

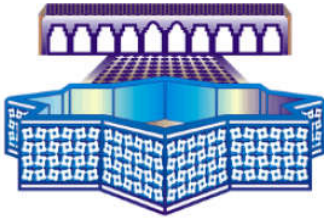


The Leadership Behaviors of Principals and Teachers Across Public Schools in Morocco

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The Leadership Behaviors of Principals and Teachers across Public Schools in Morocco

A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of *Doctorat*

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco. The development of public education in the country requires that principals and teachers play a leading role in the change efforts through strong collaborative relationships. The focus of the study is twofold: the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers, and the structural characteristics of the schools where they function. These two major variables are assigned equal importance, and the goal is identifying how each variable influences and is influenced by the other. Specifically, the study aims at determining (a) the extent to which principals and teachers demonstrate leadership for school-wide improvement, and (b) that to which the structural features of public schools enable or constrain the leadership activity. Based on both the quantitative and qualitative results of the study, the extent of leadership that principals and teachers exhibit across public schools in Morocco is largely *weak* while the structural characteristics of the schools where they operate severely constrain the leadership practice. The data obtained from the questionnaire survey of 205 teachers and 44 principals from several regions of the country reveal a lack of basic infrastructure, equipment, and decision making authority, large staff shortages, and weak and unproductive relationships between and among principals and teachers. The information gleaned from the interview survey of eight teachers and seven principals from different parts of the country confirm the quantitative results, and bring forth new insights such as the education authorities' antagonism to school-based leadership and unwillingness to share decision making with actors within schools. To illuminate the different reasons underpinning the lack of leadership across public schools in Morocco, a discussion of the wider context regarding the socioeconomic order in the country and across the globe is conducted. The study concludes with recommendations for practice, policy, and further research to pinpoint what change is needed and what pathways to pursue in its undertaking.

نبذة مختصرة

تتناول هذه الأطروحة بالتحقيق السلوكيات القيادية للمدراء والأساتذة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب. فتطوير التربية العمومية بالبلاد يتطلب أن يلعب المدراء والأساتذة دوراً ريادياً في جهود التغيير من خلال علاقات تعاونية قوية. التركيز في هذه الدراسة ذو شقين: السلوكيات القيادية للمدراء والأساتذة، والمُميّزات البنوية للمدارس التي يعملون بها. هذان المؤثران الرئيسيان يكتسبان نفس القدر من الأهمية، والهدف هو تحديد كيف يُؤثر و يتأثر كل منهما بالآخر. بصيغة أدق، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد (أ) مدى إظهار المدراء والأساتذة للقيادة التي تستهدف تطوير المدرسة ككل، و مدى (ب) تمكين أو تقييد المُميّزات الهيكلية للمدارس العمومية للنشاط القيادي. استناداً للنتائج الكمية والنوعية لهذه الدراسة، مدى إظهار المدراء والأساتذة للقيادة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب يعد ضعيفاً بشكل عام، في حين أن الخصائص الهيكلية للمدارس التي يعملون بها تُفيد العمل القيادي. البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها من الاستطلاع الذي شمل 205 أستاذاً و 44 مديراً من عدة جهات للبلاد تكشف عن ضعف في البنية التحتية الأساسية، والمعدات، وسلطة اتخاذ القرار، ونقص كبير في الأطر، وعلاقات ضعيفة وغير مثمرة فيما بين المدراء و الأساتذة. المعلومات المستقاة من المقابلات التي أجريت مع ثمانية أساتذة وسبعة مدراء من مناطق مختلفة من البلاد تؤكد النتائج الكمية، وتكشف معطيات جديدة مثل عداء السُلطات التربوية للقيادة المدرسية وعدم رغبتها في تقاسم صنع القرار مع الجهات الفاعلة داخل المدارس. لإلقاء الضوء على الأسباب المختلفة التي تكمن وراء ضعف القيادة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب، يتّم مناقشة السياق الأوسع المتعلق بالوضع الاجتماعي والاقتصادي في البلاد و العالم بأسره. وتُخلصُ الدراسة إلى توصيات تهم الممارسة، والسياسة، وأفق البحث في المستقبل لتحديد ماهية التغيير المطلوب و المسارات الممكنة إتباعها في تحقيقه.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to:

- my mother and father, the light and pride of my life.
- my delightful, beautiful, and loving sisters.
- my brothers, a source of unremitting support and self-assurance.

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Praise be to the Almighty, my Creator, for His innumerable blessings. It is all thanks to Allah that I have been able to go through many enlightening experiences from which I have gained greater wisdom, a better understanding of myself and the others, immense compassion for fellow human beings, and a sincere appreciation of the opportunities I have had in life. May He make this work of benefit to humankind, accept it among our good deeds, and give us the strength to continue seeking useful knowledge.

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General Introduction

In Morocco, change concerning public education has always been led by those at the top level of government while those within schools, particularly principals and teachers, have always had little say in what and how students learn. As the incessant waves of government-led reform have persistently failed to achieve any substantial improvement in the quality of education nationwide, an alternative approach where principals and teachers work closely together to lead change from within schools has become more insistent than ever. Principals and teachers know best about their students, schools, and communities and therefore need to be at the forefront of the leadership activity for change across public schools. Unlike government-led reform, which is often one-sided, uniform, restrictive, and coercive, leadership by principals and teachers is emergent, context-specific, deliberated, and self-fulfilling. To develop productive cultures and effectively address the many challenges public schools are faced with, it is imperative to extend principals and teachers' roles beyond mere implementation of official, predetermined guidelines governing their work to include creation of change, i.e. leadership rather than simply followership. The condition where principals and teachers are made to perform repetitively a small and insignificant part of the education process can only result in resentment, low self-esteem, boredom, and mindlessness. Such negative emotions tend to give way to positive ones when actors within schools are at the lead of the change efforts, giving rise to greater commitment and innovativeness across the board.

Yet, the emergence of leadership across public schools in Morocco is contingent not solely on government policy but also principals and teachers' behaviors. Having more freedom and authority in deciding how to respond to students' needs does certainly enable but not warrant involvement in the leadership work. Principals and teachers need to exhibit productive leadership behaviors rooted in proactivism and driven by collaboration. As argued by Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond (2001), the situation where actors operate may enable or constrain-but not determine-the outcomes of human action. Principals and teachers across

the country may be working under difficult conditions, whether related to infrastructure, moral and material support, or the education system as a whole, but they can never be excused for their lack of action. They are all obligated to exhibit agency and combine their efforts to lead improvement schoolwide. Principals and teachers may not have much control over systems and policies, but change is never out of their reach, especially when they choose to think and behave in constructive ways, such as showing respect and caring for one another, appreciating the work of each other, sharing ideas and materials, and working collaboratively to develop and implement common goals. Through strong relationships based on respect, trust and solidarity, principals and teachers can accomplish meaningful change in the quality of public education even under adverse circumstances. As a whole, the development of leadership across public schools is a shared responsibility of government, and principals and teachers; the former has to loosen control and provide adequate support while the latter have to demonstrate greater agency and work closely together to improve learning schoolwide, not merely in their individual classrooms.

The aim of this research is essentially identifying the extent to which principals and teachers demonstrate leadership across public schools in Morocco. The focus is twofold: the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers, and the characteristics of the situation where they function, namely public schools. The goal is not simply to describe each of these two major variables separately but more importantly to explore the interrelationships between them, i.e. how each influences and is influenced by the other. The central questions this study seeks to answer are as follows: What are public schools' structural characteristics like and to what extent do they enable or constrain leadership by principals and teachers? What are principals and teachers' leadership behaviors like and to what extent do they exhibit agency to improve learning schoolwide? Given the focus on interrelationships or explanation rather than merely description, the study attempts to answer six sub-questions:

1. To what extent do school structural characteristics enable or constrain principal and teacher leadership?
2. Are there any incentives and training for involvement in leadership?
3. What are principals and teachers' attitudes towards each other?
4. How frequently do principals and teachers interact with one another?
5. How do principals perceive their leadership behaviors and those of their teachers?
6. How do teachers perceive their principals and colleagues' leadership behaviors?

These sub-questions concern key interdependent factors in the leadership practice across public schools: schools structural characteristics, training and incentives, attitudes, level and focus of interaction, and principals and teachers' perceptions of their own and each other's leadership behaviors. Reliance on all these interconnected factors is bound to provide more reliable and valid answers regarding the extent to which principals and teachers exhibit leadership throughout public schools in the country.

The choice of principals and teachers' leadership behaviors across public schools as a topic for this thesis is meant to enrich the research literature on the subject, which has received little attention from researchers in the country. Educational research, particularly in highly centralized countries such as Morocco, is largely focused on the technology of teaching and learning, whether it be related to classroom practice or government policy. Under this type of research, the emphasis is often on technique; change in education is usually perceived to be a function of what individual teachers do in individual classrooms or what methods are introduced by respective governments. The importance of this study lies in its focus on people, namely principals and teachers, relationships among them, and what they do beyond individual classrooms to lead rather than simply implement change. The topic highlights a new conceptualization of principals and teachers' roles defined by site-based collaboration, initiative, and shared decision making as critical practices for effectively

addressing the enormous challenges facing public schools and enhancing the quality of public education. This research draws attention to the fact that change in education is a function of not only technique but most importantly human values, which drive progress in all walks of life and therefore need to be assigned the utmost importance in the development of public schools. The value-added of the study resides in examining the interplay between systemic structures, and principals and teachers' leadership behaviors, marking a shift away from research seeking to establish linear cause-effect relationships among variables based on contrived methods and driven solely by rationality while sidelining morality.

This research study is based on a mixed methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative data collection instruments, namely the questionnaire and interview. These are chosen because they are most suited for collecting people's opinions, the purpose of this study. The questionnaire is used for gathering data from large numbers of participants while the interview is meant to collect in-depth information regarding the research topics. The two methods therefore combine the strengths and compensate for the weaknesses of each other. Both instruments have equal weighting and both are designed to answer the same research questions. However, the data from the questionnaires are analyzed first followed by those from the interviews, a strategy adopted merely for organizational purposes. The goal is to start from more general, quantitative information and then move to more specific, qualitative data because the former are more representative of the target populations than the latter, which are mainly aimed at detail rather representation. Besides the use of two different research methods, the data in this study are based on two different populations: principals and teachers, a feature that allows for comparing and contrasting and ultimately helps increase the credibility of the findings. The sampling method used includes nonrandom snowball and volunteer sampling for the questionnaire, and purposeful maximum-variation sampling for the interview; the two methods are the most practical in terms of time and money. Overall, the

use of a mixed methods approach consisting of questionnaire and interview surveys of two different populations is bound to contribute a great deal to the validity and reliability of the research findings.

This thesis consists of a total of eight chapters. The first provides a review of the literature about the different models and theories of principal leadership; the former are meant for all kinds of contexts and outline different approaches that principals can adopt in leading schools together with their likely outcomes, whereas the latter are context-specific and illustrate what kinds of behaviors are most effective under what kinds of situations. In the second chapter, the concept of teacher leadership, its development, importance, and different models are explored. The focus is on the ways teachers could work together to achieve change from within schools. The third chapter is centered on distributed leadership and the type of school culture conducive to the development of the practice. The ways in which principals and teachers can join forces to enhance learning schoolwide and the cultures that underlie distributed leadership are all at the heart of the chapter. In the fourth chapter, the focal point is principal and teacher leadership in the context of Morocco. The historical, political, and socioeconomic characteristics of the country as a whole, the structural features of public schools, and official educational policy are examined to determine the ways in which they all enable or constrain the leadership work by principals and teachers. The fifth chapter deals with the research methodology, i.e. what and how methods are used to collect and analyze data and why they are best suited for the purpose of the study, i.e. identifying the extent to which principals and teachers exhibit leadership across public schools. The sixth chapter is concerned with analyzing the quantitative and qualitative data regarding principals and teachers' leadership behaviors based on principals' views. Similarly, the seventh chapter provides an analysis of the data derived from the questionnaire and interview surveys concerning teachers' perceptions of their principals and colleagues' leadership behaviors. The

eighth chapter summarizes and explains the findings of the study from different perspectives related to human agency, power relations, and the prevailing sociopolitical order at the national and global stage. The chapter also discusses the implications of the study and provides recommendations for further research.

Chapter One:
Principal Leadership

I.1. Introduction

School principals have always been elemental to school success. The roles embedded in their positions allow them to exercise great influence over what happens at schools. With the shift towards more bottom-up approaches to school reform, principals' influence has grown even greater, placing them at the forefront of all improvement efforts. In addition to their managerial roles, their involvement in leadership tasks centered on student learning has come to be regarded as a cornerstone of educational change. Therefore, it is important to examine the different ways in which principals can lead change from within schools.

This chapter is composed of two major sections. The first concerns general models of leadership meant for all different school contexts. These models are categorized into transactional, transformational, instructional, and facilitative. The meanings, methods, purposes, and even weaknesses of each of these models are explored to provide an adequate understanding of principal leadership. The four models encompass different sets of leadership behaviors; yet, they need to be viewed in relation to each other rather than in isolation so as to comprehend the different aspects of principal leadership. No single model can on its own suffice to provide an appropriate understanding of what leadership entails. The models make different parts of a whole.

The second section of this chapter is centered on the contingency theories of leadership, namely the LPC Contingency Model, the Path-goal Theory, the Situational Leadership Theory, the Leadership Substitutes Theory, the Multiple-linkage Model, and the Cognitive Resources Theory. These all underscore how leaders in general need to adapt their behaviors according to the needs of the situation where they operate. The characteristics of the situation in terms of subordinates or teachers in the context of education, the task at hand, and the organization as a whole vary across time and space and so need leaders' behaviors. The section therefore lays out what leadership behaviors are most appropriate under what

situational variables. The end result is that leadership is approached in context rather than apart from it, contributing a great deal to an appropriate understanding of principal leadership which is not to be viewed as static or fixed but rather flexible, dynamic, and tailored to the specific features of the situation.

Considered together, this chapter delineates some of the venues for principal leadership encompassing several important behaviors that can drive improvement across schools. On the other hand, the contingency theories draw attention to the importance of the situation in the leadership work and the need for principals and leaders in general to adapt their behaviors to the needs of the situation where they work.

I.2. Models of Leadership

There are four major models of principal leadership: transactional, instructional, transformational, and facilitative. These highlight different paths, strategies, and behaviors for leading schools towards improvement. When approached together, the theories outline a gradual transformation in principals' roles over the years emerging in response to different social needs and school contexts. Under the transactional model, the principal insures that teachers perform their duties as agreed to in their contracts in exchange for rewards. The instructional model centers on instructional improvement, marking an expansion in principals' traditional roles. Similarly, the transformational model aims at improvement but is more comprehensive in scope since the focus is on all different contributors to student learning. The facilitative approach argues for less control on the part of principals and more support for teachers to unleash their creativity. The aim of this section is to explore what each of these models entails and in what context each has emerged. The section also provides a critical view into each of the models.

I.2.1. Transactional Leadership

Transactional comes from *transaction*, which means “an exchange or transfer of goods, services, or funds” (“transaction,” n.d.). In the context of education, the term *transactional* refers to an agreement by teachers and principals to carry out specific tasks and accomplish explicit targets in return for receiving something of value. Leithwood (1992) states that:

Transactional leadership is based on an exchange of services (from a teacher, for example) for various kinds of rewards (salary, recognition, and intrinsic rewards) that the leader controls, at least in part. (p. 9)

The exchange of service is, thus, a central feature of transactional leadership. For a teacher, it could simply mean providing appropriate teaching services as outlined in the employment contract in exchange for a desired outcome, such as pay, praise, prestige, and other overt and covert forms of rewards (op. cit.). Conley and Goldman (1994) explain how transactional leadership works. Leaders or principals, who hold most powers, identify areas in need of improvement, set goals, and put in place the procedures necessary to achieve such goals. These procedures largely depend on rewards or what Den Hartog, Van Muijen, and Koopman (1997) call “implicit bargains” to secure agreements for accomplishing the target objectives. Conley and Goldman (op. cit.) affirm that:

Transactional leadership involves recognizing what needs to be done to achieve specific goals or tasks and securing agreements to do so. Such agreements are often achieved by an exchange, tacit or otherwise, between the leader and the organizational members of something valued by either or both. (p. 5)

Avolio, Bass, and Jung (1999) put forward four behavior dimensions characteristic of transactional leadership. These start with the highest level of activity and end with the lowest; they include:

1. Contingency rewards, which involve setting goals, making available necessary resources, and making and providing rewards on performance;

2. Management by exception–active, which refers to monitoring followers’ performance and making a record of mistakes;
3. Management by exception–passive, which refers to the extent to which leaders are unaware of problems and intervene only after they occur; and
4. Laissez-faire leadership, which implies avoidance of responsibility, failure to make decisions, absence when needed, and lack of follow-up on requests (op. cit.).

These behavior dimensions, especially the most active ones, convey a central role of the principal in decision making schoolwide. Important to note, however, is that some researchers such as Den Hartog et al. (op. cit.) view ‘laissez-faire leadership’ as a separate and an independent form of leadership rather than a dimension of transactional leadership. These researchers argue that transactional leadership is active while laissez-faire is not. They (op. cit.) explain that:

The laissez-faire leader avoids decision making and supervisory responsibility. This type of leader is inactive, rather than reactive or proactive. In a sense this extremely passive type of leadership indicates the absence of leadership. (p. 21)

Den Hartog et al. (op. cit.) add that while even the least active dimension of the transactional model, passive management-by-exception, attempts to maintain the status quo, laissez-faire leadership ignores it altogether; decision making and supervision of faculty and staff are left unattended. In their view, leadership in essence involves a level of activity, a criterion which laissez-faire leadership does not satisfy, and thus it cannot be associated with any of the common forms of leadership.

Jung (2001) clarifies the nature of the relationship between leaders and followers under the transactional model. He maintains that the leader-follower or principal-teacher relationship is premised on positive reinforcement for desired behaviors. Principals motivate teachers to implement a road map for school improvement through the use of implicit and explicit forms of rewards. The relationship between the two parties is by no means one of an

“superior-inferior” kind, nor is it one of coercion to have followers act as seen fit. Rather, the needs of teachers, although usually decided by the principal, are acknowledged and incorporated in the employment agreement or any other subsequent agreement between the principal and teachers to carry out a specific course of action. Fundamentally, the intention is to turn an inconvenient school environment to one that is conducive to teaching and learning. It is also to protect, not to compromise, the rights of every individual member of the school community, whether a student or a teacher. In this regard, Jung (op. cit.) emphasizes the facilitative role of the principal which is to facilitate, not to hinder, the process for teachers to achieve the envisaged outcomes. Intervention is to remain minimal as long as teachers are in line with the objectives agreed to with the principal. When intervention occurs, its aim is to redress deviations from the initial plan.

Like any other form of leadership, transactional leadership is more suited for some school contexts and less so for others. House, Woycke, and Fodor (1988) highlight the contexts in which transactional leadership works well. They point out that:

When the job and the environment of the follower fail to provide the necessary motivation, direction and satisfaction, the leader, through his or her behaviour, will be effective by compensating for the deficiencies. (Cited in Den Hartog et al., op. cit., p. 20)

In a school environment lacking in motivation, direction and satisfaction, principals need to step in to make clear what performance standards teachers are expected to meet and what rewards they will receive in return. Thus, leaders fill the void and provide (a) direction by setting performance goals, (b) motivation by rewarding the achievement of those goals, and (c) satisfaction which is a natural result of being able to achieve the goals and being rewarded for doing so (op. cit.). A school environment with little or no motivation, direction and satisfaction does certainly call for intervention, mainly from the principal, to secure agreement on implementing a scheme for improving both teaching and learning. With benefits attached, it is likely that such a scheme would help reverse the general attitude prevailing

throughout the school. Here Leithwood (op. cit.) affirms that transactional leadership helps increase confidence and motivation among members of the organization. He states that:

Transactional leadership practices, some claim, help people recognize what needs to be done in order to reach a desired outcome and may also increase their confidence and motivation. (p. 9)

Confidence and motivation are in turn elemental to school improvement. Accordingly, Conley and Goldman (op. cit.) underscore the role of transactional leadership in maintaining the organization and developing trust and motivation among its constituting members. They affirm that “transactional leadership is important for maintaining organizational functioning and can build trust and enhance motivation” (p. 6).

Nevertheless, several criticisms have been leveled against transactional leadership. For example, Burns (1978) notes that while transactional leadership helps increase motivation it does so by appealing to teachers’ self- rather than common interests. This is perpetuated by the nature of the agreement made by teachers and principals. The former comply with decisions made by the latter in exchange for rewards. While they are meant as a means to an end, rewards in their different forms might turn out to be the ultimate goal for many teachers (op. cit.). The aim of compliance may not be so much the improvement of teaching and learning, supposedly the end; the aim might turn into the improvement of personal status and revenue, which is meant to be only a means. Therefore, this model might corrupt the entire teaching process and result in adverse consequences as teachers might be tempted into carrying out decisions which they know are inappropriate in return for material gain.

Leithwood (op. cit.) adds that teachers under transactional leadership are not expected to go beyond the standards outlined in their employment contracts. They are not motivated to reach their fullest potential and pursue higher-order targets, which results in minimal organizational production. Nguni, Slegers, and Denssen (2006) stress that:

Transactional leadership entailed the exchange value of things with no mutual pursuit of higher order or just enough to produce minimum organizational production. (p.147)

The lack of high expectations induced by this model is echoed by Jung (op. cit.) who views this type of leadership as one that preserves the status quo. Conley and Goldman (op. cit.) confirm that transactional leadership does not stimulate improvement. Teachers need to first believe in the usefulness of whatever policies are undertaken in order for improvement to ensue, a condition which, they argue, is difficult to verify with the use of rewards under the transactional model. Consent could be traded for material benefits; whether or not the espoused course of action makes sense might not always be of utmost priority to teachers. School strategies, therefore, might be approached more from a socio-economic than an educational perspective; they could be weighed more in terms of their benefits to individual teachers than to the school as a whole. Conley and Goldman (op. cit.) add that transactional leadership induces a lack of networking among individual teachers, making it difficult to develop the collective sense necessary for initiating improvement schoolwide. This ensues from the fact that teachers' focus is directed at implementing the guidelines encompassed in what Conley and Goldman (op. cit.) call "the transaction list". Little attention is paid to understanding how individual effort contributes to organizational goals, which creates a situation of fragmentation within the school and impedes the creation of common meaning, purposes, and goals (op. cit.).

