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Articles

School Leadership and Gender in Africa: A Systematic Overview

Tony Bush* ⓘ
University of Nottingham, Nottingham, England

Jocelyne Kirezi ⓘ
VVOB, Kigali, Rwanda

Richard Ashford ⓘ
VVOB, Kigali, Rwanda

Derek Glover ⓘ
University of Nottingham, Nottingham, England

Abstract	Article Info
The purpose of this article is to report the findings of a systematic review of school leadership and gender in Africa, and to identify gaps in the literature, to prompt and encourage further research. The literature search focused on school leadership and gender, linked to all 54 African countries. The review focused on articles in non-predatory journals[1], plus university theses. The analysis was conducted by country, and then by three central themes, accession to principalship, leadership enactment, and leadership styles. The review provides a compelling picture of school leadership and gender in Africa, with three main findings. First, there is limited knowledge production on this important topic, with	

*Corresponding author
E-mail: tony.bush@ntlworld.com

no sources identified in most African countries. Second, organizational, social and personal factors combine to inhibit women's accession to school leadership. Third, African women principals are shown to be more collegial and collaborative than men, with some evidence that they may be more effective school leaders. The article's conclusion draws out three main implications. First, the findings indicate a strong need for ministries of education to review their recruitment and selection policies to address barriers to women's accession as school principals. Second, they show deeply embedded social attitudes that women should be focused on domestic and family responsibilities, rather than school leadership. This calls for community education programmes to address family and social attitudes. Third, while the article presents a significant picture of the extent and nature of women principals' leadership accession and enactment across the continent, further research is recommended to address knowledge gaps, especially in those African countries where there is no knowledge production on school leadership and gender.

Cite as:

Introduction

It is increasingly recognized that effective leadership is critical for successful schooling (Leithwood et al, 2006). 'Leadership has very significant effects on the quality of school organization and on pupil learning' (ibid: 5). However, international evidence shows that women are under-represented in school leadership. While teaching is often a

feminized profession, men dominate as school principals especially in secondary schools. This paper explores the reasons for the paucity of women principals. Drawing on the findings from a systematic review of academic and grey literature on school leadership and gender in Africa, this paper addresses the enablers and barriers that impact on the accession of women to leadership. It also examines the leadership practices of African women principals, including their leadership styles and the challenges they face when enacting leadership. The paper provides data relevant to two United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, SDG4 on quality education, and SDG5 on gender equality.

There are a few systematic reviews of school leadership in Africa, for example Bush and Glover (2016a, 2016b), and Hallinger (2018), but these are not specific to gender. There is only limited literature on school leadership and gender in Africa, and this article offers what is believed to be the first systematic continent-wide overview of this important topic. This paper first provides a review of international literature to identify the main global issues on this topic. The methods and search parameters are then discussed, followed by analysis of the 31 sources that focus specifically on gender and school leadership in Africa.

Literature Review

There is a significant body of literature on gender and school leadership relating to many countries, described by Shapira et al (2011) as a 'central research topic'. A broad distinction can be made between accession, enablers and barriers for women seeking leadership positions, and enactment, women's experience following accession to the principalship.

Accession to leadership

The international literature has several sources discussing and explaining why women are under-represented as principals, even though teaching is largely a female profession. Coleman (2012) links this disparity to stereotypes, including those that link women to domestic and supportive roles. Murakami and Tornsen (2017) confirm that the gender distribution of women in school leadership is uneven in many countries. They attribute this to the 'perpetuation of biases' (ibid: 820) within education systems, for example in Sweden and the United States. Martinez et al (2021) report the OECD (2016) study which shows that, even in secondary schools, women comprise 67% of the teaching population but hold only 45% of principal positions. These authors analyse this disparity through supply and demand factors. The demand side is attributed to bias and discrimination in employers' practices, with 'double standards' and a 'higher bar' for the promotion of women. On the supply side, potential lower self-efficacy means that women may 'self-exclude from leadership positions', limiting the pool of potential principals.

Shapira et al (2011: 26) report on the experience of Arab women principals in Israel, an 'ethnic minority that suffers from discrimination'. These authors add that 'they belong to a society with a conservative culture, which suppresses women' (ibid). They conclude that, 'even when a woman has superior achievements to a man in all the relevant areas, men are preferred for management (ibid: 39). Similarly, Arar (2019) presents research on women leaders in three Arab societies, in Israel, the Palestine Authority territories, and Jordan. He concludes that Arab women's path to management positions is an especially long and tortuous journey, compared to those

in other jurisdictions, since they face especially rigid resistant sociocultural structures'.

Smith's (2017) analysis of the life histories of 40 UK teachers leads her to stress the importance of agency in women's career trajectories. While there was evidence that they had encountered a range of barriers and constraints, women are not 'passive dupes' (ibid: 22), whose lives are totally shaped by the forces of discrimination and socialization. In most cases, career decisions were linked to self- perceptions about personal agency. Similarly, while Guihen's (2019) study of 12 English women deputy heads notes three barriers to leadership accession, culture, stereotypes, and internal barriers, women also have 'agentic capabilities' (ibid: 550), meaning that they navigate these challenges in different ways. A study of motives for accession in Spain (Garcia-Rodriguez et al, 2020) shows that women place a lower value on extrinsic motivation than men and are more likely to be relationship-oriented.

While gender is the focus of this review, it is important to note the impact of intersectionality where accession for women may be inhibited by two or more factors. Showunmi et al.'s (2016) study of white, black, Asian, and minority ethnic women leaders in the UK shows that leadership identities are forged by race, ethnicity, religion and social class, as well as gender. Compared to white women, minority ethnic groups described more current and pervasive barriers to enacting their leadership identities. Moorosi et al (2018) draw on data from three countries, including South Africa, and stress the significance of intersectionality, as discuss later. Armstrong and Mitchell (2017) also refer to the importance of intersectionality, notably in respect of race and gender in Canada. They conclude that:

'Educational administration continues to be dominated by strongly patriarchal and racialized practices that contain and circumscribe difference. Women of colour are placed at the margins of administration and engage in a paradoxical process of shifting to fit in order to achieve their personal and professional goals' (Armstrong and Mitchell, 2017: 839).

Leadership enactment

The challenges inhibiting accession to the principalship remain significant even after they are appointed and begin to enact leadership. For example, women usually take on the bulk of family and domestic responsibilities, while enacting the demanding responsibilities associated with headship, and 'this social convention appears to take its toll on female leaders' (Coleman, 2012: 601). Jones (2017: 921) also discusses the expectation that women should take primary responsibility for the home, manifest in 'high levels of commitment demonstrated by women within both domestic and professional lives'. This juggling comes at a 'significant cost', leading to the notion of 'balanced leadership . . . [where] women who manage their home responsibilities effectively will perform better in their professional lives' (ibid).

While social and cultural characteristics exist, a separate strand of research relates to evidence that women lead more effectively than men. For example, Weinstein et al.'s (2021) study in Chile indicates that women principals are perceived more favourably than men by teachers in their schools. In nine out of 14 leadership practices, women were rated more highly than men. Shaked et al.'s (2020) meta-analysis shows that women are more active instructional leaders than men. The

authors attribute this to women having greater instructional expertise and paying more attention to relationships.

Larusdottir (2007) stresses the importance of values, arguing that, in Iceland, these are predominantly task oriented rather than people oriented. She adds that this may not work to the advantage of women who are more likely than men to stress collaboration, power sharing, caring, and teaching and learning. Similarly, Coleman's (1996) study of five UK women secondary school heads indicates that they adopt collaborative and participative styles, in contrast to the predominant task-based approach of their male counterparts. 'One very powerful reason why the styles of the male secondary head are extant is . . . that overwhelming numbers of secondary heads are in fact male. This makes it particularly difficult for women to escape the stereotype'. (ibid: 172).

Moorosi et al (2018) stress that gender is not the only factor influencing leadership accession and enactment. They draw on intersectionality theory to discuss constructions of successful leadership by three Black women school principals in three different contexts: England, South Africa and the United States. The shortage of literature on Black women in educational leadership leaves them on the periphery even in contexts where they are in the majority, as in South Africa. The authors' analysis indicates that Black women leaders' constructions of success are shaped by overcoming barriers of their own racialized and gendered histories to being in a position where they can lead in providing education for their Black communities, where they are able to inspire a younger generation of women and to practice leadership that is inclusive, fair and socially just.

Analysis Method

The authors conducted a systematic review of the academic and official (grey) literature on school leadership in Africa. The review was organized thematically, focused on pre-determined and emergent topics, including school leadership and gender, the focus of this article. The research questions relate to whether and how women are inhibited from accessing school leadership positions and how they lead and manage schools following accession to the principalship.

The sources reviewed for this paper emerged from the Mendeley search app, and Google Scholar, supplemented by the first author's University library sources, and the African Educational Research database. African sources were considered from all non-predatory publishers, including post-graduate theses. The first key word 'trunk' searches were based on each African country, linked to 'school leadership' and, then more specifically, to school leadership and gender. Inclusion criteria were that sources should focus on gender and school leadership in one or more African countries. Time limits were not applied to the search, but all sources were published between 2005 and 2022. This process identified the 31 articles on gendered school leadership in Africa discussed in this article.

Results

The pattern of knowledge production on school leadership and gender in Africa is mixed, with no knowledge production identified in 44 countries, showing that this theme is under-researched. The ten countries featured in the review are shown in table 1, with South Africa, Zimbabwe and Ghana being the main centres of research on gender and school leadership in Africa.

R E A L

Bush, Kirezi, Ashford & Glover (2022). School Leadership and Gender in Africa:
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Table 1. Knowledge production on school leadership and gender in Africa

COUNTRY	Leadership Accession	Leadership Enactment	Leadership Styles	Total
South Africa	2	6	0	8
Zimbabwe	2	4	1	7
Ghana	0	5	0	5
Kenya	1	1	1	3
Nigeria	1	0	2	3
Benin	1	0	0	1
Ethiopia	1	0	0	1
Lesotho	1	0	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	1
Uganda	1	0	0	1
Total	*11*	*16*	*4*	*31*

Table 1 shows that the review identified 31 sources focused on gendered school leadership in Africa, from ten countries. South Africa (8), Zimbabwe (7) and Ghana (5) have the most knowledge production, while there are three papers focused on both Kenya, and Nigeria. There are only single sources in five of the ten countries. There is a clear need for more research on this topic in Africa. The data are analysed thematically, focusing on leadership accession, leadership enactment, and leadership styles.

Leadership accesion

Several papers from different countries report on the under-representation of women in leadership positions, including Dagnew et al. (2020), in Ethiopia, Mbpera (2015), in Tanzania, Sperandio and Kagoda (2010), in Uganda, Komiti and Moorosi (2020), in Lesotho, and Aladejana and Aladanje (2005), in Nigeria. These insights suggest that this may be a continent-wide problem but the explanations for under-representation include national and local contextual differences as well as some similarities.

Three papers offer a three-level analysis of factors inhibiting leadership accession for women. Dagnew et al's (2020) analysis of the challenges affecting women's participation in educational leadership is based on data from 106 teachers and 24 school leaders in Ethiopian primary schools. These authors identify challenges at the self-image, organizational, and societal levels, each inhibiting qualified women from becoming school leaders. At the self-image level, challenges such as women still acknowledging the world as masculine, women's fear of balancing professional work and family responsibility, lack of mentors and role models, reluctance of women to hold positions of power, lack of awareness and knowledge of organisational culture, are deterring women from taking leadership positions. In addition, cultural challenges, such as cultural and religious sentiment that women are inferior to men, male prejudice reflecting stereotypes of women as less appropriate to be leaders, girls and boys being socialised into different roles, and societal expectations, are major hindrances to women's participation in school leadership.

In South Africa, Moorosi (2010) identifies personal, organisational and social obstacles to leadership accession. She reports female principals' experiences of their career route to the principalship of secondary schools in South Africa. Her framework suggests that women

experience more obstacles than men on their career route. Personal, organizational, and social factors manifest in social practices within and outside schools. Central to these experiences is the underlying male norm of who is more appropriate for secondary school principalship.

Mbpera's (2015) study of female under-representation in senior leadership positions in community secondary schools in rural Tanzania, involving 259 participants at twenty schools in one rural district, also indicates three levels of challenge for potential women principals. At the individual level, family responsibilities, and rejecting the post due to poor social services in rural areas, deter women from taking leadership posts. At the organisational level, the lack of transparent procedures for recommending, recruiting, and appointing heads also contributes to poorer access for women. At the societal level, negative perceptions and stereotypes of female leaders, conservative expectations that women should be in the private domain, rather than in professional and public roles, and deep-seated beliefs in some rural areas pertaining to issues such as witchcraft, at times resulted in physical risk and exploitation of female leaders. These proved to be strong barriers to leadership succession and resulted in on-going, significant challenges for incumbent female leaders.

Negative attitudes from a range of stakeholders inhibit women's leadership accession in several African contexts. In South Africa, Ndebele (2018) investigated the challenges faced by ten female school principals in one rural district. She discusses 'negative attitudes' from parents and teachers, adding that male dominance of school leadership is part of the 'entrenched culture'. The findings show that female school principals were perceived as incompetent by male and female

colleagues, because of an entrenched culture of male dominance. As well as negative attitudes from parents and educators, women principals feel undermined because of their gender, and often lack confidence. Female principals indicate that male dominance is an entrenched culture among male staff members in general and, notably, by male School Management Team (SMT) members.

Mberia (2017) examined stakeholders' attitudes that impede women teachers' ascension to leadership positions in mixed public secondary schools in Kenya. She gathered data from women classroom teachers, heads of departments, school principals, education officers, education trade unionists, parents and teachers' association officials, and School Board of Management officials, through questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups. The study established that education stakeholders have a general negative attitude towards women's leadership in schools, arising from social and cultural factors.

Mapolisa et al (2015) explore dilemmas faced by female primary school leaders in Harare, Zimbabwe. The study focused on five primary schools, with participants comprising the five female heads, one male deputy head, and five female teachers-in-charge[2] (TICs). First, married female school leaders face the dilemma of choosing between marriage and their leadership career. Second, the research participants face negative societal attitudes towards them. Thirdly, female school leaders lack support from fellow subordinates. Female school heads also feel that they need to work very hard, to prove that they are worthy to occupy those posts, so that male bosses will change their 'unspoken' corporate cultures of discrimination against them.

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[2] Teachers-in-charge lead some small rural schools that do not have principals.

Chabaya et al (2009) also investigate the barriers to women's advancement to headship in Zimbabwean primary schools, and the causes of persistent under-representation of women. Data were collected through interviews and focus group discussions with 13 experienced women teachers. Most were well qualified for promotion to school headship positions, and many either had a university degree or were pursuing degree studies. They also have extensive experience, but most had not applied for headship. Gender stereotypes are one of the major causes of persistent under-representation of women in primary school headship. These are manifest in low self-esteem, lack of confidence, women's perception that their role in the family overrides all other roles, and lack of support from the home and the workplace.

Sperandio and Kagoda (2010) acknowledge that the under-representation of women leaders in secondary schools is a problem common to many developing countries, raising issues of social justice and sustainable development, examining this issue in respect of Ugandan secondary schools. Their data are based on a survey of 62 female secondary school teachers from six coeducational schools, in different areas of Uganda. The paper reveals that most female teachers aspire to school leadership, but few had positioned themselves to do well in the competitive application process. Many women think that the process is corrupt, and they also do not expect to receive support from their current school administrator.

Aledejana and Aladanje (2005) identify several problems for women leaders in South-West Nigeria. Their study is based on extensive survey data from 20 tertiary institutions, 122 secondary and 120 primary schools. One questionnaire was administered to 615 students, parents and alumni of these institutions and another to 48 women

heads of institutions and departments. The authors show male domination of leadership in the tertiary institutions. About half of the secondary schools are headed by women while primary schools have more female heads than males.

In Benin, Hygin and Ayena (2021) report that women feel confined to the role of stay-at-home-mother. Despite this expectation, women have competence that can be maximized for the effectiveness of educational reform policies. Bold actions have been carried out by the public authorities since the 1990s with the creation of schools or boarding schools for young girls all over the country, and free public schooling, but these efforts have been unsuccessful. For example, the outcomes are not visible in an increase in the effective schooling rates of young girls or in the pursuit of studies at a higher level. Women are confined to the role of stay-at-home mother, which implies her increased responsibility in the management of the household and particularly in the education of children.

Komiti and Moorosi (2020) explore how women principals in Lesotho construct career development experiences by looking specifically into how they choose careers in teaching, how these careers transition from teaching to principalship, and what career advancement opportunities exist in a particular context. They conducted in-depth interviews with eight women principals on their personal and professional lives. The findings reveal that family played a significant role in influencing women's teaching career choices, while transitions from teaching to principalship were influenced by levels of readiness and desire to implement change and to improve student outcomes. They note the strong impact of patriarchy on women's career development:

> 'Our explanation of why women in Lesotho are still not able to transform the educational leadership landscape,

despite their educational advantage over men in higher levels of literacy, higher qualifications, and the feminised teaching profession, we blame the patriarchal ideology that views men as the official holders of authority. Despite the advantages listed above, women are not empowered to dismantle the patriarchy and begin to change the landscape of educational leadership . . . Patriarchal thinking that values masculine superiority constrains women's career advancement, despite the presence of policies on gender equality and the agency of individual women . . . we note a strong interplay of personal agency, culture, and economic conditions that shape career choices, career transitions, and overall experiences, in the career development of women principals' (Komiti and Moorosi, 2020: 112).

Leadership enactment

Despite the barriers inhibiting women's accession to leadership, and their evident under-representation, some African women do become school principals and begin to enact their new roles. The literature examining leadership practice on the continent focus on three main dimensions, the ongoing challenges facing women leaders, their leadership practice, and leadership styles and approaches.

Challenges

Shava et al's (2019) comment that cultural, structural, economic, and social barriers continue in Zimbabwe, even after women become principals, is echoed by several African researchers. Their study involved interviews with six female heads, three primary and three secondary, while focus group discussions were held with teachers

from the same schools. The authors show that social biases and stereotypes still exist in most schools and communities, thus undermining Government's Affirmative Action and Employment Equity policies. Also, female heads in this study were virtually absent mothers to their children and families, because of their professional responsibilities, contradicting the social and cultural expectations of women, such as child rearing and performing household chores. Despite several strides being made on gender equality in response to feminist ideologies, affirmative action and other global initiatives on gender parity, masculine leadership is still dominating schools in Zimbabwe.

Similarly, Hockett (2021) explores the leadership challenges facing five Kenyan women principals. These women were identified by their peers as successful in their roles as principals of comprehensive girls' boarding schools in western Kenya. However, they experienced systemic stereotypes due to ongoing patriarchal practices and long-held cultural expectations and norms. The data were collected from individual interviews with the five women principals. A pervasive finding relates to the 'double standards', and inconsistencies of expectations, for male and female leaders in how they lead the schools. The author comments that these principals are *damned if they do, and damned if they don't,* in respect of what is accepted behaviour for what the leaders do, and societal expectations for what they should do. As one of the participants explained, the male leaders often meet at night to discuss issues pertaining to their schools and communities. The women acknowledge that they need to attend these types of meetings, to speak on the issues and to stay current on policies and changes, but they are viewed with contempt by the community and their school if they are out late at night. One primary concern is not only safety but

also the perception from the community that 'she is only out late at night to sleep her way to the top' (Ibid). Further, the extra time involved in this type of networking continues to stretch her capacity in the dual roles of school leader and family caregiver. The women comment that their male colleagues do not face similar scrutiny or challenges which connects back to male dominance in leadership. These defined roles persist because they are still deeply embedded in the accepted social structures.

Faulkner (2015) conducted longitudinal life history research with two women principals of disadvantaged South African rural schools. She reports on issues of authority and power contestations, and the manifestation of deeply entrenched cultural traditions and patriarchy. These impact on the execution of principalship for women leaders in deeply rural, traditional communities. They navigate work and family responsibilities and, despite the barriers of patriarchy, they demonstrate agency, expressed as self-confidence, self-belief, and a strong sense of purpose. Sinyosi and Potokri (2021) point to the wide-ranging challenges facing ten women principals in rural Limpopo, South Africa, including gender discrimination and societal stereotypes, while Themane et al. (2017) report that one Limpopo principal feels that cultural issues interfere with her leadership. Similarly, Diko (2014) comments that conservative and patriarchal tendencies undermine the attainment of gender equality in the Eastern Cape province.

Similar findings are reported by Zikhali and Perumal (2018) in respect of 12 female primary heads leading in socio-economic disadvantaged schools in Zimbabwe's Masvingo District. Data were generated through individual semi-structured interviews, and observations, revealing the emotional labour that emanates from stress-related

cultural and contextual factors. The sources of their emotional stress were related to the plight of children; stereotypical gender expectations; lack of parental cooperation; and unrealistic professional and social expectations. However, despite experiencing anxiety, pain, sorrow, sympathy, frustration, sadness, and concern, the heads were happy about their appointments to leadership positions. The authors suggest the establishment of social networks, through which female heads could share their experiences.

Lumby's (2015) analysis of interview data from 54 women school principals in South Africa identifies five leadership strategies, linked to their identities in relation to gender, ethnicity, and other characteristics. These strategies are transforming the value of low-status identities, asserting a valued identity, negating stigmatised characteristics, denying disadvantage, and accepting women's inferiority. Each may bring benefit to the individual but may also further embed disadvantage, so that women are caught in a web of discrimination. She concludes that the impact of action may not be captured by simplistic cause and effect analysis but appears to be embedding sexism further and leveraging limited gains.

Leadership practice

While the earlier discussion indicates continuing challenges for women principals, there is also evidence of successful leadership practice. Amakyi and Ampah-Mensah (2021), and Brion and Ampah-Mensah (2021), report on the experiences of women principals located in Komenda Edina Eguafo Abrem (KEEA) district of the Central Region of Ghana, a patriarchal and traditional society. The findings reveal that the 12 participating women principals navigated cultural norms and beliefs to exercise their own leadership style and pursue their careers in education. These women leaders were also able to

gradually change the teachers' and community members' mindsets on women and leadership. There was no formal orientation for any of the respondents when they assumed their new roles. The researchers therefore recommend that the district education offices should organize joint orientation sessions for newly appointed school heads, particularly women school heads and community leaders. Networking was seen to be a great resource for the women principals, so it is recommended that successful leaders be offered the opportunity to share their experiences, become mentors, and share how they overcame cultural barriers.

Smit's (2013) qualitative narrative inquiry focused on the nature of female leadership in a primary school located in a disadvantaged South African community, where most learners lived in squatter camps, 85% of the parents were unemployed, many were refugees from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, many were orphaned, and most had only one meal per day, provided by the school. The principal was researched over a period of three years, using observations and guided conversations. She taught reading classes, gathered food for the hungry learners in her school, established a Non-Profit Organisation, educated parents, disciplined learners, chaired committees, managed the school finances, and initiated school building projects. The findings show that the principal's work was grounded in the complex demands of everyday school activities, while not neglecting to enact curriculum leadership.

Lopez and Rogano (2018) report on the experiences of three Kenyan female secondary school principals. Utilizing a decolonizing education and social justice leadership discursive framework, the tensions and complexities of the principals' leadership practices were explored. The findings support existing research on the perpetuation

of colonized approaches to education, tensions in practice regarding the manifestation of social issues in schools, and the need for leadership development grounded in Kenyan knowledge and experiences.

Ovedale et al.'s (2010) study was designed to investigate teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of women leadership in Mutare District (Zimbabwe) schools. A sample of 100 primary and secondary school teachers were randomly selected from ten schools, to complete a structured questionnaire, with an 'open comment' section. The results showed that the teachers perceived women's leadership as effective. They also indicate that women leaders were confident in the discharge of their duties and that they were conversant with the demands of school headship. Overall, women's leadership was perceived as effective by the teachers, because of their confident and capable exercise of their professional responsibilities (Ovedale et al., 2010).

Agezo and Hope (2011) found no differences between male and female leadership practices in Ghana. Similarly, teachers in Ghana perceive that women are just as effective as men when enacting instructional leadership (Abonyi et al., 2022). In contrast however, Agezo (2010: 701) shows that the five Ghanaian principals in his study 'were able to excel in their leadership positions by transforming their schools into a place of excellence'.

Moyo and Perumal (2019) highlighted the needs, opportunities, constraints, and resources of disadvantaged schools and how this context influences the leadership practices of Zimbabwean female primary school principals. Through the lens of an African feminist perspective, the authors established that principals craft strategies to expand the available resources while taking advantage of the

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opportunities at their disposal to manage constraints and meet the needs, of their schools.

Leadership styles

A related body of literature explores the leadership styles and approaches adopted by women principals in Africa. A synthesis of 25 studies on women in educational leadership and management in Zimbabwe (Moyo et al. (2020), identified 'female ways of leading' as being characterized as collegial, collaborative and caring. Similarly, Nosike and Oguzor's (2011) examined the leadership styles of male and female principals in Nigeria. Principals, teachers, and students were all asked to discuss the styles of leadership commonly adopted by male and female principals and the data show that female principals adopt a democratic style of leadership to a greater extent than men. The female principals also involve their staff in decision-making more than their male counterparts. These data confirm Aledejana and Aladanje's (2005) finding that schools led by women heads in South-West Nigeria are generally considered to be managed better than those led by males.

Discussion

The African literature addresses the same broad themes as the international sources, reaching some similar conclusions but also identifying issues specific to Africa or to individual countries.

Accession

Martinez et al (2021) identify demand and supply factors inhibiting leadership accession for women. The supply of women leaders is inhibited by lower self-efficacy and the higher standards they 'self-impose', before considering applications for principalship positions.

This leads to 'self-exclusion'. This problem is echoed in Chabaya's (2009) Zimbabwe study, where women had not attempted to apply for leadership posts, discouraged by gender stereotypes and low self-esteem. These supply factors are also evident in the three-level analysis of under-representation offered in Ethiopia (Dagnew et al., 2020), South Africa (Moorosi, 2010), and Tanzania (Mbpera, 2015). Dagnew et al. (2020) refer to self-image issues, Moorosi (2010) discusses 'personal obstacles', while Mbpera mentions the more specific factor of family responsibilities. This latter point connects to Komiti and Moorosi's (2020) finding that patriarchy inhibits leadership accession for women in Lesotho.

Martinez et al.'s (2021) demand-side issue is that of 'double standards', where women are held to a higher standard than men, in terms of qualifications and experience. This is evident in Kenya, where women are negatively affected by 'deeply embedded social structures' (Mberia, 2017). Dagnew et al. (2020), Moorosi (2010) and Mbpera (2015) all refer to organizational and societal barriers to leadership accession for women in Ethiopia, South Africa, and Tanzania, formidable obstacles for potential school principals. These barriers are described in forthright terms such as gender stereotypes in Zimbabwe (Chabaya et al., 2009), entrenched culture in South Africa (Ndebele, 2018), patriarchal ideology and practices in Kenya (Hockett, 2021) and in Lesotho (Lomiti & Moorosi, 2020, and corruption in Uganda (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2010). These examples can all be seen as features of gender discrimination (Martinez et al., 2021).

Enactment

Many women succeed in surmounting the challenges discussed above, to become school principals. However, some of the issues remain following accession. While enacting leadership, women continue to

experience negative attitudes, stereotypical views, discrimination, and a conservative culture (Shapira et al, 2011, Coleman, 2012).   The problem of ongoing stereotypes and bias is also reported in Zimbabwe (Shava et al., 2019) and Kenya (Hockett, 2021).   However, women leaders are not necessarily passive in responding to such pressures and many exert agency to lead effectively (Guihen 2019, Smith, 2017), echoed by Faulkner (2015), in respect of South Africa.   In Zimbabwe, Moyo and Perumal (2019) report that women principals craft strategies to manage the constraints of disadvantaged school and community contexts.   Similarly, women leaders in Ghana navigated cultural norms and beliefs to exercise their own leadership style and gradually change teacher and community mindsets (Amakyi and Ampah-Mensah 2021).

Leadership styles

International research helps to contextualise the African findings. The Chile evidence (Weinstein et al, 2021), for example, that women lead more effectively than men, is reflected in research in Israel (Shapira et al, 2011, where women are seen as better instructional leaders. Coleman (1996), in respect of England, and Larusdottir (2007), reporting on Iceland, both say that women are more collaborative and participative than men. Moyo et al.'s (2020) research in Zimbabwe also shows that women's leadership is more collegial, collaborative and caring than that of men.   Nosike and Oguzor (2011) report that Nigerian women principals exercise more democratic styles, a view supported by Aladejana and Aladanje (2005), who state that Nigerian schools headed by women are 'better managed'. This evidence suggests that women not only have to be determined and resilient to access leadership but may also offer an approach that is more engaging of staff and stakeholders, to work towards school improvement.

Conclusion

This review of 31 sources provides a compelling picture of school leadership and gender in Africa. Several conclusions arise from the review. First, only ten countries on the continent have knowledge production on gendered school leadership, suggesting that there is limited interest in this important topic in many African countries. This also indicates the need for research in those many African countries with no published research on gender and school leadership. Two of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are relevant to this issue. SDG4 stresses quality education but the under-representation of women principals means that leadership talent is being underutilized in many African countries. SDG5 refers to gender quality, noting that 'gender equality is a fundamental human right', adding that 'more women are serving in . . . positions of leadership'. This may be true in other sectors but, as this review demonstrates, is not accurate for women school leaders.

Second, the review provides contextualised data about the barriers facing potential women school leaders in Africa. Several authors mention the personal, organisational and social factors inhibiting female accession to leadership, as well as lack of trust in the recruitment process. Personal factors include low self-efficacy and concern about balancing family and professional responsibilities. Organisational considerations include the nature of the selection process and the 'double standards' applied to women and men. Social issues connect to cultural expectations about gendered roles, including the view that women's main responsibilities should relate to the home, not to professional work, and that men are better suited to leadership. Cultural change is slow and difficult, so such attitudes may endure for some time.

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Third, the review provides answers to the key questions addressed in this article, whether and how women are inhibited from accessing school leadership positions and how they lead and manage schools following accession to the principalship. The review shows that women are more likely than men to be effective instructional leaders, and more likely to be collaborative, caring, and collegial leaders, features of distributed and transformational leadership. Some sources also indicate that women are better leaders than men, raising questions about why this may be true. One plausible reason is that women principals have overcome so many structural and cultural barriers, arising in part from distorted demand factors (Martinez et al, 2021), that only the most talented and determined succeed in accessing the principalship.

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About the authors:

Tony Bush is a Professor of Educational Leadership at the University
of Nottingham, UK, and President of the British Educational
Leadership, Management and Administration Society (BELMAS). He
is Editor-in-Chief of the leading international journal, Educational
Management, Administration and Leadership (EMAL) and a prolific
author, His extensive international work includes research,
consultancy and invited keynote presentations in 28 countries.

E-mail: tony.bush@ntlworld.com

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization, formal analysis,
investigation, methodology, project administration, resources,
supervision, validation, writing- original draft, writing- review and
editing.

Jocelyne Cyiza Kirezi, M.Sc., is working as Research Advisor at VVOB
Rwanda. She has experience in conducting and disseminating research
in Rwanda. Previously, she worked at the Institute of Policy Analysis
and Research where she was coordinating different research projects
including socio-economic, and poverty analysis studies. At VVOB

Rwanda she carries out and implement research on the implementation, impact/effects, and costs of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) programmes. Further, she explores digital monitoring and evaluation systems of CPD programmes.

E-mail: jocelyne.cyiza.kirezi@vvob.org

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization, resources, validation, writing- review and editing.

Richard Ashford holds a PhD in Educational Policy and Administration from the University of Minnesota. He is an academic and development professional with over 25 years of experience in education. His research interests include: school leadership, teacher development, donor cooperation, information systems and inclusive education among others. Richard is currently working with VVOB in Rwanda on improving school leaders use of data to improve teaching and learning.

E-mail: richard.ashford@vvob.org

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization, resources, validation, writing- review and editing.

Derek Glover, following undergraduate years at LSE, taught economics and geography in schools in the Midlands. He then had twenty years as head of Burford School, Oxfordshire. Since 1990 he has worked in higher education researching in leadership, financial management, anti-bullying and new technologies and teaching using distance learning approaches. He has worked with Professor Tony

Bush on a variety of leadership projects both in the UK and Commonwealth. In this work he has been involved in data collection from extensive literature reviews following the UCL Institute of Education approach of identification, examination, recording and analysis of the evidence-based investigation protocols. procedure. He has also been responsible for survey creation, administration, analysis and reporting in the UK, South Africa and Malaysia. He is an associate at the UCL Institute of Education, London, an Hon. Prof at Keele University from 1996 until 2019 and has worked with Prof. Bush since 1992, at Lincoln, Reading, Warwick, and Nottingham Universities. He has co-authored ninety-seven journal articles and eight texts including the widely used Glover and Levacic 'Educational Resource Management', recently released in its second edition.

E-mail: derek@derekglover.co.uk

Authorship credit details: Data curation, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, resources, software, validation, writing-review and editing.

