the citations in each paper were local references with a very large variance (SD = 34.6%, the citations per paper range from 0 to 100%). However, as the distribution of this variable was skewed with a negative tell, we report about the median as a measure of central tendency. The median indicates the percentage of local references separating the upper half of the papers included in the sample from the lower half. The findings indicated that in 50% of all the papers in the sample, the reference list included 73% or more local references. Is it so by authors' country, paper type or topic? The following figures address this question.

The data presented in Fig. 1 reinforces the findings presented in Table 5. Based on the median, we can learn that in 50% of the papers written by US authors, the reference list includes 92% or more items of colleagues from the USA. Clearly, US authors tend to cite other US researchers. Among UK authors, the tendency to address local references is also revealed but to a lesser extreme. In 50% of the UK papers, the references include 69% of items written by UK authors. Authors from Anglo-American or from 'other countries' are less oriented to their local knowledge base. Compared to US or UK authors, the median of local references cited is 15.6% and 10%, respectively. These authors tend to comprise mainly US sources, as shown in Table 5 in their references.

The next figure (Fig. 2) displays the median of the percentage of local references by paper topic. It shows a large diversity among the topics as to the extent the authors cited local references. The medians range from 32.28 to 92%. Thus, it appears that while addressing issues related to leadership development and transformational leadership (although there are only two



The Median of Percentage of Local References by Authors' Country. *Fig* 1.

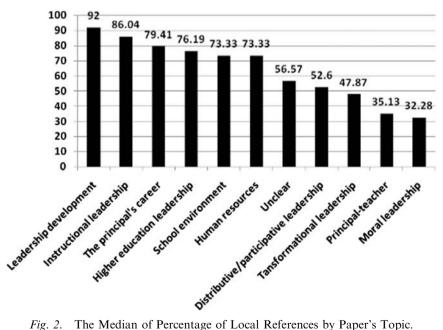


Fig. 2. The Median of Percentage of Local References by Paper's Topic.

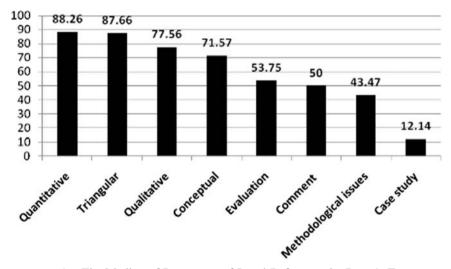


Fig. 3. The Median of Percentage of Local References by Paper's Type.

papers on this topic) authors refer to publications written by colleagues of their own country.

After all, leadership development is much contextualised in local cultural, social and institutional structures. 'Moral leadership' and 'principal-teachers relations', for example, in contrast, tend to be based more on international sources, perhaps because they are relatively new areas of study in most countries except the USA. All the other topics fall in between.

In Fig. 3, we examined whether there are differences in the tendency to cite local references by papers' type. The data presented in Fig. 3 show that similar to the analysis of the papers' topic, there is a large diversity in referring to local references. Based on the median computed for each paper's type, we could not distinguish any clear pattern. It is evident, though, that researchers who used case studies tend to base their knowledge on broader international references rather than local references, whereas studies that used quantitative and triangular research methods were found to refer mainly to local sources.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the analysis of the papers published in the field's four major journals during 2007, a number of insights can be provided. First, of the diverse topics addressed by EL researchers and scholars, the areas of 'moral

leadership' and 'leadership development' receive major cross-national attention. While the former seems to be a fashionable area of study that has been developing in response to neo-liberal ideologies, the latter is one of the few original areas of study in EL that provided an initial justification for the academisation of this field in its incipient stages.

In addition, most EL researchers are focused on empirical works, mainly of the qualitative paradigm, but not solely, i.e. they use a wide variety of methodologies regardless of their country, a finding that coincides with previous reflections of the field (e.g. Bush, 1999; Heck & Hallinger, 2005; McCarthy, 1986). The cross-national similarity, both in terms of topic and paper type, may be explained by institutional processes of isomorphism according to which organisations from the same occupational sectors are gradually adopting similar procedures and regulations to receive external resources regularly (Hoy & Miskel, 2008). Thus, it is likely that EL researchers centre on 'trendy' areas of study to gain scholarly legitimacy in terms of manuscript submission and fund-raising. It is assumed that the cross-national similarity marks the boundaries of EL as a distinct field within EA, with particular concern for specific subject matter.