I.2.2. Instructional Leadership

In instructional leadership, the emphasis is placed on the improvement of instruction across the school. This model, Hallinger (2003) notes, surfaced in the 1980s with the emergence of research on change implementation, school effectiveness, and school improvement. Its central feature is an active involvement of the principal in the improvement

of instruction, curriculum, and assessment schoolwide. Hallinger (op. cit.) provides a summary outlining other defining features of instructional leadership. He notes that:

1. Instructional leadership is largely a responsibility of the elementary school principal, considering that it originates in the “instructional effective elementary school.”
2. The principal plays a key role in the coordination, control, supervision, and development of curriculum and instruction.
3. The principal is a *strong, directive* leader. A leadership of such qualities is considered crucial for initiating drastic change, especially at poor schools.
4. Instructional leadership is goal-oriented. Focus is placed on improving student academic outcomes. This orientation is driven by a need for focused action with clear goals and tangible results.
5. Instructional leadership aims at developing a strong school culture and setting high standards for both teachers and students.
6. The instructional leader depends on a mix of expertise and charisma. He or she is practical, knowledgeable on matters of curriculum and instruction, and is not intimidated to work with teachers on the improvement of instruction.

While focus is on instruction, this type of leadership goes beyond the individual classroom; it emphasizes building a strong school culture, one with common values and shared goals. Donmoyer and Wagstaff (1990) and Murphy (1988) affirm that instructional leadership is concerned with all factors likely to contribute to student learning (cited in Marks & Printy, 2003). It is, as Sebring and Bryk (2000) argue, “everything a principal does during the day to support the achievement of students and the ability of teachers to teach” (cited in Marks & Printy, op. cit., p. 373). Leithwood (op. cit.) maintains that while this model is centered on instruction (first-order change), it does not ignore second-order change. He (op. cit.) asserts that:

The term instructional leadership focuses administrators' attention on "first-order" changes—improving the technical, instructional activities of the school through the close monitoring of teachers' and students' classroom work. Yet instructional leaders often make such important "second-order changes" as building a shared vision, improving communication, and developing collaborative decision-making. (p. 9)

Schools are complex systems consisting of closely interdependent components. Improvement within any of these systems relies on whether all factors are addressed or not. This fact, Leithwood (op. cit.) points out, is acknowledged within the instructional model in the sense that principals make second-order changes while trying to introduce first-order ones with an emphasis on instruction. Effective first-order change, Leithwood (op. cit.) notes, is unlikely without the support usually provided through second-order change.

From the viewpoint of Hallinger (op. cit.), instructional leadership consists of three major dimensions: defining the school's mission, managing the instructional program, and promoting a positive learning climate. These dimensions altogether comprise ten leadership functions. The first dimension, defining the school's mission, includes setting and communicating the school's goals with an emphasis on improving student learning. The second dimension, managing the instructional program, aims at coordinating and controlling instruction and curriculum. It encompasses three functions: the supervision and evaluation of instruction, the coordination of the curriculum, and the monitoring of student progress. The fulfillment of functions such as these requires strong commitment and a high level of involvement from the principal aimed at developing effective instruction schoolwide. The third dimension, fostering a positive learning environment, includes five functions: protecting instructional time, promoting professional development, maintaining high visibility, providing incentives for teachers, and providing incentives for learning. These functions all seek to establish high standards and expectations, and promote a culture of continuous improvement (op. cit.). In view of these dimensions and their constituting functions, the principal's major

responsibilities reside in creating a supportive environment while ensuring that standards and practices are in close alignment with the school's mission.

Murphy (1990) distinguishes between two types of instructional leadership: conventional and shared. The former is viewed as paternalistic, archaic, and dependent on passive followers. The latter, which gained momentum with the professionalization of teaching and the development of teachers' competence, calls for a more active role for teachers in the development of instruction (cited in Marks & Printy, *op. cit.*). Shared instructional leadership, therefore, aims at empowering teachers who are considered important sources of leadership. The nature of their relationship with principals is not one of exchanging services, nor is it one of compliance with top-down pre-determined approaches to teaching and learning. Rather, it is one of negotiating alternative instructional methods that are likely to increase student learning (*op. cit.*). Marks and Printy (*op. cit.*) add that shared instructional leadership is not to be found in position; it is often subtle and lies in the overall attitudes exhibited and promoted across the school. It involves neither abandoning nor infringing on roles, nor does it provoke conflict among them.

Through direct and regular contact with teachers, shared instructional leadership espouses a more bottom-up approach to the development of instruction and professional growth, which have long been shaped by top-down policies yielding little improvement. It is a more bottom-up approach in the sense that it is based on partnership, support, and accountability. Teachers take more responsibility, receive adequate support, and are accordingly held accountable for school improvement (Marks & Printy, *op. cit.*). Principals, in their turn, are concerned not only with overseeing what teaching methods are employed and how effective they are but also with supporting teachers and facilitating their professional development. Shared instructional leadership, in this sense, is a reciprocal rather than a linear process. Blase and Kirby (2000) maintain that "principals must provide opportunities for

teacher growth, but teachers are responsible for seizing these opportunities” (cited in Marks & Printy, op. cit., p. 374). Principals and teachers are partners; each and every one has responsibilities to honor. If any particular responsibility is neglected, the results will fall short of the desired outcomes (op. cit.).

Instructional leadership is not without critics. Many questions have been raised about the practicality of the instructional model (Hallinger, op. cit.). Principals have many responsibilities: managerial, political, instructional, institutional, and symbolic. Narrowly focusing on one particular role, the improvement of instruction, may result in a poorly functioning school with an unproductive principal left with little energy and time to devote to other responsibilities. In fact, the principals who may have the *will* and *skill* to provide the kind of hands-on, directive leadership can only be very few. Principals cannot be experts in all subject areas; they might happen to have little or no knowledge about certain areas of study. Their lack of skill might lead to a subsequent lack of will or vice versa. In addition, principals might refrain from trying to guide the teaching and learning processes when needed due to a perceived sense of incompetence. They could be intimidated by potential embarrassment arising from their limited knowledge of certain subject areas. In other cases, they could be intimidated by the unwarranted outcomes of their attempts to influence instruction, which could result in unintended consequences (op. cit.).

Moreover, Cuban (1988) maintains that efforts to fulfil the instructional role could conflict with the “basic structural and normative conditions of the principalship and the school (cited in Hallinger, op. cit., p. 335). Principals have limited powers and their instructional creativity is often restricted by the many responsibilities they have to fulfil. Hallinger (op. cit.) notes that:

Principals occupy a middle management position in which their authority to command is severely limited. The limited authority of principals is compounded when considered in light of their need to meet the expectations of those above and below them in the hierarchy. (p. 335)

Therefore, even when they have the necessary will and skill, principals might lack the authority necessary for achieving the desired change. Teachers' unions, parent associations, bureaucratic decrees are among the many factors that could stifle principals' creativity and innovation.

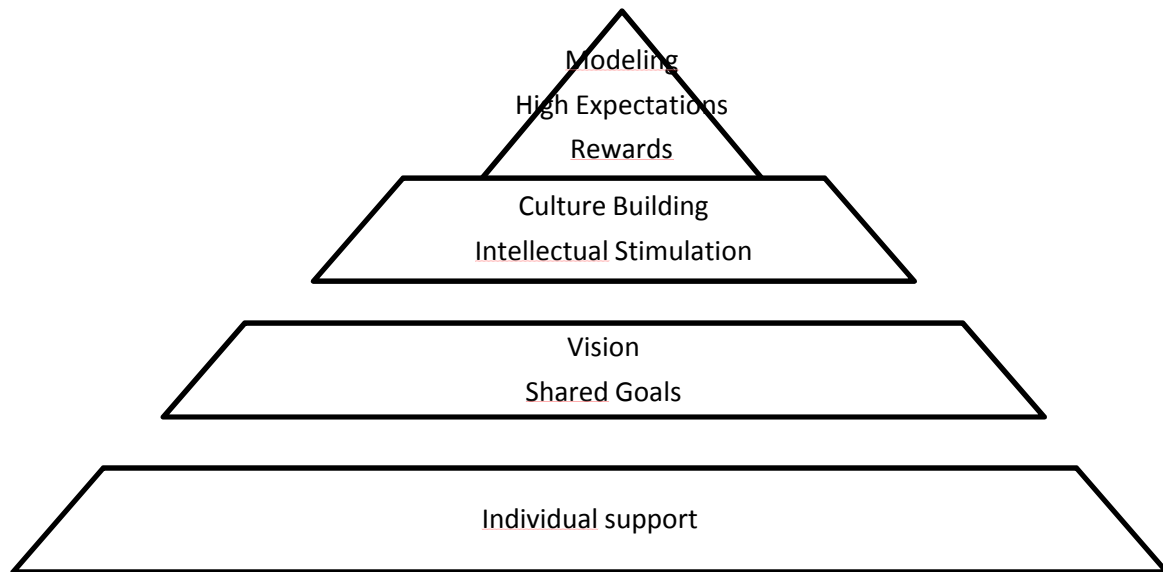
I.2.3. Transformational Leadership

Compared to the transactional and instructional models, transformational leadership espouses a more comprehensive approach to school leadership, one that is focused on change of many different school processes. It is similar to instructional leadership in principle, as both aim at improvement, but different in methods and purposes. The transformational model is considered less controlling and more facilitative; it is focused on the whole rather than a specific part or parts of the whole. Historically speaking, it first emerged as a theory in non-educational settings, mainly in business corporations, and later on marked its presence in education with the emergence of school restructuring in North America in the 1990s (Hallinger, *op. cit.*). Since then, it has received, besides instructional leadership, most interest from scholars in the field. In general, the model evolved as an alternative to the top-down educational reforms that prevailed in North America during the 1980s (*op. cit.*).

Transformational leadership, according to Hallinger (*op. cit.*) consists of a sequence of procedures laying out the steps likely to help effect the transformation of a school. As illustrated in figure 1.1, these steps are: individualized support, shared goals, vision, intellectual stimulation, culture building, rewards, high expectations, and modeling. These ingredients, as Hallinger (*op. cit.*) affirms, reflect a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach to school change. The process involves first supporting teachers, then forming shared goals, and eventually stimulating a culture of professional growth and achievement by setting high expectations and providing rewards when these expectations are met. Marks and Printy (*op. cit.*) corroborate Hallinger's (*op. cit.*) conceptualization of the transformational

model. They (op. cit.) maintain that transformational leadership “provides intellectual direction and aims at innovating within the organization, while empowering and supporting teachers as partners in decision making” (p. 371). In this sense, there is less control of

Figure 1.1: Leithwood, Jantzi, and Steinbach’s (1998) model of transformational leadership (adapted by Hallinger, op. cit.).



teaching and learning because the aim is to increase commitment among teachers-not to impose a specific instructional approach-for the purpose of improving organizational outcomes. Marks and Printy (op. cit.) point out that:

Transformational leadership seeks to raise participants’ level of commitment (Burns, 1978), to encourage them in reaching their fullest potential (Bass and Avolio, 1993), and to support them in transcending their own self-interest for a larger good (Bass and Avolio, 1993). (p. 372-73)

This focus on the human asset is echoed by Hallinger (op. cit.) who sums up the underlying principle of transformational leadership in that it attempts to bring about change in *people*.

There is more focus on perceptions, concerns, and attitudes than on the mechanics of teaching and the proven methods of learning. The aim is to understand the beliefs and attitudes of the different members of the school community, to locate weaknesses and address them, and to identify strengths and reinforce them. The resulting outcome is that reform will be grounded

in a solid comprehension of the school context, the school *culture* will be in close alignment with its *structure*, and improvement would be more likely to occur.

Leithwood (1994) put forward nine functions of transformational leadership classified into three main categories. These are:

(a) Mission centered (developing a widely shared vision for the school, building consensus about school goals and priorities), (b) performance centered (holding high performance expectations, providing individualized support, supplying intellectual stimulation), and (c) culture centered (modeling organizational values, strengthening productive school culture, building collaborative cultures, and creating structures for participation in school decisions). (Cited in Marks & Printy, *op. cit.*, p. 375)

A common feature of these functions is their emphasis on productive collaboration among individual members of the organization. In order to establish shared goals, set high expectations, motivate teachers, build their capacity of change, and promote a productive school culture, principal-teacher and teacher-teacher collaboration and productive relationships among all involved parties are indispensable. Sarason (1990) confirms that power relationships among administrators and teachers, parents and staffs, and students and teachers are major determinants of the success or failure of schools (cited in Leithwood, *op. cit.*). Therefore, the transformational model encompassed in the nine functions developed by Leithwood (1994) constitutes a comprehensive and appropriate range of leadership practices centered on working with people and aimed at strengthening constructive relationships across the school community. Emphasis in the model is not on direct involvement in classroom instruction in order to introduce *first-order* changes; rather, it is on bringing about *second-order* changes that facilitate first-order, original, and meaningful change initiatives. This approach culminates in less control and imposition which certainly helps (a) lower tensions between those at the top of the hierarchy and those at the bottom, (b) boost teachers' morale and increase their commitment, and eventually (c) create a more friendly teaching and

learning environment, one with less pressure and conflict. Hallinger (op. cit.) describes how change takes place under transformational leadership as follows:

Transformational leaders work with others in the school community to identify personal goals and then link these to the broader organisational goals (Barth, 1990; Lambert, 2002). This approach is believed to increase commitment of the staff who see the relationship between what they are trying to accomplish and the mission of the school. These changes are conceived as *second-order* effects in the sense that the principal is creating the conditions under which others are committed and self-motivated to work towards the improvement of the school without specific direction from above. (p. 338)

The process of change involves building on what is personal to form what is organizational. Subsequently, there are strong connections between personal and organizational goals; teachers are more likely to identify with these goals and believe in their feasibility and positive effects on teaching and learning. This state of affairs helps stimulate teachers to devote more time and effort to achieving set goals.

Leithwood (op. cit.) underscores the change undertaken by many business institutions over the last two decades from type A (top-down) to type Z (bottom-up) organizations. The latter adopt a more participative approach to leadership, whereas the former rely on centralized, top-down decision making. Leithwood (op. cit.: 8-9) maintains that:

Type A organizations, very useful for some situations and tasks, centralize control and maintain differences in status between workers and managers and among levels of management; they also rely on top-down decision processes. Such organizations, which include the traditional school, are based on “competitive” (Roberts 1986) or “top-down” (Dunlap and Goldman 1991) power. This is the power to control-to control the selection of new employees, the allocation of resources, and the focus for professional development.

In contrast, Type Z organizations rely on strong cultures to influence employees’ directions and reduce differences in the status of organizational members. Type Z organizations emphasize participative decision making as much as possible. They are based on a radically different form of power that is “consensual” and “facilitative” in nature – a form of power manifested *through* other people, not *over* other people.

Schools in the process of restructuring, as Leithwood (op. cit.) stresses, need to make a gradual shift towards “the facilitative end of the power continuum” (p. 9) in order for

improvement to occur. A more facilitative approach implies increased teacher participation in decision making to form original and achievable goals more fit for the school context, which would subsequently generate a sense of commitment, responsibility, and self-accountability towards the change introduced.

Nevertheless, transformational leadership has its critics. Hallinger (op. cit.) notes that it is difficult to measure the effects of this model because leadership is viewed as an organizational rather than an individual property. Transformational leadership concerns a whole organization rather than a single individual or matter, which requires a complex investigation of many different leaders, their perceptions and attitudes, and their influence on different aspects of school performance. Hallinger (op. cit.: 341) states that:

If studying the effects of a single leader on features of school organisation and its outcomes has proven to be a challenging task for scholars (Hallinger and Heck, 1996a, 1996b), then studying transformational leadership is even more daunting.

In addition, transformational leadership emerged in a specific context; it gained prominence in the context of the American school restructuring movement of the early 1990s which emphasized teacher professionalism, learning communities, and professional development (op. cit.). In other words, the cultural and policy contexts of education vary across nations according to their sociopolitical and economic features. Some countries might be ready for this type of leadership while others might not. Many if not most countries are still struggling to increase enrolment and provide basic education-how to read and write-to larger segments of the population. The main concern in most parts of the globe is quantity, which leaves little time, energy, and resources for the improvement of quality. As a result, transformational leadership may not prove effective under all sorts of contexts.

Moreover, it is difficult to carry out transformational leadership which requires personal and professional qualities that are not easy for principals to develop (op. cit.). Given the time constraint and the many responsibilities of principals, the capacities encompassed in this

model, such as building consensus, providing individualized support, modeling organizational values, and building collaborative cultures, are not easy to develop and practice. Thus, the practicability of transformational leadership remains relative depending on school context. Hallinger (op. cit.) adds that the transformational model could result in a situation of ambiguity and uncertainty since leadership is diffused among many actors within the school. A leadership model such as this may be advanced as effective even when it is not simply for its alignment with “the latest fad or politically correct notion of schooling” (op. cit., p. 341). Regardless, the transformational model remains central to the understanding of principal leadership in its various forms. After all, transforming schools does not take place neatly or comfortably because change is messy in nature and requires a degree of tolerance to ambiguity, uncertainty, and stress (op. cit.).

I.2.4. Facilitative Leadership

Facilitating teachers’ work is often cited as a central characteristic of transformational leadership (e.g. Leithwood, op. cit.; Hallinger, op. cit.). Facilitative leadership is thus an upgraded version of transformational leadership that has eventually grown independent over time. Conley and Goldman (op. cit.) define facilitative leadership as “the behaviors that enhance the collective ability of a school to adapt, solve problems, and improve performance” (p. 4). The facilitative model is grounded in the belief that power is fluid and that total control of the flow of power within an organization is impracticable and unproductive. Schools are very complex systems in which energy flows from many different sources and power has multiple points of control. Conley and Goldman (op. cit.: 4) insist that:

One individual cannot singlehandedly monitor all the ways in which power affects or modifies behaviors and actions among all the individuals in an organization. Leaders can only hope to understand the flow of power and, where appropriate, direct it in ways that facilitate organizational function and individual efficacy.

As put broadly by Rees (2001: 60), facilitative leaders are those who act on “the premise that *a leader does not do for others what they can do for themselves*” (qtd. in

Moore, 2004, p. 231). Teachers can meet their students' needs when appropriate support mechanisms are in place.

Facilitative leadership is premised on four core values: valid information, free and informed choice, internal commitment, and compassion (Schwarz, 2002). For information to be valid or "independently confirmable," principals' interaction with teachers is necessary, which explains why seeking teachers' opinions prior to making decisions is important. The second core value, free and informed choice, is related to the first. For a decision to be free, it has to resist outside pressure and be based on valid information. The third value, internal commitment, results from the state of being able to make a free and informed choice. Moore (op. cit.) notes that:

This internal commitment to the decision happens because the individual knows that he has all of the relevant information that was necessary to make the decision and that he made it knowing all of the restraints and consequences. Because of this the person owns and willingly lives with the decision. (p. 232)

Internal commitment streams from teachers' belief in the practicability and usefulness of espoused plans of action. Teachers usually aspire to see something of their own making happen. The fourth aspect of facilitative leadership, compassion, is described as "the ability to temporarily suspend judgment when listening to others" (Moore, op. cit., p. 233). Suspending judgment is important for understanding others' viewpoints and concerns.

Goldman, Dunlap, and Conley (1993) cite six major characteristics of facilitative leaders. These are as follows:

- Creativity in dealing with resource constraints of time, funds, and information.
- The ability to maximize the synergy of human resources by developing teams with different but complementary skills and interpersonal qualities.
- The ability to provide adequate feedback, manage arising conflicts, and coordinate efforts by being sufficiently aware of staff activities.

- The ability to expand involvement in order to develop strong intra-school and community networks that recognize excellence.
- The ability to strengthen collaboration through close interaction with and among teachers.
- The ability to exploit these behaviors in modeling and embodying the school's vision.

Similar characteristics are emphasized by Rees (2005) in her conceptualization of the facilitative model. She (op. cit.) states that:

The leader who can take the role of a facilitator blends his or her role of visionary decisive leader with that of listening and empowering leader. As a facilitative leader he or she involves followers as much as possible in creating the group's vision and purpose, carrying out the vision and purpose, and building a productive and cohesive team. Facilitation can be seen as a leadership *approach*. (p. 19)

Schwarz (op. cit.) adds that:

Facilitative leadership is a values-based, systemic leadership philosophy founded on the core values and assumptions, principles, and methods of the Skilled Facilitator approach. The facilitative leader helps groups and individuals become more effective through building their capacity to reflect on and improve the way they work. (p. 327)

Facilitative leadership is therefore about empowerment, capacity building, collaboration, partnership, and commitment. In essence, it is about enabling people to do what they cannot on their own and without help.

Since facilitative leadership originates in the transformational model, the criticism mounted against both models is similar in many respects. Most notably, the practicability of facilitative leadership remains questionable, particularly when considering the varying policy and cultural contexts of education across nations (Hallinger, op. cit.). The skills, work ethics, and values required under this model are not easy to develop whether through training or any other venues of professional development.

In summary, this section presents four major models of principal leadership, underlining different roles that principals can undertake in leading schools and the likely results of their implementation on the ground. The four models are all important to the understanding of principal leadership and therefore need to be viewed in relation to one another rather than in isolation. Yet, the situation where leaders function and how it is likely to affect their behaviors remain unaccounted for in the models, giving rise to the contingency theories. The underpinning idea of these is that leaders' behaviors are most effective when appropriately adapted to the demands of the situation. A leader behavior that works well in one situation may not in others.