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Reflections on "The American Scholar": Words of Inspiration for These Dark Times

Duncan Waite iD

Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas, USA

Abstract	Article Info

The great American poet Ralph Waldo Emerson's address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society of educators in 1837 is taken up and examined for its relevance for us today. Themes such as the book as teacher; teaching, learning, and leadership; spirituality and materiality; the duties of the scholar; the influences on the scholar; self-reliance; and freedom and democracy are introduced and developed in this paper. Others' insights into this exceptional oratory — and into that of Walt Whitman, Emerson's compatriot — are plumbed for their insights. One of the revelations to come from this process is words of wisdom and inspiration to guide us in these dark times for America and American education.

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"The past is never dead. It's not even past."—William Faulkner

Rereading Ralph Waldo Emerson's "The American Scholar"[i], an address given to the assembly of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Cambridge, Massachusetts August 31, 1837, just shy of 200 years ago, one cannot help but see its relevance for scholars today—teachers, administrators, those who set educational policy, and public intellectuals of all sorts. As one would expect, those intervening years have wrought critical changes in education—and by this we mean principally public education; that is, schooling—and changes in the environments within which education is enmeshed—in the US and throughout the world.[ii] The continued relevance of Emerson's musings is due, no doubt, to some elemental core values imbuing how we think about public education in the US and elsewhere and also, I imagine, due to Emerson's genius.[iii] Also, if we're to be honest, the perceived relevance of Emerson's message today is to be found both in the delivery and in our reading—the delivery, because Emerson spoke in lofty terms, as befits a poet of his magnitude, speaking not of the minutia of schooling; and of our reading, because we are all apt to read with our own experiential lenses, schema, and understandings; we bring something of ourselves to the reading and take something subjective from it for ourselves and into our personal and professional lives. Even granting all this, there's still much to glean from this piece of exceptional American oratory; it can teach us, if we let it. Here we'll pay homage to the man and his words and make relevant his message to the scholars, the educators, of his day.[iv]

Books as Teachers

Often some of our greatest teachers are known to us only through the work they leave behind—words in time. Nietzsche (1874) had his Schopenhauer, a teacher he never met.[v] He described his

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"delight and amazement when I found Schopenhauer" (p.13) as he "could guess that he was the very educator and philosopher for whom I had been searching" (p. 13). But, he wrote:

> *I only had his book, of course, and therein lay a great limitation. So I made a particular effort to see through the book and to imagine the man in flesh whose great testament I had before me, and who would only make heirs of those who wished and were able to be more than mere readers, namely his sons and pupils. (p. 14)*

Let us learn from books, especially those of geniuses and poets. The best communicate in an expressive language of images, feelings, and emotions, not through simple explication and pedantry. Their authors assume, in Rancière's (1991) phrase, an equality of intelligence—that readers can understand them at some level. The poet, the genius, the writer, attempts to transmit feelings, emotions, and thoughts using our common language[vi]: "the instantaneousness of these ideas and feelings that contradict each other and are infinitely nuanced—this must be transmitted, made to voyage in the wilds of words and sentences. And the way to do that hasn't been invented" (p. 68).

Rather, wrote Rancière (1991):

> *We are left with learning, with finding the tools of that expression in books. Not in grammarians' books: they know nothing of this voyage. Not in orators' books: these don't seek to be **figured out**; they want to be **listened to**. They don't want to say anything; they want to command—to join minds, submit wills, force action. One must learn near those who have worked in the gap between feeling and expression, between the silent*

> *language of emotion and the arbitrariness of the spoken tongue,*
> *near those who have tried to give voice to the silent dialogue the*
> *soul has with itself . . . .*
>
> *Let's learn, then, near those poets who have been adorned with*
> *the title genius. It is they who will betray to us the secret of that*
> *imposing word. The secret of genius is that of universal teaching:*
> *learning, repeating, imitating, translating, taking apart, putting*
> *back together again. (p. 68, emphasis in original)*

And for us at this moment, I suggest that Emerson is such a poet.

Emerson (1837) opined that:

> *the next great influence [after nature] into the spirit of the*
> *scholar, is, the mind of the Past… Books are the best type of*
> *influence of the past, and perhaps we shall get at the truth,—*
> *learn the amount of this influence conveniently,—by considering*
> *their value alone. (p. 5)*

"The theory of books is noble" (p. 5), Emerson said. He continued:

> *The scholar of the first age received into him the world around;*
> *brooded thereon; gave it the new arrangement of his own mind,*
> *and uttered it again. It came into him, life; it went out from him,*
> *immortal thoughts. It came into him business; it went out from*
> *him, poetry. It was dead fact, now it is quick thought. It can*
> *stand, and it can go. It now endures, it now flies, it now inspires.*
> *Precisely in proportion to the depth of mind from which it issues,*
> *so high does it soar, so long does it sing. (p. 5)*

But, he wrote, this distillation, as he called it, is not perfect:

*Or, I might say, it depends on how far the process had gone, of
transmuting life into truth, in proportion to the completeness of
the distillation, so will the purity and imperishableness of the
product be. But none is quite perfect. As no air-pump can by any
means make a perfect vacuum, so neither can any artist entirely
exclude the conventional, the local, the perishable from his book,
or write a book of pure thought, that shall be as efficient, in all
respects, to a remote posterity, as to contemporaries. . . . Each
age, it is found, must write its own books; or rather, each
generation for the next succeeding. The books of an older period
will not fit this. (Emerson, 1837, p. 5)*

Here Emerson (1837) perhaps anticipated this labor we now
undertake. But the iconoclast in Emerson, the culture critic, called into
question the notion of the perfect book of Truth, of received wisdom.
Taking inspiration from his life and times, distilling them into
immortal thought, distilling business into poetry and dead facts into
quick thought, he commented:

*Yet hence arises a grave mischief. The sacredness which attaches
to the act of creation,—the act of thought,—is transferred to the
record. The poet chanting, was felt to be a divine man: henceforth
the chant is divine also. The writer was a just and wise spirit:
henceforward it is settled, the book is perfect: as love of the hero
corrupts into worship of his statue. Instantly, the book becomes
noxious: the guide is a tyrant. The sluggish and perverted mind
of the multitude, slow to open to the incursions of Reason, having
once so opened, having once received this book, stands upon it,
and makes an outcry, if it is disparaged. Colleges are built on it.
Books are written on it by thinkers, not by Man Thinking; by
men of talent, that is, who start wrong, who set out from accepted*

dogmas, not from their own sight of principles. Meek young men grow up in libraries, believing it their duty to accept the views, which Cicero, which Locke, which Bacon, have given, forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries, when they wrote these books. (pp. 5-6)

Books should be inspirational, not dogmatic. And though in certain quarters it might be thought blaspheme, even The Book, and The Book or scripture of any religion, should be read for inspiration. This was Hazony's (2012) point: that Hebrew Scripture can be read as parable, metaphorically, as inspirational life lessons.

Otherwise, Emerson (1837) believed, books do damage:

Books are the best of things, well used; abused, among the worst. What is the right use? What is the one end, which all means go to effect? They are for nothing but to inspire. I had better never see a book, than to be warped by its attraction clean out of my own orbit, and made a satellite instead of a system. The one thing in the world, of value, is the active soul. (p. 6)

It is as Rancière (1991) wrote in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*—that each should have and seek their own orbit around the truth. "Each of us describes our parabola around the truth. No two orbits are alike" (p. 59), wrote Rancière, and "no one has a relationship to the truth if he is not on his own orbit" (p. 59).

Everyone creates. This is something with which Rancière (1991) might agree, as he wrote, "'Me too, I'm a painter'" (p. 67). "'Me too, I'm a painter' means: me too, I have a soul, I have feelings to communicate" (p. 67). This, for Emerson (1837) is genius, the active soul:

This every man is entitled to; this every man contains within him . . . The soul active sees absolute truth; and utters truth, or creates. In this action, it is genius; not the privilege of here and there a favorite, but the sound estate of every man. In its essence, it is progressive. The book, the college, the school of art, the institution of any kind, stop with some past utterance of genius. This is good, say they,—let us hold by this. They pin me down. They look backward and not forward. But genius looks forward: the eyes of man are set in his forehead, not in his hind head: man hopes: genius creates. (p. 6)

The soul active—or *vita activa* in Arendt's (1958) typology of work, labor, and action— acts, and in that action creates, and that creation goes out into the world. Action's effects for Arendt are unpredictable and ripe with possibilities. Action, not work or labor, alone enjoins humankind's plurality, making it political.

Teaching, learning and today's teacher-scholar

Usually, the image the word *teaching* calls to mind is that of a teacher and their class in a schoolroom. In our mind's eye we usually see a primary-grade teacher, young and full of energy, speaking to the assembled children. Teaching, in this common image, is discursive, holding forth, relaying a message, explicating. But learning, as Biesta (2014) takes pains to point out, is more than being taught, it can be a *learning from*: "*to learn from someone is a radically different experience from the experience of being taught by someone*" (p. 53, emphasis in original). When students allow themselves to learn from someone, "they bring their teachers and what their teachers do or say within their own circle of understanding [i.e., within their own orbit], within their own construction. This means that they are basically in control of what they

learn from their teachers" (p. 53). There is no radical intervention from the outside.

It is in this way that I believe Nietzsche (1874) learned from Schopenhauer, and how I suggest that we learn from Emerson and his "The American Scholar". Nietzsche acknowledged his realization, "near the end of his productive life" (Pelligrin, 2018, p. xiv) that his essay, his "untimely meditation", *Schopenhauer as Educator* "'at bottom . . . speak[s] only of me. . . In 'Schopenhauer as Educator,' it is my innermost history, my own *becoming* that is inscribed" (Nietzsche as cited in Pelligrin, p. xiv, emphasis in original). Nietzsche realized that "not even the greatest educator could relieve one of the burden of *self-education*" (p. xiv, emphasis in original): "'No one can build that bridge for you'" (Nietzsche as cited in Pelligrin, p. xiv).[vii]

A love of learning and of free and open debate (i.e., free speech) were the Phi Beta Kappa society's founding tenets (www.pbk.org/History), so it is especially fitting that we take up and discuss, learn from and with, perhaps one of the most original and iconoclastic keynote addresses ever given to this body. Today in the United States, education, and with it learning, is under assault as never before and in need of champions. Conservative forces throughout the states are targeting teachers' speech and, hence, their instruction. Some states are offering bounties to those who inform on teachers who talk openly of race or gender. The situation is not dissimilar from that in Russia, where, according to *The Washington Post* (Whalen, April 10, 2022), students are secretly recording teachers, who are being fired and charged with a crime against the state for traitorous speech in speaking openly about the war in Ukraine. One such teacher, Irina Gen, was recorded surreptitiously and reported to authorities by students. *The Washington Post* obtained a copy of the recording. In it Gen was heard

responding to a student's question about why Russia was barred from participating in international sporting events. She replied that "'So long as Russia doesn't behave itself in a civilized way, this will go on forever'" (para. 2) and added that Russia "'wanted to get to Kyiv, to overthrow Zelensky and the government. This is a sovereign state'... 'There's a sovereign government there'" (para. 2) and that "'We have a totalitarian regime. Any dissent is considered a crime of thought'" (para. 18). A crime of thought!

In some states in the United States, students feel they must hide their gender identity for fear they and their parents will be persecuted or prosecuted. Members of the public, whether they have children in schools or not, are attacking and threatening school board members and their families over mask mandates, issues of gender, school and classroom libraries, and open discussions of race and racism. Local school board elections, previously a venue for civic-minded citizens wishing to serve the children in their communities, are being contested by reactionary and ideologically conservative single-issue candidates seeking to further restrict teachers' academic freedom, to severely limit and narrow the school curriculum and the school knowledge children have access to. These vitriolic politics, the Covid pandemic, and the Great Resignation are causing teachers and administrators to leave the profession *en masse* or consider doing so.[viii]

We, as teachers and leaders, must recognize and counter this "right way of reading" (Emerson, 1837, p. 7), the officially sanctioned speech, for ours and our students' intellectual fealty and political/ideological freedom. This "right way of reading" is there "so it be sternly subordinated" (p. 7). But "Man Thinking must not be subdued by his instruments. Books are for the scholar's idle times" (p. 7) because when "he can read God [i.e., nature] directly, the hour is too

precious to be wasted in other men's transcripts of their readings" (p. 7). There are times, though, "intervals of darkness" (p. 7), "when the sun is hid, and the stars withdraw their shining" when we "repair to the lamps which were kindled by their ray, to guide our steps to the East again, where the dawn is. We hear, that we may speak" (p. 7). Here Emerson cites "The Arabian proverb"— "'A fig tree, looking on a fig tree, becometh fruitful'" (p. 7). In this dark hour for public education, we would welcome a polestar, a shining light to guide us. Emerson the poet could be that light.

Emerson (1837) began his address by alluding to a fable, "out of an unknown antiquity" (p. 2), wherein "the gods, in the beginning, divided Man into men, that he might be more helpful to himself, just as the hand was divided into fingers, the better to answer its end" (p. 2). "But unfortunately, this original unit, this fountain of power, has been so distributed to multitudes, has been so minutely subdivided and peddled out, that it is spilled into drops, and cannot be gathered" (p. 2). The divisions have alienated each from the whole and their place in relation to the whole that is Man (and Woman). "Man is thus metamorphosed into a thing, into many things" (p. 3). "In this distribution of functions, the scholar is the delegated intellect. In the right state, he is, Man Thinking. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking" (p. 3). The public political discourse concerning education is full of slogans and banal clichés—the parroting of others' 'thinking'. Repetition of dicta and dogma by, especially, Christian nationalists (Brown, 2019, 2021) and white supremacists is far removed from thinking. The volume and vitriol with which these fundamentalist slogans and diatribes are delivered substitute for reason and empathy. Countering these dark forces calls

for more than, something other than, debate and political rhetoric. Rancière's (1991) insight is apropos here: "Reasonable man knows, therefore, that there is no political science, no politics of truth. Truth settles no conflict in the public place" (p. 90).

What may at first seem a paean to America and American exceptionalism is anything but. Emerson is eminently egalitarian. In both "The American Scholar" (Emerson, 1837) and "The Poet" (Emerson, 1844), Emerson extolls the common and the lowly: "I embrace the common, I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low. Give me insight into to-day and you may have the antique and future worlds" (Emerson, 1971, as cited in Rancière, 2019, p. 56). With Walt Whitman, Emerson lauds the plebian, the worker, the farmer:

> *I hear therefore with joy whatever is beginning to be said of the dignity and necessity of labor to every citizen. There is virtue yet in the hoe and the spade, for learned as well as for unlearned hands. And labor everywhere is welcome; always are we invited to work; only be this limitation observed, that a man shall not for the sake of wider activity sacrifice any opinion to the popular judgments and modes of action. (Emerson, 1837, p. 12)*

In "The Poet", Emerson called for a new poetics, one reflective of the promise of a nascent America. In it,

> *the poetry of the present time breaks with a certain idea of time, one regulated by great events and rhythms inherited from the past. It finds its material no longer in historical succession, but in geographical simultaneity, in the multiplicity of activities distributed in the diverse spaces of a territory. It finds its form no longer in regular meter inherited from tradition, but in the common pulse that links these activities. (Rancière, 2019, p. 57)*

Rancière points out that the "common pulse that the new poet must make sensible in the material activities of the new world is itself entirely spiritual" (p. 57).

Emerson, the Transcendentalist (Rancière, 2019[ix]), was interested in the life of the spirit and in reintegrating it with the corporeal or material, from which it was sundered by philosophers of the Enlightenment and of modernity (Quijano, 2007). Reading Emerson, Rancière made this comment upon his project:

> *Materialism is the dualism that separates the material from the spiritual by separating particular things from the life of the whole. The task of the American poet [i.e., Emerson] is to restore the vulgar materialities of the world of work and everyday life to the life of the mind and the whole. (p. 57)*

For Emerson (1837), and following him, Whitman (1855), spirit emanated from The One, God, but not entirely and not always; for Emerson (1837) speaks of the spirit and the soul that animate Man and the scholar. Nature is the first and greatest influence upon the scholar: "the first in time and the first in importance of the influence upon the mind" (p. 3). And when the scholar reflects upon nature and sees that each particular stems from one root— "And what that Root? Is not that the soul of his soul?" (p. 4). He observed:

> *this spiritual light shall have revealed the law of more earthly natures,—when he has learned to worship the soul, and to see that the natural philosophy that now is, is only the first groupings of its gigantic hand, he shall look forward to an ever expanding knowledge as to becoming a creator. He shall see, that nature is the opposite of the soul, answering to it part for part.*

One is seal, and one is print. Its beauty is the beauty of his own mind. Its laws are the laws of his own mind. (p. 4)

In his essay "Democracy", D. H. Lawrence (1950; see also Williams, 1958) wrestled with the way Whitman, and by extension Emerson, conceived of spirit. Lawrence argued that:

You can have life two ways. Either everything is created from the mind, downwards; or else everything proceeds from the creative quick, outwards into exfoliation and blossom. Either a great Mind floats in space: God, the Anima Mundi, the Oversoul, drawing with a pair of compasses and making everything to scale, even emotions and self-conscious effusions; or else creation proceeds from the forever inscrutable quicks of living beings, men, women, animals, plants. The actual living quick alone is the creative reality. Once you abstract from this, once you generalize and postulate Universals, you have departed from the creative reality, and entered the realm of static fixity, mechanism, materialism. (p. 88)

He found that:

*you can't make an **idea** of the living self: hence it can never become an ideal… There it is, an inscrutable, unfindable, vivid quick, giving us off as a life-issue. It is not **spirit**. Spirit is merely our mental consciousness, a finished essence extracted from our life-being… The living self is not spirit. You cannot postulate it. How can you postulate that which is there?...*

The quick of self is there. (p. 89, emphasis in original)

Williams (1958) believed that "Lawrence wrote nothing more important than this" (p. 208)— "an emphasis . . . on the preservation

of the 'spontaneous life-activity' against those rigidities of category and abstraction, of which the industrial system was so powerful a particular embodiment" (p. 208).

Lawrence (1950) argued against the making of ideals: "You can't make an *idea* of the living self: hence it can never become an ideal" (p. 89). Spirit is mental consciousness, "a finished essence extracted from our life-being" (p. 89).

Having done with ideals, Lawrence (1950) stated what for us is his most important and relevant thesis, and his most important contribution to our thinking about means of human associative living—that it ought to ensure the nurturance of the free, spontaneous self. Lawrence pointed to how:

> *Whitman's Democracy is not merely a political system, or a system of government—or even a social system. It is an attempt to conceive a new way of life, to establish new values. It is a struggle to liberate human beings from the fixed, arbitrary control of ideals into free spontaneity.*
>
> *No, the ideal of Oneness, the unification of all mankind into the homogeneous whole, is done away with. The great* **desire** *is that each single individual shall be incommutably himself, spontaneous and single, that he shall not in any way be reduced to a term, a unit of any Whole. (p. 90, emphasis in original)*

Emerson (1837), too, feared the massification of people, a process already occurring in Europe. He lamented how:

> *But I have already shown the ground of my hope, in adverting to the doctrine that man is one. I believe man has been wronged; he has wronged himself. He has almost lost the light, that can lead*

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him back to his prerogatives. Men are become of no account. Men in history, men in the world of to-day are bugs, are spawn, and are called "the mass" and "the herd". (p. 15)

Rather than as in the original state of the One Man, wherein "Man is not a farmer, or a professor, or an engineer, but he is all" (p. 2), the distribution of functions "has been so distributed to multitudes, has been so minutely subdivided and peddled out, that it is spilled into drops, and cannot be gathered" (p. 2). "Man is thus metamorphosed into a thing, into many things" (p. 3), so that, for instance, "the tradesman scarcely ever gives an ideal worth to his work, but is ridden by the routine of his craft, and the soul is subject to dollars" (p. 3). Banal materialism and finance (i.e., capitalism) caused people to seek money and power:

Men such as they are, very naturally seek money or power; and power because it is as good as money—the "spoils," so called, "of office." And why not? for they aspire to the highest, and this, in their sleep-walking, they dream is highest. Wake them, and they shall quit the false good, and leap to the true, and leave governments to clerks and desks. (p. 16)

Emerson felt that:

public and private avarice make the air we breathe thick and fat. . . . The mind of this country, taught to aim at low objects, eats upon itself. There is no work for any but the decorous and the complaisant. Young men of the fairest promise . . . are hindered from action by the disgust which the principles on which business is managed inspire, and turn drudges, or die of disgust. (p. 20)[x]

Emerson saw the promise of a new land, new worlds for a new people. For Emerson and Whitman both, realizing this promise meant breaking with the past. As Rancière (2019) interpreted it, these poets of the new world were interpellated by its vastness and its egalitarian potential. They sensed a "geographical simultaneity, in the multiplicity of activities distributed in the diverse spaces of a territory" (p. 57). This was a unifying spirit and a different conception of time—"a common pulse" linking all activities. Action was essential for Emerson—the instantiation of the spiritual, consciousness, in the material, symbiotically. The individual was recognized and respected, not as we have come to conceive of the individual today in a libertarian sense, but as unique and creative in such a way that the individual wasn't erased in the massification of 'society' occasioned by the capitalist industrialization emerging in Europe. As Lawrence (1950) put it: "the unification into the homogeneous whole, is done away with" (p. 90). The person, the individual "shall be incommutably himself, spontaneous and single, that he shall not in any way be reduced to a term, a unit of any Whole" (p. 90).

This end is not assured. Indeed, the tyrannical forces of capitalism and production constantly work against its realization. "This coming into full, spontaneous being is the most difficult thing of all" (Lawrence, 1950, p. 91). "Man's nature is balanced between spontaneous creativity and mechanical-material activity. Spontaneous being is subject to no law. But mechanical-material existence is subject to all the laws of the mechanical-physical world" (p. 91). Lawrence calls on education, and by inference, educators, to guard against what he termed "the fall into mechanical automatism" (p. 91):

> *The only thing man has to trust to in coming to himself is his*
> *desire and impulse. But both desire and impulse tend to fall into*

mechanical automatism: to fall from spontaneous reality into dead or material reality. All our education should be guarding against this fall. (p. 91)

Lawrence saw the dangers:

The fall is possible in a twofold manner. Desires tend to automatize into functional appetites, and impulses tend to automatize into fixed aspirations or ideals. These are the two great temptations of man. Falling into the first temptation, the whole human will pivots on some function, some material activity, which then works the whole being: like an idée fixe in the mental consciousness. This automatized, dominant appetite we call a lust: a lust for power, a lust for consuming, a lust for self-abnegation and merging. The second great temptation is the inclination to set up some fixed centre in the mind, and make the whole soul turn upon this centre. This we call idealism. Instead of the will fixing upon some sensational activity, it fixes upon some aspirational activity, and pivots this activity upon an idea of an ideal. The whole soul streams in the energy of aspiration and turns automatically, like a machine, upon the ideal. (p. 91)

Again, education must be our safeguard:

*These are the two great temptations of the fall of man, the fall from spontaneous, single, pure being, into what we call materialism or automatism or mechanism of the self. All **education must tend against this fall; and all our efforts in all our life must be to preserve the soul free and spontaneous**. (p. 91, emphasis added)*

Democracy, at its best, ensures (or ought to ensure) persons' coming into their spontaneous, creative self. Lawrence was adamant about this:

> *So, we know the first great purpose of Democracy: that each man shall be spontaneously himself—each man himself, each woman herself, without any question of equality or inequality entering in at all; and that no man shall try to determine the being of any other man, or of any other woman. (p. 93)[xi]*

The primary danger to democracy—and to other systems as well: "socialism, conservatism, bolshevism, liberalism, republicanism, communism: all alike. The one principle that governs all *isms* is the same: the principle of the idealized unit, the possessor of property" (p. 94, emphasis in original). Lawrence is unwavering on this point: "sometime, somewhere, man will wake up and realize that property is only there to be used, not to be possessed. He will realize that possession is a kind of illness of the spirit, and a hopeless burden upon the spontaneous self" (p. 94). He concluded:

> *if we are to keep our backs unbroken, we must deposit all property on the ground, and learn to walk without it. We must stand aside. And when many men stand aside, they stand in a new world; a new world of man has come to pass. This is Democracy: the new order. (p. 95)*

Materialism has become our kind's obsession and yoke. We (and by this, I mean mainly the 'elite' and powerful) get caught up in building ever larger cities and with ever taller skyscrapers, amassing fortunes, and subverting schools—whose task ought rightly to be the florescence of learning, the realization of a person's own nature (Rancière, 2019, p. 56) or "fullness of being" (Lawrence, 1950)—into

mere job-training institutions to fill their factories with "decorous and complaisant" workers. Materiality, with its acquisitiveness, has alienated the life of the spirit and of the mind from that of "Man Thinking" (Emerson, 1837, p. 3). The Scholar, along with the multitude, has been mired in materiality and its production—in today's scholar's case this becomes the production of 'achievement' on high-stakes tests, in what Biesta (2019) termed the "global education measurement industry" (p. 658).[xii] Tests drive curriculum, and the acquisition of ever higher test scores, like the Sirens' song, so seduces education and educationists that thinking and learning are forsaken, abandoned to chase the chimera that is 'achievement'. Spirit and mind atrophy through neglect.

There are alternative paths people—students, teachers, administrators, and others—can take. Some alternatives are gaining traction of late. Liang and Klein (2022a, 2022b) draw our attention to a purpose orientation or mindset as an alternative to either a performance- or a passion-oriented one. According to these authors, both a performance and a passion mindset are inner-directed, egocentric, and emanate out of fear and insecurity. A purpose orientation is more other-directed, connecting the person with the world.

In the distribution of functions from the Old Fable, which Emerson (1837) invokes in his discussion of Man, "the scholar is the delegated intellect. In the right state, he is, Man Thinking. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking" (p. 3). "Delegated intellect" implies both authority and consensus. Today, each of these components is suspect. Since the subjective turn (or what some have referred to as the linguistic or postmodern turn), authority

everywhere stands on shaky ground. It is seldom, if ever, granted as a given due to station. A rudimentary hermeneutical analysis may concede that, if ever the teacher's authority was secure, as it likely was in Emerson's time, it is so no longer, except perhaps in certain locales and social systems. And consensus or unanimity, again in postmodernity, is not to be had.

Emerson (1837) enumerated what he saw as the duties of the Man Thinking—represented by the scholar and teacher. Chief among these duties is self-reliance. Poverty and solitude result; spurning "the fashions, the education, the religion of society, he takes the cross of making his own" (pp. 12-13) "in the way of the self-relying and self-directed; and the state of virtual hostility in which he seems to stand to society, and especially to educated society" (p. 13). Emerson asked: "for all this loss and scorn, what offset?" (p. 13). The scholar is one "who raises himself from private considerations, and breathes and lives on public and illustrious thoughts" (p. 13). "He is the world's eye. He is the world's heart" (p. 13); though the scholar "defer[s] never to the popular cry" (p. 13).

Strength and courage are needed, and resilience: "Free should the scholar be,—free and brave. Free even to the definition of freedom. . . . Brave, for fear is a thing, which a scholar by his very function puts behind him" (Emerson, 1837, p. 14).

> *It is a shame to him if his tranquility, amid dangerous times, arise from the presumption, that … his is a protected class; or if he seeks a temporary peace by the diversion of his thoughts from politics or vexed questions, hiding his head like an ostrich in the flowering bushes, peeping into microscopes, and turning rhymes, as a boy whistles to keep his courage up. So is the danger a danger still; so is the fear worse… let him turn and face it… The world*

is his, who can see through its pretension. What deafness, what stone-blind custom, what overgrown error you behold, is there only by sufferance, —by your sufferance. See it to be a lie, and you have already dealt it its mortal blow. (p. 14)

The scholar engages with politics and "vexed questions," for the scholar is in and of the world.

Walzer (2004), Mencken (1926/2009), Nietzsche (1873/2014) and others have spoken of courage. Walzer wrote of the moral virtues exhibited by the social critic, strikingly similar to Emerson's:

The first of these, and the most obvious, is courage… a political virtue, above all, the ability to sustain a commitment in dark times, to "hang in there"… Sometimes what … [is] require[d] is actual physical courage, to persist in the face of threats, imprisonment, and violence… More important… is the moral courage necessary to continue a critique of tyranny or oppression when one's fellow citizens are silent or complicit, and what is even harder, to confront and condemn their complicity. (p. xiv)

Mencken (1926/2009), in *Notes on Democracy*, wrote:

*genuine liberty demands… courage. The man [or woman] who loves it must be willing to fight for it; blood, said Jefferson, is its natural manure. More, he [or she] must be able to **endure** it—an even more arduous business. Liberty means self-reliance, it means resolution, it means enterprise, it means the capacity for doing without. The free man [or woman] is one who has won a small and precarious territory from the great mob… and is prepared and ready to defend it… All around him [or her] are enemies, and where he [or she] stands there is no friend… [They]*

must face the responsibilities… and the dreadful loneliness. (pp.
53-54, emphasis in original)

Emerson also spoke of self-reliance. Courage and freedom are intertwined, inseparable. In these dark times, in the midst of a culture war which shows signs of morphing into a civil war (Marche, 2022), that courage is all the more dear, as the situation is all the more fraught and dangerous. Many have left the teaching profession and more are considering leaving rather than continue to endure the political barbs, threats, and dangers; rather than struggle to make a decent living in a perennially underpaid profession under draconian, authoritarian regimes of oversight and accountability with diminished professional autonomy. Is it courage they lack? Resilience? Or are there other root causes? We—educational leaders, professional communities, and publics—ought to recognize, applaud, and support those who stay, who weather the hardships and dangers to do the good work of teaching and raise up the upcoming generations of youth so that they, too, may realize their freedom and emancipation (Waite, 2022), their fullness of being.

In Higher Education

In tertiary, 'higher' education, the scholar, no matter their political leanings, is part of a corporation (Burke, 2000), a university or college, which is itself entangled in local, national, global ideological, economic, and political systems and so is complicit in them. This is no different from "the man (or woman) on the street": each of us is enmeshed so and contributes to those systems of which we are a part. Even the most progressive and revolutionary scholar is part of larger, principally capitalist systems. Capitalism, as ideology and as practice, at its best can be a progressive force (Schumpeter, 1942), at its worst, exploitative—of the worker, the scholar, the resource(s), and even of

the 'client', in this case, students. At its best, capitalism can be a progressive force; such as when democratic capitalism—allowing that this is not an oxymoron—replaces authoritarianism, even authoritarian capitalism. The trick is to not allow oneself to be exploited unfairly and to do more good than harm, on balance. This is the social justice calculus. Those who want to use the university, school, or college for good must analyze the situations, systems, and processes, looking for points of inflection (Hall, 2019) where they can do the political work for progressive change.

For its part, the university, as with any capitalist concern, has a complicated relationship with its faculty. On the one hand, the university would like the scholars it employs to be productive and compliant ("decorous and complaisant"), adding to its prestige, status, and rankings (Stack, 2021) and causing it no problems. But productivity, especially in knowledge fields, comes from innovation and creativity, often disruptive forces. Enzensberger (1982) portrays it as a contradiction:

> *In order to obtain consent, you have to grant a choice, no matter how marginal and deceptive; in order to harness the faculties of the human mind, you have to develop them, no matter how narrowly and deformed. It may be a measure of the overwhelming power of the mind industry that none of us can escape its influence. (p. 12)*

As with action of any kind, which is always unpredictable (Arendt, 1958), the "mind industry, however closely supervised in its individual operations, is never completely controllable as a whole" (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 12). As to the intellectuals, "the producers" (p. 12):

We find the dilemma aggravated and intensified. In terms of power, of course, there can be no question as to who runs the business. Certainly it is not the intellectuals who control the industrial establishment, but the establishment that controls them. There is precious little chance for the people who are productive to take over their means of production: this is just what the present structure is designed to prevent. (p. 12)

Enzensberger continues: "However, … the relationship is not without a certain ambiguity, since there is no way of running the mind industry without enlisting the services of at least a minority…who can create something" (p. 12). There is a

dependence on … [those] capable of innovation, in other words, potential troublemakers… Consequently, intellectuals are, from the point of view of any power structure bent on its own perpetuation, a security risk. It takes consummate skill to "handle" them and to neutralize their subversive influence. All sorts of techniques, from the crudest to the most sophisticated, have been developed to this end: physical threat, blacklisting, moral and economic pressure on the one hand, overexposure, cooptation into star cult or power elite on the other, are the extremes of a whole gamut of manipulation. (p. 13)

As Enzensberger explained, the mind-making industry,

*is an industry that has to rely, as its primary source, on the very minorities with whose elimination it is entrusted: those whose aim it is to invent and produce **alternatives**… On the level of production, even more than on the level of consumption, it has to deal with partners who are potential enemies. (p. 13, emphasis in original)*

Those who protest or transgress, who strive to do good work and who seek to remove or distance themselves from the mind industry, or subvert it, do so at a cost. They are not "organization men" (Whyte, 1956/2002) and likely don't fit in. They may easily become isolated, even despondent or depressed, subject to the loneliness both Emerson and Mencken commented upon. As the society in which they live and work changes, so too does the organization, the college or school. With it, roles or role expectations change (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). Where at one time they were merely and purely scholars, expectations are now that they will be disciplinarians, surveil children for violent ideation, produce 'achievement', and safeguard their charges from violence. Academics, scholars, are encouraged to be 'entrepreneurs'. But those who:

> *detest, or profess to detest, the very machinery of the industry and would like to withdraw into some abode of refinement. Of course, no such refuge really exists… To opt out of the mind industry, to refuse any dealings with it, may well turn out to be a reactionary course. There is no hermitage left for those whose job is to speak out and to seek innovation.* (Enzensberger, 1982, p. 14)

The scholar, the intellectual, says Enzensberger[xiii]:

> *whether he knows it or not, whether he likes it or not, he has become the accomplice of a huge industrial complex that depends for its survival on him, as he depends on it for his own. He must try, at any cost, to use it for his own purposes, which are incompatible with the purposes of the mind machine. What it upholds he must subvert… there is more at stake than his own future. (p. 14)*

Production and reproduction of the status quo subjugates teachers and their students. This, despite the fact that the scholar may see themselves as progressive, liberal. The status quo, the hegemonic, is produced and reproduced through "the industrialization of the mind" and "the mind industry" (Enzensberger, 1982). In the university classroom, the unreflective scholar plays their part in the production of what Rancière (1991) calls a "society pedagocized" (p. 130). In the conduct of their research, they can all too easily support the status hierarchies (Stack, 2021) and the "distribution of the sensible" (Rancière, 1991, 2010) which assign everyone a place and keep everyone in their place.