A second insight refers to the distinctions among countries. When we look at the ratio of papers about EL in the journals, it is likely that the English journal (EMAL) encourages the publication of papers about leadership and related areas, while the American (EAQ) and the international journals are more open to diverse areas of studies. English authors, for instance, are focused on participative/distributed leadership than the other authors. Yet, American authors are prominent in publishing papers about moral leadership and leadership development. Furthermore, while English authors publish varied types of papers (e.g. conceptual, empirical, viewpoints), American scholars tend to publish empirical works, perhaps because during the long history of the field of EL in that country, there were many attempts to 'strengthen' the academic position of the field through the adoption of robust methodologies and research-orientation (Oplatka, 2009).

Third, as far as a cross-national knowledge exchange is concerned, the picture arising is of one-directional knowledge transmission from the USA to other countries, that is authors from that country are the largest exporters of the field's knowledge in the world. In contrast, English authors produce much local knowledge and import mainly the knowledge produced in the USA in general management of old disciplines (e.g. sociology, psychology, research methodologies), but are less likely to export their knowledge, even to Commonwealth countries. Authors from Anglo-American nations and 'other countries' mostly import knowledge from the USA, and to a lesser extent

from the UK, and rarely exchange knowledge among themselves, except in cases of local policy or local regulations. Thus, Foster's (1999) conclusion that the field's knowledge is produced contextually is only partially accurate; it is mostly valid for the USA and moderately for the UK, but is rarely existent in other countries on the globe. Many papers written by international authors other than American or English ones seem to conceptualise their local research upon foreign scholarship, thereby questioning the conjecture held by Pounder (2000) that the field's scholarship is influenced by current policies.

In this sense, four decades after the expansion of the field of EA from the USA to other countries, which means that the field is no longer considered synonymous with American education, there is much American influence upon field's members. That is, there is a strong tendency within the field of EL toward the 'Americanisation of knowledge' (van Elteren, 2006). International authors draw on a variety of knowledge bases produced in the USA and use it to conceptualise their research purposes and methods. In doing so, they distribute beliefs, assumptions and theories based on American education to other parts of the world, even to those entirely differing from the American context. Even English authors who strive to draw on local knowledge production in EL absorb much knowledge from the USA. Nevertheless, English authors appear to create a unique domain of study, that is are engaged, to a great extent, in the topic of EL and, in turn, 'abandon' other areas of study.

Implications for EL as a Field of Study

What are the scholarly implications of this analysis for the field of EL? What can we learn from this analysis about the nature and boundaries of our field of study? Academic journals affirm that fields exist and represent an arena in which the particular interests of the field members are presented, disputed and redefined. In this sense, the journal papers identify fields and implications for future directions of study and, in addition, provided important insights into the changing nature of academic disciplines and fields of study.

From the findings of this study, two main conclusions can be drawn. First, although there might be some methodological explanations for our analysis (e.g. a focus on books instead of journal articles, the limited scope of papers), it is likely that the centre of the field of EL (and EA) is the USA, even for authors whose first language is not English. But, the UK is increasingly and gradually becoming a second centre, though limited in scope, having more influence upon the field's discourse compared to the past. Thus, two centres of knowledge production that are slightly different in terms of focus seem to 'operate' in our era, although the American centre seems to still have much more influence upon other countries than that of the UK. The centrality of these countries in the field of EL has been already observed by other scholars (e.g. Mulford, 2005; Thomas, 2010).

Second, there is also a sign that the knowledge produced in the USA and the UK creates distinct boundaries of the EL field, as revealed in the major topics being discussed and studied. Illustrative of this are the great international attention to leadership models (e.g. moral, instructional etc.) and a tendency of the field's researchers to focus on leadership development.

It implies that the field of EL is denominated by international transmission of knowledge produced in the particular social and national context of the USA and to a lesser extent in that of the UK. Thus, while in the UK and particularly in the USA, the field of EL is local, the Americanisation of the field means that for most other countries, it is less nationally contextual. For these countries, the 'price' is a lack of local, particular theory-building and conceptualisations of local inquiries grounded in national and local contexts rather than in imported ones. However, we should be cautious with this conclusion as there still is a need for studying how the US knowledge base driven by non-American authors is used, elaborated, critiqued or modified to fit particular contexts.

While our analysis is based on a small number of papers, subsequent research on the internationalisation of EL as a field of study that probes cross-national knowledge exchange both in books and journals seems warranted. Additional tests of cross-national topics and paper types is needed to help determine the dominance of the USA in the field, on one hand, and the creation of local, contextualised knowledge base in other countries, on the other. We hope that our chapter sets the stage for this sort of inquiry.

NOTES

1. As the data contain a high percentage of expected cells less than 5 cases, they violated one of the statistical assumptions of Chi square test. Thus, as we were unable to compute reliable measures of statistical test, only clear trends were presented.

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