I.3. The Contingency Theories of Leadership

There are six contingency theories of leadership: the LPC Contingency Theory, the Path-goal Theory, the Situational Leadership Theory, the Leadership Substitutes Theory, the Multiple-linkage Theory, and the Cognitive Resources Theory (Yukl, 1998). A common feature among these theories is that they all examine the interrelationships among three major variables: leadership behaviors, situational characteristics, and subordinates' performance. However, the theories emphasize different aspects of the situation, leader behavior, and subordinate performance. When put together, these aspects provide an insight into the different characteristics of the situation that need to be considered and the kind of leader behavior that will be most effective in such circumstances.

This section carries special importance to the study of leadership in the Moroccan context. First, it draws attention to the need for approaching leadership in relation to the particular conditions where school leaders work rather than to theories developed in and meant for contexts that are very different from the one under investigation. Such an approach helps avoid blindly advocating the adoption of leadership theories or behaviors that do not necessarily address the needs of Moroccan schools. Also to be avoided is evaluating

Moroccan school leaders based on the extent to which they implement behaviors embedded in rigid leadership models. Second, the section presents a comprehensive and practical approach to leadership. The focus is not only on individuals and their prior knowledge and training but also on the extent to which they effectively deal with the challenges faced and properly address the needs of the situation. Without sufficient understanding of the situation, leaders, no matter how qualified they might seem, remain highly prone to making mistakes that could cause school performance to decline rather than increase.

I.3.1. The Importance of the Situation in the Study of Leadership

The contingency theorists (e.g. (e.g. Fiedler, 1964; House, 1996; Hersey & Blanchard, 1998; Kerr & Jermier, 1978) attach special importance to the role of the situation in the leadership process. They argue that effectiveness is not inherent in any particular model of leadership but rather contingent upon the situation. In other words, effectiveness is not to be found in any particular predetermined theory of leadership; instead, it depends on the extent to which leaders appropriately understand and address the needs of their respective organizations.

According to Gronn (2009), there is a need for a naturalistic approach to school leadership, one in which leaders adjust their behaviors whenever needed to respond effectively to the emergent needs of the situation. In Gronn's (op. cit.) view, leadership needs to be "an adaptive or emergent response to wider environmental and immediate situational challenges that are specific to that context" (p. 20). Adaptive leadership is considered a major contributor to effective leadership because the situation is dynamic in nature rather than static, and therefore a flexible approach in which leaders can respond variably and effectively to unexpected change is required. The need for a naturalistic approach to leadership, i.e. one which is in accordance with the natural habitat of the school, is also underscored by Macbeath (2009). He indicates that "life in schools is never that elegantly simple" (p. 53). The school

context is often vibrant and unpredictable, which means that it does not lend itself to any one particular model of leadership. Emphasizing the dynamic nature of the situation, Macbeath (op. cit.) notes that leaders need to be “highly sensitive to a range of contextual factors in a continuing state of flux” (p. 54). Among these factors are: student background, community type, organizational structure, school culture, teacher experience and competence, fiscal resources, school size, and bureaucratic and labor organizations (op. cit.). These variables all combine together to determine the course of action likely to be most effective; therefore, they influence and are influenced by leaders’ decisions. As indicated by Hallinger (op. cit.), leadership is “a mutual influence process, rather than ... a one-way process in which leaders influence others” (p. 346).

In their turn, Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, and Lee (1982) confirm that there is no specific recipe for effective leadership (cited in Hallinger, op. cit.). Differences among schools in terms of the contextual features specified above by Macbeath (op. cit.) do exist; consequently, leaders need to embrace an original, innovative, and creative approach to leadership, one which is focused on the exigencies posed by the situation. Bossert et al. (op. cit.: 38) maintain that “no single style of management seems appropriate for all schools ... principals must find the style and structures most suited to their own local situation” (qtd. in Hallinger, op. cit., p. 345). Based on quantitative studies of effective schools, the authors have found that “certain principal behaviours have different effects in different organizational settings” (op. cit.). Implied here is that the potential effects of any particular leader behavior are not fixed but rather variable depending on the school’s structural and cultural characteristics and how they change over time. Attempts to duplicate or wholeheartedly embrace leadership practices that proved effective in some other contexts could, therefore, result in a huge waste of resources and cause the school to lose rather than gain from such efforts.

The underpinning principle of the contingency theories is that “there is no one best style of leadership; it depends upon the situation within which the attempt to influence takes place” (Hersey & Blanchard, op. cit., p. 173). The key to effectiveness for leaders is to understand and align their behaviors with the special requirements of the situation in which they work. “The more that leaders can adapt their behaviors to the situation, the more effective their attempts to influence become” (op. cit.). Therefore, researchers such as Hallinger and Heck (1996) conclude that it is meaningless to study principal leadership in isolation from the context where it takes place. Leaders work at schools with different constraints, resources, and opportunities that they have to understand well in order to lead effectively. As a result, a differential approach to leadership molded according to the specific needs of the school is a must for the success of leadership.

I.3.2. The LPC Contingency Model

The ‘Least Preferred Coworker’ (LPC) contingency model, developed by Fiedler (1964), is premised on the idea that leadership effectiveness depends on the interaction between two major variables: leaders’ motivational orientation, and the level of their situational control. Leaders can be either *task* oriented or *relationship* oriented. The level of control they have over the situation hinges on three major criteria: leader-member relations, task structure, and position power.

Motivational orientation is measured using a scale of 16 to 22 bipolar adjectives, known as the ‘least preferred coworker’ (LPC). The scale elicits leaders’ reactions to someone (a boss, subordinate, or peer) who they have worked with at some point in their lives and whom they least prefer to work with again. A negative rating of the least preferred coworker indicates an emphasis on *task* achievement while a less critical depiction such a coworker reveals an emphasis on *relationships*. Task oriented leaders stress achievement-focused behaviors, set high expectations for subordinates, and show frustration with failure to meet

such expectations. Subsequently, they obtain low scores on the LPC scale. When satisfied with how the work is being performed, low LPC leaders start to shift attention towards relationships with subordinates. On the other hand, relationship oriented leaders are less critical of people who contribute very little to the task. Interpersonal relationships with other people hold greater importance; leaders therefore tend to be tactful, sensible, and supportive in dealing with subordinates irrespective of how well the task is being performed. Attention is turned to task achievement only when strong relationships with subordinates have been established. Relationship oriented leaders receive high scores on the LPC scale (Ayman, Chemers, and Fiedler, 1995).

Whether task oriented leaders are more effective than relationship oriented leaders or vice versa depends on the situation or what is termed *situational control* (op. cit.). This latter is defined by Fiedler (1978) as “the leader’s sense of influence and control afforded by the situation” (cited in Ayman et al., op. cit., p. 154). The level of influence or control a leader has depends on three major aspects of the situation: Leader-member relations, task structure, and position power (Yukl, op. cit.).

- ‘Leader-member relations’ refer to the extent to which a leader has friendly and productive relations with subordinates and the level of commitment and cooperation subordinates exhibit in order to achieve the task objectives.
- ‘Position power’ points to the extent to which a leader has the power to evaluate subordinates’ performance and provide rewards or punishments accordingly.
- ‘Task structure’ refers to the extent to which there are (a) appropriate operating procedures for achieving the task, (b) clear and specific objectives, and (c) effective ways for assessing performance (op. cit.).

The first component, leader-member relations, has the most importance. Without mutual support between leaders and subordinates, improvement is most unlikely to occur. The lack of

support from subordinates is likely to divert leaders' attention away from the task and towards attempting to control the group. Similarly, failure to establish positive relationships with subordinates may result in mistrust and reluctance to contribute effectively to the task. Second in importance comes task structure followed by position power. These are also important aspects of the situation that determine the level of control leaders possess. Strong position powers and well-structured tasks give leaders greater influence over the course of events within schools, whereas limited powers coupled with poorly structured tasks undermine leaders' influence and pose impediments to the achievement of their proposed plans of action (Yukl, op. cit.).

The three situational characteristics aforementioned combine together to determine the extent to which a situation is favorable or unfavorable. There are eight levels of favorability known as octants (see table 1.1). A situation is *most favorable* (octant 1) when the task is highly structured, and the leader has strong relations with subordinates and strong position power. A situation is *least favorable* (octant 8) when the task is unstructured and the

Table 1.1: Relationships in the LPC contingency model (Yukl, op. cit.).

Octant	L-M relations	Task structure	Position Power	Effective Leader
1	Good	Structured	Strong	Low LPC
2	Good	Structured	Weak	Low LPC
3	Good	Unstructured	Strong	Low LPC
4	Good	Unstructured	Weak	Low LPC
5	Poor	Structured	Strong	High LPC
6	Poor	Structured	Weak	High LPC
7	Poor	Unstructured	Strong	High LPC
8	Poor	Unstructured	Weak	Low LPC

leader has poor relations with subordinates and limited position power. The underlying principle of the theory is that leadership effectiveness is determined neither by motivational orientation nor by situational favorability alone. Rather, it is determined by the interaction between these two variables, the personal and situational variables (Ayman et al., op. cit.). Accordingly, task oriented leaders, identified by their low scores on the LPC scale, are more effective in situations that are either *very favorable* (octants 1-3) or *very unfavorable* (octant 8). In contrast, relationship oriented leaders, associated with high scores on the LPC scale, are more effective in situations that are *intermediate* in favorability (octants 4-7) (Yukl, op. cit.).

The central idea behind the LPC contingency theory is that situations differ in their characteristics in the same way leaders differ in their personal traits. Therefore, a match between the situational and personal variables is needed for the success of leadership. However, such a view of effective leadership has several limitations. According to Yukl (op.cit.), a match between leaders' motivational orientation and the characteristics of the situation or vice versa involves two options, which are both impractical. The first would require leaders to adapt to the situation while the second would entail adjusting the situation according to leaders' personal traits. The problem with the first option is that it is very difficult for leaders to alternate between two different motivational orientations in an effective manner. In addition, switching motivational orientations might be viewed by subordinates as inconsistent and unreliable leader behavior, and might prove to be destabilizing and demoralizing for subordinates and leaders alike. The second option, which involves adapting the situation to fit leaders' motivational orientation, is considered counterproductive and unethical. For example, reducing the favorability of a situation so that it could be in accordance with leaders' personal traits will result in a deliberate misuse or squandering of resources. This is because such a tactic would entail providing less material and socio-emotional support for subordinates at a time when such support could be easily provided.

Another major weakness of the theory is that it does not account for medium LPC leaders who constitute a majority. These leaders usually try to balance the need for accomplishing the task with that for establishing strong and positive relationships with subordinates. Medium LPC leaders have been found to be more effective than either high or low LPC leaders (Yukl, op. cit.).

It is important to note that the LPC scale aims at measuring leaders' motivational orientation rather than their behaviors. "Although attitudes and values may be the basis for an individual's behavior, attitude/values and behavior do not bear an isomorphic relationship" (Ayman et al., op.cit., p. 152). This means that individuals' values may or may not be manifested in their behaviors. How one behaves does not always reflect how one thinks or what he or she believes and vice versa. It is, therefore, the situation which moderates between values and behaviors (op. cit.).

I.3.3. The Path-goal Theory

The path-goal theory, first developed by Evans (1970) and later refined by House (1971), is based on three major variables: leader behavior, situational characteristics, and subordinate satisfaction and performance (House, op. cit.). The theory identifies different types of leader behavior that are suited for different situations, implying that leader behaviors that work well in some situations do not in others. In fact, leader behaviors are important and motivational for subordinates only to the extent that they "complement the work environment and supplement it with what is otherwise lacking" (Jermier, 1996, p. 313).

The path-goal theory is a dyadic theory that concerns the relationship between two major parties: an appointed leader and subordinates. The leader's major role consists in motivating subordinates to invest maximum effort in the task by offering appropriate socio-emotional and material support. House (1971: 324) states that:

The motivational function of the leader consists of increasing personal payoffs to subordinates for work-goal attainment and making the path to these payoffs easier

to travel by clarifying it, reducing roadblocks and pitfalls, and increasing the opportunities for personal satisfaction en route. (qtd. in House, 1996, p. 325)

How leaders could influence subordinates' performance and satisfaction is explained through the motivation theory called the *expectancy theory* (Yukl, op. cit.). According to the theory, work motivation is driven by a rational choice process in which a person chooses the amount of effort to invest in a job by drawing on two major variables: the complexity of the task, and the rewards provided upon completing the task. Yukl (op. cit.) points out that:

In choosing between a maximal effort and a minimal (or moderate) effort, a person considers the likelihood that a given level of effort will lead to successful completion of the task and the likelihood that task completion will result in desirable outcomes (e.g., higher pay, recognition, promotion, sense of achievement) while avoiding undesirable outcomes (e.g., layoffs, accidents, reprimands, rejection by coworkers, excessive stress). (p. 169)

What this means is that how much effort people decide to expend depends on (a) how complex or simple they expect the task to be, and (b) how desirable the outcomes of successfully completing the task will be. The ability of the leader to influence performance comes from the fact that he or she can modify subordinates' perceptions about the task and the outcomes expected upon its completion (op. cit.).

A basic assumption of the path-goal theory is that situations differ and therefore different behaviors are required (House, op. cit.). There are four major types of leader behaviors: supportive, directive, participative, and achievement-oriented. First, a supportive leader is one who gives special importance to the needs and preferences of subordinates, particularly their social and economic well-being, and devotes considerable time and effort for promoting a positive climate in the workplace. Second, a directive leader is one who focuses on setting and communicating high expectations, providing guidance, scheduling and coordinating activities, and insuring compliance with the rules. Third, a participative leader is one who encourages wider involvement in decision making, elicits subordinates' ideas and attitudes about proposed plans of action, and takes into consideration their suggestions and

insights. Finally, an achievement-oriented leader is one who seeks to increase subordinates' level of performance through setting challenging goals and emphasizing excellence (op. cit.).

The situations where each of these behaviors works best are outlined herein consecutively. The situational variables that determine the type of leader behavior most likely to increase subordinate performance and satisfaction consist mainly in the characteristics of the task and subordinates. To start with, supportive leadership is deemed effective when the task is stressful, boring, and tedious. A task with such characteristics causes stress, confusion, and lack of confidence amid subordinates. Consequently, emotional and technical support from the leader is a must in order to lower anxiety and increase confidence among subordinates. When the task is interesting and enjoyable and subordinates are confident, supportive leader behavior makes no difference, i.e. it has little or no effect on subordinate performance and satisfaction (Yukl, op. cit.).

Concerning directive leadership, it is required when the task is unstructured and complex, subordinates have limited experience, and the rules and procedures for performing the work are general and vague. Taken together, these characteristics result in uncertainty and role ambiguity, which cause a decline in the perceived probability of success and subsequently lead to disappointment and low morale among followers. Directive leadership is important here because it helps reduce role ambiguity and increase the expectancy of success and eventually subordinates' effort and satisfaction. When the task is structured and subordinates are highly competent, directive leadership is perceived to have little or no effect on subordinate performance and satisfaction. On the contrary, directive behavior in such situations is considered unnecessary and could result in adverse consequences (op. cit.).

With regard to participative and achievement-oriented leadership, they were both added as categories of leader behavior in a later version of the theory developed by House and

Mitchell (1975). Participative leadership works well with tasks that are unstructured and subordinates who are independent and self-directed. House (op. cit.) maintains that:

Individuals with a high preference for independence and self-direction will find participative leadership to be valent. Therefore, when task demands are ambiguous and satisfying, for individuals with a strong preference for independence and self-direction, participative leader behavior will be motivational. (p. 337)

The idea is that participative leadership is useful when subordinates are highly creative and competent, which are conditions that make strong direction from the leader unnecessary and even counterproductive. The participative approach also works well with tasks that involve high levels of complexity, challenge, and ambiguity. Tasks of such nature offer subordinates the opportunity to exercise their judgment and utilize and develop their skills (op. cit.).

Finally, achievement-oriented leadership works well with tasks that are unstructured, i.e. complex and non repetitive, and subordinates who are achievement motivated (Yukl, op. cit.). According to McClelland (1985), achievement motivation is “a non-conscious concern for personal involvement in competition against some standard of excellence and unique accomplishment” (cited in House, op. cit., p. 338). Achievement motivated subordinates are intrinsically motivated; they find enjoyment in tasks that require considerable personal effort, involve risk, reflect advanced knowledge and skills, and provide opportunities for development and feedback. The importance of achievement-oriented leadership resides in the fact that it nurtures subordinates’ strong need for fulfilling their potential and stimulates their energy and motivation. For subordinates who are highly motivated and skilled, challenge and opportunities for self-actualization matter most. Support and direction from the leader are unlikely to make a difference in such situations (House, op.cit.).

The four leader behaviors discussed above and the conditions in which they are deemed most appropriate are undoubtedly essential for an adequate understanding of the different processes involved in the leadership work. The worth of the theory resides mainly in the fact

that it explores in specific terms different leader behaviors and attempts to locate the situations in which each of these behaviors is most effective. Yet, the theory has some weaknesses. The first of these is that it depends heavily on the expectancy theory to explain how leader behavior affects subordinate satisfaction and performance. In other words, the effect of leader behavior on subordinate performance is viewed strictly from a rational perspective; the emotional perspective to human behavior is ignored altogether. Another weakness of the theory is the assumption that role ambiguity leads to a low expectancy of success and that reducing ambiguity leads to a high expectancy of success, which is not always the case. Clarifying roles for subordinates may reveal that the task is more complicated and difficult than initially thought and could, therefore, lower the perceived chances for success. Lastly, the theory deals with each leader behavior separately from others. A likely interaction among these behaviors or their relevance to more than one situation is not considered (Yukl, op. cit.).

I.3.4. The Situational Leadership Theory

The situational leadership theory, developed by Hersey and Blanchard (1977), explores the interaction between two major variables: leader behavior and the situation (Hersey & Blanchard, 1998). The former is focused either on the achievement of the task (task behavior) or on promoting positive relationships with subordinates (relationship behavior). The latter is concerned mainly with the level of readiness subordinates demonstrate in the performance of a task. There are mostly two levels of readiness: low and high readiness; for each of these, a different leader behavior is required (op. cit.).

To explain why a leader behavior works well with a particular level of readiness but not the other, a careful examination of what each behavior entails is required. According to Hersey and Blanchard (op. cit.), *task behavior* involves “spelling out the duties and responsibilities of an individual or group;” it includes behaviors such as “telling people what

to do, how to do it, when to do it, where to do it, and who is to do it” (p. 172). Task behavior, therefore, involves providing all the necessary direction for an effective achievement of the task. It is important, however, not to equate directive behavior with unfriendly or uncaring behavior. For *relationship behavior*, it refers to “the extent to which the leader engages in two-way or multi-way communication. The behaviors include listening, facilitating, and supportive behaviors” (op. cit., p. 172). These latter all aim at building strong and productive relationships with subordinates through providing all the necessary socio-emotional support in order to insure improved individual or group performance (op. cit.).

The effectiveness of these behaviors depends on the extent to which they are compatible with the specific features of the situation, most notably the readiness level of subordinates (Hersey & Blanchard, op. cit.). As mentioned by Jermier (op. cit.), the importance of any particular leader behavior rests on the extent to which it complements the work environment and supplements it with what is otherwise lacking. By the same token, task or relationship behavior is useful only to the extent that it complements the level of readiness among subordinates. Hersey and Blanchard (op. cit.) describe readiness as:

The extent to which a follower has the ability and willingness to accomplish a specific task... readiness is not a personal characteristic; it is not an evaluation of a person's traits, values, age, and so on. Readiness is how ready a person is to perform a particular task. (173)

To put it plainly, readiness concerns the level of *ability* and *willingness* one has to perform a task. Ability refers to “the knowledge, experience, and skill that an individual or group brings to a particular task or activity” while willingness signifies “the extent to which an individual or group has the confidence, commitment, and motivation to accomplish a specific task” (op. cit., p. 174). What may be inferred here is that willingness and ability are different but interrelated. The level of willingness followers have affects the extent to which they use and develop their abilities. Likewise, the knowledge, experience, and skill subordinates have impact the level of commitment and motivation they demonstrate in performing the task.

When combined together, these two interrelated elements, willingness and ability, result in three levels of readiness; each requires a different leader behavior (Hersey & Blanchard, op. cit.).

According to the theory, subordinates can have either low, moderate, or high levels of readiness. Effective leaders are those who successfully align their behaviors with the requirements of each of these levels. Therefore, with low-readiness subordinates, task-oriented behavior is required. Leaders need to provide direction, define roles, clarify standards and procedures, and monitor progress, which are all behaviors that help communicate *what* subordinates are expected to do and *how* they are expected to do it. However, when followers display moderate levels of readiness, leaders can then reduce task behavior and gradually shift towards relationship behavior by providing appropriate socio-emotional support (Yukl, op. cit.). For high-readiness subordinates, leaders need to reduce both task and relationship behavior. Such subordinates are highly capable, motivated, and independent; they are likely to interpret strong direction or support from the leader as a lack of confidence in their knowledge and expertise. Important to mention is that subordinates' levels of readiness change over time, i.e. increase or decrease, sometimes in unpredictable ways. As a result, leaders need to be vigilant and keep updated about the changes in these levels in order to make the necessary adjustments in a timely fashion and insure the continuity of success within the organization (Hersey & Blanchard, op. cit.).

To sum up, the situational leadership theory is undeniably instrumental for an appropriate understanding of leadership. It highlights a central component of the situation, the readiness levels of subordinates, and the leader behaviors likely to be effective with each of these levels. Subordinates have varying degrees of ability and willingness and, therefore, leaders need to approach them differentially. Nevertheless, the theory fails to explain how the specified leader behaviors affect subordinate performance (Yukl, op. cit.). Emphasis is placed

on behaviors (task and relationship behavior) and how each fits a different level of readiness, whereas how each affects subordinate performance remains unclear. Also, an accurate identification of subordinates' readiness levels is considered extremely difficult. Readiness is an outcome of many different variables, such as task complexity, confidence, ability, and motivation; to combine these variables together in order to determine followers' readiness levels is a very complicated task and a highly subjective process. It is likely that low-readiness subordinates could be identified as high-readiness subordinates and vice versa, and in such a case leader behavior would be inappropriate and counterproductive. Finally, the theory relies on readiness as the single most important situational characteristic that determines the appropriate pattern of leader behavior. The role of other situational variables, such as the job demands, organization, decision time, and colleagues, remains unaccounted for (op. cit.).