To this point, Emerson (1837) noted that action—work and labor—are the wellspring of the scholars', of everyone's thought and intellect: "I hear therefore with joy whatever is beginning to be said of the dignity and necessity of labor to every citizen" (p. 12). "There is virtue in the hoe and the spade, for the learned as well as for unlearned hands" (p. 12). He cautions, however, "that a man shall not for the sake of wider activity sacrifice any opinion to the popular judgments and models of action" (p. 12).

The duties of the scholar, said Emerson (1837), entail "self-trust" (p. 12). The scholar:

> *must relinquish display and immediate fame… he must accept,—how often! poverty and solitude. For the ease and pleasure of treading the old road, accepting the fashions, the education, the religion of society, he takes the cross of making his own, and, of course, the self-accusation, the faint heart, the frequent uncertainty and loss of time, which are the nettles and tangling vines in the way of the self-relying and self-directed; and the state*

of virtual hostility in which he seems to stand to society, and especially to educated society. (pp. 12-13)

Echoes of Nietzsche abound, though Emerson predated him:

In self-trust, all the virtues are comprehended. Free should the scholar be—free and brave. Free even to the definition of freedom, "without any hinderance that does not arise out of his own constitution." Brave, for fear is a thing, which a scholar by his very function puts behind him. Fear always springs from ignorance. (Emerson, 1837, p. 14)

Though fear springs from ignorance, it has other causes and catalysts as well. Knowledge, too, can evoke fear. Which is why those who comprise what Rancière (1991, 2010, 2014) calls "the police order" attempt to limit and curtail the knowledge taught and learned in schools—knowledge of racism, classism, sexism, gender discrimination, and other injustices— which is dangerous knowledge for the police order. Which is why those of the police order strive to control the scholar, the student, and the wider public. Bravery (Menchen, 1926; Walzer, 2002), independence of mind—Walzer's "a good eye", compassion, and agency are all part of the armory the scholar needs in the fight for knowledge and freedom (Waite, 2022).

Emerson (1837), observant of the changes wrought by industrialization and capitalism at the time when sociology was birthed to chronicle and analyze the trends[xiv], lamented that too many young men and women chased money and, in the process, surrendered their hearts and souls. Scholars, too, fell under the sway of capitalism's harpy song. Emerson commented:

The spirit of the American freeman is already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame. Public and private avarice make the air we

breathe thick and fat. The scholar is decent, indolent, complaisant. See already the tragic consequence. The mind of the country, taught to aim at low objects, eats upon itself. There is no work for any but the decorous and complaisant. Young men of the fairest promise, who begin life upon our shores, inflated by the mountain winds, shined upon by all the stars of God, find the earth below not in unison with these, –but are hindered from action by the disgust which the principles on which business is managed inspire, and turn drudges, or die of disgust, –some of them suicides. (p. 20)

"What is the remedy?" he asked:

They did not yet see, and thousands of young men as hopeful now crowding to the barriers for the career, do not yet see, that, if the single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts, and there abide, the huge world will come round to him. Patience, – patience; –with the shades of all the good and great for company; and for solace, the perspective of your own infinite life; and for work, the study and the communication of principles, the making of those instincts prevalent, the conversion of the world. (p. 20)

To cheer the young scholar, to support them in their journey, he concluded:

We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds. The study of letters shall be no longer a name for pity, for doubt, and for sensual indulgence. The dread of man and the love of man shall be a wall of defense and a wreath of joy around all. (p. 20)

Final Reflections

We cannot be intimidated. We must continue to speak out, truth to power. We do so in our classrooms and beyond—in our staff rooms with colleagues, and in the public square, in blogs, on Twitter and Facebook. We will weather the trolls and the droll; realizing that raising their ire is a sign that we are doing good work. Return again and again to the scholars who inspire you. Make of them your teachers, friends, and compatriots. Find and support like-minded scholars, both 'learned' and 'unlearned'. Feed your soul, and others', that you may inspire coming generations. Be steadfast and self-reliant and walk your own true path, unbent and unbowed.

Or, put another way, we might heed Whitman's (1855) advice from his preface to the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*:

> *This is what you shall do: Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to everyone that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people, take off your hat to nothing known or unknown or to any man or number of men, go freely with powerful uneducated persons and with the young and with the mothers of families, read these leaves in the open air every season of every year of your life, re-examine all you have been told at school or church or in any book, dismiss whatever insults your own soul; and your very flesh shall be a great poem and have the richest fluency not only in its words but in the silent lines of its lips and face and between the lashes of your eyes and in every motion and joint of your body. (para. 2)*

Or, said in more modern parlance, spoken to more contemporary contexts and threats, are the words of Sarah Kendzior (2020) to the effect that:

> *But I need you to fight too, in the way that matters most, which is inside. Authoritarianism is not merely a matter of state control, it is something that eats away at who you are. It makes you afraid, and fear can make you cruel. It compels you to conform and to comply and accept things that you would never accept, to do things you never thought you would do.*
>
> *You do it because everyone else is doing it, because the institutions you trust are doing it and telling you to do it, because you are afraid of what will happen if you do not do it, and because the voice in your head crying out that something is wrong grows fainter and fainter until it dies.*
>
> *That voice is your conscience, your morals, your individuality. No one can take that from you unless you let them. . .*
>
> *There are many groups organizing for both resistance and subsistence, but we are heading into dark times, and you need to be your own light. Do not accept brutality and cruelty as normal even if it is sanctioned. Protect the vulnerable and encourage the afraid. If you are brave, stand up for others. If you cannot be brave—and it is often hard to be brave—be kind. (pp. 13-14)*

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About the author:

Duncan Waite is a professor in the Educational and Community Leadership Program at Texas State University. His research into schools and schooling, teaching and leadership, is informed by philosophical, anthropological, sociological and critical perspectives. He is the editor of the *International Journal of Leadership in Education*. He recently published *On Educational Leadership as Emancipatory Practice*: Problems and Promises (Routledge, 2022).

E-mail: dw26@txstate.edu

ⁱhttp://digitalemerson.wsulibs.wsu.edu/exhibits/show/text/the-american-scholar

ⁱⁱ To put it in a bit more context, keep in mind that Emerson gave this lecture barely 60 years after the American Revolution and about 30 years shy of the American Civil War.

ⁱⁱⁱ The relevance of Emerson's essay may be owing to the phenomenon, as some like to say, that if you were able to transport someone from the past to the United States of today, the only thing they would recognize is the schools.

ⁱᵛ Clearly, mine is not the only possible interpretation and I would encourage the reader-scholar to read this extraordinary piece for themselves. Also, there are oral readings available on the internet and other commentaries.

Emerson was writing in 1837, when the convention was to use the masculine form. Rather than alter the flow of his oratory or presume a more enlightened sensibility with the insertion of either sic or an awkward construction such as he/she/they, I will leave his language, especially his pronouns, as they were in the original and simply ask the reader to read and interpret his words with their preferred pronoun in mind.

ᵛ Interestingly, Emerson's address predated Nietzsche's musings on Schopenhauer by about forty years, causing one to wonder whether the latter was familiar with the former's work and how it might have influenced him. It's likely. It's also worth commenting that Emerson was drawing attention to the dawning of the American century and its emerging and distinctive intellectual tenor as distinct from the Old

World ideas and intellectual history; he jibes "the English dramatic poets," for instance, who "have Shakspearized now for two hundred years" (p. 7).

ⱽⁱ The translator's task and the issues with which they wrestle, though worthy of note, are not the focus of the present paper.

ⱽⁱⁱ It seems as though Nietzsche changed his orientation to Schopenhauer from being taught by him to learning from him—a less radical intervention from the outside; or, perhaps he realized later in life that his original estimation of their relationship—having been taught by Schopenhauer—had been more of a learning from.

ⱽⁱⁱⁱ A recent poll of Texas teachers found that two-thirds, 66%, are considering leaving the profession, citing pay, the stresses from working through the Covid pandemic, and the contentious, dangerous, political climate (The Dallas Observer, February 23, 2022).

ⁱˣ Emerson was a former Unitarian pastor. Rancière (2019) noted his contribution, along with his friend, disciple, and compatriot Walt Whitman, another of America's great poets, to a new poetics. (Rancière titled his chapter on Emerson "The Poet of the New World".) This new poetics both Emerson and Whitman practiced has many facets—it is idealist, "for it strives to define the spiritual potential hidden in the diversity of things and material activities" (p. 64); it is materialist, "for it does not concede any world of its own to spirituality—it recognizes it only as the link that unites sensible forms and activities; it is symbolist, "for in the table of sensible things, it only shows a copy of the text written in 'the alphabet of the stars'" (Mallarmé, 2007, as cited in Rancière, pp. 64-65); it is also unanimist, expressing the unity of all things: "something is poetic only if it is attached to the totality that it expresses" (p. 65). "Unanimist poetics . . . entrusts the multiplicity of

words and assembled forms alone with the potential to represent its own infinity" (p. 65). "Symbolist poetics", Rancière asserts "is an egalitarian poetics: it gives everything and every material relation the power to symbolize what the poetic tradition limited to a few privileged relations" (p. 65).

[x] Emerson saw the same trend, the same temptation we see today, whereby potential young scholars and other youth embarking on or exploring careers are seduced and co-opted by materialism, finances, and lucre.

[xi] That there is a movement in the US today, primarily driven by men, the American patriarchy, and bolstered by reactionary fundamentalist 'Christian' ideologies, to subjugate women's bodies through anti-freedom of choice legislation shows just how far we have strayed from this democratic principle and how patriarchy, along with racism, remain little changed from Emerson's time—another similarity between then and now.

[xii] Those who manufacture and sell the tests also, like snake oil salesmen, sell the remedies for the 'problems' their tests unearth. We forget that the 'problems' (and solutions) are manufactured and socially constructed.

[xiii] Try as I might, I saw no way of making the pronouns in this passage gender neutral without doing violence to the language and flow. I appreciate the reader's understanding.

[xiv] Williams (1976) thoroughly chronicles the evolution of the word society and sociology.

"Navigating Uncharted Waters":
New Teacher Mentoring and Induction

Carol A. Mullen* iD

Virginia Tech College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences, Virginia, USA

Mattie S. Fallen iD

Sleepy Hallow Elementary School, Virginia, USA

Abstract	Article Info
Teacher attrition, a startling problem worldwide, can be counteracted with comprehensive mentoring and induction. The purpose of this qualitative case study was to describe a division-wide, job-embedded mentoring/induction program in three US elementary schools that determined key features/components influencing experience during a crisis. Research questions were: (1) How are school-based induction/mentoring programs explained in the literature relative to key features/components? (2) How do elementary practitioners involved in formal mentoring describe it? (3) What was the perceived effect of COVID-19 on this program? Based on the literature reviewed, support, accessibility, and collaboration (SAC) are important components of formal mentoring/induction. In 2021, mentor teachers, principals, and new teachers in Virginia completed a demographic survey and interviews. Per their self-reports, while the onsite program was operating during the pandemic, it did not uniformly demonstrate consistency and fidelity. Because the quality of mentoring was variable, the need for equitable support was recognized. Equity-embedded SAC was theorized as support, accessibility, collaboration, and equity (SACE) by the authors. It is time for equity to be widely recognized as a crucial feature of formal mentoring/induction. This is a direction for future research and program improvement.	

*Corresponding author
E-mail: camullen@vt.edu

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Introduction

"In this strange time, we're navigating uncharted waters," commented
a teacher mentor who participated in our study of mentoring and
induction during a pandemic. Overwhelmed and unsupported, many
new teachers (novices) leave their schools or the profession (Bullough,
2012), with up to 50% of teachers in American schools resigning during
their first 5 years (Hobson, 2021; Sasson, Kalir, & Malkinson, 2020).
School layoffs and closings produce greater turnover for Black teachers
than white teachers (Carver-Thomas, 2018), and "organizational
conditions" perpetuate the "minority teacher shortage" (Ingersoll &
May, 2011, p. 2). Yet, comprehensive mentoring/induction, a systemic
strategy for decreasing turnover (Hobson, 2021), cuts "new teacher
turnover rates in half" in the United States, according to the National
Education Association (NEA, 2022). Smith and Ingersoll (2004), in their
analysis of a 1999–2000 Schools and Staffing Survey that was
representative of the United States, found that quality
induction/mentoring programs affected beginning teacher quality and
retention. New teachers were less likely to leave the profession in their
first year or to transfer to other schools when they benefited from
induction structures (e.g., access to same-subject mentors) and
activities (e.g., collaboration and planning with teachers). Similarly,
the benefits of comprehensive induction programs, analyzed by the
New Teacher Center (NTC, 2007) using national and state data (e.g.,

student test scores), indicated a return on investment; notably, first- and second-year teachers in California were retained over the 5-year study duration and effective in the classroom.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to describe a division-wide, job-embedded mentoring/induction program in three US elementary schools and determine key features/components influencing experience during a crisis. Specifically, our aims were (1) to identify program components from the literature that are important for mentoring/induction to be effective and (2) to examine participants' perceptions to discern components influencing experience during a pandemic. We posed these research questions: (1) How are school-based induction/mentoring programs explained in the literature relative to key features/components? (2) How do elementary practitioners involved in formal mentoring describe it? (3) What was the perceived effect of COVID-19 on this program?

The program we studied was an existing new teacher mentoring initiative (anonymized) that operates in a suburban public school division within Virginia, USA. This districtwide program was founded in the 1990s to provide all teachers with mentoring through quality practices, professional teaching standards, classroom-based teacher learning, commitment, support, and program assessment, including an induction conference and yearlong course ([anonymized] profile document, 2015–2016). Understanding formal mentoring specifically within this context allows for examination of key features influencing perception and experience.

Practitioners' perceptions of mentoring in crisis contexts is a gap in elementary school studies. As established, teacher beliefs and attitudes influence a variety of student outcomes (academic ability, performance, and success), as well as school culture (e.g., Haverback,

2020; Mullen & Badger, in press). Districtwide, systemic mentoring also warrants further exploration based on the literature we reviewed. Formal mentoring/induction is widely investigated, but there is little research at the division level and as experienced by insiders during a global pandemic. (For an exception that encompasses K–12 schools but without analysis of elementary sites, see Mullen, Fitzhugh, & Hobson, 2022.) These research omissions offered an opportunity to contribute knowledge on elementary education during COVID-19. They are important to address, we think, considering the widespread disruption of COVID-19 on schools, globally, and need for ideas that can help with the recovery of quality school-based mentoring or, better yet, discovery of what is crucial in these times.

A discussion point is that in studies of school-based mentoring and induction, support, accessibility, and collaboration (SAC) provide a necessary foundation for program effectiveness (e.g., Mullen et al., 2022; Bullough, 2012; Hobson, 2021). Because the SAC components typify K–12 programs aimed at teacher professional development (PD) and retention and student achievement, they are useful as an analytic tool for understanding a mentoring initiative. However, as discovered by our study, findings in combination with equity studies brought equity and access to the fore, making SAC incomplete without an equity lens.

Relevant Literature

Literature Search

The research question, this literature review addresses is, how are school-based induction/mentoring programs presented in the existing literature relative to key features/components? Peer-reviewed studies were located through our home university's academic databases

(EBSCOhost, etc.) and Google Scholar. Literature in the US context and internationally was found using keywords (*induction*, *mentoring*, etc.) extracted from our research questions and initial literature results. Out of 153 abstracts, 81 articles were analyzed in their entirety; public documents (e.g., reports from research institutions and other entities) were also analyzed.

Quality Framework

Moving Toward, a mentoring/induction framework from the NTC (2018a), provided a structure for analyzing results from the present study. This model is a companion to the NTC's (2018b) *Mentor Practice Standards*, which focuses on "instructional mentoring" relative to three aspects: foundational (knowledge and skills "necessary for effective mentoring"), structural (partnership that supports "quality mentoring"), and instructional ("equitable classroom practice and student learning") (p. 2). Both the framework and standards are reflections of the NTC's partnership with schools and educational institutions in US states (Florida and others) that focus on optimizing quality mentoring to benefit teacher instruction and student learning. Young et al. (2017) collected data through mentor and teacher surveys, interviews, and NTC's assessment system, and "randomized controlled trials [were completed] with schools assigned to mentoring and control groups." The participating mentors had been trained by NTC to provide quality mentoring for 2 years to first- and second-year teachers. As found, eight quality practices supported teacher PD and retention and "improved student learning" (see NTC, 2018a): (1) "rigorous mentor/coach selection based on qualities of an effective mentor/coach," (2) "ongoing professional learning and feedback for mentors/coaches," (3) "sanctioned time for frequent mentor/coach–teacher interactions," (4) "ongoing support [of] multiyear

mentoring/coaching [for] all educators," (5) "intensive and specific guidance moving student learning and teaching practice forward," (6) "professional teaching standards, content standards, and data-driven conversations," (7) "clear roles for and engagement with school leaders," and (8) "alignment and integration with broader improvement initiatives" (pp. 1–2). Applying this model, we consider our findings.

Definitions

Mentoring is defined, followed by induction. Definitions of both mentoring and induction apply to the particular mentoring/induction program under study. This initiative fulfills the criteria of being a formal program committed to PD and learning that is systemwide, complete with mentoring matches, training components, and induction activities.

Mentoring. While common understandings of mentoring and induction seem elusive in the literature, in Kram's (1983) classic US study *mentoring* is a developmental relationship that unites experienced and (relatively) inexperienced individuals who work together over time, provides career and psychosocial support, and offers mutual benefits. This voluntary or assigned dyad is steeped in professional values, expectations, and skills that infuse practice.

Formal mentoring is intentional and planned; participation is required and relationships are arranged (Ehrich, Hansford, & Tennent, 2004). The learning is reciprocal and focused on the mentee as a whole person, and possibly the transformation of an idea, organization, or profession (Mullen et al., 2022). Mentors are a vital resource for classroom management, lesson planning, and social–emotional

growth for students (Hobson, 2021). Teacher development and retention and student success are expected (Bullough, 2012).

Induction. *Induction*, as defined by Wong (2004), refers to "a systemwide, coherent, comprehensive training and support process that continues for 2 to 3 years and then seamlessly becomes part of the lifelong PD program of the district" (p. 42; also, Hobson, 2021). The process of induction occurs as a student transitions from preservice preparation to the first teaching position and a program of sustained support and PD (Bullough, 2012; Goldrick, Osta, Barlin, & Burn, 2012; Goldrick, 2016; Ingersoll & Smith, 2004; NTC, 2018a). Induction elements include "workload reduction," "supporting effective teacher behavior in the classroom," "supporting school enculturation," and/or "supporting PD" (Harmsen, Helms-Lorenz, Maulana, & van Veen, 2019, p. 260).

Features of SAC

A brief description of each SAC feature follows. This framework is relevant to the schools studied because it is foundational to formal mentoring/induction, signifies components of programming that embed expectations for all parties involved, and prioritizes instructional effectiveness in the classroom and as a goal of mentoring relationships. To clarify, the SAC model applies to the mentoring/induction program in the three elementary schools that were part of an established initiative that was comprehensive and division-wide. While this model was not explicated by the division or participants (because SAC is something we are naming herein), its features were all accounted for through structured activity (support), mentoring matches (access), and curriculum planning (collaboration).

Support. NTC (2018a) named support as one quality mentoring/induction practice. High-leverage activities (analyzing student work, common planning time, instructional strategies, two-way observations, etc.) propel new teachers' adaptation and learning (Goldrick, 2016; Ingersoll & Smith, 2004). Multifaceted opportunities (orientation, PLC, teacher cohort, etc.) aid socialization and enrichment and enhance mentoring (Mullen et al., 2022).

Accessibility. Accessibility in new teacher mentoring refers to mentor availability, in addition to services, resources, and opportunities (Ehrich et al., 2004). Mentors make themselves, their ideas, experiences, insights, and understanding available to their mentee; are honest and transparent so the new teacher feels encouraged to trust them; and are respectful while actively listening (Mullen et al., 2022). Tremendous support is needed to develop proficiency (Wong, 2004), so new teachers require mentors with certain aptitudes (willingness to mentor, etc.) who are a good match for them and their teaching subject(s). Criteria for such matches include personality, grade level, content area, proximity, and preferred identifications (race, gender, etc.) (Mullen et al., 2022). While mentoring naturally varies among new teaching staff in the same unit or team, mentor–mentee mismatches, poor access, and unmet needs can lead to discontent and attrition (Harmsen et al., 2019). Conditions that breed dissatisfaction or inequities can affect novices' progress and well-being (Lopez, 2013). Structures (policy, schedule, observation, etc.) that make mentoring accessible protect the investment in newcomers (Hobson, 2021; NTC, 2007).

Collaboration. Stakeholder collaboration is another quality mentoring/induction practice (NTC, 2018a). Responsibilities for principals, lead mentors, and others extend beyond arranging matches

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(Mullen et al., 2022). When comprehensive programs allow novices time for collaboration, networking, and planning; reduced class sizes; and fewer lessons to prepare, the probability of turnover decreases and effective teaching increases (Harmsen et al., 2019; Hobson, 2021). Mentors collaboratively plan with their mentees and cultivate understanding of content, instructional planning, engagement, and assessment (Goldrick, 2016). "Collaborative mentorship" is oriented around practices that support equity and cultural responsiveness in classrooms with diverse populations (Lopez, 2013).

Trends in the Literature

Structural issues (e.g., working conditions) and interpersonal problems (e.g., poor matches) are sources of new teacher despair and attrition (Harmsen et al., 2019). A 2010 survey of new teachers in 31 US states and the District of Columbia revealed that 41% received little support with instructional planning and tools that only 15% considered useful (Mathews, 2011).

Responding to the problem of teacher turnover, mentoring programs have doubled in the past two decades (Furlow, 2019). Twenty-seven states required the participation of beginning teachers in mentoring/induction by 2011 (Goldrick et al., 2012). Participating school divisions turned to systemwide mentoring to combat teacher attrition (Mullen et al., 2022). NEA (2022) called for "mentoring by qualified mentors the first 2 years of teaching," indicating that "likely thousands of new teachers" are not prepared to meet student needs unless they have experienced "induction" in pandemic times. But teacher mentoring and matches can lack diversity. In North America, teachers are mainly white, despite working in increasingly diverse schools; this widening racial gap presents an equity problem on a

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broad scale, with Black and Latinx teachers less likely to remain in the profession than their white peers (Carver-Thomas, 2018; Lopez, 2013).

During COVID-19, some US school divisions relied on mentoring at a distance (Mullen et al., 2022; Mullen & Badger, in press). In March 2020, all K–12 schools in Virginia closed, later pivoting to remote teaching. Online teaching not only impacted how teachers delivered instruction but also how schools inducted new teachers. Starting their teaching at a chaotic time, novices had to quickly adjust to virtual instruction and unfamiliar instructional methods, without any face-to-face mentoring (Middleton, 2020).

Equity

Equity is a professional standard for just treatment (Lopez, 2013) and closing disparities (Galloway & Ishimaru, 2015). "Equity and cultural responsiveness" are expected dispositions of leaders, per the Professional Standards for Educational Leaders (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2015, p. 17). However, mentoring inequities in schools have been reported when matches are unsuitable or novices are not being observed by their mentors or discussing core instructional activities. Regarding these stark inequities, Kardos and Johnson (2010) learned from 374 new teachers' reports in 3 US states that inequities and inadequate access to mentoring were part of their induction experience, particularly within low socioeconomic schools and "math, science, and technology" contexts. An implication of this study was that attrition was a possible outcome, given the level of dissatisfaction expressed.

Equity is an area of effectiveness for principals that must be made explicit, asserted Rigby and Tredway (2015). Effective equity-oriented leaders are values-driven and move from rhetoric to action, which

serves to disrupt unfair practices; moreover, they cultivate conditions for leading and learning, inclusive decision making, and intentional actions to remedy inequities. Rigby and Tredway's Principal Leadership Rubric is directed at capacity-building for equity in the areas of commitment, advocacy, and leadership. While their theorizing attends to student learning and opportunities, adaptations seem possible for mentoring programs and teacher PD.

Teacher stress, particularly during a pandemic, undermines well-being and performance. Discontent fuels attrition (Harmsen et al., 2019), and lowers students' achievement and overall school effectiveness (Greenberg, Brown, & Abenavoli, 2016). Teacher induction/mentoring programs can help reduce stress for participating teachers and increase retention, which improves classroom instruction (Greenberg et al., 2016). Mentors and leaders who monitor new teacher stress signaled by negative affect and other behaviors can address productive strategies (e.g., coping skills, goal-setting, meditation) for managing stress through mentoring/induction programs and relationships. They are also being equity minded when job requirements are not excessive: "The impacts of teacher stress are particularly high in disadvantaged schools, making it a fundamental issue for reducing inequity in education" (Greenberg et al., 2016, p. 9).

Even in "normal" times, new teachers find teaching difficult and stressful (Dias-Lacy & Guirguis, 2017; Harmsen et al., 2019). Entering jobs with gaps in knowledge, they must still function independently as professionals. Beginning teachers' complaints target workload and inadequate guidance and resources for planning lessons. Modeling "pedagogical knowledge" and "behavior management" were also specified as needs by 10 teacher novices in Australia (Hudson, 2012),

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extending to timely assistance with key assessments and school policies (Ingersoll & Smith, 2004; Kratochwill, DeRoos, & Blair, 2011).

The first year of teaching is especially challenging (Ingersoll & Strong, 2011). Unfortunately, the disconnection between preservice teacher education and workplace demands perpetuates issues with classroom management, content, and culture. Inequity in new teacher mentoring occurs where access, services, resources, or opportunities are not properly distributed, and people are not treated fairly (Mullen et al., 2022). When imbalances or biases hinder relationships, work, or well-being, discontent can result (Harmsen et al., 2019; Lopez, 2013). As revealed from interviews with six US-based teachers during the crisis (Mullen et al., in press), online mentoring and leadership support were more difficult to sustain than in person. The rapid switch to computer-mediated interaction did not allow teachers to build relationships in the same way or consistently attract administrator assistance. The forced move to a virtual workplace reduced not only PD opportunities but also the level of support.

Managing the classroom and student behavior can seem overwhelming. A survey of 500 teachers found that novices reported problems with student behavior more than double that of experienced teachers (Kratochwill et al., 2011). Not feeling prepared to deal with the realities of teaching can lead to despair and attrition. Discrimination, exclusion, and other injustices can also be at the root of student and/or teacher problems (Carver-Thomas, 2018; Lopez, 2013). Teaching staff can process tensions and develop solutions by engaging in "critical understanding of equity and diversity, safe space and time to dialogue, [resource] sharing, reflection and agency, and skills and disposition" (Lopez, 2013, p. 11).

Examining a secondary school with a first-year and experienced teacher in Canada, Lopez (2013) addressed the gap on teacher effectiveness in diverse settings. Interviews focused on classroom diversity, diverse students and their needs, PD on "diversity and equity education," and teacher difficulty with and awareness of antiracist or multicultural education (p. 5). As conjectured, mentor–mentee dialogue creates "space to wrestle with tensions" and move beyond reductionist dynamics of "protégé and expert" (p. 3). Sources of tension for the interviewees were "race, racism, and whiteness" and risks associated with incorporating diversity and equity in teaching (p. 6). Lopez's Equity Awareness Development Process mapped the results as (a) "commit[ting] to equity, (b) "mov[ing] towards a deeper understanding of self," (c) "challeng[ing] power and the status quo," and (d) exercising "social action/agency" (p. 8).

Influence of the Principal

Effective principals ensure good teaching with a "lifelong, sustained PD program for the district or school" (Mullen et al., 2022; Wong, 2004, p. 41). However, some administrators merely assign newly hired teachers a mentor who may or may not live up to the expectations, as was discovered in North Carolina in 1995—out of every four new teachers, one got little or no support from their mentor (Wong, 2004). While it is unknown whether the research from 1995 is still representative of the US and world, as reported more recently in 2019, "[not all states offer] formal mentoring for new teachers" (Furlow, 2019). Further it seems likely that the pandemic has had a deleterious effect on mentoring and induction programs, and the support of new teachers, owing to school closures and ongoing disruptions (Mullen et al., 2022). Without administrative care, new teachers are twice as likely to leave their school or the profession (Carver-Thomas, 2018). It is no

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surprise, then, that Kearney's (2019) investigation of six induction programs in Australia called for "bureaucratic oversight . . . to ensure that beginning teachers [develop as] professionals" (p. 142; Ehrich et al., 2004).

The principal's influence is undeniable—this is the often the first person novices meet and form a relationship with. Principals should not simply default to mentoring services but rather play an active role. Charged with attracting, training, and retaining staff, they are responsible for overseeing the work of new teachers and implementing ongoing PD (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Principals who visit classrooms to offer feedback and insight can positively influence retention. Based on reports from 393 beginning teachers in 70 secondary schools in the Netherlands, specific induction elements—reducing workloads and supporting enculturation—helped lower stress levels for those benefitting from administrative support (PD did not have an effect on causes of, or responses to, stress.) (Harmsen et al., 2019).

Methods

A literature review and data collection were completed for this study.

Data Collection

Analytic tool. The Moving Toward framework, developed by the NTC (2018a), served as an analytic tool for comparing our study findings to its quality mentoring/induction measures.

Research sites. Subsequent to approvals granted in June 2021 by the university's ethics board (protocol #21-498) and school division, self-reported data were collected in October from three consenting elementary (K–5, preK–5, and preK–6) schools in an urban area of northeast Virginia. These sites, all with mentoring programs, were

characterized by the central office as exhibiting strong leadership, using best practices, and retaining teachers. Student populations ranged from 400 to 600; 25 new teachers and 25 mentors (with 3, 10, and 12 mentees at each site) were in the division's program.

Study respondents. Ten practitioners completed our basic demographics survey: 4 mentor teachers, 3 principals, and 3 new teachers. The three novices had been in the program for 1 or 2 years. All but one novice and a principal were female. The teachers were white, and the principals were white, Asian, and Latinx. Math, reading, science, and social studies were taught. All respondents then engaged in audio-recorded 1:1 interviews (30–45 minutes) via Zoom.

Instrument design. We utilized a basic demographics survey and interview protocol. The survey elicited these specifics: gender, age range, ethnicity, education level, years in the classroom, grade level experience/years, certified content area(s), role (new teacher, mentor, or principal), and months/years in the role. The items specified in this tool anticipated the data needed for describing the three participant groups.

Our eight-item interview protocol (Table 1) was developed in light of the research questions and literature results, and aligned accordingly. In it, we asked: What does the mentoring program look like at your school? How has COVID-19 affected your experience of support? After four teachers (not respondents) piloted this tool, we tailored it to each role (new teacher, teacher mentor, and principal). Novices were asked about their commitment to stay at the school, and mentors about their work guiding mentees. Principals were queried about the mentor selection process.

Table 1.

New Teacher Mentoring Interview Protocol

New Teacher	Mentor	Principal
1. Describe the mentoring program.	1. Describe the mentoring program.	1. Describe the mentoring program.
2. What practices in this program shaped your experience?	2. What practices do you believe support the mentoring of new teachers?	2. What practices do you believe support the mentoring of new teachers?
3. What have you been learning?	3. What training did you receive?	3. What is your role in this program?
4. Has your experience informed your commitment to stay at the school?	4. In what ways does the principal support mentors?	4. What is your process for selecting mentors and creating matches?
5. What role does the principal play in your program?	5. How did you work with new teachers to support them in (a) learning the school culture? (b) creating positive relationships? (c) planning content lessons? (d) managing the classroom?	5. What might you change about the mentoring process in your school?
6. Has your mentor helped you in the program?	6. What might you change about mentoring teachers?	6. What outcomes would you like to see for new teachers?
7. What might you change or add to the program?	7. What might you like to share about the mentoring of novices?	7. What might you like to share about the mentoring of novices?
8. Has COVID-19 affected your experience of support in this program?	8. Has COVID-19 affected your experience of support in this program?	8. Has COVID-19 affected your experience of support in this program?