I.3.5. The Leadership Substitutes Theory

The leadership substitutes theory, developed by Kerr and Jermier (1978), postulates that, in some situations, formal leadership has little or no influence on subordinate performance. There are certain individual, task, and organizational characteristics that make formal leadership unnecessary or redundant (these are called substitutes) or nullify its effects on performance (these are labeled neutralizers) (Kerr & Jermier, op. cit.). Specifically, substitutes are those "characteristics of the subordinates, task, or organization that ensure subordinates will clearly understand their roles, know how to do the work, be highly motivated, and be satisfied with their jobs" (Yukl, op. cit., p. 176). Neutralizers, however, refer to those "characteristics of the task or organization that prevent a leader from acting in a specified way or that nullify the effects of the leader's actions" (op. cit.). These situational characteristics, as Kerr and Jermier (op. cit.) assert, make leader behaviors, whether task- or relationship-oriented, effectively of no use. To investigate how the characteristics of the

situation can function as either substitutes for or neutralizers of formal leadership, an overview of each situational component (subordinates, task, and organization) and how it interacts with leader behavior is provided.

Concerning the first component, there are features of subordinates that serve as substitutes while others as are neutralizers. The former include cases in which subordinates have high-level knowledge and skills which enable them to perform the tasks they are assigned effectively. With such subordinates, close supervision and strong direction from leaders become unnecessary. Leadership is also unnecessary when subordinates are intrinsically motivated, i.e. motivated by their values, needs, and ethics. Subordinates such as these do not need much socio-emotional support from their leaders in order to perform the designated tasks well. In their case, the support that springs from within is much stronger and supersedes that which comes from without. For the latter type of characteristics, neutralizers, they consist mainly of cases in which subordinates have little or no interest in the rewards offered by the leader. The use of contingent reward behavior, therefore, will make no difference on subordinate performance. The lack of interest in contingent rewards has many reasons, one of which is that subordinates might have a strong preference for spending more time with family and subsequently might not be willing to trade such a privilege for any sort of material gain involving more time and effort on the job (Yukl, op. cit.). The conclusion to be drawn here is that leaders need to be well-informed about their subordinates in order to know when and when not their leadership is likely to make a difference.

With respect to the second component, there are several characteristics of the task that function as substitutes for leadership. For example, tasks that are simple and repetitive make direction and assistance from the leader unnecessary, mainly because the skills required for performing such tasks are easy to learn. Similarly, tasks that are enjoyable and interesting in nature make it unnecessary for the leader to provide even more emotional support for

subordinates. Tasks such as these are themselves a source of motivation and, therefore, attempts to provide even more encouragement are unlikely to make a significant difference. Also considered substitutes for leadership, particularly for close supervision, are those tasks that involve an extensive use of technology and provide subordinates with automatic feedback about the quality of the work being done. Tasks of such nature make supervision and direction from the leader redundant, especially because subordinates can easily identify, based on the automatic results of their work, what needs improvement and take the appropriate measures to enhance quality (Yukl, op. cit.). Thus, it is important that leadership has clear and specific goals, i.e. be purposeful rather than random. Leaders need to calculate the consequences of their actions in terms of their worth to subordinates and the performance of the task.

The last component concerns the organization or group and the characteristics of each that act as either substitutes for or neutralizers of leadership. To begin with substitutes, organizations or groups that have explicit and well communicated policies need not much directive leadership. Such policies, often consisting of specific rules and procedures, enable subordinates to understand their roles very well and provide the necessary guidance for performing such roles in an effective manner. Nevertheless, rules and regulations can act as neutralizers as well. This occurs when the rules are inflexible and provide little room for leaders to create, innovate, and respond in a timely fashion to the emergent needs of the situation. For instance, the employment policies enforced by labor laws may prevent leaders from using contingent rewards in order to motivate subordinates and eventually increase performance. As far as the characteristics of the group are concerned, they comprise mainly group cohesiveness. A high level of cohesiveness among members of the group functions as a substitute for supportive leadership. Members of such groups can receive all necessary socio-emotional support from one another. However, when members take advantage of the mutual understanding existing among them to make decisions that are not in the students' interests,

cohesiveness then turns out to be a neutralizer rather than a substitute. Disapproval of certain decisions made by the leader, for example, could push members to take actions that aim at failing the plan of action imposed and ultimately proving the decision to be ineffective. Proactive involvement on the part of the members of the group is, therefore, prerequisite for the success of leadership efforts (Yukl, op. cit.).

The three situational components and the characteristics associated with each all emphasize one principal idea, which is that leaders need to intervene only when appropriate. Formal, role-based leadership is deemed valuable only when other sources of leadership (subordinates, task, and organization) fail to provide the direction and support necessary for an effective performance of the tasks at hand. When these other sources can provide direction and support, formal leadership is considered unnecessary. Generally, very few organizations have leadership substitutes so strong that they nullify the need for formal leadership altogether or so weak that they result in a total reliance on the formal leader. In every single organization, there are substitutes for some leadership activities but not for others, and effective leaders are those who can provide leadership only when there is a need for it. It is inadequate, therefore, to argue for a set of predetermined behaviors that can guarantee improvement when implemented regardless of the situation (Kerr and Jermier, op. cit.). It is more practical to focus on the situation rather than leadership, per se, because in some instances the former can either cancel the need for or nullify the effect of the latter. Attention therefore needs to be paid to neutralizers and how they can be reduced or removed and substitutes and how they can be consolidated. Doing the first would make the situation more favorable while doing the second would result in increased efficiency. Ultimately, both outcomes will enable the leader to succeed in his or her effort to increase subordinate performance (Yukl, op. cit.).

By underlining the aspects of the situation that act as either substitutes for or neutralizers of leader behavior, the leadership substitutes theory has come to revolutionize the understanding of leadership. While embracing the idea that there is no single best style of leadership, the theory reveals that leadership itself is sometimes unnecessary. That is, leadership is important only to the extent that it serves the needs of the situation and supplements it with what is otherwise lacking. Yet, the theory has not escaped criticism, among which is the fact that the theory lacks a thorough and detailed description of *substitutes* and *neutralizers* and how they are likely to affect subordinate performance. Also lacking is a distinction between direct and indirect leader behaviors that eventually achieve the same goals. For example, increasing subordinate performance could be achieved either by personally providing coaching for subordinates (directly) or by arranging for them to acquire the desired skills from experienced coworkers (indirectly). A distinction between direct and indirect leadership is crucial in order to determine what form of leadership is unnecessary and whether all or only some leadership is dispensable (Yukl, op. cit.).

I.3.6. The Multiple-Linkage Model

The multiple-linkage model, developed by Yukl (1981), explores the interacting effects of *leader behavior* and *situational variables* on the *intervening variables*, i.e. the variables that determine the performance of a work group (cited in Yukl, 1998). Since the situation influences, and is influenced by, leader behavior, an examination of the different patterns of interaction between these two factors and their effects on the intervening variables is a must.

There are six intervening variables defined at the group level and described as follows:

- **Task commitment:** the extent to which group members strive to achieve a high level of performance and exhibit strong commitment to the task.

- Ability and role clarity: the extent to which members of the group understand their individual roles and have the necessary knowledge and skills to perform such roles.
- Organization of the work: the extent to which the procedures and strategies used for carrying out the work within an organization are effective and the extent to which personnel, equipment, and facilities are used effectively.
- Cooperation and mutual trust: the level of trust, collaboration, and sympathy among members of the group. The extent to which members trust and help each other.
- Resources and support: the extent to which the group has the funds, equipment, personnel, and facilities required for performing the work and the level of support groups receive from one other.
- External coordination: the extent to which the activities performed by one group complement those carried out by others within the organization (Yukl, op. cit.).

These six variables are not to be considered separately; they are all parts of a whole and interact with one another to determine the extent to which a work group is effective. A deficiency in any one of these variables can reduce the overall effectiveness of the group even when no deficiencies exist in the other variables (op. cit.).

How the situation influences each of these intervening variables is explained hereby in succession. First, the level of commitment among subordinates depends on the intrinsic motivation they derive from the task and the rewards provided for achieving the envisaged goals. A task that is interesting and challenging and an organization that provides attractive rewards contingent upon performance are all conditions that cultivate stronger commitment among subordinates. Second, how able members of the group are depends on two major aspects of the situation: the recruitment policy of the organization and the prior training and experience of staff. High recruitment standards coupled with attractive salaries and benefits are irrefutably very important factors in the development of skilled labor. In relation to role

clarity, the other component of the second intervening variable, it is influenced by three aspects of the situation: past experience of group members, task structure, and external dependencies. Subordinates in general tend to have a clearer understanding of their roles when they have a long experience on the job, when the task they perform is simple and straightforward, and when they have at their disposal specific rules and regulations for carrying out the work. Third, the aspects of the situation that determine how well the work is organized include mainly the type of technology used and the competitive strategy of the organization. An effective use of the latest technology and the development of new and innovative ways of doing the work are all important factors that enhance work organization and increase productivity. Formal leaders are usually urged to get involved in defining the tools and procedures for performing the work when the task is simple and repetitive. When the task is complex and variable, involvement in such matters needs to be minimized. Tasks of such nature require specialized knowledge and expertise and therefore subordinates are better-equipped to design more creative and flexible ways for carrying out the work at hand (Yukl, op. cit.).

The remaining intervening variables also vary in condition depending on the characteristics of the situation. For example, the fourth variable, cooperation and teamwork, is influenced by the size of the group, the stability of membership, the similarities among members in values and backgrounds, the reward system, and the organization of the work. The groups that are small and homogeneous (members have similar backgrounds and share the same goals) are usually characterized by much more cooperation than those that are large and heterogeneous (members have different backgrounds and interests). Also, the reward system within an organization can either increase or decrease cooperation among members of the group. A reward system that fuels rivalry among individual members is likely to curtail cooperation, whereas one that promotes constructive collaboration will reinforce cooperation.

As for the fifth intervening variable, the resources and support provided, it is mainly affected by the budgetary policies of the organization, its resource development strategies, and the economic situation at the time. A thriving and prosperous organization is more likely to provide adequate resources and support for members, whereas one with limited resources will fall short of providing the support necessary for achieving the desired outcomes. With respect to the sixth and last variable, external coordination, it is largely influenced by the formal structure of the organization. High levels of coordination take place when groups are set to work together, i.e. the work is structured in a way that requires interdependence among the different groups (op. cit.).

Given that the situation has a remarkable influence on the intervening variables, which function as determinants of group performance, leaders need to focus their attention on the situation in order to identify any possible deficiencies in these variables and address them appropriately. It is unquestionable that leaders may not be able to eliminate the deficiencies spotted altogether, but they can reduce or at least contain the magnitude of the damage they might cause. This can be achieved based on a careful examination of the situation focused on identifying the right problems and finding the right solutions. Random or improvised measures can aggravate the situation and turn out to be even worse than taking no action at all. Action without an appropriate understanding of the situation could increase rather than decrease the deficiencies in these variables, which in such a case would do more harm than good. Effective leadership, therefore, is not merely one which is active and energetic but rather one which is purposeful and achieves results on the ground. In other words, the success of leadership depends on the extent to which it increases the favorability of the situation, not only in the short run but also in the long run, by reducing constraints and increasing support.

Taken as a whole, the multiple-linkage model represents a comprehensive and complex approach to leadership; it includes specific intervening variables and attempts to

identify how they are affected by different aspects of the situation. The model is among the first contingency theories to address the leadership processes at the group rather than the individual or dyadic level. Nevertheless, the theory falls short of providing specific leader behaviors together with their potential effects on the intervening variables (Yukl, op. cit.). The ways in which the different aspects of the situation interrelate with one another and the effects of such interrelationships on the intervening variables remain unclear. This is predictable given that it is very difficult to trace the likely interactions among the different components of the situation and locate how they affect the criteria determining group performance.

I.3.7. The Cognitive Resources Theory

The cognitive resources theory, developed by Fiedler (1986), centers around the interaction among three major variables: leader cognitive abilities, leader behaviors, and the situational characteristics (Fiedler, 1995). Cognitive abilities include mainly intelligence and experience, whereas leader behaviors concern mostly directive leader behavior. The situational variables include interpersonal stress and the characteristics of the task (op. cit.). How these situational components affect leaders' cognitive abilities and their likely effects on subordinate performance is discussed in detail below.

The first situational component, interpersonal stress, mediates the effects of leader cognitive abilities (intelligence and experience) on subordinate performance in a myriad of ways. To start with intelligence, it is argued by Fiedler (op. cit.) that highly intelligent leaders, or those who rely mostly on their intellectual abilities to examine and solve problems, are more effective in low stress environments. Stress here can arise from role conflict either with a superior or a subordinate or from unrealistic demands coupled with limited support and limited resources. Highly intelligent leaders tend to contemplate different options and weigh the costs of benefits of each in order to identify the best possible course of action. Therefore, "the higher the leader's intelligence, the greater will be the intellectual effort devoted to

finding the best solution, as well as the tendency to mistrust decisions based on intuition” (op. cit., p. 16). Nevertheless, the tendency to explore different alternatives is deemed ineffective under high stress conditions, where quick decisions are required and intuition is more useful. In other words, high intelligence is of little or no effect in high stress environments, mainly because stress causes anxiety and other destabilizing emotional conditions which diminish one’s intellectual abilities and divert his or her attention from the task. The end result is that high intelligence is not always an advantage; rather, it can be a disadvantage in some situations, especially those that are high in stress (Fiedler, op. cit.).

Interpersonal stress also mediates the effect of leader experience, the other component of leader cognitive abilities, on subordinate performance. “Experience is usually measured in terms of time on the job, and it is assumed to result in habitual behavior patterns for effectively dealing with task problems” (Yukl, op. cit., p. 188). Highly experienced leaders tend to be more effective in high stress environments mainly because they have a large reservoir of previously learned behaviors that they draw on to effectively deal with problems requiring immediate solutions. These leaders tend to lose interest and become bored quickly; they prefer to rely on prior experience rather than on prolonged analyses of different case scenarios to address the issues at hand. Fiedler (op. cit.) explains that:

The highly experienced leader is apt to discourage or reject further discussion and deliberation (to “fly by the seat of the pants”). Hence, the more experience the leader has, the greater the reliance on previous experience. (p. 16)

These same qualities, however, put highly experienced leaders at a disadvantage in low stress environments, where there is a high need for intense intellectual effort involving weighing different options in order to identify the best possible plan of action. Hence, drawing on experience is not always fruitful; in some situations, particularly those that are low in stress, experience is not the most appropriate means to achieve the desired goals (op. cit.).

The fact that highly intelligent leaders rely on their intellectual abilities to solve problems while highly experienced leaders rely on previous experience is natural and predictable. This is simply because people in general tend to capitalize on their strengths, which is considered an advantage as long as what people capitalize on, intelligence or experience, meets the requirement of the task. Here arises the importance of the second situational component, the characteristics of the task. Inefficiencies are bound to occur when leaders use intelligence for tasks that require experience or vice versa, that is, when there is a mismatch between leaders' cognitive abilities and the task characteristics. The latter determine the extent to which the former will affect subordinate performance (Fiedler, op. cit.). Explicating how the characteristics of the task and the stress levels combine together to determine which of the cognitive abilities will have the most effect, Fiedler (op. cit.) states that:

Certain tasks are primarily intellectual in nature and their performance requires logical, analytical, or creative effort. This type of work requires thoughtful deliberation and careful weighing of alternatives, and thus a stress-free, contemplative environment. Other tasks or jobs require immediate, almost automatic responses. These tasks must be performed by relying on what has been learned by drill or has worked in the past. (p. 15)

The equation governing the interaction between leaders' cognitive abilities and the characteristics of the task looks as follows: tasks are different by nature and therefore require different sets of abilities and skills, which in turn require appropriate environments in order to have a positive impact on performance. Without using the right abilities for the right tasks and in the right environments, leadership is unlikely to have much influence on subordinate performance.

It is important to mention, however, that leader intelligence and expertise influence group performance only in the context of directive leadership, i.e. in situations where there is a need for providing direction and guidance. Yukl (op. cit.) maintains that "leader intelligence and expertise contribute to group performance only when the leader is directive and

subordinates require guidance to perform the task effectively” (p. 188). There are different situations for which different leader behaviors are required. For example, the situations in which the task is either too complex and necessitates specialized knowledge or very simple and demands no sophisticated skills require participative rather than directive leadership. The complexity of the task makes it necessary for leaders to consult with subordinates and seek their insights, whereas the simplicity of the task dramatically reduces the need for direction and guidance in order to perform the task effectively. In this latter situation, leader intelligence and experience will not have much influence on group performance (op. cit.). This means that an effective leader is not only one who is highly intelligent and/or highly experienced but also one who can successfully tailor his or her use of intelligence and experience according to the needs of the situation.

The cognitive resources theory is not without weaknesses. First, the model fails to provide a rationale for using general intelligence instead of specific cognitive skills or intellectual abilities relevant to the task. Second, there is little evidence supporting the idea that highly intelligent leaders are effective in low stress environments while those who are highly experienced perform better under high stress conditions. This is considered a highly controversial proposition that has yet to be verified. Third and last, the reliability of measuring experience in terms of time on the job rather than in terms relevant job expertise has been questioned. Spending a long time on the job does not necessarily result in developing the knowledge and skills necessary for an effective performance of the job in question (Yukl, op. cit.).

In sum, the contingency theories explored in this section constitute a major development in the conceptualization of leadership. Emphasis is placed on the extent to which leaders appropriately respond to the needs of the situation rather than on any specific individual qualities. The contingency models, as summarized in table 1.2, identify several

important aspects of the situation and specify the leader behaviors likely to work best under such aspects. Although different in some respects, the theories all stress the same concept, which is that the success of leadership depends on the extent to which leaders adapt their

Table 1.2: A summary of the contingency theories (developed from Yukl, 1998).

Contingency Theories	Leader Traits/Behavior	Situational Variables
LPC Contingency Model	LPC Score (trait)	Task structure Leader-member relations Position power
Path-Goal Theory	Supportive, directive, participative, and achievement-oriented	Task and subordinate characteristics
The Situational Leadership Theory	Task- and relationship-oriented behavior	Level of readiness
Leadership Substitute Theory	Task- and relationship-oriented behavior	Substitutes and Neutralizers
Multiple-Linkage Model	Many aspects	Characteristics of the task, subordinates, and organization
The Cognitive Resource Theory	Intelligence & experience (trait) Directive behavior	Interpersonal stress and task characteristics

behaviors to the specific features of the situation. This is grounded in the idea that situations vary and so need leader behaviors. That is, the situation is dynamic and changing in nature and therefore leaders need to develop an original and flexible approach to leadership, one in which they adjust their behaviors according to the specific needs of the situation.

I.4. Conclusion

The central idea of this chapter is that principal leadership exists in many different forms consisting mainly of the general models and contingency theories of leadership. The models are categorized into transactional, instructional, transformational, and facilitative. These delineate different approaches to leadership, each encompassing a set of behaviors linked to specific results when appropriately exhibited by principals. In all four models, the

focus is placed on desirable behaviors and their positive consequences on education schoolwide. Certainly, the models are not without weaknesses, but they remain crucial to the understanding of principal leadership, providing a wide range of behaviors that could be useful in today's schools. The choice as to which leadership model or behavior to adopt remains open and lies mostly with principals; there is no one else in a better position to decide what behavior is likely to work best. Nevertheless, the situation and how it interacts with behavior are assigned little if any importance in the models. To address this major weakness, the contingency theories of leadership emerged to illustrate how leaders' behaviors need to interact with the particular features of the situation. Behaviors in all sorts of settings are variable rather than fixed across time and space because the characteristics of the situation, namely subordinates or teachers in this context, the task to be performed, and the organization as a whole, also vary across time and space. The importance of the contingency theories of leadership is that they describe specifically how leaders need to behave under what circumstances. That is, whether principals are to be supportive, directive, participative, or achievement-oriented depends on the specific features of the situation related to teachers, tasks, and schools at large. A principal does not always have to be supportive or participative, a strategy that could result in adverse consequences. Instead, he or she can use any behaviors appropriate for the situation. Adjusting one's behaviors to meet the needs of the situation remains at the heart of the contingency theories of leadership.

Chapter Two:
Teacher Leadership

II.1. Introduction

Teacher leadership has revolutionized the concept of leadership in education; it has emerged as a reaction to formal, role-based leadership and is premised on the idea that teachers need to lead rather than merely follow change across schools. Teacher leadership is considered key to school improvement for several reasons. First, it draws teachers closer together, smoothens the way for them to learn from one another, and helps them fulfil their human desire for exercising some influence over their surroundings. Second, by jointly leading change, teachers enter a process of questioning, scrutinizing, and challenging their beliefs and attitudes. They engage in comparing and contrasting their practices and making the necessary adjustments in order to reach the desired outcomes. Third, teacher-led change is sustainable, flexible, and context-based. It is more likely to continue despite of the changes in staff, government, and funding, and it provides more room for adapting the course of action initially espoused when deemed necessary. All these reasons together make the practice of teacher leadership a catalyst of change that needs to be nurtured across schools (Harris & Muijs, 2005; Smylie, Conley, & Marks, 2002; Danielson, 2006; Reeves, 2008; Kent, 2004).

Given the complexity of today's schools, it is no longer wise to concentrate leadership in the hands of a few individuals. Instead of leadership as an "individual enterprise," there is a need for "a broader conception of leadership that focuses on groups working together to lead" (Murphy & Beck, 1995, in Rutherford, 2006, p. 60). The focus on groups working together stems from the fact that individuals alone, regardless of their status and expertise, cannot do it all (Smylie et al., op. cit.). Collaboration is, therefore, a prerequisite to the success of teachers' leadership efforts. The type of change masterminded by a handful of individuals and later imposed on others across organizations has proven to have little if any impact on student learning. This is so because such an approach to change fails to consider the attitudes and exploit the expertise of the majority within schools, and eventually runs counter to the

principles underpinning teacher leadership which lay stress on mobilization and involvement across the board. That is, leadership does not necessarily have to come from those at the top of the organization. Those at the bottom, mainly teachers, also have the potential to lead and even achieve better results (Harris & Muijs, op. cit.).

The aim of this chapter is to provide an in-depth understanding into teacher leadership in three major sections. The first section highlights the importance of teacher leadership, provides a historical overview of how it has developed over the years, and explores the different meanings regarding its nature and exercise on the ground. The second part focuses on teacher teams which constitute the backbone of leadership. The section examines the different definitions and types of teams, the factors important in team effectiveness, the models of teacher teams, namely team teaching, peer coaching, and mentoring, and finally the challenges that teams usually face. The last section deals with teacher research as an important aspect of leadership. The section underscores how the current situation characterizing research in education, where teachers are often the researched rather than the researchers, needs to be reversed to give rise to a knowledge base that is original, practical, and useful for schools. In sum, the chapter provides a comprehensive view into teacher leadership; the focus is laid not only on technique and what behaviors could enable teachers to lead their schools towards better results but also on the socioemotional aspects of leadership, which is fundamentally about people and relationships.

II.2. Teacher Leadership: A General Overview

This section comes to underline the importance of teacher leadership in school reform, explore the contexts in which it has emerged, and presents a conceptualization of the term. The goal is to pinpoint the ways in which teachers' involvement in the leadership work is instrumental to school success and how this latter necessitates that teachers be at the center stage of the change efforts. The section also illustrates how the practice and understanding of

teacher leadership has developed over the years, in what contexts, and in response to what conditions. Finally, the different meanings concerning the *what* and *how* of teacher leadership are examined; who teacher leaders are, what they do, how they do it, and for what purposes are all explored in detail. This section, however, does not by any means attempt to establish a cause-effect relationship between teacher leadership and teacher effectiveness. Teacher leadership is considered an important but not the sole contributor to teacher effectiveness. Also, it is not the aim of this section to undermine the importance of formal leadership roles embedded in position. The aim is simply to highlight a new paradigm to school improvement in which leadership initially streams from teachers, i.e. from the bottom up rather than the top down.

II.2.1. Importance of Teacher Leadership

Teachers wield great influence on the quality of education provided in any given society. They are the most capable of capturing the intricacies characteristic of learning and teaching. Danielson (op. cit.) notes that teachers “know the most about what works in the classroom” (p. 22). Teachers, therefore, hold the key to the success of school reform. While recognizing the role of other components of the school environment, Fullan (2007) argues that school improvement depends on teachers’ beliefs and actions. Their attitudes about change, its context, and its potential consequences play an important role in shaping their behaviors towards it. Placing teachers at the heart of school innovation, Kent (op. cit.) emphasizes that “the individual teacher determines the extent to which any innovation occurs” (p. 427). Likewise, Danielson (op. cit.) indicates that teachers indisputably have the most powerful impact on student learning. She (op. cit.) indicates that:

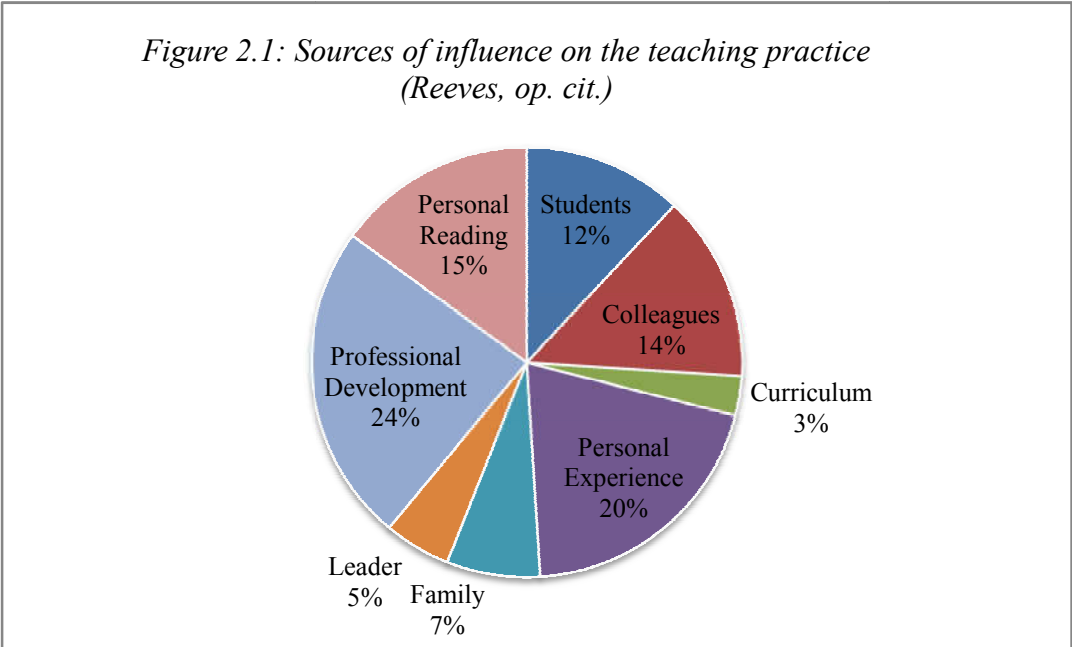
It is generally accepted that the most important factor contributing to student learning is the quality of teaching, supported by other components in the school’s organization such as the curriculum, the programs and policies for students, and the nature of connections with the external community. (p. 22)

This suggests that other contributing factors to learning improvement, such as curricula, instruction, and infrastructure, are recognizably important but remain only supports that can pave the way for rather than trigger off improvement.

Nonetheless, the task of enhancing the quality of learning is too complex and challenging to be accomplished by one or few individual teachers working independently. Rather, the task requires collaboration among all teachers and coordination with principals. This approach implies that maximizing teacher involvement is not an attempt at minimizing that of the principal. This latter’s role is also emphasized, but it eventually comes down to what teachers do to enhance student learning schoolwide. Danielson (op. cit.) maintains that:

The concept of teacher leadership, while acknowledging the essential role of administrators in ensuring at least a minimum quality of teaching and supporting its continuing improvement, also recognizes that the expertise in a school, in both the content and in the methods of instruction, rests with teachers. (p. 22)

Teachers, thus, are key to school improvement; together they exercise tremendous influence on the quality of teaching and learning, which tends to improve exponentially in collaborative



climates. Reeves (op. cit.) cites different sources of influence on the teaching practice and indicates that collaboration, in all different forms, is among the most important contributors to

teacher expertise and knowledge. As illustrated in figure 2.1, colleagues and personal experience exert nearly as much influence on practice as professional development and personal readings do (op. cit.). Reeves' (op. cit.) findings corroborate those of Danielson (op. cit.), Fullan (op. cit.), and Kent (op. cit.), attesting to a wide consensus over the centrality of teachers to school improvement. As Helterbran (2010) clearly states, "School improvement will depend on teacher leadership—a factor largely untapped in schools today" (p. 363).

Despite this consensus and emphasis on the importance of teachers in school improvement, their expertise continues to be undermined. Often, their compliance is valued while their creativity is met with uneasiness and concern. This situation has been perpetuated by several top-down leadership initiatives, which have marginalized teachers and failed to achieve actual improvement. In Copland's (2003) view, such initiatives have failed to achieve "the systemic, meaningful reform necessary to meet the needs of students in the new and challenging world they will face" (cited in Helterbran, op. cit., p. 364). Top-down reform is often centered on standardization and accountability (Harris & Muijs, op. cit.). With respect to standardization, the nature of its impact on student learning has proven elusive and ambiguous. Whether it brings about improvement in the quality of learning or merely in student achievement is hard to verify (op. cit.). Frost (2008) indicates that government-led change often leads to an emphasis on "surface learning" rather than "deep learning." While the former refers to the "the short-term tactical memorization of information for the purposes of performance in superficial tests," the latter entails that "learners grasp concepts and principles that can be applied to solve new problems in unfamiliar contexts" (op. cit., p. 338). The improvement resulting from top-down reform is usually reported based on students' scores on standardized tests. Such improvement does not reveal how relevant the learning achieved is to students' needs and whether it is deep or surface learning. It is in this sense, therefore, that standardization is elusive.

With regard to accountability, it is often relied upon as a means to achieve improvement (Elmore, 2000; Harris, 2002). It is assumed that increasing accountability helps improve student learning. This assumption, however, is unfounded. By depending on accountability, the focus is put on the structures rather than the processes of education, meaning that the actual conditions of teaching and learning receive little attention. It follows then that accountability, per se, does not secure improvement; it has more to do with “maintaining the logic of confidence between the public and the schools” (Elmore, *op. cit.*, p. 6). As largely agreed upon by researchers (e.g. Harris & Muijs, *op. cit.*; Smylie et al., *op. cit.*; Danielson, *op. cit.*; Reeves, *op. cit.*), improvement depends on teachers, their attitudes, and their behaviors, and the level of support they are provided with to achieve the desired outcomes. Harris and Muijs (*op. cit.*) sum it up by stating that “the answer to improving schools, it would seem, resides in cultural rather than structural change and in the expansion rather than the reduction of teacher ingenuity and innovation” (p. 2).

II.2.2. Development of Teacher Leadership

The concept of teacher leadership is not new. It has been in use for more than a century and has undergone several changes in form and purpose over the years (Danielson, *op. cit.*). It first emerged in the United States with John Dewey (1903: 195), who argued that it was important that teachers have “some regular and representative way to register judgment upon matters of educational importance, with assurance that this judgment would somehow affect the school system” (qtd. in Danielson, *op. cit.*, p. 16). In addition to enhancing student learning, Dewey (1903) viewed teacher leadership mainly as a means to democratize schools and eventually increase their capacity to promote democratic societies. This continued to be the central goal of teacher leadership up until the 1940s (Danielson, *op. cit.*).

In response to several top-down, bureaucratic reforms in the 1960s and 1970s in Canada and the U.S., teacher leadership emerged in the 1980s as a means of decentralization

and school improvement while still attempting to promote democracy in the workplace (Smylie et al., op. cit.). This era witnessed a shift towards more bottom-up approaches to educational change. Researchers such as Conley and Bacharach (1990) and Firestone and Bader (1992) argued that for meaningful change to occur it has to spring from within schools themselves. These scholars stressed that “educational improvement was best pursued at the school level, at the point closest to the problems to be solved” (cited in Smylie et al., op. cit., p. 165). Teachers and administrators eventually came to be viewed as more qualified to undertake and effect change since they know the most about students and their learning needs. Several attempts were then made to empower individual teachers through enhancing their performance, diversifying their work, and providing appropriate recognition and compensation for their involvement in leadership activity (op. cit.).

Since the mid-1990s, however, the focus has shifted away from individual, role-based teacher leadership to collective, task-oriented leadership. The former had limited impact on student learning. Individual teachers were appointed to quasi-administrative positions, such as mentor, tutor, or lead teacher, mainly in order to distribute the managerial burden among members of staff. Teachers in these positions did not have clearly defined roles and often exemplified a heroic model of leadership, which made them part of the school’s hierarchy. Consequently, this type of leadership created work overload, stress, role ambiguity, and role conflict. Teacher leaders had to grapple with balancing their school- and classroom-level responsibilities, and conflict repeatedly arose between teacher leaders and administrators, and among teachers themselves. These shortcomings have given rise to a new approach to teacher leadership, the focal point of which are the tasks carried out collectively rather than the roles performed individually. What matters is not only that teachers become effective at what they do but also that they work together to design projects for learning improvement schoolwide. The emphasis placed on collaboration derives from the fact that it lays the foundation for

school-based reform. By being collectively involved in matters of teaching and learning, teachers become initiators rather than merely implementers of change (Smylie et al., op. cit.).

II.2.3. Conceptualizations of Teacher Leadership

Teacher leadership has various definitions which converge in some respects and diverge in others. For example, Wasley (1991: 23) defines teacher leadership as “the ability to encourage colleagues to change, to do things they wouldn’t ordinarily consider without the influence of the leader” (qtd. in Harris, 2003, p. 315). Lambert (2006) describes teacher leadership as generally “broad-based, skillful involvement in the work of leadership” (p. 239). Katzenmeyer and Moller (2009) assert that:

Our definition is teachers leaders lead within and beyond the classroom; identify with and contribute to a community of teacher learners and leaders; influence others towards improved educational practice; and accept responsibility for achieving the outcomes of their leadership. (p. 6)

Harris and Muijs (op. cit.) maintain that teacher leadership is:

A model of leadership in which teaching staff at various levels within the organization have the opportunity to lead (Harris and Lambert, 2003). This model of leadership means creating the conditions in which people work together and learn together, where they construct and refine meaning, leading to a shared purpose or set of goals. (p. 17)

All these definitions highlight the importance of teachers working together towards a common goal, school improvement. Leadership resides in collaboration among teachers rather than in individual initiatives launched by those considered to have exceptional abilities or unparalleled expertise. Leadership, in this sense, is not about status, position, or miraculous individual effort; it is about teamwork and collective effort for the good of the entire school.

Furthermore, teacher leadership is spontaneous and organic (Danielson, op. cit.). This means that leadership is not only about *what* teachers do but also about *how* they do it. Productive leadership is spontaneous and emergent; it involves willing and enthusiastic participants. It is not based on coercion or compulsion in any way and for any purpose. These methods have proven to be of little use. What is useful is teachers’ initiative for school-wide

improvement. On the other hand, Danielson (op. cit.) emphasizes that teacher leaders are those who continue to teach and whose influence extends beyond their classrooms. She states that:

Teacher leadership refers to that set of skills demonstrated by teachers who continue to teach students but also have an influence that extends beyond their own classrooms to others within their own school and elsewhere. It entails mobilizing and energizing others with the goal of improving the school's performance of its critical responsibilities related to teaching and learning. (p. 12)

Explicit in the quotation is that teacher leaders are not to occupy any position other than that of the teacher. The nature of their work requires that they do not hold any formal positions, administrative or otherwise. Teacher leadership is premised on trust and strong working relationships, which are unlikely to thrive when initiatives come from outside the ranks of teachers. These latter often view colleagues in formal leadership roles as members of "them, not us." The result is that formal teacher leaders build up psychological barriers between them and their colleagues in the field, symbolizing authority and leading to suspicion and distrust. Teacher leadership is all about mobilizing, motivating, and inspiring colleagues. For these to take place, it is important that insiders rather than outsiders are involved (Katzenmeyer & Moller, op. cit.). Fullan (2001) argues that:

The litmus test of all leadership is whether it mobilizes people's commitment to putting their energy into actions designed to improve things. It is individual commitment, but it is above all collective mobilization. (p. 9)

Likewise, Danielson (op. cit.) notes that:

Teacher leaders develop a collaborative relationship with colleagues; they inspire others to join them on a journey without a specific destination. They recognize an opportunity or a problem, and they convince others to join them in addressing it. (p. 13)

These quotations suggest that being a leader goes far beyond being an expert in a given subject area. A leader is one who has the ability to create bonds with others and appeal to their hearts as much as to their minds. Johnson and Donaldson (2007) stress that teacher leaders are those who cast themselves as partners and collaborators rather than as authorities. Teachers

need to be highly sensitive in how they approach their colleagues; their actions and work ethics can either persuade or dissuade others from joining in the effort of school improvement. Consequently, continuing to teach, as stressed by Danielson (op. cit.), or being a member of “us, not them,” as highlighted by Katzenmeyer and Moller (op. cit.), is prerequisite to leadership, but it is not enough to secure mobilization. How teachers behave towards one another is crucial (Johnson & Donaldson, op. cit.). Also of importance is the motivation behind engagement in the leadership work. Teachers’ ultimate goal needs to be the improvement of student learning schoolwide, not the advancement of personal status or any form of personal gain, material or otherwise. This condition is important for building trust among colleagues, mobilizing their efforts, and ultimately increasing their involvement in collaborative work (op. cit.).

In his turn, Helterbran (op. cit.) echoes Danielson’s (op. cit.) assertions that teacher leadership is informal and spontaneous. She (op. cit.) notes that formal leadership roles (e.g. departmental chair, subject area supervisor, lead teacher, mentor, etc.) are part of the school’s hierarchy. These roles usually have specific job descriptions, expectations, and rewards, whereas informal leadership is emergent, flexible, and authentic. It is mainly driven by arising teaching and learning issues; it is self-generated and it keeps away from all kinds of politically-motivated agendas. Helterbran (op. cit.) states that:

Teacher leadership, in its truest sense, involves those informal aspects of leadership, where a teacher sees a need or identifies a problem and takes the reins to address it within his or her means. (p. 365)

This statement shows how leadership can be more effective when it comes from within the ranks of teachers, i.e. those “who continue to teach” (Danielson, op. cit.), not those appointed to formal positions. The goal is not to discredit administrators and teachers performing formal roles but rather to place practicing teachers at the forefront of the leadership work. This latter

is more likely to achieve results when all teachers are engaged in weaving together what each of them knows and can do in order to enhance the quality of learning at the school level.

Similar to Danielson (op. cit.) and Helderbran (op. cit.), Frost (op. cit.) confirms that teacher leadership “is not so much about teachers sharing administrative responsibility and taking on formal leadership roles” (p. 340). He (op. cit.) maintains that teacher leadership is about “the right of teachers to fulfil their human potential, which necessarily entails having influence over their surroundings and each other” (p. 340). The human perspective is thus central to leadership. Change led by those at the top runs counter to the human need for self-actualization. Teachers need to lead themselves by themselves because this grants them a sense of ownership and achievement and helps fulfil their human desire for exercising some influence over their environment.

Unlike Katzenmeyer and Moller (op. cit.), Helderbran (op. cit.), and Danielson (op. cit.), Muijs and Harris (2006) adopt a broader definition of teacher leadership, arguing that it lies in informal as well as formal roles. While recognizing the importance of teacher-based initiatives, the authors indicate that formal and informal leadership are equally important. They (op.cit.) maintain that teacher leadership consists of:

The formal leadership roles that teachers undertake that have both management and pedagogical responsibilities i.e. head of department, subject co-ordinator, key stage co-ordinator; and the informal leadership roles that include coaching, leading a new team and setting up action research groups. (p. 2)

While informal leadership is expressed in countless ways, formal teacher leadership exists in three major forms: lead teachers, subject or departmental leaders, and coordinators. First, lead teachers are appointed to perform specific roles and duties. They are usually experienced teachers entrusted with providing instructional assistance for colleagues in order to increase their performance. Second, subject or departmental leaders are charged with making and implementing policies for relevant subject areas; they establish short- and long-term plans, set goals for both teachers and students, and promote and evaluate practice. They work to secure

a high quality of teaching through regular and systematic evaluation of the methods and resources being used. Third, coordinators undertake different duties. They could be mentors, coordinators of professional development programs, or facilitators of action research; they could provide orientation and mentoring for teachers new to the school and help develop the school's research capacity (Harris & Muijs, 2005).

Nonetheless, it seems that what matters is not whether informal is more effective than formal leadership or vice versa. What is important is whether teachers' involvement, in whatever forms, brings about concrete improvement in student learning. There is no doubt that formal leadership, whether it be administrative or teacher-led, is important, but it remains insufficient (Danielson, *op. cit.*). Thus, informal leadership comes to supplement rather than supplant administrative leadership. When performed appropriately and effectively, informal teacher leadership represents an outlet for teacher to develop their knowledge and hone their teaching skills.

II.3. Teacher Teams as Leadership

There are three major forms of teacher teams: team teaching, peer coaching, and mentoring relationships. These are all based on joint action; they serve different purposes centered on student learning and reflect a bottom-up approach to school improvement predicated on a reconfiguration of teachers and administrators' responsibilities and relationships (Showers & Joyce, 1996; Scribner, Sawyer, Watson, & Myers, 2007).

Normally, teachers work individually rather than collectively which, according to Pounder (1998), creates a sense of fragmentation that makes it difficult for schools to achieve their missions and meet the challenges of the real world, where teamwork rather than individual effort can make a difference in organizational performance. The tendency towards isolationism among teachers is often perpetuated by a socialization process promoting fierce competition and self-interest and undervaluing collaboration and common interests. Rivalry

within schools, often reflected in a pronounced reluctance for sharing with and learning from others, remains undefeated, resulting in a disintegrated and frail school system impotent and incapable of generating major improvement in student learning despite the many centrally-orchestrated reform initiatives. The lack of collaboration across schools is not to be blamed on teachers but rather on the system as a whole and the organization of work which hinders teamwork (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991; Hargreaves, 1994; Fullan, 2001).

Given that the problem is systemic, this section provides a general framework concerning teams and their definitions, structures, processes, and dynamics. It highlights key factors in the formation of effective teams such as the nature of the task to be performed, the personal and professional characteristics of team members, the level of power they enjoy, the structures in place to support their work, the dynamics defining their relationships, and the goals they have to achieve. Teamwork can serve as a powerful means of improvement if exploited effectively; it is cost-effective and feasible even in educational contexts that are highly centralized and limited in resources. With minor but continued adjustments in the work design, teaming in its different patterns could eventually take hold across schools (Pounder, op. cit.; Cohen & Bailey, 1997; Johnson & Johnson, 2009; Hargreaves & Dawe, 1990).