Data analysis. Study materials were analyzed, and detailed coding was used to determine themes and generate findings (Yin, 2018). Predetermined codes were culled from the research questions, review of sources relative to our search terms and results ("Relevant Literature" section), and instruments. The deductive coding process involved the use of such codes as *induction* and *mentoring* in relation to *elementary school* sites during *COVID-19* relative to *feature/component (support, accessibility,* and *collaboration), leadership/principal, program,* and *student achievement/learning/success.* During the inductive coding

process, we identified *equity, limiting, relationship, stress, struggle,* and *virtual/remote* as codes.

All survey and interview data were organized in Microsoft Excel spreadsheets, color coded, and categorically grouped around codes. Columns were labeled with survey or interview prompts and rows with school and participant numbers, with responses added. All identifiers (division, county, school, and program and individual names) were stripped from the raw data; schools were assigned a letter (A, B, or C) and participants at each location a number (e.g., A/NT1 denoted new teacher 1 at A school).

Deductive and inductive coding was used to analyze both the transcription and survey data to ensure completeness and accuracy. In six data sessions, the two researchers compared independent coding. The results were then compared with three peer reviewers'; these teacher mentors independently coded all data using the predetermined codes. To clarify our process of arriving at 100% interrater reliability and meaningful themes, we (a) worked from a design congruent with Moving Toward; (b) completed member checking on transcribed records; (c) extracted codes from our research materials; (d) independently coded participant responses and quotations; (e) confirmed the cogency of predetermined codes; created inductive codes; (f) compared initial results, discovered themes, and developed interpretations; and (g) enacted intercoder checks via peer reviewers.

Limitations/Delimitations

The sample size was smaller than planned due to COVID-19 restrictions and limited to a white teacher sample within a single school division. Following the hold on interviewing, we were allowed

only to engage electronically, which altered the plan to interview 45 practitioners in person. The results are not generalizable. Additionally, the reliance on practitioner perspective restricted data-gathering to self-reports and excluded other stakeholders' views. As a delimitation, key players involved in mentoring in pandemic-burdened places offered their time and narrated experiences. While validity was sought through the literature and peer review, more research is needed to confirm the protocol and findings. However, our discussion of SACE offers a promising addition to the literature that warrants further research.

Findings

Regarding how the program affected novices' ability to adapt and progress in a crisis, we present seven findings linked to the research questions. These themes are descriptive in nature and consistent with the literature analyzed. The "Discussion and Implications" section offers a more interpretive take on the SAC features as animated by participants and our theorizing around the meanings. Summaries of responses with evidence follow; phrases in quotation marks belong to participants.

The Program Was Valued and Endorsed

The mentoring reported in the coded data varied, and some participants endorsed the program. New teacher mentoring was described as a long-standing, district-led program that was adapted in pandemic times. Expectations of parties during the 2020–2021 crisis timeline involved (a) participation in the 4-day orientation; (b) oversight and mentor training by a lead mentor; (c) assignment of novices to a mentor; (d) mentor identification by principals using criteria: strong "instructional practice and communication skills,"

"characteristics like willingness to work hard," and experience at the novice's grade level; (e) mentor daily check-ins and weekly sessions airing mentees' questions; (f) "topic generation by mentors that applied to teachers across grade levels" (parent–teacher conferences, etc.); (g) novice socialization within grade-level teams that promoted "collaborative learning"; (h) PLC support of novices by mentors, instructional coaches, and administrators; and (i) PD activities (mentoring modules, etc.) and informal gatherings.

Leadership Was Important

Leadership encompassed principals, mentors, and the division. Principals reported having (a) fulfilled tasks as the leader (mentoring assignments and matches, etc.), (b) exercised quality control (sponsoring program orientation, monitoring matches, checking in with lead mentors, etc.), (c) encouraged mentor–mentee consultation to support novices, and (d) invested in mentoring scaffolds (matches, orientations, PD, PLCs, training, etc.). Besides developing teachers, principals said that they conveyed expectations about the program and responsibilities. In consultation with the division, they oversaw mentor training and support onsite to ensure that mentees were empowered to "grow within their roles." Having "the best-suited person for the mentor role" and "supporting mentors as they work to support mentees" were important.

Mentors had access to principals and reported program supports in action, as well as principal interest in whether their mentor–mentee relationships had clicked. One mentor recognized mentors for contributions to the "pandemic" program. Teacher mentors described lead mentors as having sought "mentors' input on a good fit for novices" and "work[ing] with them to [forge] good pairings." These leads also "checked in with the principal on the matches."

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To the new teachers, the school leader's role was to ensure they felt supported and were gaining familiarity with routines and curriculum and instruction. Two of the three novices felt comfortable asking their principals questions, noting that their needs were addressed.

COVID-19 Impacted Mentoring in Virtual Workplaces

Impacting program integrity with respect to SAC, the pandemic proved taxing for stakeholders. The new teachers encountered the virtual workplace on the heels of their online student teaching experience (in 2020), later having to pivot to in-person teaching. The third novice (who experienced negative mentoring) was further along at the school, having started in person, but the switch to online instruction was unsettling. Working remotely made it difficult for the novices and mentors to collaborate in their grade-level teams. Not meeting face-to-face was stressful, even with the initial relationship-building afforded by "ice breakers."

Mentors, too, attested to these complexities of guiding novices' adjustment to working online: "It was much harder doing [teaching observations] virtually"; "we had to mentor someone virtually who was learning to teach virtually"; "struggling with learning how to teach in a new way, we still tried to support novices—they did a great job, but it was challenging"; "the pandemic limited the time for collaboration"; and the "observations [and other mentoring activities] we did in the past were more powerful."

Struggle with online instruction permeated remote mentoring. As mentors put it, "The relationship is not built in the same way in virtual instruction"; "staff meetings, happy hours, and gatherings make novices feel part of the community." *Limiting*, *relationship*, *stress*, *struggle*, and *virtual*/*remote* were frequently used by mentors. To

principals, the "added responsibilities of monitoring, masking, separating everyone, and building relationships" constrained the program and burdened their roles.

Consistency and Fidelity Were Expected

Mentors all said they supported their mentee by scheduling time to meet, planning for discussion and questions, and checking in regularly. Every effort was made to welcome mentees, get to know them, and facilitate success. Mentor behaviors were inconsistently executed, however, based on others' responses.

Concerning new teacher support, principals revealed that when planning for mentee needs, more time must be allowed to find best-fit mentors. They saw positive, productive matches as a priority for the program. Arranging for mentees and mentors to frequently meet also needed attention in future schedules. When not on the same grade level, program fidelity was affected. One principal's idea was to have mentoring parties meet with "grade-level teachers at other schools to [share] similarities and obstacles." This thought was sparked by the principal's concern that not all mentees had been assigned grade-level mentors in the building and that mentors could benefit from brainstorming.

Two novices stated that their mentor offered "frequent check-ins, weekly meetings, resources, and questions." Having a "go-to" with whom to plan and talk about teaching facilitated their adjustment. Friendships even formed. For the third novice, her mentor's alternative placement made their mentoring arrangement untenable.

Fidelity and consistency could be improved in other ways too. Mentors called for more district support, including financial compensation as a signal of employer loyalty to veteran teachers' labor and dedication to

the profession through new teacher support. While one mentor saw the program as "exceptional," administration was still expected to demonstrate value. The need for mentee fidelity to evidence-based, student-centered programs (Responsive Classroom, etc.) for developing pedagogical expertise was another point. To the principals, securing mentee "comfort with resources, instructional planning, progress monitoring, and training on assessment systems" would have solidified outcomes.

Relationship-Building in a Positive Culture Was Encouraged

Without exception, participants shared that "face-to-face connections really matter" and "relationship-building is difficult in virtual settings." A mentor added that, with the protracted global crisis, "new teachers are overwhelmed working through all the changes." Principals noted that "while novices often feel isolated, they need to be part of a collaborative, nurturing environment." One novice appreciated that her mentor held space "for questions or venting."

One principal believed all novices should "becom[e] part of the culture and figure out if a school is the right fit." Interestingly, the mentoring program had a positive effect on two novices who seemed inclined to remain at the school: "I want the teachers coming in the future to feel they belong." Considering how the program can change, one novice imagined meeting with fellow novice teachers to "talk about how things are going without veteran teachers present in a judgment-free zone," while the other hoped the "support continues." The third novice declined responding in these two instances.

Mentoring Support Could Have Been More Equitable

Participants recognized the need for equitable support in the onsite program, albeit by implication. One mentor remarked, "All mentors

should constantly meet with mentees and implement strategies to support them." Principals also deemed the mentoring and gains to be uneven, perhaps unfair at times, as did the mentees. Just because SAC occurred in ways that were beneficial in some cases does not mean that it is acceptable for a newcomer to be overlooked in a mentoring program or mentors' extra duties to forgo compensation were expectations that had fallen short. For such reasons as these, the program did not uniformly demonstrate consistency and fidelity.

Fairness in mentoring support was raised as an issue (without using the word *fair*). For example, as disclosed by novices, mentors, and principals alike, accessibility was problematic. Of note, the two satisfied novices observed inequity beyond their dyads: "Some mentors don't meet every week with their mentees." The dissatisfied mentee wished she had had a grade-level team to offset the unreliable mentoring. Novices alluded to mentoring inequities within and beyond their school.

Teachers and principals' shared outcomes they would like to see for novices: (a) mentor teachers should connect often with mentees and give feedback, (b) novices should have access to mentors and frequent face-to-face dialogue and activities, and (c) principals should appropriately match mentees with mentors (subject-matter expertise, dispositions, etc.) and monitor matches and grade-level teams.

Mentoring was not equitable for the same-race teacher novices (all white). Considering that discrepancies did not arise from racial bias, they may have been related to the restrictions on in-person education, exclusive use of virtual platforms, technology problems, mentoring mismatches, interpersonal tensions, or managerial overwhelm. Consequently, access, resources, and opportunities differed. Although the character of mentoring can vary across pairs, intentional design

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and viable matches are nonnegotiable for supporting every new teacher.

SAC Features Were Animated

The coded data revealed three program features influencing mentoring quality and stakeholders' experience. As previously stated, not every novice was the beneficiary of the mentoring feature *support*, which is on par with pandemic-induced national trends (NEA, 2022). SAC was directly experienced or considered beneficial by two (of three) new teachers.

Research participants animated the potential and power of SAC based on their role, experience, and observation, but across professional roles, reservations were expressed. All three novices observed onsite mentoring and PD activity. While two felt supported by their mentor and grade-level team, the third (the only preK teacher on her team) received little attention. Assigned a mentor at another school, "without weekly meetings," she relied on personal contacts.

Teacher mentors saw the program as an opportunity to guide and collaborate with mentees and provide support, strategize, and discuss challenges. They viewed "contextual clarity" and "professional knowledge" as mentoring capital they uniquely offered. Principals described their program as fostering connections and resources to benefit the novices, whom they said were allocated time to meet, bond, and solve problems with their mentors and teams.

Like the disclosure forthcoming from mentors, not all met with their mentees as expected. In contrast, a satisfied novice said, "My fifth-grade mentor is doing an amazing job," describing this individual as communicative, informed, and generous with feedback. The other mentee relied on her mentor "for parent–teacher conferences" and

learned from the types of "questions" she posed; the mentor's "open door" policy was appreciated.

Mentors similarly accentuated the value of their mentoring support. They saw themselves as available to discuss anything with their mentees: "I'm here to guide and direct my mentee"; "we regularly meet to see how I can give support"; "my mentee check-ins occur throughout the week"; and "individual mentoring occurs pretty much daily." One mentor concentrated on goal-setting and "helping with instruction, management, and feeling welcomed." Based on all testimonials, two mentors built positive relationships with their mentees. These veteran teachers helped their mentees acclimate to the school culture, and they attended to their social-emotional needs and shared instructional resources and strategies.

The lead mentor was also an asset. Mentors explained, "The lead mentor who oversees the mentors is just down the hall" and "our lead mentor offers me support." A lead mentor confirmed such services: "I guide the mentors and provide mentor training, and we meet once a quarter." Mentors valued the "required course on mentoring new teachers" and "mentor training from the division and school [which] contributed positively to our mentoring." By participating in whole-group activities like the PLCs lead mentors also guided acculturation.

Two novices believed their mentors were invested in their success, and one appreciated her mentor's receptivity: "I can ask anything, anytime." The other benefited from critical thinking and problem solving. Both mentors initiated discussion on topics and invited mentee input. The third novice noticed that her mentor was "too busy to touch base."

Principals discussed their support of the program, which included giving constructive feedback, affirming novices, and creating safe spaces to encourage questions. They expected mentors to offer expertise and services through personalized SAC. Grade-level teams and administrators met (bi)weekly to plan, analyze data, prepare lessons, create objectives, and discuss students' needs.

To reinforce a crucial point, inequities in the mentored support were articulated beyond the novice teacher who had perceived and experienced it. Indeed, most of the other novices, mentors, and principals also drew attention to systemic challenges, such as technology-encumbered induction, and program discrepancies, such as irregularity in mentor availability.

Discussion and Implications

About the Moving Toward framework, we propose corresponding findings from our investigation, as well as a few issues extending the scope of analysis:

(1) Inequities in mentor selection were based on the performance of this role as observed by all principals and teachers, indicating that rigor and monitoring were needed for accessibility to healthy, viable matches; steadfast mentoring support; and meaningful collaboration.

(2) PD, training, and administrative support for mentors were provided to some extent but strictly virtually.

(3) While time was sanctioned for mentoring interactions, mentors differed in the performance of their duties.

(4) In the crisis, this program had some momentum, but participants missed face-to-face interaction. Their e-relationships were not as intense, and mentoring activities (teaching observations/conferencing, etc.) were performed less frequently.

(5) Guidance and feedback helped two of the novices move their teaching forward, and grade-level teams and PLCs offered mentoring parties more value.

(6) An unknown was the extent to which mentoring matches organized around content, grade level, access, and personality satisfied the Virginia Board of Education's (2021) "teacher performance standards," such as "culturally responsive teaching and equitable practices" (p. 8). New teacher PD was implemented despite the emergency, albeit remotely and on video.

(7) School administration's program guidelines from the division clarified the roles and responsibilities of all parties, which were explained at the orientation.

(8) Stakeholder collaboration occurred at a reduced level and within the schools' PLCs (e.g., mentoring pairs conferenced with parents). Collaborative engagement and intersections with "broader improvement initiatives" were otherwise unknown.

According to the literature reviewed, SAC supports PD and school culture while managing some of the challenges that drive away teachers. A key takeaway is that we add to the school-based research on SAC—not by echoing a set of features for mentoring/inducting that have already been established as program pillars but by calling for

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equity in a revised model, SACE, which is aligned with professional standards and equity research. The ideas proposed are for equity to be (a) accepted as a fourth component of new teacher mentoring programs and (b) dynamically embedded in the recognized features. As shown in Figure 1, SACE is potentially useful as a contemporary analytic device for understanding mentoring/induction situations from an equity lens. Equity involves equitable support, access, and collaboration, as well as treatment, resources, and opportunity to learn, contribute, and succeed. To emphasize the importance of equity, it is at the center of our model, with support, accessibility, and collaboration circling it.

Figure 1. *Support–Accessibility–Collaboration–Equity (SACE) Framework*

From this perspective, equity—centered in theory, research, and practice—is neither conceived nor treated as a program add-on but instead as a principle that re-centers mentoring/induction. Infused throughout processes, equity issues—such as poor matches, unavailable mentors, or ineffectual mentoring—would be detected and resolved in a timely manner. However, equity is all-too-rarely addressed, at least in the context of the studies reviewed and the program features reported by the Virginia elementary stakeholders. An implication is that equity has yet to become wholly integrated in

mentoring/induction. As theorized, equity enhances the capacity of the established components and empowers vulnerable parties and invested stakeholders.

Although equity was a resounding issue for one participant, it could not be addressed fully using either SAC or Moving Toward. While SAC is required for effective mentoring and induction, without equity, the three constructs fall short. Thus, the addition of equity seems vital for fully realizing the goals of sustained intervention. Although this study was not designed to gauge program effectiveness, besides the SAC and SACE constructs, Moving Toward served as a way to view our findings. Overall, variability in the quality of mentoring/induction was evident in the data analyzed. In the state of emergency, the three schools showed some level of support for new teacher development and learning, but not evenly or to everyone's satisfaction.

Conclusion

Besides offering study of mentoring during the pandemic in this article, our original scholarly contribution centers on the introduction of SACE for examining formal mentoring/induction and making programs equitable. What makes this research stand out is that SAC, as interpreted, revealed the need for equity-embedded programming that upholds consistency and fidelity. This understanding arose from the findings, which presented a mixed picture of the mentoring program and need for parity in cultivating a culture of support for teaching staff. Accordingly, SACE calls for close monitoring of programs that brings intent, design, implementation, assessment, and impact into line with equity.

Other schools can benefit from program delivery that reflects consistency and fidelity in the face of obstacles and controlling for

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equity as a systemic component of mentoring/induction. We encourage divisions to (a) champion success in SACE-driven programs enacted with fidelity and consistency; (b) provide relationship-building opportunities that develop and retain quality teachers; (c) ensure that processes are fair and outcomes achieved; and (d) offer intermittent feedback that informs learning. To maximize mentoring benefits for all involved, administrators are advised to know the research, attain "program support," and oversee processes and "evaluations" (Ehrich et al., 2004).

Finally, the elementary practitioners in our study identified program features influencing mentoring quality and their experience in a crisis. While the components evidenced in the literature were in play in the pandemic-burdened school milieu we researched, the published sources did not account for equity as a program feature per se. Raising the issue of equity in mentoring contexts is meant to spark reflection and theorizing, and inform action. The program did show movement toward comprehensive approaches that supported new teachers in a crisis, but as reported by insiders, the quality was variable and equity was in question. Yet, equity enacted intentionally (Galloway & Ishimaru, 2015; Lopez, 2013; Rigby & Tredway, 2015) enriches knowledge and advances programs. It is time for equity to be widely recognized as a vital feature of formal mentoring/induction, which is a direction for future research and program improvement. When deliberately supportive, accessible, collaborative, and equitable, mentoring can better sustain teachers.

Acknowledgment

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About the authors:

Carol A. Mullen, PhD, is Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia, USA, and an award-winning mentoring researcher in education. She is a twice-awarded US Fulbright Scholar and currently serves as President of the University Council for Educational Administration.

E-mail: camullen@vt.edu

Authorship credit details: Writing and revising, co-creating the original version of the manuscript for this journal, independently and jointly analyzing the data, addressing all reviewer queries, and collaborating on the writing of all sections.

Mattie S. Fallen, EdD, is the Principal at Sleepy Hollow Elementary, a K–5 Title I school, Falls Church, Virginia, USA. She is a veteran educator and school-based mentoring practitioner.

E-mail: msfallen@fcps.edu

Authorship credit details: Providing coauthoring support and reviewing, conducting the investigation, collecting and analyzing the data for her dissertation, with the oversight and guidance of Carol A. Mullen (doctoral supervisor).

Private Schools' Marketing Tactics, Parents' Loyalty and School Image: A Structural Equation Model

Sümeyye Mermer (iD)

Sivas Cumhuriyet University, Sivas, Turkey

Niyazi Özer (iD)

İnönü University, Malatya, Turkey

Süleyman Nihat Şad (iD)

İnönü University, Malatya, Turkey

Abstract	Article Info
This research aimed to reveal the relationship between the "marketing tactics" used by private schools, "school image" and "parent loyalty". Participants consisted of 812 parents, whose children were enrolled to private schools during the 2019-2020 academic year in Sivas. The research data were collected using "Marketing Tactics Scale", "School Image Scale", and "Parent Loyalty Scale". For the analysis of the data, descriptive statistics, correlation tests and structural equation modeling were used. The results of the analysis confirmed all the hypotheses developed in the theoretical model. Results showed that "marketing tactics" regarding "products and services", "school employees", "physical facilities", "price and payment" directly and indirectly affect "school image" and "parents' loyalty". It was also found that "school image" and "school employees-oriented marketing tactics" were perceived as the most effective predictors of the "parental loyalty".	

*This study is based on the doctoral dissertation prepared by the first author.

Introduction

Like other organizations, schools and educational instutions have to change in order to meet the changing needs of the society, in an era of rapid and relentless change (Fullan, 2012). Besides parental demands and higher expectations for quality in education, increasing population pave the way for the rise of private education sector. Many other factors including scarcity of public schools, crowded classrooms, inadequate teaching staff and physical school environments, and school safety-security concerns also led to an increase in the ratio of private education institutions in Turkey (Dönmez, 2016; Ergül, 2013; Korkut ve Doğan, 2002; Parlar, 2006; Uysal, 2017; Yirci ve Kocabaş, 2013). The increase in the number of private schools over time has led to competition among private schools, leading the parents to be able to choose from among several alternatives. The competitive environment created by the diversity of private schools both in terms of quantity and quality has inevitably directed private schools to try new "*marketing tactics*" in order to survive. Therefore, owners of the private schools began to take initiatives to attract their new customers and also to promote and increase the loyalty of their present or former customers (Gautam, 2005; Malik, Mustag, Jaswal & Malik, 2015).

Marketing of education is defined as identifying the needs and wishes of parents and students and dedicating to producing high quality services to ensure them (Zeybekoğlu, 2005). Private sector involvement in the education system has resulted in an increased

number of educational institutions to serve the growing population, program quality and overall innovation in modern education practices. This "profit-oriented" move has led to institutions competing for students and finding creative ways to meet the needs and preferences of students and parents (Uchendu, Nwafor & Nwaneri, 2015). For schools, education is the main service and the quality of education is the main competitive tool. It is a necessity for school administrators to focus on the quality of education, as the competition among private schools helps to improve the quality of education. Parents are always in search of effective schools where their children can get quality education. On the other hand, educational institutions seek to raise awareness about their schools for successful students and to attract their attention (Gautam, 2005). While private schools try to increase the quality of the educational services they offer, they also want to increase their profit regarding the services they offer (Malik et al., 2015). As a general marketing rule, the main purpose of educational marketing is to attract more students or parents. To attain this goal, schools should be marketing-oriented and give great importance to seeking for innovative ways to attract parents. Therefore, administrators of private schools should create an outstanding brand image for their schools (Birch, 1998).

There are five steps for service providers to follow in planning educational marketing: 1) market research, 2) analysis of the product environment, 3) preparation of the mission and development of the marketing plan, 4) development of strategy and promotional materials, and finally 5) monitoring, e.g. evaluation of the marketing process (Bunnel, 2005; Oplatka & Brown, 2004). There are different marketing mix aprroaches such as 5P and/or 7P. While 5P model includes the components of "product, price, promotion, place, people"

(Gautam, 2005; Li & Hung, 2009), the 7P model includes component of 5P plus "process and physical evidences" components (Bümen, 2017; Harvey, 1996; Ivy, 2008; James & Philips, 1995; Malik et al., 2015). In this research, four components of marketing mix are used: 1) products and services-oriented, 2) school employees-oriented, 3) physical facilities-oriented, and 4) price-oriented and payment-oriented marketing.

The main purpose of marketing is to introduce the parents to all aspects of the service they will buy and to persuade them to get it. In this context, the product dimension of marketing includes all kinds of teaching materials, learning areas and training options offered to the student. It is important that schools present their product portfolio and what the school promises for students during marketing. It is expected to express what makes the school's products special (high quality), and to reveal the school's supply power in response to exam results and parents' other expectations (James & Philips, 1995). The dimension of school employees covers a wide range from school administrators to teachers, from all suport staff to parents. The human element of the service marketing mix consists of staff, their skills, expertise, and satisfying students and parents (Malik et al., 2015). Teachers' abilities, skills, knowledge, expertise and communication are important aspects that affect students' satisfaction (Li & Hung, 2009). The physical facilities dimension includes all the infrastructure facilities of the school, classrooms, workshops and laboratories, sports fields, the environment where the school is located, and even transportation facilities. In this context, it is very important to take care of the school entrance, the garden and the places where parents and visitors are accepted, to decorate the school corridors with boards, various paintings and posters where the students' works are exhibited, to have

all kinds of educational materials and tools that the students may need ready in the classrooms (Zeybekoğlu, 2007). The price dimension includes the fee that the school demands in return for the education service it provides, as well as scholarship and discount opportunities. These factors, which are integral part of communication between the school and parents starting from the registration of the student to the school, provide a concrete picture of the school against the parents. Marketing activities carried out from the admission of students to their graduation create a perception regarding the quality of school in the eyes of parents and the community. Therefore the image of a school is a cumulative result of school activities, formed over time by many different factors including different information and marketing processes. The image of an organization seen as the basis for developing customer loyalty to that organizations' products and/or services. Organizational image, the boosting force of marketing activities, provides greater customer loyalty, greater market share, and increased profit. Previous research results suggest that the organizational image is associated with the costumers' accumulated experiences regarding products and service of the organization. In this respect, based on their image about the school parents respect to the school, want their children to be educated in the same school in the future and recommend to their acquaintance (Li & Hung, 2009). Besides, the content of admission interviews, advertisement and public relation activities, and approaches used through social relations are very effective in the formation of the first image of schools, and this perception plays an important role in parents' decision to enroll their children in a school (Collins & Stevens, 2001). Karahan (2000) states that private schools need to try to make a difference compared to their competitors and make the education service they offer to their customer something unique and cannot be easily replicated.

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Parents' loyalty to a school refers to a strong commitment to enroll their children to a preferred school. Parents having higher loyalty would recommend the school to their acquaintance and encourage them to take the educational service they get regardless of any formal contract or burden (Bloemer & Ruyter, 1998; Dick & Basu, 1994; Li & Hung, 2009; MacMillan, Money, Downing & Hillenbrand, 2005; Malik et al., 2015; Oliver, 1997; Zeithaml, Berry & Parasulaman, 1996). Badri and Mohaidat (2014) state that since a loyal student population is a source of competitive advantage, students' loyalty is one of the main goals of educational institutions. They also stated that schools concentrating on parent satisfaction can improve its reputation among parents that will lead *"parental loyalty"*. Satisfaction from the school services is a necessary condition to gain school loyalty (Söderlund & Öhman, 2005). Parents, who see education as a key to future success, are motivated to make the necessary investment for education when they believe that private schools can provide a better future for their children (Galab, Vennam, Komanduri, Benry & Georgiadis, 2013).

Marketing activities offered by a school also determine the image of the school in the eyes of parents. Moreover, marketing activities carried out by school employees and administrators are of critical importance in terms of increasing parents' loyalty and the school's ability to compete with other private schools. Because the parents who are satisfied with the products and services offered by the school and have a positive school image will not only stay connected to the school, but also will contribute voluntarily to the marketing of school by promoting the school to their friends and relatives. Thus, private school administrators want to create a commitment among their new clients, and also maintain and improve the commitment of their

existing clients (Chaudhuri & Holbrook, 2001; Dick & Basu, 1994; Zeithaml et al., 1996).

There is a large bulk of studies suggesting that marketing components are the predictors of the school image (Badri & Mohaidat, 2014; Bunnel, 2005; Gautam, 2005; Göktaş & Parıltı, 2016; Malik et al., 2015; Uchendu et al., 2015), there is a significant relationship between the adoption of marketing strategies and student admission (Uchendu et al. 2015), and school image is positively related to students' and/or parents' loyalty (Andreassen & Lindestand, 1998; Badri & Mohaidat, 2014; Dick & Basu, 1994; Eger, Egerova & Pisonova, 2018; Friedman, Bobrowski & Markow, 2007; Gautam, 2005; Gray & Balmer, 1998; Helgesen & Nesset, 2007; Marzo-Navarro, Pedraja-Iglesias & Rivera-Torres, 2005; Meier, 2018; Nguyen & Leblanc, 2001; Palacio, Meneses & Perez, 2002; Skallerud, 2011). In addition, there are also studies that deal with *"marketing tactics"*, *"school image"* and *"parents' loyalty"* together. For example, Malik et al. (2015) stated that the product, *"people and process oriented marketing tactics"* create a positive and significant relationship with *"parents' loyalty"*, and the *"school image"* has a mediating effect in establishing the relationship between *"marketing tactics"* and *"parents' loyalty"*. Li & Hung (2009) found that parents form an image about the school based on the school's characteristics, corporate structure, lived experiences about the communication, products and services of the school, and perceived image leads the loyalty to the school.

The ratio of private schools among all schools in Turkey has increased gradually. Ministry of National Education (2019) statistics show that private institutions make up 19.16% of all formal education institutions. In contrast with this increase, research on private schools is limited in Turkey. This study aims to reveal the relationships between three important variables related to private schools:

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"marketing tactics", *"school image"* and *"parents' loyalty"*. In the studies of Gautam (2005), Li & Hung (2009) and Malik et al. (2015), which form the theoretical basis of this study, the relationship between *"marketing tactics"* and *"loyalty"* with the mediating effect of *"school image"* was revealed by multiple regression analysis and results showed that various dimensions of *"marketing tactics"* affect *"school image"*, and *"school image"* predicts *"parents' loyalty"*. Although not in the field of education, it was determined in the research of Yürük & Kayapınar (2016) that there are significant relationships between marketing components, organizational image and customer commitment.

In this study, it is aimed to explain the relationship between these three variables with a structural model by revealing the current situation regarding the marketing components, school image and parental loyalty used in the marketing of private schools. In the field of private school services, it is considered important to reveal the relationship between marketing tactics, school image and parental loyalty, especially the providers of this service, and the whole education process in general. It is thought that this research will contribute to the literature, since there has not been any research that tries to reveal the relationships between the variables covered in the research using Structural Equation Modeling. In the light of these explanations, the main research question of this study is "What is the relationship among the *"marketing tactics"* used in private schools, *"school image"* and *"parents' loyalty"*?". Accordingly, following hypotheses were tested in this research:

H1. *"Product and service-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"school image"*.

H2. *"School employees-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"school image"*.

H3. *"Price and payment-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"school image"*.

H4. *"Physical facilities-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"school image"*.

H5. *"School image"* is a significant predictor of *"parents' loyalty"*.

H6. *"Product and service-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"parent loyalty"* through *"school image"*.

H7. *"School employes-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"parent loyalty"* through *"school image"*.

H8. *"Price and payment-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"parent loyalty"* through *"school image"*.

H9. *"Physical facilities-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"parent loyalty"* through *"school image"*."

In this study, it has been revealed that the four dimensions of marketing "product and service", "school employees", "price and payment" and "physical facilities" affect the image of the school and therefore form the basis of parents' loyalty. With this study, it is thought that it will contribute to the establishment of loyalty and to the planning of marketing activities in private education institutions serving in our country.

Method

Research Design

In this study, a baseline cross-sectional survey design was used followed by a main associational research design to examine the relationships among "marketing tactics" used by private schools,

"school image" and "parents loyalty" based on parents' perceptions. Associational research aims to reveal the relationship among two or more variables, and whether and how these variables change together, examining the clues about the cause and effect between them (Büyüköztürk et al., 2015; Creswell, 2014). Structural equation modeling was used to determine the relationships between the variables in this study. SEM is a comprehensive statistical approach used to test models that have causal and inter-relationships between observed and latent variables (Yılmaz & Çelik, 2009). In this approach, a series of structural equations (such as regression equations) between the variables are tested via a model in order to better understand the hypotheses developed theoretically, and direct and indirect multiple relationships are measured by testing the observable and latent variables simultaneously on the model. The analysis of structural equation modeling is to reveal how well the model fits to the available data. If the fit indices obtained by testing the model reveal the absence of such a fit, the hypotheses are rejected (Meydan & Şeşen 2011). In this study, descriptive analyzes were also carried out.

Sampling

The population of the research consisted of parents who bought private education services from kindergarten to high schools in the city center of Sivas-Turkey in the 2019-2020 academic year. During this research was conducted, there were 9 private schools serving at all education levels in the central district of Sivas province. All of these schools were intended to be included in the research, however, two of the administrators of these schools did not want to participate in the research. In the remaining 7 private schools, data collection tools were tried to be administered to parents of all students (n= 3325) using "self-sampling" method (Çilenti, 1984, p. 137), instead of selecting a sample.

Accordingly, questionnaire forms were sent to parents via their children. As a result, a total number of 854 instruments were returned. However, after 42 forms were excluded because they were filled incorrectly or incompletely, data gathered from 812 parents were included in the analysis.

Data Collection Tools

In this research, a test battery consisting of three different data collection tools were used to collect data: "Marketing Tactics Scale (MTS)", "School Image Scale (SIS)" and "Parents' Loyalty Scale (PLS)". Information on each scale is given below.

Marketing Tactics Scale: This scale was developed in Mermer (2020, pp. 63-67) based on the relevant literature on *"marketing tactics"* (Badri & Mohaidat, 2014; Birch, 1998; Gautam, 2005; Harvey, 1996; Immelman & Roberts-Lombard, 2015; James & Philips, 1995; Li & Hung, 2009; Malik et al., 2015; Nohutçu, 1999; Oplatka, 2004; Tercan, 2016; Uchendu et al., 2015; Uysal, 2017). But in this research a four dimensional factor structure was used respectively: product, people, price and place. Considering this dimensions initial scale items developed using relavant literature, and the items were sent to panel of expert. After this stage the scale was administered on the 397 parents and gathered data was analysed using explanatory factor anaylsis (EFA). Results showed that four factor scale explained 65.56% of the total variance, and factor loadings vary between ".52" and ".86". Using data gathered from 832 parent a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was also conducted. Results revealed acceptable goodness-of-fit values for the four-factor scale which consists of 24 items (Çokluk, Şekercioğlu, & Büyüköztürk, 2010; Meydan & Şeşen 2011; Şimşek, 2007; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013; Yılmaz & Çelik, 2009): x^2/df=4.62, GFI=.89, AGFI=.87, NFI=.91, NNFI=.91, CFI=.92, RMSEA=.06, RMR=.06 SRMR=.05. The

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Cronbach Alpha internal consistency (reliability) coefficients for each dimension of the scale was calculated as ".90" for the "Product and Service Oriented Marketing" factor, ".92" for the "School Employees Oriented Marketing" factor, ".84" for the "Price and Payment Oriented Marketing" factor, and ".86" for the "Physical Facilities Oriented Marketing" factor.

School Image Scale: This scale is an adapted by Mermer (2020, pp. 67-70) from "Perceived Organizational Prestige" scale developed by Mael & Ashford (1992). During adaptation process first items were translated in Turkish, and two items were added and some minor revisions was done in terms of Turkish education system and private schools according to experts opinions. After this stage the scale was administered on the 604 parents (state= 217, private=387). A single factor scale consisting of six items was obtained by EFA performed with the data received. Results showed that singel factor scale explained 58.5% of the total variance and factor loadings of the items vary between ".56" and ".85". To assess the model-data fit also CFA was conducted with the data gathered (n=812). Results obtained showed that the model-data fit was good: x2/df=4.09, GFI=.98, AGFI=.96, NFI=.98, NNFI=.97, CFI=.99, RMSEA=.06, RMR=.02, SRMR=.01). The Cronbach Alpha coefficient of the scale was calculated as ".85".

Parental Loyalty Scale: This scale was developed by Mermer (2020, pp. 70-73) based on previous literature (Altay, 2018; Friedman et al., 2007; Güldiken, 2017; Li & Hung, 2009; Skallerud, 2011). After initial scale items developed using these literature, the items were sent to a panel of experts. After this stage, the scale was administered to the 604 parents (State= 217, Private=387), and gathered data was analyzed using EFA. Results showed that single factor scale explained 64.87% of

the total variance, and factor loadings of the six items vary between ".63" and ".89". To assess the model-data fit also CFA was conducted with the data gathered (n=812). The CFA revealed good index values for the single-factor scale: x^2/df=1.98, GFI=.99, AGFI=.98, NFI=.99, NNFI=.99, CFI=.99, RMSEA=.03, RMR=.01, SRMR=.01. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient of the scale was calculated as ".85".

Data Analysis

Univariate and multivariate normality tests were performed on the data set before doing structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis. The skewness and kurtosis coefficients used to test the univariate normality distribution of the data. These results are presented in Table 1:

Table 1.

Skewness and Kurtosis Values for the Variables

Variable	Skewness	Kurtosis
PSOM	-.21	-.59
SEOM	-.98	.73
PPOM	-.59	-.09
PFOM	-.56	-.24
SI	-.23	-.18
PL	-.51	-.13

(PSOM: "*Product and Service Oriented Marketing*", SEOM: "*School Employees Oriented Marketing*", PPOM: "*Price and Payment Oriented Marketing*", PFOM: "*Physical Facilities Oriented Marketing*", SI: "*School Image*", PL: "*Parents' Loyalty*")

The values in Table 1 show that univariate normality is satisfied (Büyüköztürk, 2010; Can, 2016; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). For

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multivariate normality assumption, multivariate skewness, kurtosis and critical ratio (c.r.) values were checked. In order to assess the extreme values, the Mahalanobis distance was calculated by performing multiple regression. After calculating the Mahalanobis distance a total number of 8 cases were deleted due to violating the multivariate normality assumption (Field, 2009, p.512). The results of final multivariate normality analysis are given in Table 2:

Table 2.

Multivariate Normality Analysis

Variable	Skewness	c.r.	Kurtosis	c.r.
PSOM	-.20	-2.36	-.60	-3.52
SEOM	-.58	-6.75	-.14	-.83
PPOM	-.92	-10.69	.54	3.14
PFOM	-.55	-6.45	-.23	-1.36
SI	-.23	-2.70	-.15	-.89
PL	-.50	-5.83	-.17	-.99
Multivariate			6.79	9.83

When the values in Table 2 are examined, the skewness and kurtosis values (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013) of each variable in the data set and the critical ratio (c.r.) value of the multivariate normality kurtosis value were found to be between acceptable ranges (Bayram, 2010, p. 109). The endogenous variables included in SEM analysis were *"school image"* and *"parental loyalty"*; while exogenous variables were *"product and service oriented marketing"*, *"school employees oriented marketing"*, *"price and payment oriented marketing"* and *"physical facilities oriented marketing"*.

Results

Descriptive statistics regarding the research variables and intercorrelation coefficients for these variables are presented in Table 3.

Table 3.
Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Results for Scores Taken from Scales (n=812)

Scale/ Dimension	Min.	Max.	$\underline{X}$	S	2	3	4	5	6
1. PSOM	7.00	35.00	23.66	6.55	.57*	.57*	.69*	.51*	.49*
2. SEOM	7.00	35.00	28.69	5.81		.67*	.64*	.55*	.61*
3. PPOM	5.00	25.00	19.24	4.36			.58*	.48*	.50*
4. PFOM	5.00	25.00	18.58	4.65				.50*	.48*
5. SI	6.00	30.00	21.35	4.74					.78*
6. PL	6.00	30.00	22.04	5.43					

*p<.05

As in Table 3, the mean values of the study variables were calculated as follows: $\bar{X}$=23.66 (sd=6.55) for PSOM, $\bar{X}$=28.69 (sd=5.81) for SEOM, $\bar{X}$=19.24 (sd=4.36) for PPOM , $\bar{X}$=18.58(sd=4.65) for PFOM, $\bar{X}$=21.35(sd=4.74) for SI, $\bar{X}$=22.04(sd= 5.43) for PL. n addition, there were significant and positive correlations between *"marketing tactics"*, *"school image"* and *"parental loyalty"*. Accordingly *"school image"* is positively and significantly correlated with *"school employees-oriented*

marketing" (r=.55), "product and service-oriented marketing" (r=.51), *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* (r=.50) and *"price and payment-oriented marketing"* (r=.48). Thus, it can be stated that as the qualifications of school employees are emphasized during interviews with parents, more positive perceptions about the school image develop. The same is also true for *"product and service-oriented marketing"*, *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* and *"price and payment-oriented marketing"* respectively. In the relationship between *"parental loyalty"* and the dimensions of *"marketing tactics"*, *"parental loyalty"* is positively and significantly correlated with *"school employees-oriented marketing"* (r=.61), *"price and payment-oriented marketing"* (r=.50), *"product and service-oriented marketing"* (r=.49), and *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* (r=.48). The remarkable finding here is that highlighting the qualifications of school employees in the marketing process has the highest correlation with both *"parental loyalty"* and *"school image"*. In this study, it was concluded that there is a high level of positive significant relationship (r=.78, p<.05) between parents' perceptions of school image and their loyalty to school. According to this finding, it can be said that as the parents' perceptions on shool image increases, their loyalty to the school also increases.

Results

In the theoretical model tested in the research, it was predicted that *"product- and service-oriented marketing"*, *"school employees-oriented marketing"*, *"price- and payment-oriented marketing"* and *"physical facility-oriented marketing"* predict *"school image"*, and finally *"school image"* predicts *"parental loyalty"* (Figure 1).
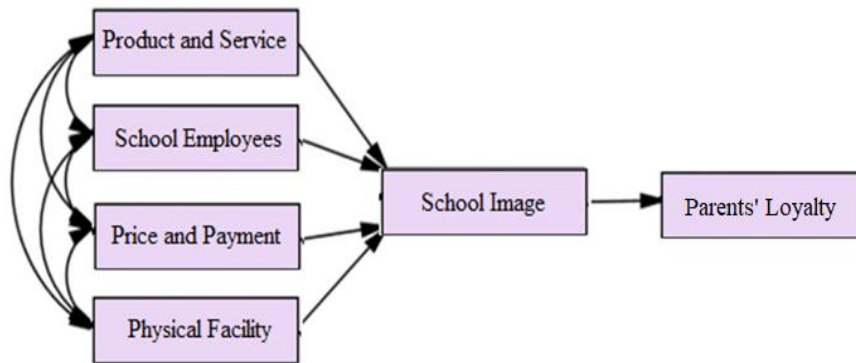
Figure 1. Theoretical Model Tested in the Research

In the model in Figure 1, direct and indirect effects between variables were tested by structural equation modeling. The results are given in Table 4.

Table 4.
Analysis Results for the Theoretical Model Tested

Variables	Non-Standardized Regression Coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized Regression Coefficient (β)	C.R. (t)	p
SI <--- PSOM	.15	.02	.21	5.39	.000*
SI <--- SEOM	.24	.03	.29	6.99	.000*
SI <--- PPOM	.09	.04	.09	2.24	.020*
SI <--- PFOM	.10	.04	.10	2.33	.010*
PL <--- SI	.91	.02	.79	36.84	.000*

χ2= 112.871; df=4 (*p<.05)

In the analyzes presented in Table 4, the goodness of fit values of the analyzes related to the theoretical model were x^2/df=28.21, GFI=.95, AGFI=.78, NFI=.96, NNFI=.85, CFI=.96, RMSEA=.18, RMR=1.58, SRMR=.05. In terms of model-data fit, it was determined that the goodness-of-fit values were not within acceptable limits, thus the modification suggestions for the model were examined as suggested by Meydan & Şeşen (2011). Since there was a high level of direct relationship between *"school employees-oriented marketing"* and *"parent loyalty"* (Modification Index=69.86 and Parameter Change=.17, p< 0.05), a new direct path was added between these variables in the final model.

Results of the Final Model

In addition to the relationships tested in the theoretical model, the proposed relationship was added to the model (Figure 2).
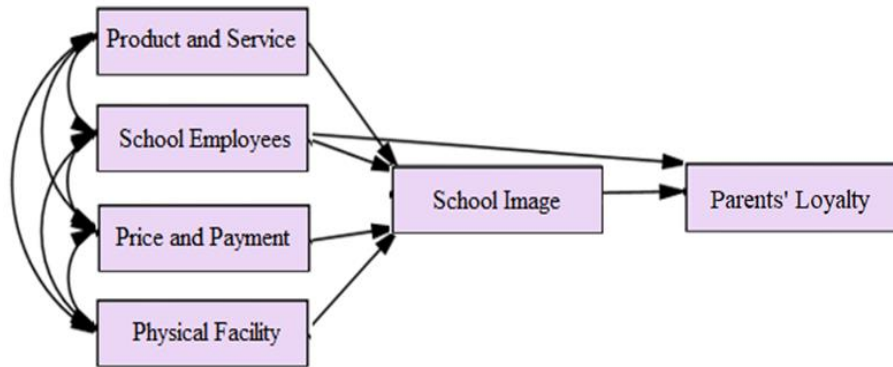
Figure 2. Final Model of the Research

The analysis results regarding the final model of the research are given in Table 5.

Table 5.
Analysis Results for the Final Model

Variables	Non-Standardized Regression Coefficient (B)	Standard error	Standardized Regression Coefficient (β)	C.R. (t)	p
SI <--- PSOM	.15	.02	.21	5.39	.000*
SI <--- SEOM	.24	.03	.29	6.99	.000*
SI <--- PPOM	.09	.04	.09	2.24	.020*
SI <--- PFOM	.10	.04	.10	2.33	.010*
PL <--- SI	.74	.02	.64	26.85	.000*
PL <--- SEOM	.24	.02	.25	10.73	.000*
χ2= 5.169; df=3 (*p<.05)					

According to the final model confirmed by the analysis results in Table 5 all of the dimensions of *"marketing tactics"* are direct and positive predictors of *"school image"*. In addition, *"school employees-oriented marketing"* has a direct positive effect on *"parental loyalty"* (β=.25; t=10.736; p<.05), and *"school image"* positively affects *"parental loyalty"* (β=.64; t=26.856; p<.05). Goodness of fit values of the final model (X^2/df=1.72, GFI=.99, AGFI=.98, NFI=.99, NNFI=.99, CFI=.99, RMSEA=.03, RMR=.16, SRMR=.00) obtained from the analyzes showed that the model has acceptable fit values. In Figure 3, the path diagram of the final model, standardized path coefficients (regression coefficient) and coefficients of determination (R^2) are given.
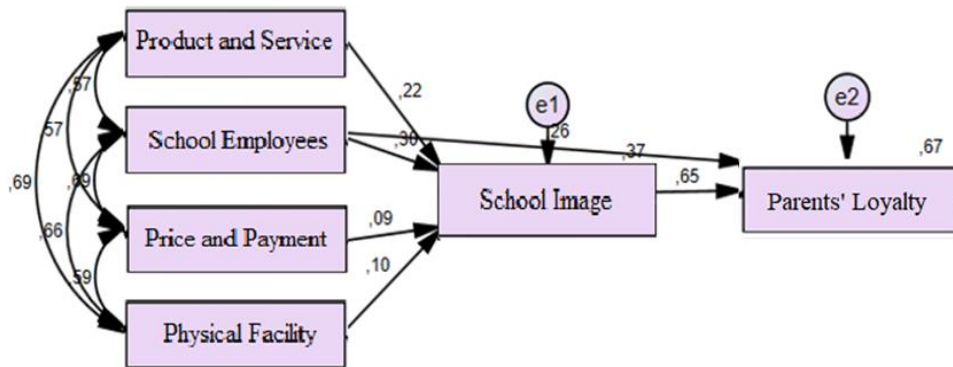
Figure 3. Path diagram of the final model

According to Figure 3, *"product- and service-oriented marketing"*, *"school employees-oriented marketing"*, *"price- and payment-oriented marketing"* and *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* together account for 37% of the variance in *"school image"*; while all variables together explain 67% of the variance in *"parental loyalty"*. In addition, it was found that the *"school image"* (SI) plays a mediating role in the relationship between *"marketing tactics"* (PSOM, SEOM, PPOM, PFOM); and *"parental loyalty"* (PL).

Direct and indirect effects on the final model

While interpreting the results of the SEM, direct, indirect and total effects were used. Standardized direct, indirect and total effects for the variables in the SEM are given in Table 6.

Table 6.

Standardized Direct, Indirect and Total Effects of the Final Model

	PSOM			SEOM			PPOM			PFOM			SI		
	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total	Direct	Indirect	Total
SI	.21*		.21*	.29*		.29*	.09*		.09*	.10*		.10*			
PL		.14*	.14*	.25*	.19*	.44*		.05*	.05*		.06*	.06*	.64*		.64*

*p<.05

The direct effects in Table 6 showed that *"product and service-oriented marketing"* (.21), *"school employees-oriented marketing"* (.29), *"price and payment-oriented marketing"* (.09), and *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* (.10) tactics directly and significanty affect the *"school image"*. It has been revealed that *"school employees-oriented marketing"* (.25) and *"school image"* (.64) directly and significantly affect *"parental loyalty"*. When the indirect effects were examined, it was found that *"product and service-oriented marketing"* (.14), *"school employees-oriented marketing"* (.19), *"price and payment-oriented marketing"* (.05), *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* (.06) tactics indirectly affected *"parental loyalty"*.

Conclusions and Discussion

The main purpose of this research was to explain the relationship between "marketing tactics", "school image" and "parental loyalty" through SEM. After descriptive analysis, it was found that dimensions of "marketing tactics" have positive and significant relationships with "school image" and "parental loyalty". This result is quite similar with

relevant literature. Gautam (2005) states that marketing elements such as product, place, people, promotion and price are significantly and positively related to the image of the educational institution. Factors affecting the "school image" are listed in the literature as brand recognition, academic success, admission conditions, academic programs, quality of teaching staff, social and sports opportunities, social responsibility projects, campus features and other physical facilities or physical environment (Arpan, Raney & Zivnuska, 2003; Kazoleas, Kim & Moffitt, 2001; Polat, Abat & Tezyürek, 2010). Considering the correlation coefficients of this study, the highest relationship was between "school image" and "parental loyalty" (r=.78), while relatively the lowest relationship was between "parental loyalty" and "physical facilities-oriented marketing" (r=.48). Another important point to be emphasized here is that most strong "marketing tactic" was "school employees oriented marketing" for both "school image" and "parental loyalty". Some research results confirm that the quality and commitment of the teaching staff and academic success are the variables that has the most impact on the parents' private school preferences and also school image (Bozyiğit, 2017; Çelikten, 2010; Hesapçıoğlu & Nohutçu, 1999; Immelman & Roberts-Lombard, 2015).

The first hypothesis of the research, "*Product and service-oriented marketing tactics"* are significant predictors of *"school image."* was accepted as a result of the analysis. This result is quite similar with relevant literature. Research by Helgesen and Nesset (2007) states that student satisfaction is an important prestige for high premise. There are studies in the literature suggesting that safety, quality teaching and additional activities to the curriculum increase the performance of schools and encourage parents to receive services (Birch, 1998; Çelikten, 2010; Friedman et al., 2007; Parlar, 2006). Again, Gautam

(2015) states that the quality of education for schools is the main competitive tool and plays a vital role in attracting more service buyers. According to this result, private school administrators should consider increasing the quality of the products they offer to students in order to create good school image.

The second hypothesis of the research, "School employees-oriented marketing tactics are significant predictors of school image." was accepted as a result of the analysis. There are studies in the literature stating that teachers' expertise, abilities and experiences, communication skills and school image are positively related with student satisfaction (Badri, 2014; Gautam, 2015; Helgesen & Nesset, 2007; Immelman & Roberts -Lombard, 2015; Li & Hung, 2009; Meier, 2018). However, it is stated that not only teachers but also all school staff interacting with students affect the image of the school as a marketing element with their areas, personal characteristics and even physical appearances (Malik et al., 2015; Oplatka, 2007). According to this result, private school administrators should pay attention to the employment of expert teachers in their fields, and competent school personnel in the field for which they are responsible, in order for the school to have a good image.

The third hypothesis of the research is "Price and payment-oriented marketing tactics are significant predictors of school image." accepted as a result of the analysis. There are studies in the literature stating that school enrollment prices are an important factor in school selection and play a key role in student satisfaction compared to the quality of services provided (Gautam, 2005; Harvey, 1996; Lansigan, 2006; Li & Hung, 2009; Malik et al., 2015). The quality of service provided is accepted as an indicator of the school' right to demand higher prices (Chaudhuri & Holbrook, 2001). Accordingly, private school

administrators should develop strategies such as scholarships, discounts, etc. that can make the fee reasonable.

The fourth hypothesis of the study, "*Physical facilities-oriented marketing tactics* are significant predictors of *school image."* was accepted as a result of the analysis. Parents consider many factors in their school preferences including class size, computers, libraries, etc. Physical facilities of schools consisting of teaching tools used in classes, the characteristics of the school campus and even the transportation to the school (Avest, Troost & Miedema, 2015; Birch,1998; Çelikten, 2010; Gautam, 2015; Harvey, 1996; Immelman & Roberts-Lombard, 2015; Lansigan, 2016; Li & Hung, 2009; Meier 2018; Parlar, 2006). It is stated that school facilities such as school's equipment, infrastructure, playgrounds, buildings, etc. essentially affect parents' perceptions of the school and overall school image (Friedman et al., 2007). According to this result, private school administrators should pay attention to the order and cleanliness of the physical facilities, which are the first face of the school, to be interesting and functional.

The fifth hypothesis of the research is "School image is a significant predictor of *parents' loyalty*" was accepted as a result of the analysis. In the literature, it is stated that student engagement is one of the goals of educational institutions, as a loyal student population is a source of competitive advantage (Bush, Ferrell & Thomas, 2001). It has been found that the reputation and image of the educational institution strongly affect the retention behavior and enrollment rate (Helgesen & Nesset, 2007; Meier, 2018; Nguyen & Leblanc, 2001). Besides, some research results showed that school image is an important antecedent of parental loyalty and satisfaction from school (Avest et all., 2015; Badri & Mohaidat, 2014; Birch, 1998; Gautam, 2005; Li & Hung, 2009; Malik et al., 2015; Skallerud, 2011). Therefore, private school

administrators should try to find new ways to strengthen the image of the school in order to increase student and parent loyalty.

The sixth hypothesis of the study, "*Product and service-oriented marketing tactics* are significant predictors of *parent loyalty* through *school image*" was accepted as a result of the analysis. According to Dick and Basu (1994), the marketing of an organization's products and services is often seen as central to service buyers' engagement. Satisfaction with products and services positively affects the image of the institution, meaning high market share and loyalty. Malik et al. (2015) stated that positive word-of-mouth communication of service users improves the school's enrollment rates by attracting potential parents. Accordingly, increasing the quality and functionality of the products of the private school will contribute to parental loyalty.

The seventh hypothesis of the study, "*School employes-oriented marketing tactics* are significant predictors of *parent loyalty* through *school image.*" was accepted as a result of the analysis. There are studies indicating that teachers' expertise, teaching skills and experience, communication skills are positively related with school image (Badri, 2014; Gautam, 2015; Helgesen & Nesset, 2007; Immelman & Roberts-Lombard, 2015; Li & Hung, 2009; Meier, 2018). Therefore, it can be asserted that if private school employ qualified and skilled teachers parental loyalty will increase. Accordingly, the private school administrators should consider the importance of the teaching staff to increase the enrollment rate.

The eighth hypothesis of the research, "*Price and payment-oriented marketing tactics* are significant predictors of *parent loyalty* through *school image.*" was accepted as a result of the analysis. The school's enrollment price is one of the main factors associated with parents' willingness to receive services. The positive relationship between the

service provided and the price demanded and payment has an impact on student and therefore parental satisfaction. Thanks to this satisfaction, parents also direct other parents to the school (Marzo-Navarro et al., 2005). The quality service provided by the school is also accepted as an indicator of the school's right to demand higher prices (Chaudhuri & Holbrook, 2001). According to this result, the price of private school is another factor that has an effect on parental loyalty. Private schools should always attract the parents' attention during registration periods using strategies such as scholarships and discounts. Private schools should also ensure that parents are going to get their money's worth.

The ninth hypothesis of the research, "*Physical facilities-oriented marketing tactics* are significant predictors of *parent loyalty* through *"school image.*" was accepted as a result of the analysis. Important issues that parents focus on when choosing a school include avaliability of transportation the physical appearance, school safety, the presence of art and sports facilities, hygiene conditions, etc (Malik et al., 2015). Quality and sustainable service delivery of the institution can increase the enrollment rate of the school (Malik et al., 2015). Informal information plays an important role in the school selection process. Parents rely on what they hear from their family, friends, colleagues, acquaintances etc. Parents with favorable experiences with the physical enviroment will recommend the school to others, thus helping the school to attract the attention of new parents (Avest et all., 2015). These results in the literature support our results. Accordingly, private school administrators should consider factors such as the school's physical equipment, environment and transportation, and safety as factors that ensure the loyalty of parents to school.

As a result of the model tested in the study, it was found that while *"school employees-oriented marketing tactic"* was the most effective variable on the *"school image"*, *"price and payment-oriented marketing tactic"* was the least effective variable. On the other hand, it was revealed that "*school image*" and "*school employees-oriented marketing tactic*" were the most effective variables on the "*parental loyalty"*. It was also found that the *"physical facilities-oriented marketing"* and *"price and payment-oriented marketing tactics"* were the least effective variables on "*parental loyalty"*. High relationship between "*school image*" and *"parental loyalty"* found in this research coincides with the results of studies in the literature (Avest et al., 2015; Badri & Mohaidat, 2014; Birch, 1998; Gautam, 2005; Malik et al., 2015; Li & Hung, 2009; Skallerud, 2011). Meier (2008) states that parents who have positive image about the school and are satisfied with the services provided are less tend to change schools. Skallerud (2011) also state that a school that meets and exceeds the expectations of the parents will increase the loyalty of the parents to the school along with this good reputation. There are studies in the literature that conclude that safety, quality teaching and additional activities to the curriculum increase the performance of schools and encourage parents to receive services (Birch, 1998; Çelikten, 2010; Friedman et al., 2007; Parlar, 2006).

As a result of the research, it was revealed that the *"product and service"*, *"school employees"*, *"physical facilities"*, *"price and payment-oriented marketing tactics"* directly and indirectly affect the *"school image"* and *"parents' loyalty"*. According to the results of this research, private schools should consider the image of the school before *"parental loyalty"*. There are also many studies in the literature stating that "*school image*" is an antecedent of parental satisfaction and "*loyalty*". (Avest et all., 2015; Badri & Mohaidat, 2014; Birch, 1998; Gautam, 2005;

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Li & Hung, 2009; Malik et al., 2015; Skallerud, 2011). Reputation and image of the educational institutions strongly affect the retention behavior and loyalty of parents (Helgesen & Nesset, 2007; Meier, 2018; Nguyen & Leblanc, 2001). When it comes to "*school image*", private schools should give a high priority to the quality and commitment of teaching staff in order to create a positive school image. Teachers' expertise, skills and experiences, communication skills and "*school image*" are positively correlated (Badri, 2014; Gautam, 2015; Helgesen & Nesset, 2007; Immelman & Roberts-Lombard, 2015; Li & Hung, 2009; Meier, 2018). Therefore private schools should give more importance to the teaching staff selection process and consider and support the professional development needs of their teachers.

The increase in the number of private schools in education investments constitutes the agenda in the recent development plans of our country. Renewed curriculum to increase the quality of education physical infrastructure, equipment and teachers in accordance with the curriculum and teaching methods the need to improve the quality of education and to use the resources allocated to education more effectively continues is doing. Accordingly, the increase in the number of private schools in education investments development is related to its economic and social dimensions. It is a very important issue to attract students and ensure their continuity for private schools, the number of which is increasing rapidly among formal education institutions in Turkey and has reached the level of 1 in 5. According to the results of the research, private school administrators should use the quality of school staff as the most important marketing tool as well as image improvement in order to increase the preference level of their institutions. In addition to a positive school image, private schools should consider that having a staff of expert educators and well-

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equipped school personnel is an important requirement for parental loyalty.

The result obtained from this research should be considered within some limitations. First of all this study conducted in a small city loacted in central Anatolia region of Turkey with a rather small number (n=9) of private schools. Although all parents in this schools participated in this research, the generalizability of the results to the private school sector in Turkey is limited. Also in this study the analysis unit was selected as the individual parents. However, marketing tactics, parental loyalty and schoom image can be investigated at school level using Hierarcihal Lineeer Modeling (HLM).

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About the authors:

Sümeyye Mermer, Ph.D., Assist. Prof. Dr. at Cumhuriyet University Faculty of Education. Her academic interests are educational supervision, marketing of educational services and technology in education.

E-mail: sumeyyemermer@cumhuriyet.edu.tr

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization- ideas, methodology - development or design of methodology, creation of models, investigation- data/evidence collection, writing -original draft preparation.

Niyazi Özer, Ph.D., a professor of Faculty of Education and doctoral supervisor at Inonu University Faculty of Education. Professor Özer is Member of Educational Administration Research & Development Association. His academic interests are in school safety, trust in school setting, technology in education. He has recently focused on issues and problems of graduate education.

E-mail: niyazi.ozer@inonu.edu.tr

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization of the research goals, design of the research; creation of the theoretical model, data analysis, supervision and leadership responsibility for the research activity planning and execution.

Süleyman Nihat Şad, Ph.D., a professor of Faculty of Education and doctoral supervisor at Inonu University Faculty of Education. His academic interests are in Curriculum & Instruction, Language learning, educational technology.

E-mail: nihat.sad@inonu.edu.tr

Authorship credit details: Methodology development or design of methodology; data analysis, English language editing and proofreading.

The Impact of the Swedish National Principal Training Programme on Principals' Leadership and the Structuration Process of School Organisations

Anette Forssten Seiser * (iD)

Karlstad University, Karlstad, Sweden

Åsa Söderström (iD)

Karlstad University, Karlstad, Sweden

Abstract	Article Info
Principals have an important function in schools' ability to create high-quality learning and teaching. As the expectations placed on principals are high, large resources are invested in school leadership training, thus necessitating research on the impact of such initiatives. In this article, we report on a longitudinal research study on the training programme for principals in Sweden. The aim was to examine the programme's impacts on the principals' leadership and school organisations. We did this by interviewing principals, teachers and students at four schools during the principals' participation in the programme. Giddens's theory of structuration was used to analyse the study. The results showed that leadership needs to be foregrounded throughout the training and that awareness of the function of principals in leading schools' structuration processes (i.e., their creation of meaning making) should be clarified.	

*Corresponding author
E-mail: anette.seiser@kau.se

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Introduction

The expectations placed on school leaders have never been more ambitious than in the first decades of the 2000s (Robinson, 2011). Local schools face increasing responsibility to achieve high-quality learning and teaching, and research on school leadership has focused on how principals and school organisations can promote students' learning and teachers' teaching (Grissom, Egalite, & Lindsay, 2021; Henry & Harbatkin, 2019; Leithwood, Harris, & Hopkins, 2008; Leithwood & Louise, 2012). Moreover, research has shown that low-performing schools often have shortcomings in their organisations and leadership (Blossing, 2011; Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009; Robinson, Lloyd, & Rowe, 2008).

The Swedish National Principal Training Programme provides 30 higher education credits and runs for 3 years. The programme is compulsory for principals and must be completed within 4 years of the principal's first assignment. According to the programme goals (Skolverket, 2015), the main focus is the principal's responsibility for developing an organisation that ensures that all students receive an education that is of equal value and consistent with the prevailing legislation. Three areas constitute the central content: *school legislation and exercising public authority*, *management by goals and objectives*, and *school leadership*. In addition to learning this content, the principals are expected to develop critical thinking.

As extensive resources are invested in the Swedish National Principal Training Programme, and expectations of positive effects on student outcomes and school development are high, it is important to study its impact. Early evaluations have shown that the principals' training programme may have an impact on their leadership (Ekholm, 1981; Hultman, 1981; Pettigrew, Schmuck, & Vormeland, 1982), but less is known about its effects on local school organisations. This provided the motivation for this study, where we followed a group of principals during their 3 years of participation in the programme. The aim was to examine the programme's impacts on the principals' leadership and school organisations.

We did this by interviewing principals, teachers and students at four schools during the principals' participation in the programme. Giddens's theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984) was used as a theoretical framework to capture both the principals as individual agents and the school organisations. The latter were understood as structures constituted by both formal and informal rules and routines. The training programme was seen as an agent, with the purpose of affecting principals' leadership and school organisations. In our study, we emphasised the duality of structure and practice that Giddens (1984) refers to as the "duality of structure" (pp. 25–28):

> *In my usage, structure is what gives form and shape to social life, but it is not itself that form and shape – nor should "given" be understood in an active sense here, because structure only exists in and through the activities of human agents.* (Giddens, 1989, p. 246)

We focused on common meaning making – the so-called structuration process – in the participating schools. According to Giddens, human actions are based on different forms of consciousness: *Practical*

consciousness (Giddens, 1984, pp. 41–45) is expressed in action and is non-reflected silent knowledge, while *discursive consciousness* (Giddens, 1982, pp. 41–45) is expressed verbally. Our research questions were as follows:

1. How did the structuration processes emerge based on the principals', teachers' and students' discursive consciousness regarding the rules and routines that constituted the local schools?

2. Based on the principals', teachers' and students' discursive consciousness, what connections were found between the principals' participation in the programme and how they acted as leaders in the structuration processes in their local schools?

Research Review

Leadership has received extensive attention as an essential ingredient in efforts to improve schools, with a growing consensus that improving the training of principals is worthwhile (Grissom et al., 2021). Studies on leadership training and its effects have identified a number of general principles that may underpin effective leadership training programmes (Clarke & Dempster, 2020; Darling-Hammond, LaPoint, & Meyerson, 2007; Dempster, Lovette, & Fluckinger, 2011; Hallinger, 2018; Huber, 2013; Leithwood & Steinbach, 1992; Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008), including active participant-centred instruction, integrating theory and practice, work-based experiential learning, peer support, networking, and sensitivity to context. However, McCulla and Degenhardt (2016) stated that a focus on local context risks ignoring shared developments. If the training moves towards a focus on the uniqueness of the context of each principal, there is a risk of obscuring what is general in the principal's profession.

A number of studies have illustrated the difficulty of combining theoretical and practical knowledge, emphasising the problem of connecting knowledge from educational practice with experience from leadership practice (Clarke & Dempster, 2020; Forssten Seiser & Söderström, 2021; Grootenboer & Hardy, 2015). A study of learning among principals in the Swedish National Principal Training Programme showed processes of continuous learning stretching between the training programme and the workplace (Jerdborg, 2021). The study also showed how interrupted learning constrained or even hindered the link between learning from educational practice and experience from leadership practice, as this is a process that requires greater consciousness of the value of bridging learning between these two practices.