II.3.1. Definitions and Types of Teams

Although there is no single definition for the concept of *team*, all different conceptualizations describe teams as social systems consisting of groups of individuals interacting with one another and working interdependently to achieve shared goals (Cohen & Bailey, op. cit.; Yukl, 1998; Hackman, 1998). For instance, Cohen and Bailey (op. cit.) state that:

A team is a collection of individuals who are interdependent in their tasks, who share responsibility for outcomes, who see themselves and who are seen by others as an intact social entity embedded in one or more larger social systems (for example, business unit or the corporation), and who manage their relationships across organizational boundaries. (p. 241)

Hackman and Oldham (1980: 165) maintain that teams, or what they call work groups, are “intact (if small) social systems whose members have the authority to handle internal processes as they see fit in order to generate a specific group product, service, or decision” (cited in Pounder, *op. cit.*, p. 66). Alderfer (1977) points out that teams are “bounded social systems whose members are interdependent for a shared purpose, and who interact as a unit with other individuals and groups in achieving that purpose” (cited in Hackman, *op. cit.*, p. 249). Similarly, Yukl (*op. cit.*) defines a team as “a small task group in which the members have a common purpose, interdependent roles, and complementary skills” (p. 356). Based on these definitions, a team is generally a small collection of individuals with complementary skills and discretionary powers to shape events within their environments and achieve common goals.

With regard to types of teams, different typologies are briefly reviewed here in order to clarify the kinds of teams that could exist within schools. To start with, Yukl (*op. cit.*) cites four major types of teams: functional, cross-functional, self-managed, and virtual teams. In functional teams, members perform different roles but they all work to achieve the same task. These teams are usually stable, long-term, and have a designated leader who manages their internal and external workings. Cross-functional teams draw members from other existing teams for achieving projects involving complex operations and requiring joint problem solving among different specialized groups. These kinds of teams allow for an effective exploitation of human resources by increasing interaction and sharing of expertise, but they are not without challenges, especially those related to time constraint, overload, and communication barriers arising from differences in jargons and backgrounds. Self-managed teams are stable, long-term, and highly autonomous. They schedule and assign tasks, determine work procedures, set goals, evaluate performance, and deal with performance and discipline problems. The parent organization gets to decide only on the team’s mission, scope

of operations, and budget. Self-managed teams can increase job satisfaction (motivation) and help solve problems in a timely fashion (efficiency), but without adequate structures and strong interpersonal relationships they can lead to conflict and chaos. Finally, virtual teams consist of members who are in different locations, whether in the same or across different regions, but are connected together by means of computer or telecommunication technology (e.g. email, videoconferencing, groupware, cell phones, etc.) for achieving shared goals. These teams can be short- or long-term depending on the nature of task, and can engage in a wide range of activities such as solving problems, planning activities, and developing and implementing innovations across schools, at local, national, or international levels. Virtual teams help schools and organizations in general pool together all available resources to optimize their ways of doing things and improve outcomes (Yukl, *op. cit.*; Gronn, 2003).

Similar to these teams are those described by Cohen and Bailey (*op. cit.*), who cite four types of teams: work teams, parallel teams, project teams, and management teams. Work teams are stable, long-term, have specific roles, and carry out specific tasks, whereas parallel teams bring people together from different departments or disciplines for joint problem solving and whole-school improvement. Project teams also draw members from different areas of expertise but have an identified period of time to complete their mission. Such teams are usually focused on developing new and innovative ways of doing things schoolwide. Management teams, however, consist of leaders representing different disciplines or departments working together to provide direction for the organization and maintain improved performance (*op. cit.*).

Yet another typology of teams is that presented by Smith (2009), who identifies eight configurations of teams within schools: management teams, instructional teams, interdisciplinary teams, pedagogic teams, informational teams, instrumental teams, emotional teams, and appraisal teams. Management teams deal with administrative issues while

instructional teams work to improve instruction and teacher effectiveness. Interdisciplinary teams, involving teachers from different subject areas, work to develop strategies for improving student learning schoolwide, whereas pedagogic teams include teachers of the same subject or class coordinating efforts to find ways for effectively dealing with students' learning and behavior problems. Informational teams involve sharing information of importance to teachers' professional and social lives, and instrumental teams provide practical support in various forms, such as in sharing material and good practice, for improved learning. Emotional teams provide socio-emotional support for teachers in difficult or happy times for promoting a positive climate, whereas appraisal teams work to identify and solve problems in teaching and learning across the school. Therefore, for Smith (op. cit.), teams fulfill several functions that go far beyond the technical aspect of schooling to include other important socioemotional, pedagogic, and informational dimensions, an approach that is more inclusive and expands the boundaries and locus of teamwork (op. cit.).

However, moving away from these traditional typologies which restrict the number of teams that could exist within schools, Vangrieken, Dochy, Raes, and Kyndt (2013) suggest an alternative typology more comprehensive in scope and based on five axes: the task performed, discipline level, grade level, temporal duration, and team entitativity. The first axis, the task performed, implies that teams can vary according to the tasks they undertake, which could be related to management, planning, instruction, pedagogy, professional development, special or social services, innovation and reform, and material or practical support. Second, teams can vary according to the disciplines involved; they can be disciplinary (members come from the same discipline) or interdisciplinary (members are from different disciplines). Third, teams can be distinguished based on the grade level; they may consist of teachers of the same grade level (within grade level) or of different grade levels (cross grade level). Fourth, temporal duration, or the period of time available for teams to complete their mission, is also an

important criterion distinguishing among teams, which can be short- or long-term depending on the nature of the task. Finally, team entitativity, a term coined by Campbell (1958), refers to the degree of coherence, unity, and interdependence existing among members, which varies from one team to another. The conclusion is that teams cannot be reduced to any particular number or category. Rather, they vary along four major axes and no predetermined categories are likely to fully capture all possible variations (Vangrieken et al., op. cit.).

II.3.2. Factors in Team Effectiveness

Pounder (op. cit.) highlights three major factors in the formation of effective teams: the group structure, organizational context, and interpersonal processes. The 'group structure' concerns three major elements: the work design, group composition, and norms of performance. It is important that the work to be conducted in teams requires interaction and collaboration, discretion in making decisions, a variety of skills, and feedback from others. Also, the work needs to be specific in nature and results. The group needs to include members with high-level knowledge and expertise relevant to the task to be performed, and its size needs to be aligned according to the needs of the task. If the group is too large, communication among members might be difficult and complex, responsibilities might be partitioned and disconnected, and focus could be shattered. Conversely, if the group is too small, the task will be too big to be accomplished by the members available. In addition to the size of the group, there needs to be a balance between homogeneity and heterogeneity in terms of members' professional backgrounds, which ought to be neither too similar nor too different in order to increase benefits and outcomes. On the other hand, the group's norms of performance concern mainly the means and strategies adopted for accomplishing the task. There needs to be a clear and explicit delineation of the norms to govern members' behaviors and ways of achieving the work to derive actual gains from the process (op. cit.).

The second component in Pounder's (op. cit.) model of effective teams is the 'organizational context.' Considered key to the success of teams is a supportive environment that is friendly to teamwork, whether in terms of time, space, rewards, or other resources, and where appropriate monitoring-but not control-of the work performed jointly exists. Drawing clear requirements, expectations, and constraints for teams, specifying their authority zone, and establishing accountability measures for their work are all important conditions schools need to develop to reap the benefits of teamwork. The third factor in team effectiveness is the 'interpersonal processes.' These latter concern mainly communication and coordination among members and the need for establishing effective mechanisms promoting collaborative-not individual-work across all levels of the organization. Of particular importance are devising effective ways cutting the costs, in terms of time and effort, incurred by teamwork and increasing its benefits, socioemotional and material, in order to make teaming more plausible and meaningful. Put briefly, for teams to produce results, there needs to be a group structure (task, composition, and norms) that facilitates teamwork, an organizational context that is engaging and team friendly, and interpersonal processes that make teamwork cost-effective and worthwhile (op. cit.).

Nevertheless, the three factors in team effectiveness cited by Pounder (op. cit.) tend to be focused on the internal and technical workings of teams while the external and affective dimensions go unnoticed. To account for the socioeconomic and psychological factors, Cohen and Bailey (op. cit.) put forward an alternative model for team effectiveness more comprehensive in scope and consisting of four major factors: environmental factors, design factors, group processes, and group psychological traits. The environmental factors include the economic and sociocultural characteristics of the environment in which the organization is located while the design factors encompass the features of the task (autonomy and interdependence), group (size, demographics, and diversity), and organization (rewards,

supervision, training, and resources) that can be manipulated to increase performance. Group processes refer to the interactions, such as communication and conflict, which occur within or across groups, whereas group psychological traits comprise norms, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions. These four factors affect three major dimensions of effectiveness: performance effectiveness (efficiency, productivity, quality, and innovation), member attitudes (satisfaction, commitment, and trust), and behavioral outcomes (absenteeism, turnover, and safety). Therefore, the indicators of team effectiveness include not only performance outcomes but also attitudes and behaviors, a fact that compels schools to espouse a more inclusive approach towards the development of teams, one in which not only the internal and technical but also the external and affective dimensions are awarded attention (op. cit.).

Both the factors underscored by Cohen and Bailey (op. cit.) and those indicated by Pounder (op. cit.) reveal that teaming does not happen accidentally or take place randomly. There are conditions, whether related to teams themselves or to their internal and external environments, in which teamwork evolves and succeeds (Hackman, op. cit.). Attention needs to be directed at developing these conditions in order for collaborative work to yield results. Hackman (op. cit.) emphasizes that:

If members are unclear about what they are supposed to accomplish, if the team or its task are badly designed, or if the surrounding organization places obstacle after obstacle in the team's path, then a leader would be well advised to focus first on solving these more fundamental problems. It is nearly impossible to coach a team to greatness in a performance situation that undermines rather than supports teamwork. (p. 256)

Undoubtedly, creating the conditions necessary for teamwork to thrive would require revolutionary rather than evolutionary change in the school system and organization of work (op. cit.). The problem, as Hargreaves (1994) insists, is not so much with teachers but rather in the education system.

II.3.3. Models of Teacher Teams

Given that teams vary according to four axes (Vangrieken et al., op. cit.) and fulfil different purposes (Smith, op. cit.), the focus in this section is laid on three major variations of teacher teams: team teaching, peer coaching, and mentoring relationships. These are considered among the most important instruments for breaking isolationism, which is viewed as a major obstacle to school improvement. The “self-contained classroom” (Wadkins, Wozniak, & Miller, 2004) or the “egg-crate structure of schooling” (Lortie, 1975, in Hargreaves, 1994) causes schools to miss out on great opportunities for improvement. Due to isolationism, Fullan and Hargreaves (1991) note that:

Whatever great things individual teachers do or could do go unnoticed, and whatever bad things they do go uncorrected. Many of the solutions to teaching problems are “out there” somewhere, but they are inaccessible. (p. 10)

The state of privatism keeps resources from being utilized, shared, and refined. Therefore, without developing teams within schools, the individual classrooms will continue to fall short of generating major improvement in student learning. In fact, individual classrooms can only be effective if the whole school is also effective. Fullan and Hargreaves (op. cit.) make it clear that:

For classrooms to be effective, schools must be effective. Teachers are a big part of the school. As individuals or groups of individuals, they must therefore take responsibility for improving the whole school, or it will not improve. If they don't, their individual classrooms will not improve either, because forces outside the classroom heavily influence the quality of classroom life: forces like access to ideas and resources, organizational and timetabling arrangements, and sense of purpose and direction. (p. 11)

The fact that improvement within the classroom largely hinges on improvement within the whole school makes teaming a necessity rather than a fad or luxury. Certainly, developing collaboration is not an easy undertaking given the many structural and cultural characteristics of the school system that impede rather than facilitates working together. Fullan and Hargreaves (op. cit.) write that “the problem of isolation is a deep-

seated one. Architecture often supports it. The timetable reinforces it. Overload sustains it. History legitimates it” (p. 6). Yet, the challenge, they (op. cit.) stress, is worth undertaking.

II.3.3.1. Team Teaching

Team teaching surfaced as an alternative to the traditional teaching environment in which one single teacher teaches a group of students. It aims at bringing teachers together to allow for a flow of knowledge and expertise across all levels of the school organization. Different definitions of team teaching exist, but all confirm its nature as a strategy involving two or more teachers working together and sharing the delivery of instruction. Wadkins et al. (op. cit.), for instance, describe team teaching as an approach that “generally implies two or more instructors collaborating over the design and/or implementation of a course” (p. 77). Goetz (2000) maintains that team teaching involves “a group of two or more teachers working together to plan, conduct and evaluate the learning activities for the same group of learners” (p. 1). Team teaching is generally used interchangeably with co-teaching, as is the case with Welch, Brownell, and Sheridan (1999) and Allen (2012), although the two terms are sometimes perceived differently. While they are both important strategies for collaboratively planning and delivering instruction, co-teaching, as argued by Cook (2004), refers to the joint delivery of instruction to a specific category of students, such as those who are gifted, with average ability, with identified special needs, or at risk of school failure. Co-teaching is also more extensive, long-term, and involves a deeper level of collaboration and a stronger bond among those involved. Cook (op. cit.) views team teaching as only a model of co-teaching. Yet, in the literature, the two terms are generally used interchangeably.

Building on Maroney (1995) and Robinson and Schaible (1995), Goetz (op. cit.) and Day and Hurrell (2012) cite six models of team teaching: traditional, collaborative, complementary-supportive, parallel instruction, differentiated split class, and monitoring

teacher. *Traditional team teaching* involves two or more teachers sharing the delivery of instruction to a group of students while *collaborative teaching* describes a situation in which teaming teachers jointly design and teach the course through exchanging ideas in front of students. In *complimentary-supportive team teaching*, one teacher is responsible for teaching the content while another takes charge of providing follow-up activities related to target topics and study skills. This model is well-suited for courses that involve learning in groups. In *parallel instruction*, the class is divided into groups and each teacher is responsible for teaching the same material to his or her own group. This model is useful when students engage in working on projects or solving problems or when teachers need to provide individualized support. The *differentiated slip class* involves dividing the class into smaller groups according to students' learning needs and providing the instruction appropriate for each group. The *monitoring teacher* model describes a situation in which one teacher teaches the class while another circulates the room and monitors student understanding and behavior. These are in brief the major forms in which teachers can jointly deliver instruction within classrooms (Goetz, op. cit.; Day & Hurrell, op. cit.).

In addition to these, Wadkins et al. (op. cit.) identify two other forms of team teaching: tag-team teaching, and 'coordinator of multiple guest speakers.' Tag-team teaching, or turn teaching, involves two or more teachers responsible for different parts of the same course depending on their area of expertise. These teachers work together to divide roles, specify the time to devote to each part of the course, and determine the methods for assessing students; however, they are not usually present in the classroom at the same time. This model of team teaching allows teachers to exchange knowledge and expertise about ways for planning and implementing lessons and provides students with different perspectives. Nevertheless, the fact that teachers are not available in the classroom at the same time can create gaps in student learning arising from a difficulty to link together information presented by different teachers.

Students might find it difficult to adjust to different teaching styles and methods. In the ‘coordinator of multiple guest speakers’ model, a teacher in charge of a course invites faculty or non-faculty members to share real-life experience with students. Individuals from different walks of life, from police officers and firefighters to doctors and engineers, provide students with practical experience by giving lectures, answering questions, giving tours, and many other experiences. This model of team teaching gives students access to up-to-date and practical information to complement the set of knowledge they are exposed to in the textbook or classroom, which is usually of a static and theoretical nature. Yet, the teacher responsible for the course needs to monitor the information provided by the speakers as it could be biased, inaccurate, or insufficient. Also an issue is arranging for speakers’ visits, which could be time-consuming and even frustrating as speakers can choose to come at any time of their liking. Moreover, the speakers may not present the information in an effective and appropriate manner, which might leave students confused and unable to derive much sense or benefit from the experience. Teachers, therefore, need to debrief their students to address any inaccuracies in content or inappropriateness in manner (op. cit.).

Wadkins et al. (op. cit.) indicate a third model of team teaching, collaborative teaching, which is already mentioned by Goetz (op. cit.) and Day and Hurrell (op. cit.). This model helps address problems and spur innovation, but it is not without challenges, especially those related to dependency among teachers, time constraint, confusion among students, and favoring a teacher over another. Teachers may not invest as much effort as they do when they are solely responsible for their classes. In addition, working together both during planning and implementing the course is a time-consuming process involving several tasks, such as developing the syllabus, course schedule, and assignments, which could lead to burnout and stress. Students, on the other hand, might be confused about who is in charge of the course and who is to approach for help. They might also favor one teacher over another, which

would undermine the worth of working collaboratively. To address these challenges, teachers need to specify the topics, activities, and assignments each will lead, and develop and enforce consistent policies and strategies regarding how to deal with students' different needs and other relevant issues (Wadkins et al., op. cit.).

Clearly, team teaching takes various forms, which cannot be by any means exhaustive. Variations in teaming patterns, as Vangrieken et al. (op. cit.) affirm, cannot be limited to any specific number. Regardless, the models discussed provide a snapshot of some of the major ways in which teachers can work together within or outside classrooms to improve instruction and ultimately enhance student learning schoolwide. To derive actual benefits from the different patterns, teachers need to plan together the *what* and *how* of teaching and assessment, and decide who is going to lead which group and when (Goetz, op. cit.). Also, teachers need to make use of different teaming arrangements rather than stick to one single form, depending on the nature of the task and the needs of students.

II.3.3.2. Peer Coaching

Peer coaching is considered a major vehicle for generating and implementing innovative ways of delivering instruction and a driving force of professional development and on-site training across schools. It provides teachers with continued, authentic, immediate, and relevant assistance at the level of the classroom, not only under simulated conditions as is the case in workshops and other off-site training programs. Coaching also helps minimize schools' heavy dependence on outside experts for ideas to improve practice, especially if such ideas are usually general and fail to take account of the specificities, whether in terms of structure or culture, of the local context. In brief, coaching helps inject meaning into everyday practice and counter inertia within the ranks of those most instrumental to the educational process, teachers (Showers & Joyce, op. cit.).

Compared to team teaching, peer coaching is not a strategy for sharing the delivery of instruction but one for sharing expertise and transferring skills by planning together, reflecting on practice, and observing and providing feedback for one another (Hargreaves & Dawe, op. cit.). The philosophy and practice of coaching can be described as follows:

Coaching is essentially a method of transferring skill and expertise from more experienced and knowledgeable practitioners of such skill to less experienced ones. As a model of training, it relies on more than mere explanation or demonstration of the required skills that are to be learnt. Coaching, rather, consists of an intensive relationship between coach and student, expert and novice, in which the coach works alongside the student and engages in dialogue with him or her as the student attempts to practice and develop the newly acquired skills. (op. cit., p. 230)

While the goal is improved instruction, relationships among all involved parties occupy an important role in the process. The coaches or teachers with expertise in a particular skill area accompany colleagues who need help along the path leading to the acquisition of the target skills. The process, therefore, involves continuous and authentic technical assistance coupled with socioemotional support aimed at increasing teacher efficacy and enhancing student learning.

As is the case with team teaching, peer coaching exists in different forms. Building on Garmston (1987), Hargreaves and Dawe (op. cit.), Galbraith and Anstrom (1995), and Swafford (1998) provide three major models of peer coaching: technical, collegial, and challenge coaching. *Technical coaching* focuses on developing and using effective teaching methods through the acquisition and transfer of new skills and strategies among teachers. *Collegial coaching*, also called reflective or cognitive coaching (Swafford, op. cit.), aims at promoting a positive climate characterized by professional dialogue and reflection centering on enhancing existing teaching practices. *Challenge coaching* is mainly concerned with resolving persistent problems facing the school, whether in instruction, curriculum, or student behavior, through collaboration between and among teachers and administrators (Hargreaves & Dawe, op. cit.; Galbraith & Anstrom, op. cit.; Wong & Nicotera, op. cit.). Along these three

major models of peer coaching exist several variations, such as *expert* and *reciprocal* coaching (Swafford, op. cit.), and *team coaching* (Galbraith & Anstrom, op. cit.). In expert coaching, a teacher with high-level expertise in a particular area observes and provides feedback for a colleague to help improve his or her teaching skills, whereas in reciprocal coaching teachers observe each other to identify and develop venues for improving instruction and optimizing practice (Swafford, op. cit.). In team coaching, however, an expert teacher provides assistance for a colleague through planning together, observing and providing feedback, team teaching, and/or evaluating teaching and learning outcomes (Galbraith & Anstrom, op. cit.). These are among the many forms technical, collegial, and challenge coaching could take depending on the nature of the task, the goals to be achieved, and the needs of both teachers and students.

The importance of peer coaching, in which sharing expertise and transferring skills based on enduring and trusting relationships are the ultimate goals, lies in the fact that it creates an atmosphere in which teachers feel safe to experiment, fail, reflect, question, revise, and seek assistance without fear of being judged or punished (Galbraith & Anstrom, op. cit.). Such an atmosphere is key to school improvement; it boosts teachers' morale and increases job satisfaction, self-esteem, and motivation. Yet, as Showers and Joyce (op. cit.) note, coaching is only a means to an end, which implies that developing coaching teams within schools does not automatically result in improvement. At the heart of the matter is injecting practice with meaning by sharing and developing original ideas and strengthening trust and solidarity among all concerned actors to increase student learning across the school (op. cit.).

II.3.3.3. Mentoring Relationships

Mentoring is a process in which an experienced teacher, called mentor, provides guidance and counseling for a beginning teacher, also known as protégé (Field, 1994). Teachers at the early stages of their career need, more than anything else, real-life knowledge

about “the social, psychological and philosophical underpinnings of the teaching and learning practices and processes” (op. cit., p. 65) in the schools where they function. Mentoring, therefore, is a strategy for helping beginning teachers gain in-depth knowledge about the sociocultural premises underlying all operations within the school. It helps spur reflection and creativity through purposeful interaction about, and negotiation of, teaching and learning as they pertain to the specific context of the school (op. cit.). As indicated by Young, Bullough, Jo Draper, Smith, and Erickson (2005), there is often an overemphasis on beginning teachers’ technical capability combined with a disregard for their personal qualities, attitudes, and beliefs. Teachers are usually placed in classrooms and expected to copy certain teaching strategies; the sociocultural dimensions to their professional development are often overlooked, which results in a great deal of uncertainty, disorientation, low morale, and even conflict that consequently undermine teacher efficacy and the school’s capacity for improvement (op. cit.). Mentoring, therefore, is rooted in the idea that teachers are in the first place social beings and need to be treated as such rather than as robots. Technical ability or mastering the ‘tricks of the craft’ is important but it is unlikely to be of much use and generate major improvement across the school without appropriate social skills.