When a national training programme for principals was introduced in Sweden in the 1980s, it was accompanied by a comprehensive evaluation plan. According to the evaluations, the programme had impacts on principals' own leadership, but whether it had any impact on schools' capacity to improve was doubtful (Ekholm, 1981; Hultman, 1981; Pettigrew et al., 1982). In a literature review, Jensen (2016) examined what is known about school leadership training, noting that it is difficult to examine the importance of a principals' training programme. She established that we know a lot about how school leaders (and school leader educators) perceive the training but less about its impact on principals' leadership. This motivated this study of the Swedish programme's impact on principals' leadership and school organisations through exploration of principals', teachers' and students' discursive consciousness (Giddens, 1984).

Gidden's Theory of Structuration

Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration was used for the theoretical framing, enabling the identification and analysis of prominent changes in the schools during the study. The structuration process in relation to a school is the common creation of meaning whereby principals, teachers and students structure the social consciousness through their daily interactions. Giddens (1979, 1984) identified two different forms of consciousness that form the basis for human actions: *Practical consciousness* consists of non-reflected silent knowledge and is expressed in action, while *discursive consciousness* is expressed verbally

Structures are not fixed; rather, they are created and recreated in a process constantly influenced by agents. They are present as patterns that enable and limit agents' actions and create a sense of stability and security in everyday life (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). Structures are manifested in rules and routines that can be understood as invisible, underlying codes that arise in everyday interactions and are expressed in actions. They can be seen as a map by which agents orient themselves to create ontological security in a world that would otherwise seem chaotic. Rules and routines provide information about what can be expected of principals, teachers and students. Many of these rules and routines extend over time and form a school's culture. At the same time, rules and routines are constantly reinterpreted.

When structures are routinised and stretch over time and space, they form social systems (Giddens 1979, 1984; Giddens & Pierson, 1998). Institutions such as schools are social systems that are deeply rooted in time and space, harbouring relatively standardised ways of expression (Giddens, 1979). They involve a duality of structure, as school structures are means of actions, while, at the same time, the actions constitute the structures. For our study, this meant that when

the principals, teachers and students acted, they reproduced the structures that formed the schools, but, at the same time, their actions shaped the structures. In this way, there was constant stabilisation and change in the schools through continuous structuration processes.

Resources are assets that agents mobilise to make things happen. Giddens's (1984) concept of resources is about power and positions of power. Access to and opportunities to use resources are of crucial importance for agents' ability to influence practice. The position of a principal has more power than the positions of teachers and students, and this power brings greater obligations. However, agents in a subordinate position also have the possibility of influencing by exercising resistance. This dialectic of control reveals the reciprocal distribution of power. Thus, even if the formal relationship between principals, teachers and students is clear, this does not mean that the principals' dominance is given. The principals' authority is challenged when teachers and students offer resistance.
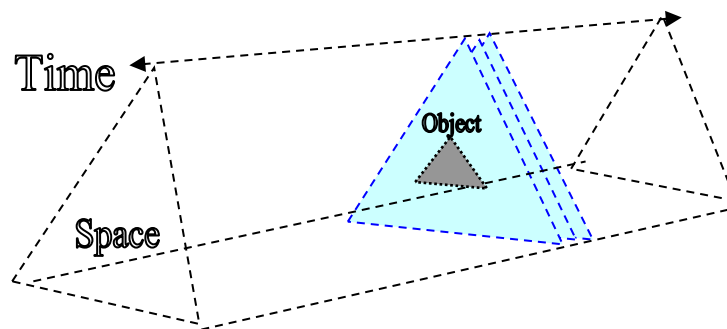
Figure 1. *Illustration of the study's theoretical starting point*

Our study took place throughout the 3 years during which the principals participated in the principals' training programme. It began

in the smallest, dark grey triangle, with an analysis of the principals', teachers' and students' views of their local school's organisation and the changes they experienced over the 3 years. Extending the analysis outwards to the blue triangles, the principals', teachers' and students' views of their local school and its changes were then analysed in relation to the principals' views of the training programme's form and content.

The outer elongated transparent prism (the Toblerone figure) is an illustration of the school as a system. Here we find the structure – the more difficult-to-influence rules and routines – that constituted the school as a phenomenon in a social context. In this article, we examined how the four local schools, their principals and the Swedish National Principal Training Programme interacted as aspects of a complex reality that we sought to understand.

Method

This article is based on semi-structured interviews (Yin, 2013) conducted with principals, teachers and students at four Swedish schools. The study began in autumn 2017 and lasted for 3 years. It was conducted in three steps.

1. During the first semester of the principals' training programme: individual interviews with the principals and group interviews with teachers and students in the principals' schools;

2. During the fourth semester of the principals' training programme: follow-up individual interviews with the principals;

3. After completing the principals' training programme: individual interviews with the principals and group interviews with teachers and students in the principals' schools.

Table 1. Schools and interviewees

Schools	School Leaders	Teachers		Students	
		2017	2020	2017	2020
Adult Education (Small Town)	1 principal	5	5	3	5
Upper Secondary School (City)	1 principal	6	8	6	3
Primary School: Preschool – Year 6 (Rural)	1 principal	4	6	4	5
Three Primary Schools: Preschool – Year 3 (Small Town and Rural)	1 assistant principal	8	5	18	4
Number	4	47		48	

A total of 47 teachers and 48 students were interviewed in the four schools. Apart from the principals and some of the teachers, the respondents were not the same in 2017 and 2020. Based on our instructions, the principals organised the group interviews. To be able to capture the school culture – in the form of the rules and routines that have developed over time – we asked for a group of teachers who had

worked for a long time at the school. We also asked for a group of newly employed teachers, as newly employed teachers still have the ability to see the culture from an outside perspective.

In the interviews, our intention was to capture the principals', teachers' and students' discursive consciousness regarding their own school's structure (organisation) and changes over the 3 years during which the principals participated in the training programme. They were encouraged to talk about their school, and all interviews were recorded.

Everyone in the interviews participated of their own free will. The principals were instructed to inform the teachers and adult students about the purpose of the study and the voluntary nature of participation. Regarding the younger students, their parents were provided written information about the purpose of the study and the ethical guidelines. We began each interview by describing the ethical guidelines and gave the respondents the opportunity to cancel their participation. There was a risk that we would receive an overly positive image of the schools due to the fact that it was the principals who organised the students and teachers. This was mainly a result of the teachers' work situation and the availability of students at the interview times. There were both positive and critical voices represented in the interviews.

Principals

Principals in two training groups were invited to participate, and seven principals registered their interest. In this article, we focused on the four principals who did not change their workplace throughout the training. Three of the participants had assignments as principals and

one as an assistant principal. They represented both urban and rural schools as well as state and private schools. The principals also represented different parts of the school system (preschool, primary school, high school and adult education). Each principal was interviewed three times for approximately 90 minutes. Both researchers participated in the individual interviews with the principals: one conducted the interviews, while the other listened and raised additional questions when something was perceived as unclear.

In the first interviews, the principals were asked to describe their school and their work. The questions were asked openly, so the principals could choose their focus. The questions in the second round of interviews with the principals were based on their first interviews. The focus was on what changes had (or had not) taken place since the first interviews. Questions were once again raised about the form and content of the training programme and how the principals found the connection (or lack of connection) between the programme and their daily life as a school leader. In the third interviews with the principals, we returned to the two previous interviews and the principals' individual descriptions of their school and their identified changes, as well as how they assessed the form and content of the principals' training programme and its potential effects on their school's organisation and their leadership.

Teachers and students

The interviews with teachers and students were conducted as semi-structured interviews (Yin, 2013). There were separate focus groups for a) students, b) newly employed teachers, c) experienced teachers and d) teachers with some form of extended pedagogical leadership. The

interviews lasted for approximately 1 hour and had the same intention as the interviews with the principals: getting teachers and students to share their discursive consciousness of their school's organisation and changes over time. In the second interviews, content and statements from the first interviews were followed up.

Analyses

Each interview was transcribed. Some parts were printed verbatim, and others were summarised. Data from each school were compiled into a comprehensive case description of between 50 and 80 pages. The analysis took its theoretical point of departure from our interpretation of Giddens's (1984) structuration theory and the concepts of rules and routines. To make the coding sharper, the researchers individually coded the data and then compared their coding. The purpose of the analysis process was to capture both the possibilities and boundaries to be found in the structuration processes.

- o In the first interviews, the following questions guided the analysis process: Which rules and routines, formal and informal, were referred to in the interviews as affecting the structures of the local schools? What changes could be seen during the 3 years?

- o In the second and third interviews, the following questions guided the analysis process: What reproductions and changes in the local schools' structuration processes were referred to in the interviews? Were any of these mentioned in connection to the content of the principals' training program?

In the final step of the analysis process, thick descriptions (Yin, 2013) were constructed in the form of four cases.

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Findings

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The schools' structuration processes

The aim of this study was to examine the training programme's impact on the principals' leadership and their schools' organisations. The first step in this exploration was to analyse how the schools' structuration processes and the principals' leadership emerged regarding the rules and routines that constituted the local school organisations.

In the following narratives, we report on structures that created a sense of stability and security in the participating schools. These structures were often in the form of underlying codes or formal rules through which school leaders, teachers and students oriented themselves in their schools' daily life. Many of these had developed over time and constituted the foundation of the current school organisations, but, at the same time, they were constantly challenged and reinterpreted in the organisations (see Figure 1). Quotations from the interviews have been added to strengthen the validity of the narratives. Each quotation is followed by a parenthesis that notes the respondent and the interview round.

North School: A stable structuration process that is being challenged

North School is a small, private rural school that emerged as the heart of the village where it is located. Traditional rules and routines constituted an extensive school culture that affected life both in the school and in the community. The social patterns that appeared in the respondents' descriptions of the community reappeared in their descriptions of the school: "The school is run as a family business. Everyone helps everyone" (Experienced Teacher, 3). In both the community and the school, there were expectations that everyone

should contribute to the system regardless of their position. There was an informal but well-known rule to voluntarily offer help if someone was absent from school. This had led to the principal cooking school lunch and the assistant principal driving "the bus if needed. I teach classes, and I teach special education… it's easier to describe what I don't do" (Assistant Principal, 3). The rule to step in when a colleague was absent was stressful, according to some of the newly employed teachers.

As the school principal, Susanne was an agent with greater power than others. Through her actions, she reinforced different norms. Susanne was a team player who advocated distributed power and leadership. Along with a straightforward communication system, this had contributed to a pleasant climate and relational trust among her colleagues. But there was a tension between the democratic leadership and the teachers' workload. The expectation to be involved in all decisions was perceived by some as exhausting: "We are supposed to think about everything: sometimes to exaggeration!" (Experienced Teacher, 3). In contrast to the teachers, the students were not engaged in the same way. School rules were familiar, but the students did not know who decided them or why they were formulated as they were. One student, who was describing how she used to be teased and bullied, was interrupted by an older student who appeared eager to provide a positive image of the school:

> *We are few students, which makes it easy to know everyone, and there are rules that everyone knows and make us feel safe. I have never been bullied – do not think it ever existed, at least not for several years.* (Student Year 6, 3)

The prominent pattern in this structuration process was that this was a school that had been formed over time by teachers, parents and others in the community. This had resulted in strong rules and routines, forming a friendly and informal school culture. Newly employed non-resident teachers were in some parts challenging this. Susanne's way of acting as a principal contributed to stabilisation and reproduction, but she was also challenging the structuration process by trying to formalise certain informal rules and routines.

South School: A structuration process characterised by progression

South School is a fairly young and relatively small private vocational upper secondary school located in a large city. Earlier, the school had staff turnover problems, but this had changed, and the explanation seemed to be Tim, the new principal. According to staff and students, a stimulating community and a friendly school culture had developed under his leadership. They claimed that the school no longer had a bad reputation.

The overall aim at South School was to make students employable. A majority of the students chose this school due to the fact that half of the education was executed in the workplace: "You go to this school because you want to work with your hands, not to study" (Experienced Teacher, 3). Our first interviews showed that the introductory programme was the school's largest programme. This programme was for students who had not yet achieved minimum pass grades. The students were described as resource-intensive and with low motivation, and in the teacher interviews, it became clear that some "want more high-performing students" (Experienced Teacher, 1). During the study, more study-motivated students applied to the school, and by the second round of interviews, the introductory

programme was no longer the largest. However, the principal was uncertain whether this was a positive change:

> *We wish for study-motivated students because it is difficult to work with students who do not know what they want. But the question is whether this is good, as I am not so sure that we are as skilled at teaching these students as we are with the ones with low motivation.* (Tim, 2)

A pattern in the school's structuration process was a change towards order and control. Introductory "having-fun-together days" were replaced by introductory days with a focus on preparing students for their upcoming education. Moreover, cameras were installed to reduce conflicts during breaks, and home classrooms were organised to increase teachers' control. A rule that mentors should check on all absent students as early as the first day was implemented, which was appreciated by the students: "If we are ill, they call and ask how we are, or if we have not reported absence, they call and check what happened. They provide a safe space, and you can go to the mentor if something happens" (Student, 3).

Tim appeared as an organiser and a strategist. Everyone spoke well of him, and he was a much-appreciated leader. "Tim has a black belt in leading school activities" (Experienced Teacher, 3). "This is my sixth or seventh principal, and there is no better in the school world" (Experienced Teacher, 3). Even if Tim emerged as a solitary leader, his leadership was based on the democratic idea of including everyone in the school's decision-making system. Co-influence and short decision-making processes were stressed by both students and staff.

The prominent pattern in this structuration process was that many improvements had taken place in a short amount of time, and the

principal's leadership emerged as the most salient explanation. As a solitary principal, Tim had managed to change a school that was characterised by high staff turnover and a bad reputation into a school that was appreciated by both teachers and students.

West School: A structuration process characterised by a struggle for cohesion

When Jane started as principal of Municipal Adult Education at West School, the school had just undergone a reorganisation. Three formal separate units that constituted the municipality's education for adults were united into one common unit. Historically, the units had their own rules and routines and different assignments. In addition, they were locally spread across the municipality.

Our first interviews showed that communication and decision-making within the organisation often took place in informal channels, creating a lack of trust between the principal and the teachers. The teachers in one of the units traditionally had the power to decide themselves how to conduct their work. These teachers described Jane as an absent principal, which could be explained by the fact that her office was located in one of the other units. There was an ongoing conflict between Jane and the teachers concerning the right to discharge students who did not fulfil the requirements. Teachers saw this conflict as a matter of trust, while Jane saw it as a matter of students' legal rights. "But the principal is new and wants to make decisions to ensure that she does not break any formal rules" (Experienced Teacher, 1). By the second interviews, these dilemmas seemed to have diminished, as Jane now had an office at this unit and worked there 2 days a week.

In the third interview, the teachers appeared to be more positive towards the new organisation and the principal. One explanation was that Jane had used her power to dismiss some of the teachers: "In the

past, there were people who hung on the emergency brake all the time. They are no longer here now; it is progressing steadily instead" (Jane, 2).

By the second interviews, Jane had organised all the teachers into *learning groups* with the aim of developing the teachers' teaching. She explained that the work in the learning groups should be based on a student survey, and she described how the teachers were free to choose which themes from the survey they wanted to discuss. Some teachers found the work in the groups "a bit unclear . . . we have different understandings . . . and cannot see the connection between developing our work and sitting in learning groups, listening to each other's experiences" (Experienced Teacher, 3). There was also resistance to the learning groups, and according to Jane, there had been a need for change: "It was difficult to see any results and what they learned" (Jane, 3). Here, Jane was referring to two of the groups, seeing this as an argument for limiting the freedom of the learning groups. As a result, Jane decided that all the groups should instead focus on student assessment and produce matrices related to this theme. Some of the teachers expressed dissatisfaction with this approach: "We are not talking about teaching; we are talking about assessment" (New Teacher, 3).

The prominent pattern in this structuration process was a struggle for cohesion in response to the creation of new rules and routines for collaboration and communication within Municipal Adult Education. Three units had become one but not without conflicts. The principal's role was to lead this process, and the main resource that Jane had at her disposal was the position of power entailed by being a principal.

East School District: Leading a structuration process without formal power

Paul worked as an assistant principal at East School District, an elementary school district in a medium-sized Swedish municipality. East School District had a new organisation, and Paul was responsible for the primary grades (1–3) in three schools: Central School, Village School and Suburban School.

Paul started as an assistant principal right after a reorganisation that primarily affected Central School, as the previous teacher teams, which had worked together for a long time and had strong structural working patterns, were split up. "Each old team had its own way of looking at things… everyone wants to change, but not everyone is prepared" (Experienced Teacher, Central School, 1). The reorganisation led to a great deal of insecurity among teachers, students and parents. Old conflicts between the teacher teams in the former organisation became a dilemma: "There were anxieties when the new teams were formed; at the old school, we worked very differently in the two teams" (Experienced Teacher, 1).

The fact that Paul's office was located at Central School was problematic for the teachers at both Village School and Suburban School: "Now it feels like they [the school leaders] are over there, and we are here, taking care of ourselves because we have to" (Experienced Teacher, Village School, 1). In particular, it was bad because "it takes longer to be notified" (New Teacher, Suburban School, 1). The individual meetings each semester appeared to be important, "as there seems to be a great need for individual meetings that otherwise rarely occur" (Paul, 2); however, with about 60 teachers, these meetings were very time-consuming.

The reorganisation also entailed changes in the school leader team. The principal with the formal power at East School District had chosen to take pedagogical responsibility. This made the assistant principals

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more of administrators with limited power. The latter was not clear to everyone, as the assistant principals were the ones primarily in contact with teachers, students and parents. Regardless of some frustrations, Paul appreciated working under the guidance of an experienced principal.

As a consequence of the physical distance from the school leaders, the *teacher team leaders* had been given more responsibility and served as a link between the school leaders and the teachers. "So questions that you previously went to the principal with… they bring to me now" (Team Leader, Central School, 1). Paul met *his* team leaders once a month in what he described as information meetings. The principal also met all the team leaders regularly, which they described as information meetings.

The prominent pattern in this structuration process involved ambiguity and uncertainty due to the extensive reorganisation and the struggle to create new rules and routines for promoting collaboration throughout the new organisation and within the new team of school leaders. Paul emerged as an important agent, but he had a high workload and was uncertain about what power he had as an assistant principal.

Connection between the training programme, the principals' leadership and their school organisations

In the previous section, the participating schools' organisations were identified based on their structuration processes, stretching over time and space (Figure 1). In the second step, we examined the training programme's impact on the principals' leadership and school organisations to address the second research question: Based on the principals', teachers' and students' discursive consciousness, what

connections were found between the principals' participation in the
programme and how they acted as leaders in the structuration
processes in their local schools? In the cases above, the structuration
processes in the participating schools emerged as clearly dissimilar.
This showed that the training programme's impact on the principals'
leadership and local school organisations varied. In this section, these
variations are reported along with the identified similarities.

The results showed that the programme had the most impact on North
School, both on the principal's (Susanne's) leadership and on the
school's daily life. One explanation could be that this was a very small
organisation where changes were easily noticeable. Initially, Susanne
emphasised school legislation and exercising public authority. This
programme area had provided her with information about what was
legally regulated and clarified her responsibility as a principal. It made
her realise that much needed to be done to meet the formal demands.
This area was the focus of the first year of the programme. In the
second year, the focus changed to management by goals and
objectives. During the following two years in which we followed
Susanne, this emerged as the area with most effect. Entering the second
year of the programme, she discovered that this area was non-existent
in her school. The teachers confirmed that this was the area that
underwent most changes during Susanne's time in the programme.
They described how Susanne created rules and routines for
communication and decision-making, challenging the school's
informal organisation. Clarifying teachers' obligations was necessary
to retain new teachers, as the frustrations that were brought forth were
primarily based on uncertainty regarding what was included in
teachers' responsibilities: "There is no clarity here; everyone does
everything. Before, in my previous school, I had one extra assignment,

but now I do everything" (New Teacher, 1). The dissatisfaction was sometimes so great that some of the new teachers chose to leave the school. At the same time, students from the village and teachers who been at the school for a long time appeared keen to maintain the school's good reputation. Susanne emerged as an important part of the structuration process, using the training programme as an argument for challenging rules and routines in an informal school culture. According to Susanne herself, the programme had contributed to a better awareness of her formal role as a principal, including her regulated responsibilities, and she had received support in developing management by goals and objectives.

The training programme seemed to have had little impact on the principal's (Tim's) leadership in South School, even though this was also a small school. Unlike North School, South School was a young organisation with a bad reputation. Tim appeared as a strong and charismatic leader with a strong conviction of how a school should function and be led. Despite our difficulties in identifying any traces of the programme's impact, Tim found that the programme had contributed to him becoming more analytical, resulting in him "systematically following up different actions and trusting the process" (Tim, 3). He also expressed how the programme had confirmed that his way of understanding and conducting school leadership was consistent with research. The programme solidified his way of leading rather than changing it. One possible connection between Tim's leading actions and the programme was his introduction of a specific conversation model addressing specific teaching dilemmas. This was the same conversation model that was used in the programme for addressing specific leading dilemmas;

therefore, it was reasonable to believe that Tim had taken inspiration from the programme.

The structuration process in West School was dominated by a struggle for cohesion between the units within the Municipal Adult Education organisation. This struggle created collaboration problems and a lack of trust between the principal (Jane) and the teachers. In the first round of interviews, there were ongoing conflicts between some of the teachers and Jane. By the end of this process, this had changed, mostly because Jane had used her power to dismiss teachers who did not follow the new rules implemented. In the second round of interviews, Jane described how she had organised all the teachers into *learning groups*, with the aim of improving teaching by enhancing communication between the school's different units. As the principals' training programme was organised in learning groups, Jane had experienced working in such a group. According to Jane, this experience had contributed to an awareness that principals need to have knowledge of group processes: "And I may not have thought of that before – the group processes" (Jane, 3). She claimed that the programme had made her more aware of how a group bonds – and how a common enemy can strengthen a group's cohesion: "And that's probably what happened with my teachers" (Jane, 3). However, an important distinction was that in the training programme, learning groups were given a great deal of freedom. Therefore, by imposing restrictions on this freedom, Jane chose a different way of leading, appointing group leaders to ensure that the *right* content (i.e., content that Jane had chosen) was addressed. According to Jane, the training programme had provided her with confirmation, so "I feel more secure in what I say and do" (Jane, 3), indicating that she had been influenced by parts of the programme.

The principals' training programme primarily focuses on the functions of principals and seldom meets the conditions faced by assistant principals. Despite this, Paul, as one of three assistant principals at East School District, found that the programme had enriched him by providing him with new insights. The programme had given him security and a feeling of not being "alone in the ocean; the world is shrinking. This is how it is to be a school leader in Sweden today" (Paul, 3). Perhaps the sense of belonging to a professional community made it easier for him to handle his high workload. Paul appreciated the assignment in the training programme where they visited a colleague for a day of peer shadowing and supervision. He used a modified version of this in his organisation, calling upon the teachers to visit and supervise one another. According to the teachers, these visits seldom lived up to their intention of improving teaching through supervision, and Paul did not appear to have used his own positive experiences from the programme to improve this assignment at East School District.

In summary, we note that there were essentially two areas of the programme that had direct impacts on how the principals conducted their school leadership: *school legislation and exercising public authority* and *management by goals and objectives*. The first area offers a schematic picture of what a principal can, may and must do. This area provided a resource for handling conflicts, as at West School, where Jane referred to educational law when she was arguing why it was not up to teachers to decide which students should be discharged from education. However, a principal's assignment cannot be fully captured by legislation. Indeed, the second area, management by goals and objectives, often had a stronger impact on how the principals acted in their schools, as in Susanne's structuration process at North School.

The position of school leader emerged as important in this study. For example, at both East School and West School, extensive reorganisations had shaken previously stable, but not always conflict-free, organisations. These had resulted in the initiation of new improvement processes. The fact that Jane was a principal and Paul an assistant principal played an important role in their ability to establish new rules and routines. Paul's position limited his room for manoeuvre and created a lack of clarity in decision-making, as he was the one who worked closest to the teachers, yet he was more of an administrator than a school leader.

Discussion

At first glance, while differences appeared when the four cases were compared in line with Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, the results also showed similarities based on how the principals' leadership very often involved creating sustainable rules and routines in school organisations. It was interesting that none of the participating principals stated that these processes required a lot of time and effort. In fact, there was no indication that the principals even were aware of these ongoing structuration processes, nor did they seem aware of their function of leading them. It can be assumed that this is a pattern that is distinctive for inexperienced principals. We think that an awareness of these processes could enhance leadership and improvements in local schools; therefore, we promote the structuration process as an overarching concept for use in a principals' training programme, referring to principals leading the process of meaning making, including everyone in their daily interactions at the local school. This could for example be in the shape of involving students in creating and recreating rules, facilitating collaboration between

teachers, encouraging shared responsibility or, in other words, practicing a democratic leadership.

The third year in the Swedish training programme focuses on *school leadership*. It emerged that this area was mostly perceived in terms of confirming the principals' existing beliefs. This finding was unexpected and to some extent problematic, as throughout the training programme, the principals are supposed to "develop the ability to critically review their own practice and formulate strategies for development and change based on this analysis" (Skolverket, 2015, p. 2). In this study, we identified some minor actions that could be traced to the school leadership area of the programme. However, it is important to note that when the principals were forced to deal with problems that occurred, they did not use their experiences from the training programme. One such example is how Jane described how she appreciated the trust that she and her colleagues felt while attending the training program, being indorsed to make choices concerning content and/or assignment based on what was essential for their learning group (for more information about the principal experiences and the program's design see Forssten Seiser & Söderström, 2021). Jane emphasised that this was a way of organising collegial learning in a way that strengthens both individual and collective understanding as it supports participants to be engaged in themes that are important to them in their professional practice. This was not the approach she used as a principal. Instead she ended up limiting the teacher's freedom by deciding that every learning group should be focusing on student assessment and produce matrices. This highlighted how difficult it is to transfer experiences from a training programme to principals' leadership in local schools (Jerdborg, 2021), underlining that the training programme needs to consciously facilitate this kind of transfer

in a structured way to achieve impact on principals' leadership and schools' structuration processes. We also note that it is a challenge to design a principal training program that fulfil the government's ambitions such as realizing the goal that all students have access to schools of equal quality regardless of context and situations.

Another aspect that we wish to emphasise is that none of the participating principals expressed what kind of power and responsibility system they wanted to develop, by which we mean how the power to make decisions as well as the responsibility to execute them is distributed at the local school. It was only the principal of South School who was consciously striving for a more democratic system. This indicated that the programme may be missing something significant when it comes to reflection, awareness and responsibility regarding the development of democratic systems. Therefore, we emphasise that the training programme needs to focus more on the development of critical thinking for formulating strategies for development and change. Consequently, we promote principal training programs, regardless of national context, that foregrounds specific content and assessments that enhance democratic leadership with a focus on principals' responsibility for developing an organisation that ensures an equal education consistent with the prevailing legislation. In other words, a school leadership training programme needs to educate and train principals to lead structuration processes that create a stimulating and secure learning environment for all students.

The training programme is for the most part designed to suit everyone, regardless of the local school context. This can be seen as a problem that causes a lack of relevance which for example emerged in the interviews with Jane, who wished for content more relevant to adult

education, and in the interviews with Susanne who expressed that it felt a bit strange, running a small private school where the general content was difficult to apply every now and then. From another angle, it can be seen as a necessary prerequisite in a school system where mobility among principals is very high (Thelin, 2020). Overall, we agree with McCulla and Degenhardt (2016) that a large focus on a school's uniqueness jeopardises the general aspects of a principal's assignment.

Concluding Remarks

The question of how principals should be educated has become a central concern globally (Jerdborg, 2022), and that education should reflect the social and cultural contexts. This study has, in the light of Giddens's (1984) structuration theory, contributed through its discussion of the Swedish National Principal Training Programme's impact on the participating principals' leadership and school organisations. The findings provided a deeper understanding of the width and depth of the structuration processes in the schools and how the local schools' diversity shaped the assignment of leading this process. The study revealed how the principals in their daily work were facing different significant challenges as a consequence of their dissimilar contexts.

The Swedish National Principal Training Programme is perceived as essential for inexperienced school leaders, but the fact that the programme is divided into three main areas of content risks giving the impression that leadership is *one* part of a principal's assignment rather than constituting the *entire* assignment. Questions arise regarding what should constitute the foreground and background of a training programme and how the general versus unique aspects of principals'

assignments should be highlighted. School leadership training needs to involve both vital content and the development of certain skills. It is not a question of one or the other but rather of both.

There is a need for further research on the relationship between school leadership education and principals' leading, as well as on local school structuration processes. The researchers advocate studies involving students and focusing on students' learning connected to the resources invested in school leadership and school leadership training. A limitation of this study is that no observations were conducted, with the empirical data solely consisting of the principals', teachers' and students' statements. To more fully comprehend the impact of the principals' training programme on the participating principals' leadership and schools, observations could have been included in the empirical data. Thus, the researchers advocate further research involving observations. A further limitation of the study is that the full potential of Giddens's structuration theory was not utilized, as the results were not placed in a larger social and cultural context. Such a contribution would deserve a full study of its own.

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About the authors:

Anette Forssten Seiser is a lecturer in educational work. Her research is within the school leadership and school development fields. She conducts research both on local schools and on governments projects, often studying the role and function of school leaders in different didactic research initiatives.

E-mail: anette.seiser@kau.se

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization; ideas, formulation or evolution of overarching research goals and aims. Funding acquisition; Acquisition of the financial support for the project leading to this publication. Investigation; Conducting a research and investigation process, specially performing the experiments, or data/evidence collection. Methodology; development or design of methodology, creation of models. Visualization; Preparation, creation and/or presentation of the published work, specifically visualization/data presentation. Writing – original draft; Preparation, creation and/or

presentation of the published work, specifically writing the initial draft (including substantive translation).

Åsa Söderström is a lecturer in education. Her research topics are school improvement, school leadership and organization development. She has also been engaged in exploring an ethical perspective in school leading.

E-mail: asa.soderstrom@kau.se

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization; ideas, formulation or evolution of overarching research goals and aims. Investigation; Conducting a research and investigation process, specially performing the experiments, or data/evidence collection. Methodology; development or design of methodology, creation of models. Visualization; Preparation, creation and/or presentation of the published work, specifically visualization/data presentation. Writing – original draft; Preparation, creation and/or presentation of the published work, specifically writing the initial draft (including substantive translation).

"Underprepared" Principals Leading Curriculum Reform in Lesotho

Moeketsi D. Ralebese (iD)

University of Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Loyiso C. Jita (iD)

University of Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Godsend T. Chimbi* (iD)

University of Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

Abstract	Article Info
This qualitative study explored the views of six Lesotho primary school principals regarding the in-service training they received to implement the integrated curriculum. Purposive sampling was used to select participants who met the inclusion criteria in Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho. A document analysis of the integrated curriculum was conducted, and open-ended interviews were conducted with participants and audio-taped, coded, and analysed using the thematic interpretive approach. Findings showed that the participants were partially trained to lead the implementation of the new integrated curriculum. The participants reported that their training was shorter compared to that of the teachers. Furthermore, teachers were trained before the principals, compelling the principals to rely on the teachers for implementation information and strategies. The unique finding emerging from the study is that principals in Lesotho had to learn the dynamics of implementing the new integrated curriculum from the teachers they were supervising. We	

*Corresponding author
E-mail: chimbiGT@ufs.ac.za

conclude that having insufficient knowledge about curriculum reform disempowers school principals and holds potential threats to the implementation of new curriculum initiatives, not only in Lesotho but in many other centralised education systems. We recommend that policy reformers and curriculum supervisory authorities should adopt a renewed approach to empower principals with appropriate curriculum reform leadership skills.

Introduction

Globally, many countries implement curriculum reforms as a way of reinvigorating their education systems. Concepts such as learner-centredness and integration are regarded as policy imperatives that necessitate reforms (McPhail, 2017). However, the management of change by the stakeholders does not always yield the envisaged changes at the school level (Schechter, Shaked, Ganon-Shilon & Goldratt, 2018). Some scholars have referred to this phenomenon as the "policy-practice gap" (Akkari, Lauwerier & Shafei, 2012; Apple, 2018). In other words, policy aims to influence practice, but in most cases, practice has an even greater effect on policy (Cohen, 1990). Or, in the worst-case scenario, there is no harmonisation between what reform policy says and what principals and teachers practise in schools – policy may face east, while practice faces west.

In the Maldives, Shafeeu (2019) established that after introducing a new 60 percent policy in the school system, the Ministry of Education (MOE) proclaimed that school principals in the Maldives had to act as instructional leaders. To ease implementation, the MOE devised an action plan to make instructional leadership a key role for principals. Principals were subsequently required to support the instructional activities in their schools, with the ministry setting targets for each school.

A study by Alsaleh (2018) showed that, after initiating curriculum reform, the MOE in Kuwait undertook the initiative to develop and prepare the school principals for their new instructional leadership role. Following this training, the MOE developed guidelines with clear expectations for the principals to engage in instructional leadership. Consequently, the job descriptions and responsibilities of the principals were updated.

Singapore boasts one of the best education systems in the world (Ng, Nguyen, Wong & Choy, 2015). This is attributable to two main factors. Firstly, there is close cooperation between policymakers, researchers and educators. Secondly, there is selection, training and development of a high-quality teaching force. As a result, there is a strong alignment between policies and their implementation. All major stakeholders (teachers, principals, the MOE) pay close attention to the details of implementation. This, according to Ng et al. (2015), reduces the implementation gap in the Singaporean education system.

The Abu Dhabi policymakers supported the desire for curriculum change by embarking on strong professional development for principals and teachers to build capacity within the schools (Hourani & Stringer, 2016). In this regard, the principals' professional

development was considered a crucial factor in improving their capacity to lead and implement the envisaged changes in the schools.

These mandated educational reforms come laden with new ideas that often challenge the status quo in schools (Ganon-Shilon & Schechter, 2018; Omar, 2014). The principal's position in the school puts them at the forefront of these changes, making them walk the tightrope to meet the internal and external demands exerted on schools (Ganon-Shilon, Tamir & Schechter, 2020).

In efforts to revitalise the implementers, education officials prescribe professional development for teachers and principals (Johns & Sosibo, 2019). These professional development activities come in the form of in-service training workshops. The workshops aim to impart new knowledge and re-skill the implementers to improve teaching and learning (Murphy, Smith, Mallon & Redman, 2020), which would ultimately improve the economic prospects of the country.

Lesotho's education system has been criticised for being irrelevant in addressing the needs of the citizens (Raselimo & Mahao, 2015). Several attempts have been made previously to address these shortcomings through curriculum reforms, although these initiatives have had little success (Raselimo & Mahao, 2015). In 2009, Lesotho developed the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAP), which culminated in the implementation of the new integrated curriculum in all primary schools in 2013 (Lesotho. Ministry of Education and Training [MoET], 2009). With the CAP, Lesotho has made an explicit proclamation that it seeks to address the socio-economic challenges that the country faces. Such challenges include poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and an irrelevant curriculum (Lesotho. MoET, 2009). Therefore, the CAP aims to equip learners with skills, attitudes and competencies to meet daily life challenges both locally and globally. To achieve these

goals, the CAP advocates for the adoption of learner-centred and integrated methodologies in the classroom. Specifically, learners are supposed to construct their own knowledge, whereas teachers must facilitate learning. Apart from that, the teaching-learning process should incorporate the daily life experiences of the learner (Lesotho. MoET, 2009).

The radical changes envisaged by the CAP challenge the status quo by assigning new roles to teachers and principals in schools. For instance, education in Lesotho is said to be highly teacher-centred (Nketekete & Motebang, 2008). It was therefore necessary for the MoET to re-skill the core curriculum implementers to realise learner-centred teaching and learning. The MoET opted to phase in the integrated curriculum in schools, starting with Grades 1, 2 and 3 in 2013. The MoET then embarked on a country-wide in-service training of implementers in two phases. First, the teachers attended a week-long in-service training to prepare them for implementation. After this training, the teachers went back to schools to implement the integrated curriculum. After the teacher in-service training, principals later received in-service training on the implementation of the new integrated curriculum. This study therefore seeks to interrogate principals on their views on the in-service training they received and their roles as implementation leaders of the integrated curriculum in Lesotho primary schools.

Literature Review

A corpus of literature on reform implementation has provided empirical evidence that principals have a decisive impact on curriculum reforms (Coburn, Hill & Spillane, 2016; Gawlik, 2015; Shaked, 2019; Spillane & Kenney, 2012). As key role players in reform implementation, principals turn policymakers' visions into reality

(Levin & Datnow, 2012). This also means that the effectiveness of reform implementation to a large extent depends on principals' interpretation and understanding of that reform policy and envisaged implementation strategies (Coburn, 2016; Herold, 2020). Contemporary literature has also provided persuasive evidence that principals have an impact on school effectiveness (Shafeeu, 2019). However, many principals have confessed that they are not skilled enough to lead their schools, let alone curriculum reforms (Mestry, 2017).

In some countries, reform rollouts failed to achieve the desired outcomes because the principals and other stakeholders were inadequately prepared for the changes. For instance, in 1999, Thailand passed a reform law (Hallinger & Lee, 2013). This reform required more instructional leadership from the principals. However, the reform was rolled out without training or preparing the Thai principals to be effective instructional leaders (Hallinger & Lee, 2013, 2014). As a result, the expected changes were only superficial after almost a decade since the act was passed. Similarly, in Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, reforms are generally "top-down", with little teacher input, and changes are frequently only cosmetic (Hallinger, 2010). The top-down approach to curriculum dissemination in Zimbabwe, which excluded teacher consultations and participation, resulted in poor implementation of the Social Studies Curriculum Reform (Chimbunde & Kgari-Masondo, 2020).

In the case of Lesotho, the rollout of the O level localisation reform was inhibited by the two implementing agents – the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) and the Examination Council of Lesotho (ECoL). These two bodies did not reach a consensus regarding the localisation of the curriculum and assessment (Raselimo & Mahao,

2015). The intention of this reform was to shift the curriculum and its assessment from the administration of Cambridge University in the United Kingdom to the local Lesotho context due to inefficiencies noted. Ultimately, implementation was left hanging until 12 years later when the two bodies established a common ground.

Schools can only be effective when professional development efforts for the principals and teachers are deliberate (Bush, 2020). During curriculum reforms, principals deal with changes on an unprecedented scale. As a result, the role of a principal is characterised by ambiguity and complexity (Shava & Tlou, 2018). However, as leaders, principals act as agents of change who facilitate reform in teaching and learning (Alsharija & Watters, 2020; Ganon-Shilon & Schechter, 2019). Therefore, they need to be equipped, through in-service training, with relevant leadership knowledge and skills to meet the needs of teachers and students (Gumus & Bellibas, 2020). For instance, several countries pair curriculum reforms with specific efforts to prepare and develop school leaders (Alsaleh, 2018; Shafeeu, 2019). However, school leadership has not been prioritised during reform implementation in other countries, especially in the developing world (Pont, 2020). For example, in countries such as Lesotho, there are no strategic policy initiatives to prepare and develop principals to lead their schools even when implementing curriculum reforms (Moorosi & Komiti, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored in Human Capital Theory (HCT) espoused by Schultz (1993). The theory assumes that knowledge and skills are a form of human capital and that investing in human capital would, ultimately, lead to economic growth. In broad terms, human capital

refers to the knowledge, skills, abilities, talents and experiences possessed by people individually and collectively in an organisation. These resources can be channelled to achieve organisational growth. Human capital is therefore important for organisational success. Schultz (1993) proposed that education or training represents an investment in human capital – which is an investment in human resources. The assumption, therefore, is that investment in the education of individuals yields economic returns in due course (Gillies, 2011).

Human capital investment is any activity that improves the quality and productivity of the worker. In this regard, training increases the productivity of employees by imparting knowledge and skills. HCT focuses on two main components – individuals and organizational performance (Gillies, 2011). Therefore, training is an important component of human capital investment, because it improves an individual's capabilities to perform activities of economic value.

HCT was deemed appropriate as the illuminating lens for this study because it offers a way to explain how education systems empower their principals through in-service training, hence improving their productivity and performance (Maran, Arokiasamy & Ismail, 2009). The theory also aligns or links in-service training of principals to economic development. In the context of Lesotho, HCT is directly linked to and underpins policies such as the CAP and Poverty Reduction Strategy of 2008 (Government of Lesotho, 2007). These policies seek to harness education to maximise return on investment and improve the livelihoods of the general populace.

Problem Statement

Since the introduction of the CAP, the role played by school principals has received limited attention from policymakers and researchers in Lesotho. Yet, it is no secret that the integrated curriculum places new external pressures and challenges on principals (Shaked, 2019). To implement these radical curricular changes, the knowledge and skills of principals need improvement through training (Rastogi, 2000). The principals are expected to spearhead and manage the implementation of the integrated curriculum at school level (Alsharija & Watters, 2020). Therefore, principals must possess requisite knowledge and skills on management and leadership of the new curriculum (Hourani & Stringer, 2015). However, recent literature has revealed that many principals still face challenges in providing leadership for the implementation of new reform policies (Ralebese, 2019). It appears that many serving principals lack curriculum knowledge and skills to lead the implementation of the integrated curriculum, despite attending in-service training to prepare them for implementation. For Lesotho, heavy spending in education seems not to be reciprocated with effectiveness during curriculum implementation. The objective of this paper, therefore, is to examine the perspectives of principals regarding the in-service training they received on the premise that the human capital development of the principals, as school leaders, would generate dividends from human resource investment. As such, the research question driving this study is: What are principals' views on the in-service training they received and their roles as implementation leaders of the CAP in Lesotho primary schools?

Method

This study used qualitative data obtained from a mixed-methods study that explored the perspectives of Lesotho primary school

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principals regarding their roles as leaders of curriculum reform implementation. Specifically, this paper followed the interpretive qualitative approach (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). This approach allows researchers to study a phenomenon in its natural setting and to make interpretations based on participants' points of view (Johnson & Christensen, 2014).

Sampling

Qualitative data obtained from a purposively selected sample of six primary school principals in the Maseru district formed the bedrock of this study. The inclusion criteria entailed voluntary consent to participate (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), a minimum of two years in the leadership of the integrated curriculum, and the potential to provide rich data. The participating principals were drawn from three dissemination centres within the Maseru district.

Data Collection

Data for this research were gathered through document analysis and open-ended interviews. Document analysis involved an examination of the CAP and other related policy documents that guide the implementation of the integrated curriculum in Lesotho. Open-ended interviews were conducted with the six participating principals to solicit their views on the training they received that was intended to empower them with knowledge and skills to supervise the implementation of the CAP in their schools. Probing questions (Creswell & Poth, 2018) were used as follow-ups to the responses to the main questions so that unclear points could be clarified.

Using probes (Creswell & Poth, 2018), the participants were asked to give their opinions regarding the in-service training they received in preparation for the implementation of the integrated curriculum. Each

interview lasted approximately one hour and was tape-recorded for eventual transcription and subsequent analysis. A total of six interviews were conducted.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was employed to glean insights and make sense of the data generated from the interviews. The steps provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) formed the analytic framework in this paper. The steps included generating initial codes, searching for themes and reviewing them, as well as defining the themes. According to Lester, Cho and Lochmiller (2020), researchers use thematic analysis mainly to produce descriptive statements that reflect their understanding of data in response to their research questions. Following Braun and Clarke (2006), interview data were transcribed and coded. The codes were then collated into themes that were refined in relation to extracts from raw data. Finally, the themes were reviewed in light of literature, theory, the research questions and the extracts to produce a vivid and compelling story about participants' perspectives regarding their in-service training in preparation for reform policy implementation.

Ethical Considerations and Trustworthiness

Relevant permission to conduct this research was sought from and granted by the University of Free State and the MoET in Lesotho. The purpose of the study was explained to the participants and their consent for voluntary participation sought before conducting the interviews. The interviews were conducted in line with the ethical considerations of confidentiality, voluntary participation and informed consent (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). To ensure trustworthiness of the study, prolonged engagement with the

participants, auditing of data interpretation, and member-checking were employed.

Findings and Discussion

This study set out to examine the perceptions of Lesotho primary school principals regarding the in-service training they received to lead the implementation of the integrated curriculum. The subsequent sections explain the findings using themes generated from CAP document analysis and the open-ended interviews with the six participating principals from Maseru in Lesotho.

Shallow Information Impedes Integration

An analysis of the CAP policy revealed two key policy prescriptions which seem to have direct implications for principals' leadership at school level. Firstly, integration seems to be the central premise of the current reform, hence the term *integrated curriculum*. The CAP seeks integration as the implementation approach to be adopted in schools. This is explained as follows in the policy document (Lesotho. MoET, 2009): "Integrated and learner-centred approaches to teaching and learning will be used in the implementation of curriculum in school" (p. 22).

According to the above policy excerpt, integration should feature predominantly during implementation. Therefore, this prescription calls for deeper understanding from the school leaders. However, the participants confessed that they have limited understanding of the envisaged integration. One participant, Peter, said: "I am not sure how teachers have to integrate." Similarly, Paul added: "Those who are supposed to give us the right information about this curriculum only give us shallow information." It becomes evident from the participants' statements that leading the implementation of the

envisaged integration is a challenge to principals due to limited information.

The integrated approach to teaching and learning has received considerable research attention in the 21st century (Barcelona, 2014). This approach is associated with increased learner achievement (Rodriguez, Diaz, Gonzalez & Gonzalez-Miquel, 2018). Despite the envisaged benefits, the adoption of the integrated approach at school level challenges the teachers, as well as the school leaders, who have to ensure that teaching and learning are geared towards this policy prescription. Literature on curriculum integration has shown that an integrated curriculum has potential to develop lifelong learners who have a holistic perspective on life (Sharma & Ahmad, 2020).

Furthermore, the CAP document (Lesotho. MoET, 2009) stressed that: "The framework advocates the establishment of a very strong link between curriculum and assessment so that the feedback on the learning progress should be used to formulate strategies that will improve the teaching and learning process" (p. vii). This expectation requires the principals to oversee the use of continuous assessment by teachers. However, participants did not appear conversant with the use of continuous assessment when implementing the integrated curriculum. For example, Dominic stated: "We still assess the learners every quarter and at the end of the year." In the same way, Prudence had only heard that the teachers are expected to use continuous assessment, but she, as a principal, did not have more details about this envisaged assessment. She said: "I only heard about it (continuous assessment), but the trainers never explained how we have to use it." The participants' narratives reveal that they experienced challenges when leading the implementation of continuous assessment. This is because they do not understand what continuous assessment entails.

The use of continuous assessment is regarded as a step towards improving teaching and learning (Faremi & Faremi, 2020). However, its implementation has been hampered by lack of capacity from the teachers due to inadequate training (Atsumbe & Raymond, 2012). Likewise, inadequate training of the principals regarding the continuous assessment in Lesotho primary schools seems to impede its implementation due to a lack of capacity not only from the teachers but the principals as well.

Furthermore, the MoET envisages a contextually relevant curriculum that links instruction with real-life problems. To achieve this, the policy (Lesotho. MoET, 2009) further prescribed that: "This (integrated) approach recognises that the learner is part of a community and that learning should consider everyday experiences of learners. School life should thus be integrated with community life and that of the individual learner" (p. 15). As reform-implementation leaders, the implication of the above statement for principals is that they have to monitor the teaching-learning processes in order to realise this policy prescription. However, it seemed that the participants in this study were not aware about this envisioned prescription. For instance, Takesure stated: "When integrating, the teachers have to identify related concepts from the syllabus and put them together in the scheme." Peter added: "When integrating, the teacher has to teach similar concepts in one lesson, as one thing …." From these statements, it seems that the participants' conceptualisation of integration is inconsistent with the one envisaged in the CAP. Literature in this regard has shown that learning becomes more meaningful to learners when teachers make deliberate efforts to link learners' daily experiences with classroom teaching (Upadhyay, 2006).

On the other hand, some participants (Peter and Paul) reported that they received in-service training regarding the integrated curriculum, but as teachers and not in their capacity as principals. For example, Peter explained that he represented his principal in policy consultations that happened before the integrated curriculum had developed. He said: "No. I wasn't trained [for the integrated curriculum]. I knew about this curriculum before it started. I was just asked by my former principal to go there (policy consultations workshop) on his behalf."

Similarly, Paul did not receive any in-service training about the integrated curriculum as a principal. According to him, he was trained about the integrated curriculum while he was a teacher, before he had become a principal. He explained: "At the time of going there (teacher in-service training), I wasn't a principal. I only went to the workshop once [as a teacher]." Having not been trained for the integrated curriculum as principals could mean that these two participants relied on their knowledge as teachers to lead the integrated curriculum.

Overall, the expressions of the participants indicated that they received shallow in-service training which they believed has negative consequences for implementation. The participants reported that they struggled with the implementation of the integrated curriculum because they were not specifically trained to lead the implementation of the integrated curriculum. Their narratives agree with literature, which has shown that the short nature of these in-service development workshops renders them ineffective (Mokoro, 2020). Apart from that, literature has shown that the workshop model of in-service training often fails to equip participants with relevant knowledge and skills that enable them to implement the envisaged changes (Johns & Sosibo, 2019; Matsepe & Maluleke, 2019). Bush (2018) also posited that

principals need specific training because their role differs from that of teachers. Therefore, without specific training, these principals are technically unqualified to lead their schools (Bush & Oduro, 2006). This finding resonates with current literature, which has shown that lack of training and the complex nature of reforms often render many serving principals ineffective (Bush, Kiggundu & Moorosi, 2011).

In a nutshell, integration is three-pronged, according to the CAP. It involves blurring subject lines, linking instruction with assessment, as well as linking school life with the daily life experiences of learners. However, the participants revealed that their understanding of integration is incongruent with integration as encapsulated in the CAP. This discrepancy holds threats for the implementation of this core prescription that is supposed to characterise the current reform. The achievement of the goals of the integrated curriculum depends on the ability of the stakeholders involved in curriculum development and implementation to interpret this policy in their specific contexts (Raselimo & Mahao, 2015).

Leading the Unexplained Pedagogy

The CAP policy further espouses a learner-centred pedagogy. This pedagogy aims to equip learners with skills to take responsibility of their own learning (Lesotho. MoET, 2009):

> *The focus in pedagogy has therefore shifted more to teaching and learning methods that can further develop creativity, independence and survival skills of learners. Learners are expected to become more responsible for their own learning processes and thus should be able to identify, formulate and solve problems by themselves and evaluate their work. (p. 22)*

With this statement, the CAP prescribes a shift in teaching methodology. The new methods should therefore put the learners at the forefront as knowledge constructors. In this way, the CAP challenges the dominant teacher-centred methodologies found to be prevalent in Lesotho classrooms (Nketekete & Motebang, 2008). The current study revealed that the participants lacked knowledge and skills to supervise the enactment of learner-centred pedagogy. For example, Prudence said: "The trainers did not explain in detail … they just told us that this curriculum is learner-centred … and I still do not understand." In the same way, Takesure said: "Most of the new things were not explained during the training … even the new methods were not explained. Implementation of this new curriculum is not easy." These statements show that the participants' understanding of learner-centred pedagogy is limited and, as a result, they experience challenges in their leadership of this envisaged pedagogy. Recent research has shown that principals often struggle with the leadership of learner-centred pedagogies despite attending professional development programmes (Gumus & Bellibas, 2020).

This pedagogy is well-known for placing emphasis on learners' construction of knowledge (Du Plessis, 2020), fostering participation and empowering them to become life-long learners (Bremner, 2021). In this way, the CAP is similarly aligned to this global trend in education. However, research has shown that teachers' uptake of reform prescriptions is subject to their beliefs (Lou & Restall, 2020).

The policy also underscores a learner-centred approach by prescribing new roles for teachers and learners. In this regard, it states (Lesotho. MoET, 2009): "Therefore, the new trend should be a move from teaching to facilitating learning; from transfer of facts to student construction of knowledge …." (p. viii). According to the CAP, the

teachers are viewed as facilitators and the learners are expected to be knowledge constructors – implying that learners will have greater control over instructional processes (Raselimo & Mahao, 2015). By assuming the role of a facilitator, teachers are expected to relinquish some power and control of the lesson. Despite this prescription, Dominic said: "I don't even know why we say you are a facilitator, not a teacher." This statement reveals that the participants in this study did not seem to understand what this new role entailed for teachers. In this regard, research has indicated that teachers tend to struggle with this role due to contextual and epistemological circumstances (Dash, 2020). It becomes evident that the in-service training attended by the principals did not empower them to influence the teachers to move in this new direction.

The principals are mandated to ensure that quality teaching and learning take place in their schools (Parliament of Lesotho, 2010). However, these radical changes present ambiguity and complexity to the role of school leaders (Ganon-Shilon & Schechter, 2017). These two policy prescriptions, integration and learner-centred approach, seem to anchor the implementation of the current reform in Lesotho primary schools. The onus is with the principals to lead these pedagogical changes in their respective schools.

"Half-Baked" Leaders

The participants revealed that they received insufficient training about the integrated curriculum. They described their training as "shallow". For instance, Dominic said: "The training was shallow. It wasn't enough, because the curriculum is broad." He seemed convinced that the information they received from the in-service training was not enough for them to lead the implementation of the integrated curriculum. In the same way, Takesure added: "First and foremost, the

trainings that were held were not adequate." Based on these statements, the participants judged their training based on the breadth of the integrated curriculum. The policy prescribes two broad changes, namely integration and learner-centredness (Lesotho. MoET, 2009). These two prescriptions are not only broad but also challenge the status quo in Lesotho classrooms. This finding is consistent with literature, which has shown that implementers may not be attuned to prescriptions of curriculum reforms due to inadequate in-service training (Raselimo & Mahao, 2015).

The shallow training was also pointed out by Prudence, who metaphorically indicated that the principals were "half-baked" by the ministry. She stressed that: "Ministry half-baked us leaders. I felt that we were undercooked. We were not given enough workshops to ensure that we indeed know it." According to her, the training did not give her enough knowledge to master the integrated curriculum. This finding is in line with literature, which has shown that professional development workshops are often not given adequate time to expedite implementation of reforms (Pak, Polikoff, Desimone & Saldivar-Garcia, 2020). Literature has further shown that principals and teachers failed to conceptualise the new curriculum due to inadequate in-service training (Dhlomo & Mawere, 2020).

Furthermore, Paul expressed his scepticism regarding the manner in which the integrated curriculum was disseminated to them. He stressed that: "Truly speaking, in Lesotho, the dissemination of the integrated curriculum wasn't done well … the developers of the curriculum did not do much in terms of dissemination of the curriculum, hence implementation is problematic." According to him, the developers did not put much effort into the dissemination process. As a result, the problems in dissemination caused problems in the

implementation. In addition, Prudence revealed that the dissemination was done superficially. She said: "It was like the trainers believed that because we are principals we already know [about the integrated curriculum], hence there was no need to spend a lot of time at the workshops."

Her verbatim excerpt shows that the trainers did not deliver deep knowledge about the reform. According to her, they were trained as if they had already known about the new curriculum, hence no need to go deeper. To her, an apparent flaw of the in-service training was the attitude of the trainers, who did not put much effort into the workshop. In concurrence, previous research has shown that the dissemination of information about the new reform changes is a critical step that ensures that the key implementers understand the prescriptions (McBeath, 1997). Elsewhere, a lack of clarity before implementation caused challenges for secondary principals as they attempted to implement the new curriculum (Samson & Charles, 2018).

Short and Sketchy Workshops

The participants who attended the in-service training were unanimously concerned that the duration of the training was particularly short. According to the participants, their training ranged from a few days to one week. For instance, Prudence expressed her concern in this manner: "It was very short indeed, because it did not even last one week." Dominic reiterated this claim by indicating that a week's training is not enough to enable classroom implementation of a broad curriculum. He stressed his opinion in the following way: "You can't say you are trained well if you are taking a week's training for this broad thing that you have to implement in class."

The other participants voiced the same concern and compared their training duration with the duration of teachers' workshops. This claim was articulated by Takesure:

> *The principals, they have gone [for] just four days … following the teachers that have gone for several trainings. You shall find that some of the teachers … they were even trained more than the principals in regard to how to implement the integrated curriculum.*

Victor also emphasised that: "I was taught all that in one day. That is, the Grade 7 teachers took one week being trained about the integrated curriculum, but I took one day." In this case, the participants claimed that the teachers attended the training several times, while their training was once-off. They believed that they were not well trained when compared to the teachers.

The participants also expressed disappointment regarding the depth of the information they received. Dominic said: "I expected that if teachers were taught about this … I was going to be taught in more detail than the teachers." From his expression, he expected detailed information, but they received shallow information. The participants had high expectations regarding their in-service training. They expected in-depth information about the integrated curriculum, but their expectations were unmet mainly because of the short duration of the workshop.

Literature confirms that the in-service workshops are often short once-off activities (Matsepe & Maluleke, 2019); and the content of such workshops has been criticised as being sketchy (Murphy et al., 2020; Sunzuma & Maharaj, 2020). Johns and Sosibo (2019) advised that in-service training requires time and effort to be effective. Interestingly,

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this study found that the teachers were more trained than the principals. These findings also prove that there is no strategic development for principals in Lesotho (Moorosi & Komiti, 2020).

''Reversed'' Training

It is interesting to note the sequence of the workshops by the MoET. The participants reported that the teachers were the first to attend the in-service training. In the words of Takesure, "[t]hey (the teachers) have gone to a new land and familiarised themselves into a new land before a person who is supposed to monitor them familiarise them on that land. They left the leader behind." After the training, the teachers implemented the integrated curriculum at their schools before the principals could attend the training. With this kind of sequence, the principals felt that they were "left behind" as leaders. This finding confirms the notion that education systems put more effort into teachers' training, but principals' training is not prioritised (Nzarirwehi & Atuhumuze, 2019; Pont, 2020). This provides evidence that lack of training for principals has disempowering effects, especially during the implementation of curriculum reforms.

As a result of this "reversed" training sequence, the participants confessed that they tend to rely on teachers for the implementation of the integrated curriculum. For example, Dominic reported that:

> *I have to learn from the teachers ... learn the procedures of the curriculum from the teachers, more especially teachers who went to the training of the lower classes, Grades 1, 2, 3. We were not given a chance to be trained for this curriculum at that time. We only learned from the teachers who were workshopped.*

As seen from the above statement, principals learned about the integrated curriculum from their teachers basically because the

teachers were trained first. This may explain why the principals struggle with the implementation of curriculum prescriptions such as integration and learner-centred pedagogy. Contrary to research (Coburn, 2005), this study shows that teachers influence the sense-making of the principals about the reform.

Furthermore, the participants claimed that the teachers received more training than they did. Takesure explained: "You shall find that some of the teachers were even trained more than the principals in regard to how to implement the integrated curriculum." Therefore, the participants believed that the teachers know more about the implementation of the integrated curriculum due to receiving more training. Consequently, by having superior knowledge, the teachers are better positioned to lead the implementation.

Peter further added:

> It (lack of curriculum knowledge) is a challenge, because I must have knowledge which is a little bit more than that of the teachers, so that when they meet challenges in the syllabus, I should be able to guide them ... we cannot deliver it correctly, because we don't understand it.

The above excerpt provides evidence that it is challenging for the principals to fully monitor the teachers, especially when teachers encounter challenges. According to Peter, his limited understanding affects the implementation of the integrated curriculum. Victor echoed the same point in this way: "Whereas I am supposed to have more knowledge than them … they have more knowledge than me … that is, even where the teacher is cheating me, I am not able to see." Victor was aware of his limited knowledge and acknowledged that teachers know more than him. However, he was worried that his limited

knowledge would hinder him from identifying teachers who "cheat". Reiterating the same issue, Dominic showed that his knowledge about the integrated curriculum is inferior to that of the teachers. He noted: "Sometimes you think, this teacher knows more than I do, so how do I assist ... or what she tells me sometimes I get to believe that it is the right thing." According to him, his limited knowledge makes him doubt his ability to help the teachers. He confessed that he believes what the teachers tell him about the integrated curriculum because of their apparent superior knowledge.

Takesure metaphorically depicted his perception as the tail wagging the dog. According to him, the teachers attended training before the principals attended their initial training. For example, he explained that:

> *Even before principals went to the training, the teachers were already teaching the principals … they were already teaching the principals what the principals were supposed to monitor. And now the dog is striving very hard to wave the tail.*

This situation made it hard for Takesure to lead the integrated curriculum. The teachers were the ones who tell him how to supervise the implementation of the integrated curriculum. He therefore compared his situation to that of a dog that finds it hard to wag its tail.

The above statements indicate that the participants found themselves in unfamiliar territory. The teachers had superior knowledge, yet the principals were expected to supervise the teachers. This finding is also unique in that teachers had to "teach" the principals what to "monitor" as they implement the integrated curriculum. Literature has confirmed that principals often have less content knowledge than the teachers they supervise (Lowenhaupt & McNeill, 2019). This situation makes

supervision difficult for principals. This compromised situation of the principals is a direct consequence of the sequence that the MoET adopted when conducting the in-service training for the teachers and the principals in Lesotho.

Conclusion

This research examined the views of principals regarding the in-service training they received for leading the implementation of the integrated curriculum in Lesotho. The findings are of direct practical relevance to education systems in Africa and other parts of the developing world where school leadership is not prioritised especially when implementing curriculum reforms.

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that the in-service training for the principals was inadequate to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills to lead the implementation of the integrated curriculum. This paper offers an alternative explanation for the implementation gap that has puzzled policymakers and researchers for many decades. As a human capital development strategy, the in-service training for principals is vital for their professional development, to enhance their knowledge and skills to lead the curriculum reforms (Bush, 2018; Omar, 2014). This misplaced/improper investment in human capital may explain why curriculum reforms fail to penetrate classrooms (Hallinger & Lee, 2013; Liwa, 2018).

The unique finding emerging from the current study is that principals in Lesotho had to learn the modalities of implementing the integrated curriculum from the teachers under their supervision. This was mainly because the teachers were in-serviced on the new curriculum before the principals. Consequently, the principals' role to supervise the

implementation of the integrated curriculum was difficult, as the teachers under their supervision were more knowledgeable about the integrated curriculum than them.

The finding that teachers were more knowledgeable about the integrated curriculum than the school principals who supervise them raises the question whether principals should know more about the content of curriculum reform than the teachers who implement the changes. Why did policymakers seemingly put teachers in charge of this curriculum reform in Lesotho? The participating principals in this study felt that they should know more about the integrated curriculum than the teachers who were implementing it. It appears that society and policymakers (and the principals themselves) perceive and expect school administrators to be more knowledgeable than the teachers. However, teachers often possess more knowledge of the subject(s) they teach, because they are subject specialists, than school principals who (often) are technocrats possessing more administrative knowledge than subject-specific content knowledge. Could it thus be that curriculum reform, at least in part, is hampered by the fact that principals (and policymakers and society in general) feel that principals must know more than the teachers?

Future research can focus on why school leadership continues to receive scant attention from policymakers despite social expectations for principals to be more knowledgeable than the teachers they lead. More research incorporating the perspectives of policymakers may assist in generating plausible explanations to the apparent lack of strategic development of school leadership during the implementation of curriculum reform.

To improve the efficacy of reform policy implementation in schools, this study recommends in-depth leadership training for principals (not

once-off in-service training). Such training should equip the principals with the necessary knowledge and skills that would capacitate them to lead the envisaged curriculum changes. To avoid curricular stasis, the principals should be empowered to be agents of change in their schools, to avoid complaints of being "half-baked" in leading reform policy implementation. The principals and other leaders can reflect on how policy implementation affects their self-esteem and efficacy.

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About the authors:

Moeketski David Ralebese is PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

E-mail: dmralebese@gmail.com

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, project administration, validation, writing- original draft.

Loyiso C. Jita is a Professor and Dean in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.
E-mail: JitaLC@ufs.ac.za

Authorship credit details: Supervision, validation, funding acquisition, visualization.

Godsend T. Chimbi is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

E-mail: Chimbi.GT@ufs.ac.za

Authorship credit details: Writing- review and editing, visualization, validation.

The Role of Innovative Work Behaviour in the Relationship between Organizational Support and Organizational Happiness

Aydan Ordu iD

Pamukkale University, Denizli, Turkey

Tamer Sarı[*] iD

Pamukkale University, Denizli, Turkey

Abstract	Article Info
Theories and experiences created as a result of the studies carried out to increase the effectiveness of teachers in educational institutions provide deepening of the researches. Researches are detailed by obtaining new approaches, new definitions and concepts. One of these concepts is innovative work behaviour, which is defined as the tendency to implement and improve new ideas. Considering this concept, this research aimed to examine the role of innovative work behaviour in the relationship between perceived organizational support and organizational happiness. The data of the study were collected using Perceived Organizational Support, Organizational Happiness and Innovative Work Behaviour Scales. The sample group of the research includes 340 teachers working in primary, secondary and high schools in the 2021-2022 academic year. In the study that was carried out using the survey-based cross-sectional design approach, structural equation modelling was used. The findings showed that all three variables were significantly related to each	

[*] Corresponding author
E-mail: tamersari@pau.edu.tr

other. The results of the study demonstrated that teachers' perception of the organizational support they get is a direct and indirect predictor of organizational happiness through innovative work behaviour. This result was interpreted as the fact that teachers behaved more innovatively as their perceptions of being supported by their organizations increased, and as a result of this, it had a positive impact on their organizational happiness. Finally, it has been suggested to support teachers' needs such as infrastructure and access to resources necessary for generating and implementing new ideas and ensuring their inclusion in decision-making processes.