Mentoring has different definitions which all corroborate its nature as an interactive and enduring relationship aimed personal, social, and professional growth for all those involved in the process (Young et al., op. cit.; Carruthers, 1993; Spiller, 2011). For example, Jeruchim and Shapiro (1992: 23) describe mentoring as:

A close, intense, mutually beneficial relationship between someone who is older, wiser, more experienced, and more powerful with someone younger or less experienced. It is a complementary relationship, within an organizational or professional context, built on both the mentor’s and the protégé’s needs. (qtd. in Young et al., op. cit., p. 169-70).

Similarly, Carmin (1988) emphasizes that mentoring is a dynamic, interdependent, and mutual process. She (op. cit.) writes that:

Mentoring is a complex, interactive process occurring between individuals of differing levels of experience and expertise which incorporates interpersonal or psychological development, career and/or educational development, and socialization functions into the relationship. (cited in Carruthers, op. cit., p. 10-11)

Based on these and other definitions, mentoring reflects a balanced approach to teacher development, in which the focus is laid not only on technique but also on affect. The mentor, as indicated by Spiller (op. cit.), is not merely a transmitter of knowledge and expertise but also a facilitator or councilor providing wide-ranging support for fellow teachers. A mentor can help colleagues achieve specific outcomes, express concerns and find meanings, reflect on practice, and manage working lives. Yet, mentoring is not a one-way but rather a dynamic and reciprocal relationship, which entails that knowledge and expertise flow from multiple sources and into different directions even when one party might have more experience than another. Beginning teachers or protégés are undoubtedly not blank slates; they are often tech-savvy, possess up-to-date information about how young people think and learn, and have a predisposition to respond more appropriately to students' social and learning needs. Therefore, an interactive mentoring relationship is also set to benefit mentors in a number of ways, particularly through keeping them informed of the latest innovations, theories, and trends at all levels of the school and the community at large (op. cit.). To reduce the ever increasing demands on teachers' time and effort and make the process more applicable and more beneficial for both mentors and protégés, mentoring, Turk (1999) emphasizes, needs to be organized in teams. This form of mentoring helps reduce stress and boost professional growth for mentors while it broadens support, provides different perspectives, and increases self-esteem and self-confidence for beginning teachers, who act not only as recipients but also creators of knowledge (op. cit.).

According to Young et al. (op. cit.), mentoring takes places in three major forms: *responsive*, *interactive*, and *directive*. The *responsive* mentor works to serve the

particular needs of the protégé or teacher being mentored. Action is directed by the protégé's questions and concerns rather than controlled by the mentor, who only acts to respond to the needs expressed. While it is protégé-centered, this model of mentoring might create ambivalence as it lacks a clear delineation of the expectations and goals that are to guide action, focus efforts, and ensure results. The *interactive* model, however, is premised on open and purposeful conversation about issues of concern to the mentor and the protégé who work closely together to develop and achieve a shared plan of action tailored to the needs of both. The interactive mentor acts as a trusted friend, colleague, and advisor. In the *directive* approach, the mentor occupies the center stage in all action: he or she determines the plan of action to be carried out, has clear expectations of the protégé, provides guidance, and expects improvement. The directive mentor acts as a role model for specific teaching strategies and behaviors which the protégé is supposed to adopt, not only learn from. Feedback takes the form of strong recommendations, not only possibilities which the protégé can explore (op. cit.).

The three general patterns of mentoring identified here are based on variations along eight mentoring dimensions classified under four major polarities: *emotionally available versus emotionally distant*, *engaged versus disengaged*, *invested versus un-invested*, and *critical versus nonjudgmental* (Young et al., op. cit.). Emotionally available mentors share feelings, concerns, and aspects of their personal lives while those emotionally distant have an impersonal businesslike relationship with protégés. Engaged mentors are available and ready to assist their protégés while disengaged ones provide assistance only when solicited by protégés. Invested mentors identify with and deeply care for protégés and their experiences of success and failure throughout the path of development. Un-invested mentors, however, display little or no concern for their protégés' development and fail to connect with them on a socioemotional level. Finally,

critical mentors explicitly point out problems in protégés' performance while those who are nonjudgmental tend to be supportive, positive, and patient in dealing with protégés and often refrain from providing explicitly critical feedback (op. cit.).

These dimensions reveal that mentoring and the forms in which it could take place are grounded in personal and professional values about teaching and learning and in the sociocultural beliefs underpinning relationships among individuals in a given society (Young et al., op. cit.). The process, therefore, is complex and requires continuous and synchronized efforts at the structural and cultural fronts in order to achieve results. Above all, a high level of sensitivity is required because the mentoring relationship involves a lot of emotions and vulnerabilities that could turn out to draw people further apart than closer together and do more harm than good if not managed appropriately and directed towards the benefit of the school.

II.3.4. Challenges Facing Teams

Teams are faced with countless challenges which can cause severe damage if not addressed appropriately. The most serious among these are social loafing, free-riding (Johnson & Johnson, op. cit.), and groupthink (Gronn, op. cit.; Scribner et al., op. cit.; Hackman, op. cit.). Social loafing is induced by a loss of motivation and involves willingly investing less effort than possible or needed in achieving one's share of the work and in helping others accomplish theirs (Johnson & Johnson, op. cit.). Free riding also involves expending minimal effort in performing one's part of the work and in helping others fulfil theirs; however, it is driven by a desire to exploit membership to the group to gain rewards at the expense of others rather than by a loss of motivation (op. cit.). Social loafers and free riders fail not only themselves but also other members of the group. On the other hand, groupthink refers to the state in which members of the group shy away from contesting or questioning the group's methods, goals, and decisions when they see fit for fear of being

rejected or being viewed uncooperative (Gronn, op. cit.). In Janis' (1982: 9) words, groupthink describes the situation in which "members' strivings for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action ... a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgement that results from in-group pressures" (qtd. in Gronn, op. cit., p. 103). This "tacit agreement to not rock the boat," as Scribner et al. (op. cit.: 94) describe it, works against creativity and turns into an irresistible form of control. The need for consensus and for meeting the standards set by and for the group can work to inhibit divergent thinking and subsequently render teaming even more oppressive, coercive, and enslaving than direct supervision by formal leaders. This is so because members act as their own slaves and their own masters (Gronn, op. cit.). Therefore, collaborative work does not always result in increased outcomes; it can bring benefits just as it can bring losses. Scribner et al. (op. cit.) state that "collaboration does not necessarily equate with workers becoming more creative and innovative. In fact the opposite can occur" (p. 93-45).

The three phenomena mentioned above are only a few among many challenges facing teamwork. Generally, teams can prove counterproductive when they fail to fulfil the following criteria: positive interdependence, accountability and responsibility, promotive interaction, use of appropriate social skills, and group processing (Johnson & Johnson, op. cit.). Positive interdependence exists when "individuals perceive that they can attain their goals if and only if the other individuals with whom they are cooperatively linked attain their goals" (op. cit., p. 366). Accountability involves assessing and comparing the performance of individual members and the group as a whole to the set standards of performance, whereas responsibility entails completing one's share of the work and helping others achieve theirs. Accountability helps increase responsibility and vice versa. Promotive interaction takes hold when members of the group provide encouragement and support for each other throughout the completion of the task to help achieve the group's goals. The social skills important for

teamwork include developing trusting relationships with others, accepting and supporting each other, communicating effectively, and amicably solving conflicts. Finally, group processing involves reflecting on the way the work is being done to make adjustments and increase performance. These are in brief the dynamics that can bring teams to greatness or otherwise to failure (op. cit.).

In addition to these dynamics, the focus of action, Hargreaves and Dawe (op. cit.) emphasize, needs to be on social and professional development rather than on implementation and technique alone. Teacher teams need to go beyond questions about means and techniques to questions about values and ends. The person the teacher is needs to be awarded special importance if the collaborative process is to yield genuine improvement. Hargreaves and Dawe (op. cit.) explain that:

Teaching is a deeply moral craft, laden with values in its purpose and implications. To construct imperatives for teacher improvement on the basis of apparently neutral, technical means of scientific procedure is to neglect what is most central to the practice of teaching and what drives many aspiring teachers towards it—its human and moral purpose in forming new lives and creating new generations for the future. (p. 235-36)

Teaming focused on implementing particular techniques often fails to account for differences in educational goals, personalities, and sociopolitical backgrounds, i.e. for the human and moral dimensions underlying action. It is shaping not only implementing the strategies, ends, and values of teaching, often presented as divine truth, that needs to be at the heart of teamwork. Teams stripped of the power to *shape* matters directly affecting them and their students look no more than “the gathering together of teachers in the same place” (op. cit., p. 239). With the relentless drive towards centralization and standardization and the tightening of administrative control, teachers are left with very little to collaborate about, which hollows out teaming and all other forms of collaboration of their potential benefits and makes them of no particular use to the school. Hargreaves and Dawe (op. cit.) note this paradox in public discourse on education and write that “teachers are apparently being urged to collaborate

more, just at the moment when there is less for them to collaborate about” (p. 228). Teaming, even when it proves effective, is unlikely to generate major improvement schoolwide as long as there is little room for teachers to exercise judgment and discretion (op. cit.).

II.4. Teacher Research as Leadership

Teacher research is a form of teacher leadership involving reflection about practice and inquiry into classrooms and schools for the creation, development, and transfer of original knowledge about teaching and learning. It has emerged since the inception of teacher leadership in Canada and the U.S. in the early 1900s. In the period spanning from the 1920s up to the 1970s, teachers were urged to conduct research for curriculum development and enhanced student learning, in general. They were encouraged to be researchers of their own classrooms. The 1980s witnessed further growth in inquiry projects built around teacher research, which up until now continues to be viewed as central to school improvement (Smylie et al., 2002).

However, in much of the research on teaching, teachers “have been the researched rather than the researchers” (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993, p. 1). Most research on teaching has been carried out by university scholars. Despite a growing tendency towards recognizing their knowledge and expertise, teachers continue to be the subjects of research; their roles as theorizers, interpreters, and critics of practice continue to be undermined. Teachers are usually expected to be the recipients rather than the creators of knowledge. It is assumed that they have more to learn from outside experts than they have to learn from their own experiences. This explains, in part, why school improvement efforts and professional development programs are often based on the findings of professional researchers, a strategy that has done little to improve the overall quality of education (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, op. cit.).

Research on teaching over the last two decades can be summarized into two categories. The first is described as process-product research and accounts for much of the

research on teaching. It is mainly concerned with correlating particular processes or teacher behaviors with particular products, usually student achievement reflected in scores on standardized tests. This kind of research is predicated on the idea that teaching is a linear activity in which teacher behaviors are causes and learning outcomes are effects. It is heavily dependent on studying visible classroom phenomena and observable teaching and learning behaviors to inform and improve practice. The invisible part of the process remains unaccounted for. As for teachers, their primary role is to implement the research findings of others, mainly university-based researchers. This type of research is referred to as “outside-in” since it is conducted by those outside the daily practices of the profession (op. cit.).

The second category of research includes a range of qualitative or interpretive studies referred to by Shulman (1986) as studies of *classroom ecology* (cited in Cochran-Smith & Lytle, op. cit.). These qualitative studies draw from other fields of study such as anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and qualitative, interpretive research. “Research from these perspectives presumes that teaching is a highly complex, context-specific, interactive activity in which differences across classrooms, schools, and communities are critically important” (op. cit., p. 6). Research of such nature is based on detailed, descriptive accounts of the events taking place in the classroom or the school as a whole. Sometimes, this research is conducted collaboratively by school-based teachers and university researchers, which helps bridge theory and practice but limits teachers’ roles in the research process as their perspectives are usually framed by those of the researchers (op. cit.).

Pioneers in teacher research, most notably Cochran-Smith and Lytle (op. cit.), embrace the second type of research, in which teachers are the researchers rather than the researched. Such research allows for authentic, context-specific, informed, and meaningful change. Teacher research is a “systematic, intentional inquiry by teachers about their own school and classroom work” (op. cit., p. 23). By *Systematic*, the authors (op. cit.) mean:

Ordered ways of gathering and recording information, documenting experiences inside and outside of classrooms, and making some kind of written record. Systematic also refers to ordered ways of recollecting, rethinking, and analyzing classroom events for which there may be only partial or unwritten records. (p. 24)

As to *intentional*, it implies that teacher research is “an activity that is planned rather than spontaneous” (op. cit.). This characteristic does not mean that learning about teaching or any other discipline is only possible when planned ahead of time. Teacher research is said to be intentional in line with Boomer’s (1987: 5) proposition that “to learn deliberately is to research” (qtd. in Cochran-Smith & Lytle, op. cit., p. 24). Finally, *inquiry* signifies that teacher research “stems from or generates questions and reflects teachers’ desires to make sense of their experiences to adapt a learning stance or openness toward classroom life” (op. cit.). As Berthoff (1987) argues, teacher research does not always have to culminate in new information; it could simply involve interpreting information one already has (cited in Cochran-Smith & Lytle, op. cit.).

The San Francisco Bay Area School Reform Collaborative (BASRC) provides a detailed account depicting how teacher research takes place (cited in Smylie et al., op. cit.). According to the BASRC, teacher research for leadership development consists of a cycle that involves:

identifying a broad problem statement and proceeds to reformulating the problem statement and focusing effort, identifying measurable goals for student learning, building a concrete action plan, putting that plan into place, and collecting data and analyzing the results. The results should suggest new problems to investigate, and the cycle repeats. (cited in Smylie et al., op. cit., p. 170-1)

The cycle portrays the steps to be followed in conducting teacher research and corroborates Cochran-Smith and Lytle’s (op. cit.) conceptualization of the term. It lays out a procedure for researching teaching and learning across the school, showing that research of this type is in fact systematic and intentional rather than arbitrary and spontaneous. Other aspects of teacher research include: evaluating student work, developing new curricula and student assessments, experimenting with new teaching practices, and solving classroom and school-level problems

(Smylie et al., op. cit.). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) affirm that “the concept of teacher research carries with it an enlarged view of the teacher’s role—as decision maker, consultant, curriculum developer, analyst, activist, and school leader” (p. 17). Such roles necessitate collaboration among teachers as well as with other stakeholders, mainly administrators and university scholars. Teachers can partner with administrators and university researchers in order to identify problems, set research goals, and collect and analyze data. Altogether, teacher research, in all existing forms, helps strengthen teachers’ knowledge and expertise, develop a sense of efficacy amongst them, and create an environment more welcoming of change, one which is informed by evidence accumulated from teachers’ own inquiries and everyday experiences in the classrooms (Smylie et al., op. cit.).

To sum up, teacher research is an important source of teacher leadership. It challenges the knowledge constructed by university-based researchers about the concept and practice of teaching. As argued by Cochran-Smith and Lytle (op. cit.), teacher research is a form of “learning through doing” that injects practice with original ideas accommodating students’ learning needs. It gives teachers a sense of ownership and self-efficacy originating from their ability to influence the course of events in their individual classrooms and across the school (Smylie et al., op. cit.). Given the time constraint, work overload, and family obligations, teacher research reflects leadership in its truest sense. It shows genuine passion and demonstrates unwavering commitment to making a difference in the lives of students.

II.5. Conclusion

The concept of teachers leading change across schools may seem implausible to many, at least in the Moroccan context. Teachers have long been treated as crude labor intellectually unqualified to participate in shaping decisions on the *what* and *how* of education. The official expectations from teachers have long been to follow and implement orders regarding all aspects of the educational process, even those most delicate, fluid, and dynamic in nature

which are better left to teachers' discretion. There are incessant waves of top-down policies and regulations that teachers have to obey without questioning; there is an overemphasis on technique while the human and socioemotional aspects of teaching and learning are awarded little if any importance by the education authorities. These latter's attitudes towards, and treatment of teachers have intoxicated relationships across all levels of the system, particularly within schools, rendering the chances for increasing the quality of education delivered very slim regardless of the resources allocated. For any meaningful improvement to take place within schools, teachers need to have a stake in shaping what and how to teach; they need to be viewed as trustworthy and capable of leading their schools towards better results.

This chapter highlights the need for teacher leadership, what it is about, how it is to be undertaken, and what conditions are necessary for its success. The chapter as a whole underscores how change is first and foremost about people not merely technique how a new approach where teachers create not only implement change is needed to achieve progress across schools. In the first section of the chapter, how teachers are instrumental to the change efforts, how they could contribute to school development, and why their knowledge and expertise need to be appreciated and exploited rather than overlooked and suppressed are all elaborated. The section also specifies under which conditions teacher leadership yields results and under which it does not. The conditions concern who is to lead, when, how, and why; leadership needs to be undertaken by teachers who teach, not those selected or appointed by administrations, when there is a need to address and a goal to achieve for the common good of improving the quality of education schoolwide. Teacher leaders need to work collectively and cast themselves as partners rather than authorities.

Given that leadership is all about teachers working together rather than in isolation, the second section provides an insight into the different aspects concerning the process of

collaboration, namely teacher teams. The section outlines the various definitions and arrangements of teams which differ according to the nature of the task at hand, discipline, grade level, and duration. The factors important in team effectiveness (e.g. group structure, organizational context, and interpersonal processes) are also analyzed to underscore the conditions necessary for teams and collaborative work in general to thrive and achieve results across schools. The particular ways in which teachers could collaborate to improve education schoolwide are accorded prominence in the section; the three models of teacher teams, specifically team teaching, peer coaching, and mentoring relationships, are explored in detail so as to describe the different paths teachers could pursue in working together and leading change within their schools. Further, the challenges that face teamwork are foregrounded to warn against the practices (e.g. social loafing, free riding, and groupthink) which lead these organisms to fail their missions and those that help them succeed (e.g. positive interdependence, accountability and responsibility, promotive interaction, etc.). In brief, the section spotlights the premises of teacher leadership in terms of the structures, behaviors, and attitudes elemental to the success of the process which is driven by collaboration.

Finally, the third section addresses an important form of teacher leadership, which is teacher research. Much of the research on education is conducted by scholars who are outsiders to schools and therefore not sufficiently familiar with the nuances of the settings studied, which often culminates in knowledge that is not particularly useful for schools either because it is unrealistic, rigid, or too general. Given the importance of a knowledge base originating from within schools, the section accentuates the need for teacher research and explores its different meanings, forms, and foci. Meanwhile, the ways in which teacher research is beneficial for teachers both as professionals and persons are emphasized.

Overall, this chapter provides an in-depth understanding into teacher leadership and how it is important for teachers and schools. Given that leading rests on working together

rather than individually, the chapter highlights the different conditions necessary for all forms of collaboration to materialize across all sorts of organizations. Special emphasis is placed on how teachers could collaborate within schools, when, in what ways, and why. In sum, the chapter draws attention to the need for repositioning teachers in the educational process so that they occupy the center stage of the change efforts rather the periphery, where their potential is kept unfulfilled and unexploited but yet receive all the blame for the low school performance across the country.

Chapter Three:
Distributed Leadership and
School Culture

III.1. Introduction

After investigating principal and teacher leadership separately, this chapter examines the two forms in relation to one another and explores the interplay between both. The emphasis is placed on how both principals and teachers could work together to lead their schools towards better results. The practice concerns an open and fluid form of leadership distributed across all willing members of staff and faculty rather than concentrated in the hands of a few. However, this distributed form of leadership is an extremely complex process which requires strong relationships among all those involved or more specifically a productive school culture. The chapter therefore brings into focus school culture, its different meanings, its features that support or impede the emergence of distributed leadership, and its interactions with national culture. The outcome is that distributed leadership is explored in relation to school culture, providing an understanding into the power of not only observable behaviors but also those deepest, invisible and changing aspects that are at work in the leadership process.

In the first section, the central idea is that leadership achieves results when no restrictions are put on who is to participate, and when capacities of all sorts freely intermingle, develop, and contribute to generating and implementing ideas for change. In other words, leadership needs to be distributed rather than reserved to a small elite or a chosen few who might exercise power but not necessarily influence. The elitist view of leadership divides members of organizations into capable leaders in all situations and times and incapable followers across time and space. Distributed leadership presupposes that all members of an organization matter and are capable of leadership, at least in some situations or times, because people's knowledge and experience are dynamic, variable, and relative rather than fixed, similar, and all-encompassing. The first section therefore explores the different meanings and models of distributed leadership. The ways in which both principals and teachers could work

together for school-wide improvement are outlined in three major models: Firestone's, Ogawa and Bossert's, and Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond's. Each of these presents different perspectives delineating how leadership in a distributed form could be undertaken across schools, but eventually they all form different parts of a whole.

Given the complex nature of distributed leadership, the second section addresses the critical role of school culture in the emergence of the practice across schools. The section provides an insight into the concept of school culture: its meanings, levels, and manifestations. The goal is underlining the delicacy of the leadership practice, which is unlikely to yield results if approached in isolation from the cultural characteristics of the settings where it takes place. The challenge for those involved is not simply adopting predefined behaviors or values but most importantly being able to read and identify each other's beliefs, capitalize on similarities, reconcile differences, and establish a common ground to succeed in their efforts at leading change in a distributed manner. The section therefore unravels the different aspects of school culture, both visible and invisible, pinpointing what attitudes, norms, and behaviors make strong cultures and which characterize weak cultures. There is also a focus on the role of national culture and how it influences and is influenced by school culture. In short, the second section underscores the importance of school culture in the change efforts and the need for grounding the practice of distributed leadership in an adequate understanding of the macro and micro cultural features of schools and the people within them.

As a whole, the chapter looks into the various ways in which both principals and teachers could lead their schools as one unit while highlighting the type of culture that underlies distributed leadership and how it can be nurtured to achieve success across schools. An understanding of culture as it pertains to individuals, groups, organizations, and entire

nations is key to identifying what leadership is desired and what adjustments need to be made for its development.