Cite as:

Introduction

When organizational behaviour theories are examined in a broad framework, it is clear that a substantial part of them tries to explain a single human tendency. This This conduct is designed to explain how individuals respond to positive and negative forces and preserve their existence that is intended to be explained is how people react and maintain their existence under positive and negative pressures (Pink, 2009). The same condition may be extended to organisations, and concerns can be raised about how organisations adapt to and preserve their existence in the face of positive and negative influences. Researching both questions, the human resources framework has proposed an answer that takes both stakeholders into account. As Argyris stated, the relationship between people and organizations was based on mutual benefit (Bolman & Deal, 2008). Both companies and individuals rely on one another for survival; businesses for the labour,

ideas, energy, and skills that keep them prosperous, and individuals rely on organisations for the financial security and professional growth that ensures their own well-being. When this harmony is balanced, mutual benefit is provided for the organization and the employee and they can continue to exist. For educational organisations, a similar organizational-employee relationship may be described, and the quality of education is considered the product of this equilibrium. One of the primary goals of the planned education policies has been to take advantage of the education outcomes as soon as feasible by enhancing the teacher workforce (Duyar, Gumus, & Bellibas, 2013). This study tested a model that tries to determine perceived organizational support as a predictor of organizational happiness, which is considered the initiator of the teacher workforce's efficacy and productivity, as well as the role of innovative work behaviour as a mediator.

When teachers in educational organizations are evaluated within the scope of human resources, it is critical to comprehend the requirements of educational institutions as well as teachers. As stated by the self-determination theory, people have three natural psychological needs: competence, autonomy, and relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 1985). When these needs were satisfied, people were productive, happy, and motivated. The emergence of these features, which were a natural part of being human, depended on the support received from the social environment (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In other words, the expected outputs as a result of recognizing and satisfying the needs, productivity, happiness and motivation could be achieved with felt support.

In this study, when basic psychological needs were examined in depth, innovative work behaviour (IWB) within the scope of competence, perceived organizational support (POS) within the scope of support

received from the organization and organizational happiness (OH) as one of the expected organizational outputs were discussed. Happiness has a domino effect on the productivity of an educational organization and the well-being of the individual teacher (Gyeltshen & Beri, 2018).

Examining the factors affecting the happiness of teachers is important to understand and increase their happiness. Teachers' conduct is influenced by their belief that their organisations appreciate their contributions and well-being, according to the social exchange theory. The conclusions of this research are particularly essential for those working in education administration, education legislation, education policy-making, and education research. Administrators may prepare the path for teachers to be people who discover opportunities, generate, and execute innovative ideas in their schools by fostering a supportive social environment. Teachers who promote change are likely to be happier as well. Given that the three antecedents of organizational support are organizational justice, managerial support, rewards, and workplace conditions, educational attorneys and policymakers might develop innovative regulations for awards and working conditions in the organisation. It is an important requirement for educational organizations to reveal the relationships between POS and IWB, which are thought to have important effects on teacher happiness. In this context, the purpose of this research was to uncover the function of IWB in the link between POS and OH.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

In this part, the notions of perceived organizational support, organizational happiness, and innovative work behaviour were introduced, and the relationships between these concepts were

examined. Additionally, this section concludes with a discussion of the relationships between these concepts.

Organizational Happiness

While defining happiness in the literature, two different views, hedonic and eudemonic, were emphasized. The hedonic perspective defines happiness as experiencing pleasant feelings and avoiding unpleasant ones, whereas the eudemonic perspective defines happiness as engaging in actions that are desirable, noble, and meaningful and that allow individuals reach their complete potential. The hedonic view was concerned with temporary, short-term happiness and was associated with subjective well-being. The eudaemonic view, on the other hand, considered happiness as a source of long-term motivation and identity development process and associated it with psychological well-being. These two views have led to the emergence of knowledge and research focuses that are distinctive in some areas and complementary to each other in some areas (Delle Fave et. al, 2011:187; Fisher, 2010: 385; Ryan & Deci, 2001).

When the definitions of happiness were examined, some reflect the hedonic view, some reflect the eudaimonic view, and some reflect both. For example, Diener (1984) defined happiness as the experience of several favorable feelings, fewer negative emotions and getting high satisfaction from life, reflecting the hedonic view and explained happiness with subjective well-being. Ryff (1989), on the other hand, put forward the concept of psychological well-being with a eudaemonic point of view by talking about meaning, self-actualization and personal development, based on Aristotle's views explaining the source of happiness as being virtuous. According to Waterman (2008), both of these two happiness concepts were positive subjective states that were experienced to a greater extent when the individual was

engaged in some activities than others, but they were not independent structures and there was a high relationship between them. At this point, in this study, happiness, therefore OH, was equated with the concept of well-being and considered as positive emotions, negative emotions and the realization of potential, and it was assumed that happiness reflects both views.

The pursuit of happiness had expanded to include professional encounters. The importance of ensuring that employees are happy in their organization is increasing day by day. The change in employment relations, job security, loyalty, decrease in average seniority, and the fact that employer-employee relations were more dependent on the satisfaction of both parties and the satisfaction of each other's expectations had led to new searches for permanent solutions. In these changing conditions, happiness was one of the important tools for keeping and motivating high-quality employees in organizations (Fisher, 2010: 384, 404). It was seen that OH is associated with many positive outcomes such as employees' tendency to be more productive in the long run (Gavin & Mason, 2004), higher performance (Fisher, 2010; Pryce-Jones & Lutterbie, 2010), customer satisfaction, security, participation, retention (Fisher, 2010), organizational citizenship (Rego, Ribeiro & Cunha, 2010). In educational organizations, a small number of studies have demonstrated that the happiness or well-being of teachers was related to teacher health (Benevene, Ittan & Cortini, 2018; Benevene et al., 2019), organizational socialization (Tösten, Avcı & Şahin, 2018), organizational commitment (Cho, 2020; Uzun & Kesicioğlu, 2019), emotional commitment (Abdullah & Ling, 2016), burnout (Reza & Lyli, 2016) and task performance (Jalali & Heidari, 2016).

OH was impacted by both acute and chronic events associated with the task, workplace, and organization. Additionally, it was influenced by people's stable traits, such as personality, and the fit between the organization's offerings and the individual's expectations, requirements, and preferences (Fisher, 2010: 404). When the studies in the literature to explain the OH of teachers were examined, happiness was associated with different variables such as; organizational silence (Moçoşoğlu & Kaya, 2018), diversity management approaches (Arslan, 2018), organizational cynicism (Kahveci & Köse, 2019; Korkut, 2019), organizational justice (Çetin & Polat, 2019; Korkut, 2019), managerial style (Bulut & Demirhan, 2020), psychological empowerment (Özocak & Yılmaz, 2020), organizational hypocrisy (Konan & Taşdemir, 2019), organizational justice and authentic leadership (Demir & Zincirli, 2021), distributor leadership (Algan & Ummanel, 2019), paternalistic leadership (Özgenel & Canuylası, 2021), job satisfaction (Uzun & Kesicioğlu, 2019), organizational culture (Raj, Tiwari & Rai, 2019), innovative behavior (Abdullah & Ling, 2016), organizational virtue (Özen, 2018). Warr (2013: 105) stated that to comprehend and increase OH, it was required to investigate the individual's attributes as well as environmental factors. One of the variables considered to explain OH was organizational support.

Perceived Organizational Support

According to the organizational support theory, employees attribute human characteristics to the organization and based on this personalization, they perceive positive or negative behaviors towards them as an indicator of whether the group supports or opposes them (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002: 698). Organizational support relates to how much the organization appreciates its employees' contributions and is concerned about their well-being (Eisenberger, Huntington,

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Hutchison & Sowa, 1986: 501). Perceived organizational support, on the other hand, was based on the perceptions of the employees and the employees feel safe and realize the contribution of the organization (Özdevecioğlu, 2003: 116). Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) mentioned three basic antecedents for the formation of organizational support: organizational justice, management support, organizational rewards and work conditions. Organizational justice was related to employees' perceptions of whether they were treated fairly in their organizations and the way these perceptions affect other work-related variables (Moorman, 1991: 845). Supervisor support was related to employees' perceptions that their managers valued their efforts and were concerned about their well-being (Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski & Rhoades, 2002:567). Organizational incentives and employment environment were found to be connected to recognition, salary, promotions, job security, autonomy, work-related stresses, training, and organization size. POS was related to desired outcomes for both employees (job satisfaction and positive mood, etc.) and organizations (emotional commitment, performance, and fewer turnover behaviors, etc.) (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). One of the outputs of POS was IWB, which was another variable addressed in the research.

Innovative Work Behavior

IWB is described by Farr and Ford (1990) as an individual's conduct that attempts to begin and intentionally introduce creative and practical ideas, processes, products, or procedures. IWBs may include creativity-related behaviors such as searching for opportunities and generating new ideas, as well as behaviors for applying the change, enhancing new skills or methods to enhance individual or corporate performance (De Jong & Den Hartog, 2008:5). Innovative work

behavior has been discussed by different researchers under different dimensions that were similar to each other. For instance, Kanter (1988) discusses concept production, coalition formation, and idea realization and transfer/dissemination; Scott and Bruce (1994) defined the problem / generating ideas, building coalitions and implementing innovation; Janssen (2000) generating ideas, promoting ideas (finding supporters) and implementing ideas; De Jong and Den Hartog (2010), nevertheless, examined innovative business behavior under the dimensions of exploring opportunities, generating ideas, defending ideas and implementing ideas (Cited in Demesko, 2017: 16).

The factors explaining the innovative behaviors of teachers can be classified in two main categories as individual factors and social environment support. Individual factors are related to self-efficacy, attitudes and beliefs, and support from the social environment is related to the support of colleagues and managers, organizational culture, opportunities, and use of resources (Thurlings, Evers ve Vermeulen, 2015). Individual innovative behaviour is highly connected with leadership, support for innovation, management position expectations, career stage, and style of systematic problem-solving (Scott ve Bruce; 1994).

Findings regarding the outputs of innovative work behavior have indicated that IWB positively affects variables such as performance (Çalışkan & Akkoç, 2012, Kim & Koo, 2017; Purwanto et al. 2020; Shanker et al., 2017; Van Zyl et al., 2021), job satisfaction (Orhan, 2012).

The Relationship Between Perceived Organizational Support and Organizational Happiness

According to Kurtessis et al (2017), one of the outputs of perceived organizational support is subjective well-being. The researchers

discovered that POS was positively correlated with job satisfaction, job self-efficacy, organization-based self-esteem, and work-family balance in a meta-analysis study of the organizational support theory; they discovered that work stress was negatively associated with burnout and work-family conflict. When a consistent model of supportive experience is provided, including leaders and a favourable working environment, employees may be happier in their positions and regard the organisation as supportive. One of the variables considered to explain organizational happiness is organizational support. Although there is no study in the field of education on the relationship between perceived organizational support and organizational happiness in the current literature, research has been conducted with public employees (Altan & Turunç, 2021; Paschoal, Torres & Porto, 2010), academics (Akçakanat, Uzunbacak & Köse, 2018), and private business employees (Aydın- Küçük, 2021; Nantharojphong & Jadesadalug, 2018; Novliadi & Anggraini, 2020; Wardiana & Prasetyo, 2018). In these researches, the relationship between perceived organizational support and organizational happiness was examined separately or in conjunction with other variables.

The Relationship Between Perceived Organizational Support and Innovative Work Behavior

Eisenberger, Fasolo and Davis-LaMastro (1990) indicated that POS was closely tied to constructive innovations made for the benefit of the organization without regard for remuneration or personal recognition. Numerous researches have been published in the literature establishing a link between organizational support and IWB (Afsar & Badir, 2017; Akhtar, Syed, Husnain & Naseer, 2019; Aslan, 2019; Erer, 2021; Nazir et al., 2019; Qi, Liu, Wei & Hu, 2019; Sü Eröz & Şıttak, 2019). In the field of education, Masyhuri, Pardiman and Siswanto (2021)

found that POS directly affects the IWB of teachers and school personnel. In their meta-analysis research to explain teachers' innovative behaviours, Thurlings, Evers, and Vermeulen (2015) asserted that perceived organizational support was one of the predictors of innovative work behaviour. Teachers, according to their results, require support, guidance, and feedback from others to innovate.

The Relationship Between Innovative Work Behavior and Organizational Happiness

In our study, it was assumed that IWB would predict OH. There may be fundamental relationship between the individual's display of innovative behavior and the positive emotions experienced by the individual. It is known that one of the most important components of positive emotions is a situation related to creativity (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988; cited in Fidanboy & Fidanboy, 2019). However, when the research dealing with the association between OH and innovative work behavior in the literature (Bani-Melhem, Zeffane, & Albaity, 2018; Etikariena, 2018) were investigated, it was concluded that the influence of OH on innovative work behavior was largely focused on. In other words, IWB was considered the dependent variable in previous studies. In this study, OH was examined as a dependent variable. Only one study (Abdullah & Ling, 2016) examining the correlation between OH and innovative behavior with teachers in the field of education could be reached.

Mediating Role of Innovative Work Behaviour

In a summary of the bilateral relationships between the research variables, perceived organizational support is positively associated

with innovative work behaviour and organizational satisfaction. Additionally, it is observed that innovative work behaviour is related to organizational happiness. Based on these associations, it was determined that teachers' perceptions of organizational support and their happiness were highly associated; it can be predicted that innovative teacher behaviours in their schools will also contribute as a mediator of this relationship. No holistic investigation of the concepts of POS, IWB, and OH has been revealed in the existing literature. Masyhuri, Pardiman and Siswanto (2021) investigated the mediating role of psychological well-being in the connection between workplace spirituality, POS and IWB in teachers. However, considering that they considered happiness only in terms of psychological well-being and used IWB as a dependent variable, the potential of our study to be different and to contribute to the field is to be accepted. It is anticipated that the role of innovative work behaviour in the relationship between perceived organizational support and organizational happiness would be beneficial both in theory and in practise in this context. Theoretically, the study can contribute to the literature by enhancing our understanding of teachers' happiness. In addition, it was expected that the output of this study would assist education practitioners and policy-makers and provide insights for new research into this issue. In this respect, the major focus of this research was to investigate the role of IWB in the relationship between POS and OH (Figure 1). For this purpose, the following hypotheses were tested:

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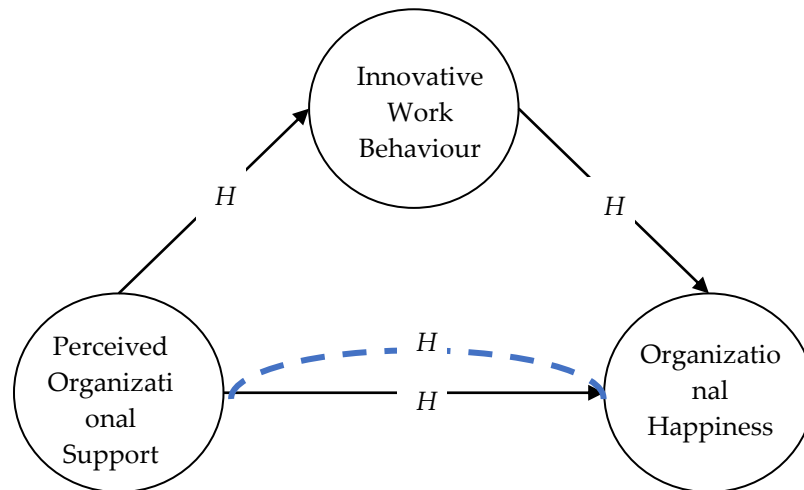
(Note. Solid lines indicate direct effects. Dotted lines indicate indirect effects.)

Figure 1.

Research model

H1: POS is positively associated with OH.

H2: POS is positively associated with IWB.

H3: IWB is positively associated with OH.

H4: IWB possesses a mediation role in the relation between POS and OH.

Method

Research Model

This research, examining the relationship between POS, OH and IWB in educational organizations (primary, secondary and high school), was in the survey-based cross-sectional quantitative research design. Within the research's scope, Structural Equation Modelling (SEM),

which is one of the analytical approaches used in relational studies to find the correlations between variables (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009), was used. SEM is a statistical method for illustrating and testing the correlations between one or more dependent variables or independent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). SEM allows researchers to identify and test structural models that reflect prior assumptions about direct or indirect effects between observed variables (Kline, 2011).

Population and Sampling

The participants of the research include primary, secondary and high school teachers working in Denizli in the 2021-2022 academic year. In studies using SEM, the minimum sample size should be approximately 200 (Kline, 2011). Simple random sampling method was used in the sampling of the study. This method is a simple and common sampling selection method in which each individual has an equal chance when choosing a sample from the population (Singh, 2003). The researcher conducted the scale on 450 teachers who were chosen at random. These scales were returned in the quantity of 380. Following the first processing, only 340 of the scales met the criteria to be included in the study's evaluation due to the presence of incomplete or improperly completed items.

Table 1.

Participants' Demographic Information

Variables	Categories	*f*	%
Gender	Woman	201	59,1
	Man	139	40,9
	Total	340	100
Educational Status	Bachelor degree	240	70,6

	Postgraduate	100	29,4
	Total	340	100
School stages	Primary school	118	34,7
	Secondary school	85	25,0
	High School	137	40,3
	Total	340	100
Length of service (seniority)	1-5 years	11	3,2
	6-10 years	53	15,6
	11-15 years	73	21,5
	16 and over years	203	59,7
	Total	340	100

Table 1 indicated that 59.1% of the teachers in the sample were women and 40.9% were men. In terms of educational attainment, 70.6% of the teachers have a bachelor's degree. According to the type of school where the teachers work, the highest number of participants was high school teachers (40.3%). Finally, 59.7% of the teachers in the sample have 16 or more years of seniority.

Instruments

Perceived Organizational Support Scale

In order to determine teachers' perception of organizational support, the "Perceived Organizational Support Scale Short Form" developed by Nayır (2013) was used. The scale consisted of three dimensions of organizational justice, supervisors' support and organizational rewards and job conditions, including 28 items. The five-point Likert scale includes options such as 1- Strongly Disagree, 2- Slightly Agree, 3- Partially Agree, 4- Strongly Agree, 5- Completely Agree.

According to the findings of the confirmatory factor analysis conducted to ascertain the scale's structure, perceived organizational support the Cronbach's α was .94 for the whole scale, .94 for organizational justice, .86 for supervisors' support, .90 for organizational rewards and job conditions, fit indices; RMSEA = .081, IFI= .97, RMR = .054, CFI = .97, GFI = .82, AGFI = .78, NNFI = .97, NFI = .96, RFI = .95, and ($\chi 2$/sd) 3.49.

Innovative Work Behavior Scale

Janssen (2000) created the innovative work behavior scale, which Töre adapted into Turkish (2017). The original scale was divided into three sub-dimensions: idea generation, idea promotion, and idea realization. As a result of factor analysis in Töre's (2017) adaptation study, the scale consisted of two dimensions. Idea generation and idea realization sub-dimensions combined and formed the first dimension, and idea promotion the second dimension. The first dimension included six items and the second dimension includes three items. Teachers were asked to mark one of the alternatives on a five-point Likert scale; always, often, sometimes, rarely, never.

According to the results of the confirmatory factor analysis performed to confirm the structure of the innovative work behavior scale, the reliability of the adapted scale (Cronbach's α) was .87 and the fit indices, NFI=.95, NNFI=.97, RMSEA=.082 CFI=.98, IFI=.98, GFI=.93, AGFI=.88 and ($\chi 2$/sd) 2.03.

Organizational Happiness Scale

Paschoal and Tamayo (2008) developed the Organizational Happiness Scale in Portuguese, which Demo and Paschoal translated into English (2013). It was adapted into Turkish by Arslan and Polat (2017). The organizational happiness scale consists of 29 items and three sub-

dimensions: positive emotions, negative emotions and fulfilment. 12 items in the negative emotions dimension were reverse scored. In the first 21 items of the scale, which was a five-point Likert type, the options were none, a little, quiet, often and completely; In the items between 22 and 29, the options of totally disagree, disagree, partially agree, agree, totally agree were used.

According to the results of the confirmatory factor analysis performed to confirm the structure of the organizational happiness scale, the reliability of the adapted scale (Cronbach's α) was .96 for the whole scale, .94 for positive emotions, .95 for negative emotions, .92 for fulfillment and the fit indices; (NNFI = .97, CFI = .97), RMSEA = .09 (SRMR = .061), GFI = .77 and ($\chi2$/sd) 3.95.

Data Analysis

The data of the research were collected in the fall semester of the 2021-2022 academic year. The data collection process was applied on a voluntary basis. It took an average of 12 minutes to answer the scale. The research model, based on theoretical knowledge, was analysed with the AMOS 24 program. Univariate and multivariate normal distributions of the data set were checked for structural equation modelling. Analysis results were given in Table 2.

Table 2.

Multivariate normality analyses

Variable	Coefficient of Skewness	c.r	Coefficient of Kurtosis	c.r
POS	,272	2,04	-,329	-1,24
IWB	-,262	-1,96	-,337	-1,26
OH	-,138	-1,03	-,569	-2,143

		,236	,397
Multivariate			

[c.r.: critical ratio]

For the research analysis, first, univariate normal distribution assumptions were tested (based on Z scores between +3 and -3 and skewness and kurtosis values between +1 and -1). As shown in Table 2, the skewness values were POS .272, IWB -.262, OH -.138, and the kurtosis values were POS -.329, IWB -.337, OH -.569. The research found that the data set was adequate for the univariate normality assumptions based on the values obtained. When the data set's univariate normality assumption was tested, skewness and kurtosis values between +1 and -1 were accepted as the reference point, as proposed by Kline (2011). It was used as the reference point for multivariate normality analyses in which the multivariate kurtosis was between +2 and -2 and the multivariate critical ratio was less than 1.96 (Byrne,2016). The analyses revealed that the data set was appropriate for both univariate and multivariate normality assumptions.

Findings

In the first analysis phase of the research data, descriptive statistical analysis of the variables was performed. Analysis results were given in Table 3.

Table 3.

Descriptive analysis results

	x̄	sd	1.	2.
1. POS	2,90	,85		
2. IWB	4,00	,60	,150**	
3. OH	3,47	,77	,486**	,278**

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

According to the correlation analysis results in Table 3, the mean of the variables varied between 2.90 and 4.00, with standard deviation values ranging between .60 and.85. The r value varies from + 1 to -1, with values close to .00 indicating that there is no linear relationship or predictability between the X and Y variables. An r value of + 1.00 or - 1.00 demonstrates that one score is perfectly predictable when the other is known (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The correlation study revealed that there was a low positive significant relationship between POS and IWB (r=-.150; p<.001). Moderate positive significant relationship between POS and OH (r=.486; p<.001), and low positive significant relationship between IWB and OH (r=.278; p <.001) was determined.

The standardized regression coefficients of the analysis and research hypotheses and the significance levels of the regression coefficients were presented in Table 4.

Table 4.

The hypotheses of the research and the analysis results of the model

Hypotheses	Pathways Between Variables	B	β	C.R.(t)	Conclusion
H1	OH <--- POS	,042	,412	9,748	Supported
H2	IWB <--- POS	,038	,107	2,796	Supported
H3	OH <--- IWB	,267	,227	4,505	Supported

When the results of the path analysis were evaluated, it was seen that the paths drawn between the research variables were significant (t> 1.96; p<0.001; p<0.01). When the estimation results of the research model in Table 4 were examined, POS in schools positively predicted OH (β= .412; t=9.748; p<.01). POS positively predicted IWB (β= .107;

t=2.796; p<.01), and IWB positively predicted OH (β= .227; t= 4.505; p< .01). The hypotheses (H1, H2, H3) developed within the scope of the research were supported. Table 5 displays the goodness of fit values derived from the analysis.

Table 5.

Criteria for goodness of fit values

Fit Indices	Good fit	Acceptable fit	Goodness-of-fit Values Obtained from the Research	
χ^2/df	≤2	≤ 2-5	0,93	(Good Fit)
RMSEA	≤0,05	≤ 0,80	0,05	(Good Fit)
SRMR	≤0,05	≤0,10	0,06	(Acceptable fit)
CFI	≥0,95	≥0,90	0,92	(Acceptable fit)
GFI	≥0,95	≥0,90	0,94	(Acceptable fit)
TLI	≥0,95	≥0,90	0,91	(Acceptable fit)

According to Table 5, where fit indices are given according to structural equation modeling, χ^2/df (0.93) and RMSEA (0.05), "Good Fit" GFI (0.94), NNFI/TLI (0.91), CFI (0.92) , and SRMR (0.06) are considered "Acceptable Fit". The model confirmed by the analyzes made in the study was given in Figure 2.
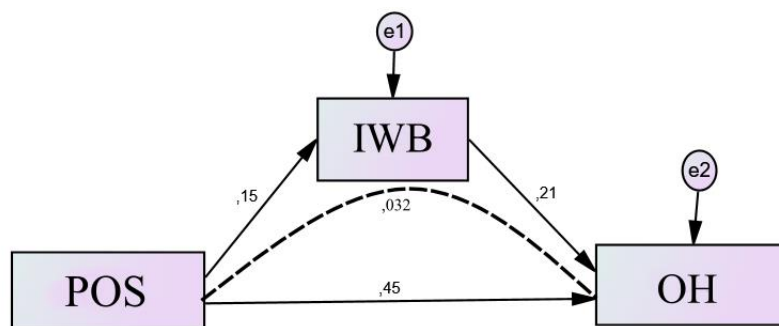

Figure 2. Confirmed structural equation modeling

In accordance with the confirmed model, POS directly and positively predicts OH (β= .45). POS directly and positively predicts IWB (β=.15). IWB predicts OH directly and positively (β= .21) at a statistically significant level. In the model given in Figure 2, POS had a direct impact on OH, as well as innovative work behavior had a direct impact on OH.

Finally, to reveal the mediating effect of IWB in the relationship between POS and OH; Bootstrap analysis was performed with the process macro. Bootstrap analysis was performed at a 95% confidence interval over a sample size of 1000, and the results were given in Table 6 below.

Table 6.

Bootstrap analysis result of the effects in the confirmed model

Variable	Bootstrap values		p	Bias %95 CI**		Conclusion
	Indirect Effect	SE*		Lower Limit	Upper Limit	
POS	,032	,012	,004*	,013	,053	Supported

*P<,05

When the Bootstrap coefficients and confidence intervals given in Table 6 were examined, it was understood that direct and indirect paths were significant. When the results were examined, the indirect effect of POS is at the level of .032, and the lower limit was .013 and the upper limit was .053 in the 95% confidence interval. The significance of the indirect effect is determined by the confidence interval values. The fact that both the bootstrap lower and upper confidence intervals were different from zero indicated the significance of the indirect effect

(Preacher & Hayes, 2008). When the intervals were examined, it was seen that the confidence interval values were above zero. As a result, it can be said that the indirect effect was significant. Kline (2013) stated that the indirect effect could also be interpreted as a mediating effect. According to the modern approach, when the indirect effect of the independent variable was significant as a result of the bootstrap test in the mediating effect model, the mediation model was considered validated and no other test was needed (Gürbüz and Bayık, 2018). When these results were evaluated together, it might be evaluated that IWB had a mediating effect on the relationship between POS and OH. The last hypothesis of the research is "H4: IWB has a mediator role in the relationship between POS and OH." was supported.

Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the role of IWB in the relation between POS and OH. The findings indicated that all three variables were significantly correlated with one another; demonstrated that IWB has a role in mediating the relation between POS and OH.

The findings revealed that organizational support in schools might directly predict OH, according to teacher perceptions. As a matter of fact, one of the assumptions in the organizational support theory was the perceptions of the employees that the organization was concerned about the well-being of its employees (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002: 712). The perception of organizational support leads to more identification and commitment to the organization by satisfying the socio-emotional needs of the employees, increases the desire to help the organization to be successful, and contributes to the happiness of the employees (Kurtessis et al., 2017: 2). It could be said that POS focuses on the happiness of employees and ensures employee

happiness (Akçakanat, Uzunbacak & Köse, 2018). Studies have shown that the perception of high organizational support has a positive influence on employees' subjective well-being both in and out of the workplace (Caesens, Stinglhamber & Ohana, 2016). The results of the study show parallelism with other findings; Paschoal, Torres and Porto (2010) found that organizational support has a direct effect on happiness; Hempfling (2015) and Kosasih and Basit (2019) found that there is a significant relationship between POS and OH; Aydın Küçük (2021) and Novliadi & Anggraini (2020) found that POS predicted workplace happiness.

According to another result of the research, organizational support perceived by teachers could directly predict IWB. The more teachers feel the support of the organization, the more innovative and creative they act. POS provides an effective environment for motivating employees to act innovatively (Nazir, Qun, Hui & Shafi, 2018). Thurlings, Evers and Vermeulen (2015) stated that IWB in teachers was very important for the development of school organizations and the teaching profession and the development of an information society. For this reason, it was important to know which factors affect innovative behaviors in schools to develop teachers' innovative behaviors. Masyhuri, Pardiman and Siswanto (2021) reported that organizational support directly affected the IWB of teachers and school staff. Various studies have been found in the literature on the positive relationship between organizational support and IWB (Afsar & Badir, 2017; Akhtar, Syed, Husnain & Naseer, 2019; Aslan, 2019; Erer, 2021; Nazir et al., 2018; Nazir et al., 2019; Qi, Liu, Wei and Hu, 2019; Sü Eröz and Şıttak, 2019).

The results of the research showed that IWB could directly predict teachers' perception of OH. In their study, Fidanboy and Fidanboy

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(2019) found that the innovation climate affects the positive emotions of the employees positively and the negative emotions of the employees negatively. The study by Abdullah and Ling (2016), in which they found a positive relationship between workplace happiness and innovative behaviors in teachers, supported the finding of our study. Cop (2020) reported that teachers' entrepreneurial tendencies in change positively affect their subjective well-being levels.

Finally, it was found that IWB played a mediator role in the relationship between POS and OH. It is possible to say that as teachers' perceptions of being supported by their organizations increase, they will engage in more innovative behaviors and this will reflect positively on their OH. At this point, it is noteworthy how important teachers' perceptions of organizational support are. Providing that teachers think that they are treated fairly in their schools, that their contributions are valued by their administrators, that their administrators think of their well-being and that their work is appreciated, they will be more open to change, produce new ideas and put these ideas into practice. This perception may make teachers happier in their schools. This finding in our research supports Warr's (2013) view that both environmental and individual characteristics should be addressed in order to increase OH. In this case, POS can be considered an environmental feature and innovative behaviors can be considered an individual feature.

Considering the results of our research within the scope of Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory, it can be said that teachers' needs must be satisfied first in order to be happy. One of these needs is to ensure the competencies of teachers. IWB is one of these competencies. In this regard, the support received from the

environment is of great importance. The relationship among POS, OH and IWB is important to increase teacher happiness and IWB in schools. The source of the importance, on the other hand, can be attributed to the continuation of the relationship between the organization and the human being, underlined by Argyris, providing a balance in terms of meeting both the needs of the school and the needs of the teachers in the school-teacher relationship (Bolman & Deal, 2008).

Policymakers can plan studies such as performance evaluation, professional development support, and career development opportunities to ensure a fair working environment, support from their managers, better working conditions, and rewards that are more satisfying and fairer in order to increase the perception of organizational support, which is extremely important in the happiness of teachers. As a matter of fact, the "Teaching Profession Law" by the Ministry of National Education (2022), which aims to regulate teachers' appointments, professional development and advancement in career steps, can be considered as an important development. In addition to POS, some regulations can be introduced to encourage teachers' innovative behaviors. It can be ensured that teachers are included in the decision-making processes and support they need, such as infrastructure and access to resources for generating and implementing new ideas. In recent years, the increasing support of the Ministry of National Education for teachers to make projects can be seen as an important step for teachers to display innovative behaviors.

The conclusions of this study should be considered within the scope of its limitations. The first of these limitations was the study's sample selection. In order to choose samples, a simple random sampling procedure was applied. The sample consists of primary, secondary,

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Ordu & Sarı (2022). The Role of Innovative Work Behaviour in the Relationship
Between Organizational Support and Organizational Happiness.

and high school teachers working in a city in Turkey. In terms of the generalizability of the findings to teachers, it is advised that the research be repeated using the stratified sample approach, including different regions and school types. The second limitation of the study is the collection of findings through self-report based on the statements of individuals. For this reason, research on IWB may not provide objective outcomes for teachers' behaviour. To overcome this ambiguity, researchers might do additional studies utilising data collected through mixed methods or triangulation. The study's last limitation was connected to its methodology. Because the study employed a cross-sectional method, the cause-effect relationship was investigated concurrently. The fact that the data were obtained during an emergency distance education time in schools, particularly owing to the Pandemic (COVID-19), may have influenced teachers' perceptions of IWB. Because of all of these factors, detailed relationships between variables may not have been revealed.

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About the authors:

Aydan Ordu is an Assistant Professor at Pamukkale University, Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Sciences. Her fields of study include topics such as organizational structure, leadership, diversity management, child-friendly schools.

E-mail: akursunoglu@pau.edu.tr

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization- formulation or evolution of overarching research goals and aims Methodology- development methodology. Supervision- oversight and leadership responsibility for the research activity planning and execution, Investigation- conducting a research and investigation process, Writing- review and editing.

Tamer Sarı is lecturer in the School of Foreign Languages at Pamukkale University, Turkey. His research interests include educational leadership, educational management, and organizational

behavior. He has recently focused on culturally responsive education and human resource management.

E-mail: tamersari@pau.edu.tr

Authorship credit details: Conceptualization- formulation or evolution of overarching research goals and aims. Methodology- development of methodology. Formal analysis- application of statistical techniques to analyse study data. Investigation- conducting a research and investigation process. Resources- provision of study materials. Writing-original draft preparation. Writing- review and editing.

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