III.2. Distributed Leadership

Distributed leadership surfaced as a reaction to formal, role-based leadership, in which only certain individuals usually occupying high-level positions act as leaders. This concentrated form of leadership has become unfit for running today's schools. Only an approach that highlights human capital in its entirety and includes all members of staff in the work of leadership could help effectively address the challenges facing schools nowadays. An embodiment of such an approach is distributed leadership, which is premised on the idea that every individual in the school organization has some type knowledge and skill that others lack, and therefore his or her involvement in the change efforts does make a difference. To make use of the resources present at schools, it is crucial that principals and teachers be actively involved in the leadership work. Collective involvement is especially important given that leadership involves a large set of interrelated activities and roles, which are unlikely to be performed effectively without close collaboration among all actors (Moller & Eggen, 2005; Gronn, 2009; Sheppard, Hurley, & Dibbon, 2010).

III.2.1. Distributed Leadership: A General Overview

Distributed leadership places emphasis on extending involvement in the leadership work to include all, not only a few, members of the organization. Although it is originally an attribute of transformational leadership, the distributed model has received increasing interest from researchers (e.g. Gronn, op. cit.; Harris, 2003; Spillane et al., 2004) and has subsequently become an independent form of leadership. It marks a major transformation in the conceptualization of leadership as perceived by both the general public and academics. Leadership has come to mean the influence resulting from the collective performance of tasks and functions rather than from position power (Firestone, 1996).

Although there is no single agreed-upon definition of distributed leadership, all different conceptions emphasize its inclusive nature and resulting influence from collaboration among members of organizations (Sheppard et al., op. cit.). For example, Gronn (2002) maintains that distributed leadership is about influence, a feature distinguishing it from management, which usually entails authority. He (op. cit.) states that leadership is:

a status ascribed to one individual, an aggregate of separate individuals, sets of small numbers of individuals acting in concert or larger plural-member organizational units. ... the individuals or multiperson units or whom influence is attributed include, potentially, all organization members, not just managerial role incumbents. Managers may be leaders but not necessarily by virtue of being managers, for management denotes an authority, rather than an influence, relationship. (qtd. in Moller & Eggen, op. cit., p. 333)

Distributed leadership seeks to increase members' influence rather than power through widening, instead of restricting, involvement in the leadership work. The aim is including all members and combining all capacities in defining and accomplishing organizational goals. As Harris (2003) notes, distributed leadership is grounded in a cultural view that transcends self-interest and social exchange of service which currently depict relationships within many organizations. He (op. cit.) points out that:

Leadership is about learning together and constructing meaning and knowledge collectively and collaboratively. It involves opportunities to surface and mediate perceptions, values, beliefs, information and assumptions through continuous conversations. It means generating ideas together; seeking to reflect upon and make sense of work in the light of shared beliefs and new information; and creating actions that grow out of these new understandings. It implies that leadership is socially constructed and culturally sensitive. (p. 314)

Leadership, as indicated in the quotation, is a culture characterized by proactive involvement and a genuine desire for improvement expressed in openness for learning with and from others for the achievement of a common good. It is an approach based on collective engagement in generating ideas, reflecting on and making sense of practice, and aligning actions with findings (op. cit.). The collaborative nature of distributed leadership is also emphasized by Sheppard et al. (op. cit.), who equate distributed leadership with collaborative leadership. This latter is defined as:

An approach in which there are two categories of leaders—formal leaders and informal leaders. Teachers are viewed as partners, rather than as followers, and leadership is defined through the interaction of leaders, constituents, and situation. Within this approach, both formal leaders and constituents have an important, yet distinct, leadership role to play. (Sheppard et al., op. cit., p. 2)

Stress in the quotation is laid on the fact that leadership resides in the relationships existing amongst actors. When these relationships are characterized by high levels of positive interaction, they are likely to result in school-wide improvement. Knowledge, as indicated by Harris (op. cit.), is socially constructed; its formation necessitates a social setting with productive relationships. Leadership is unlikely to take place in isolation regardless of the qualifications and caliber of those involved. For instance, highly qualified teachers and/or principals having little or no interaction with each other can make little difference across schools because the reach of their influence is bound to be limited. Quality whether in teaching or learning thrives in open rather than closed social environments that allows for a free transfer of knowledge and skill among members of organizations (Sheppard et al., op. cit.). Undoubtedly, distributed leadership requires structures and policies that support collaborative work (Printy & Marks, 2006); issues such as decision making authority, time, and incentives remain key to the emergence of the practice across schools.

III.2.2. Models of Distributed Leadership

There are three major models of distributed leadership. The first, developed by Firestone (op. cit.), is premised on the idea that leadership lies in the tasks performed by people at all levels of an organization, not squarely in formal positions. The second model, proposed by Ogawa and Bossert (1995), goes beyond the idea of leadership as the distributed performance of certain tasks, and lays the focus instead on the influence resulting from the interaction among all those taking part in the leadership work. The third model, developed by Spillane et al. (op. cit.), builds on the two previous ones and is more specific and comprehensive in scope. According to the model, distributed leadership lies in the interaction

among school leaders, followers, and situations. What each of these models entails is explained hereby in detail.

III.2.2.1. Firestone's Model

The concept of leadership has for decades been associated with the work performed by specific individuals occupying formal positions. However, the ever increasing complexity of today's organizations has made a reconsideration of the concept necessary. Among the scholars pioneering the efforts at revolutionizing the understanding and practice of leadership has been Firestone (op. cit.). He argues that:

Another way to think of leadership is not as something that people in positions do but rather a set of functions that must be performed if the organization is to survive, prosper, or perform effectively. From this perspective, the key question is not 'what do leaders do?' but 'what tasks must be performed, and who does them?' (p. 396)

At the heart of his model, therefore, is the idea of leadership as the performance of key functions by willing and collaborative actors. Confining leadership to certain positions is largely an unproductive strategy because only a minority of individuals is involved in the change efforts while the vast majority remains marginalized. Firestone (op. cit.) calls for including all different capacities, placing no value judgments on individuals and their abilities. This approach is rooted in the belief that innovation is a complex process, which necessitates collective engagement in the performance of several important leadership functions. These, as specified by Firestone (op. cit.), include (a) providing and selling a vision, (b) obtaining resources, (c) providing encouragement and recognition, (d) adapting rules and procedures to support innovation, (e) monitoring improvement, and (f) handling internal and external disturbances. A few individuals are unlikely to possess all the necessary knowledge, time, and energy to fulfil these functions. Efforts by a large rather than a small number of actors usually bring better results since each player has a comparative advantage in a specific area, whether it be instruction, curriculum, or assessment. Each individual member,

Printy and Marks (op. cit.) emphasize, has knowledge that others might lack and therefore has the potential to benefit his or her organization in some way. Thus, a wide involvement in the leadership work fosters sharing ideas and practices on a large scale, eventually increasing the effectiveness with which work is done across organizations (op. cit.). On the other hand, the performance of the specified leadership functions by people in different roles creates a redundancy that sustains improvement (Firestone, op. cit.). A change in staff or failure to fulfil assigned roles on the part of some members is unlikely to affect progress in any significant manner. Firestone (op. cit.) explains that “strategies for reform that depend on heroic leaders are doomed to fail when such leaders cannot be found” (p. 396). In contrast, leadership driven by the distributed performance of specific functions is bound to achieve results without need for designated leaders with extraordinary abilities (op. cit.). In sum, the shift away from conventional, role-based leadership has come in response to the changing nature of today’s organizations which have grown more complex, requiring the mobilization of all existing resources.

III.2.2.2. Ogawa and Bossert’s Model

The underpinning principle of this model is that leadership flows through the *networks* of roles comprising organizations (Ogawa & Bossert, op. cit.). That is, leadership is not to be found in any particular *roles* regardless of the status, competence, and responsibilities of incumbents. Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.) highlight two major perspectives regarding organizations, which are important for the understanding of distributed leadership. These are the technical-rational and institutional perspectives. The former links leadership to specific members within organizations while the latter attributes leadership to all constituents. The literature on leadership is largely based on the technical-rational perspective that views organizations as “technically rational systems” and focuses on goals and structures. The aim of organizations, according to this perspective, is achieving specific goals determined in prior

by specific individuals; the efforts of all other actors are directed at accomplishing predetermined goals. From the viewpoint of Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.), this perspective is unproductive because leadership is confined to specific roles performed by designated leaders.

The institutional perspective, on the other hand, is premised on the idea that the actions of individuals within organizations are driven by “externally enforced institutions rather than internally derived goals” (op. cit., p. 45). Institutions, as described by Meyer, Boli, and Thomas (1987), are general, societal rules consisting of ideologies and cultural theories and prescriptions (cited in Ogawa & Bossert, op. cit.). These rules constitute the driving force of action within public organizations, which must act in accordance with society’s cultural values in order to gain legitimacy and insure survival. The achievement of these goals concerns all members, who work not only to perform their own roles but also to help others in carrying out their duties in the most effective manner. This process shows that leadership does not lie in individual roles, per se, but rather in the network of relations among them. In other words, leadership resides in the interaction among individuals, not merely in their actions. A distributed performance of leadership functions, as advanced by Firestone (op. cit.), does not warrant purposeful interaction and subsequently influence among partakers.

According to Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.), distributed leadership is driven by the influence resulting from actors’ deployment of resources across organizations. As emphasized by Danielson (op. cit.) and Helterbran (op. cit.), leadership is spontaneous and organic in nature; it is not the result of complying with or exercising authority. Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.) affirm that:

It is not leadership when individuals gain the compliance of others simply by virtue of the organizational roles they occupy.... It is leadership, however, when organizational members gain compliance by deploying resources needed by others to enact their roles. (p. 49)

The different roles comprising an organization provide access to different resources that individuals deploy to exercise influence and thus leadership. For example, in the case of schools, those in administrative positions can exercise leadership by using their knowledge about national standards and regulations to help teachers enact their roles more effectively. In their turn, teachers could employ their specialized knowledge about the intricacies of learning and teaching to influence each other's decisions and those of administrative staff. The result is that the influence exercised by teachers and administrators takes place within a network of roles through sharing resources needed by one another rather than using or complying with power (op. cit.).

Resources and interaction are therefore central to distributed leadership. Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.) view resources as the currency of leadership and interaction as the medium. Resources refer to the traits and behaviors that members of organizations develop over time and that are not a result of compliance with routine directives by a higher authority. These traits can be classified into two main categories: expert and referent power. Expertise refers to the know-how or knowledge required to carry out tasks. Referent power concerns the capacity to stimulate feelings of loyalty and mobilize others. Examples of both types of traits include self-confidence, tolerance of stress, creativity, high energy, persistence, willingness to assume responsibility, and cooperation (Yukl, op. cit.). These and many other qualities constitute the resources members of organizations acquire over the years and use to influence others who need such resources to effectively perform their roles (Ogawa & Bossert, op. cit.).

Interaction, the medium of leadership, plays a critical role in the transfer and development of the resources present across organizations (op. cit.). Since every individual has potentially something to share with and/or learn from others, interaction is crucial for allowing available resources to flow and develop among members. It is especially important given that leadership is relational, i.e. composed of the actions of both the agents (leaders) and

subjects (followers) of influence. Interaction serves as the medium that connects together the parts played by all actors and facilitates the coordination of all efforts. Another reason for the importance of interaction is that leadership is multidirectional; it flows “both up and down levels and between organizational components” (op. cit., p. 51). By interacting with one another, members act as both sources and recipients of leadership.

In summary, the idea of leadership as the deployment of resources (the currency) through interaction (the medium) among all different actors is at the core of Ogawa and Bossert’s (op. cit.) model. The authors emphasize that leadership is about the influence that takes place within networks of roles and results from collaboration among individuals. Such a view of leadership goes beyond the mere distribution of tasks and functions that might involve influence through the use of, or compliance with, power.

III.2.2.3. Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond’s Model

This third model is based on the idea that leadership resides in the interaction among three major variables: leaders, followers, and situations. Spillane et al. (op. cit.) view the institutional perspective on leadership advanced by Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.) as somehow deterministic for assigning the external environment a far more important role in shaping action than that of human agency. Also, the institutional theory is mainly premised on aggregation; it deals with general forms of organization that may not fit different contexts and their specific features. As an alternative, Spillane et al. (op. cit.) place emphasis on the leadership practice, both as thinking and activity, in context. Thinking and behavior, the authors argue, cannot be dissociated from the environment where they occur and hence must be explored *in situ* rather than *in vacuo*, i.e. in context not apart from it. Activity of any kind is best understood when explored in its natural habitat because human cognition is a function not only of mental capacity but also of the situation where it takes place. Given this inherent mutuality between the individual and the environment, the leadership activity does not reside

in any one of these factors; rather, it is distributed across both people and situations and therefore located in the *interaction* among their constituting elements (Spillane et al., op. cit.).

There are two major patterns of leadership distribution: situational and social. The first takes place through the material and cultural artifacts present in a given environment while the second materializes through collaboration among different individuals to achieve complex tasks. Artifacts encompass (a) cultural aspects, such as language, notational systems, and theories of action, and (b) material aspects, such as tools and buildings. In Spillane et al.'s (op. cit.) view, the leadership activity is spread across actors and artifacts; it takes place through action in situation, i.e. action involving the use of particular artifacts. The extent to which a situation could enable or constrain action hinges on two major variables: structure and human agency. The former refers to the "elements which individuals must contend with when forming action, from the tangible to the intangible, from things like classroom lay-outs to world-views and cultural dispositions" (op. cit., p. 10). The latter, human agency, resides in "the actions of individuals within the context of (and, in fact, through) structure" (op. cit.). The relationship between structure and human agency has been approached from two major perspectives. From a structural deterministic perspective, human agency can be predicted by the structure in which it is comprised. From a phenomenological viewpoint, human agency plays a greater role in the subjective and social construction of reality. While advancing different views about the relationship between structure and agency, both perspectives approach the two variables as a dualism, as two distinct entities, which creates an endless debate about which has a greater role in action (Spillane et al., op. cit.).

In contrast to the structural and phenomenological perspectives, Spillane et al. (op. cit.) view structure and human agency as a duality, as two indivisible parts of a whole, constituting both the medium and outcome of action. The authors (op. cit.) state that "structure constitutes agency, providing the rules and resources upon which it is based;

however, structure is also created, reproduced, and potentially transformed by the actions of human agents” (p. 10). Simply put, human agency does have an influence on the existing social and cultural structures, but it is also influenced by such structures which can either enable or constrain its final outcome. This is the logic behind Spillane et al.’s (op. cit.) approach to structure and human agency as a duality rather than a dualism, i.e. as a fusion rather than as two separate entities. An appropriate understanding of the interaction between the two factors necessitates that neither be approached in isolation from the other.

The shift therefore from individual activity detached from context to activity in situation is rooted in the idea that human agency and structure cannot be properly understood apart from one another. Activity of any kind is the result of what actors know, believe, and do in and through particular material, cultural, and social situations. This focus on activity in context rather than solely on leaders and their traits is by no means meant to undermine the role of individuals’ innate abilities. These latter are considered elemental to the leadership practice. However, leadership is not constituted in individual leaders and their characteristics; it is “constituted–defined or constructed–in the interaction of leaders, followers, and their situation in the execution of particular leadership tasks” (op. cit., p. 10). In brief, leadership is not merely a function of an individual’s ability, skill, charisma, or cognition; rather, it is distributed socially and situationally through interaction among leaders, followers, and situations (Spillane et al., op. cit.).

A. Social Distribution of Leadership

The social distribution of leadership exists in three major forms. The first consists of tasks involving interdependencies among leaders, followers, and the situation. The second involves leaders working separately but interdependently, and the third takes place through an *interplay* between two or more actors for the achievement of a specific leadership task (op. cit.).

Concerning the first form of distribution, an example of the tasks that involve interdependencies among different participants is the evaluation of students' performance in a particular skill area. Such a task could involve several interdependent actors and steps that can be summarized as follows: (a) administering a test, (b) collecting, analyzing, and interpreting results, (c) identifying and sharing instructional priorities, and (d) monitoring the implementation of such priorities. These different steps require the participation of different actors, whose efforts are equally important for the achievement of the task. Given the interdependencies created by the complex nature of such tasks, leadership cannot be but distributed across several mutually dependent social actors and their situation (op. cit.)

The second form of distribution takes place when leaders work separately but interdependently on the same task to achieve the same goals. For example, a school principal and his assistant can both engage in evaluating instruction but in a separate manner. The assistant principal can deal with formative evaluation by visiting classrooms, giving feedback whenever necessary, and maintaining friendly and supportive relationships with teachers. The principal, on the other hand, can concentrate on summative evaluation by drawing final conclusions about the effectiveness of teachers' instructional practices. The conclusions would be based on input from the assistant principal. While coordination is essential, a task such as this does not require actors to conduct the same activities at the same time. They can work separately but coordinate with one another through sharing goals, approaches, and outcomes (Spillane et al., op. cit.)

The third form of distribution takes place when leaders jointly achieve a leadership task. For instance, a task such as redesigning curricula could be achieved through an interplay among a subject coordinator, a lead-teacher, an assistant principal, and the rest of the teachers. Each of these actors has knowledge critical to the completion of the task. A coordinator is usually a high-level expert in the content of his or her subject; an assistant principal normally

has full knowledge of national curriculum standards and accountability measures; and a lead-teacher usually has great mastery of pedagogy and instruction. Redesigning curricula therefore can only materialize through the involvement of these actors, who by working together contribute different kinds of resources necessary for completing the task at hand (op. cit.).

The interdependencies underlying the leadership work require that participants enable each other, in all possible ways, to achieve school-wide improvement. Actors at all levels are capable of exerting influence by capitalizing on their strengths and sharing with others what they know and do best. The three forms of the social distribution of leadership attest that the practice is most effective when involving interaction among all different capacities whether of leaders or followers.

A. Situational Distribution of Leadership

The situational distribution of leadership is rooted in the reciprocity between the individual and the environment. As argued by the contingency theorists (e.g. Fiedler, op. cit.; Hersey & Blanchard, op. cit.; Kerr & Jermier, op. cit.; House, op. cit.), the features of the situation exert considerable influence on organizations' structures and performance. Among these features are: (a) the level of support, both in material and cultural form, provided by government entities, (b) the composition of staff, including age, educational level, and stability, and (c) the school's social and physical environment, such as parents' socioeconomic status and the organization's size. When tailored to these and other situational variables, leadership is more likely to yield results (Spillane et al., op. cit.).

While agreeing on the importance of the situation in leadership activity, Spillane et al. (op. cit.) and the contingency theorists adopt different approaches towards (a) the position of the situation in leadership activity, (b) the nature of the relationship between the situation and leadership, and (c) the features of the situation relevant to the leadership work. Regarding the

first distinction, the situation in the contingency theories is viewed as an *external factor* affecting the leadership activity; the features of the situation are seen as independent or interdependent variables impinging on leaders' potential for action (see section I.3).

Nevertheless, Spillane et al. (op. cit.) view the situation as a constituting element of the leadership practice. This is because the capacity of action cannot be detached from the context of action; in other words, capacity and context are inseparable. The authors (op. cit.) note that:

Situations offer particulars, e.g. tools of various kinds, organizational structures, language that are part and parcel of leadership practice, [*sic*] as these particulars vary, so too will the *how* of leadership practice. (p. 21)

With respect to the second variable, the relationship between the situation and the leadership practice, the contingency theorists assign social structure a greater role in determining human action (see section I.3), whereas for Spillane et al. (op. cit.) structure does not determine human action. The properties of the situation can enable or constrain but not determine the leadership activity.

Concerning the third distinction, the features of the situation relevant to the leadership work, Spillane et al. (op. cit.) espouse a more comprehensive approach towards the aspects of the situation affecting the leadership practice. In addition to the characteristics of staff, the environment, and the task, their approach emphasizes broader aspects, such as the symbols, tools, sociocultural backgrounds, and other designed artifacts utilized in everyday practice. The authors (op. cit.) view the situation as “the sociocultural context (including artifacts) that can embody the stable practices—the ‘crystallized operations’ (Leont’ev 1981) or the reifications of practices (Wenger 1998)—in work such as leadership” (p. 21). The stable practices are not to be understood as unchangeable; they are human inventions that undergo a continuous process of reproduction. More importantly, Spillane et al. (op. cit.) point out that the situation concerns not only organizational structures, as stressed by the contingency theorists (e.g. Fiedler, op. cit.; Hersey & Blanchard, op. cit.; Kerr & Jermier, op. cit.), but also

broader societal structures, such as race, class, gender, and how they are expressed in the interaction among leaders and followers. Structure encompasses “the rules and resources that provide the medium and outcome of social action” (Spillane et al., op. cit., p. 22). It constitutes the properties of all social systems, not only schools, which constrain or enable social action. Systems refer to “the social institutions, like work, family, school, or other constellations that we recognize as having some level of stability and regularized patterns of social interaction” (op. cit.). To sum up, the features of the situation affecting the leadership work are not only those that are material but also those that are symbolic in nature. They are not only those that are specific to an organization but also those that concern the community as a whole.

By and large, the idea of leadership as the exercise of influence rather than power constitutes a major landmark in the conceptualization of the term. For organizations to effectively address the many challenges they are faced with, a fluid, organic, and distributed form of leadership is deemed necessary. Specifically, leadership lies in the distribution of tasks and functions (Firestone, op. cit.), deployment of resources (Ogawa & Bossert, op. cit.), and interplay between leaders, followers, and situations (Spillane et al., op. cit.). These are all important features that have revolutionized the understanding of leadership. Moving away from the conventional view of leadership as the realm of specific individuals occupying high positions, Firestone (op. cit.) laid the focus on the performance of key functions by actors at all levels of organizations to achieve internally developed goals. Ogawa and Bossert (op. cit.) emphasized the deployment of resources via interaction, rather than simply distribution of tasks, as a means to meet the expectations of external public institutions and gain legitimacy. Spillane et al. (op. cit.) argued that leadership lied in the interaction among leaders, followers, and situations. Unlike the structural-deterministic and phenomenological perspectives, in which individuals (leaders or followers) and situations are approached as separate elements,

Spillane et al. (op. cit.) viewed the two variables as a duality or fusion. The situation is perceived as both the medium and outcome of human action rather than an outside factor impinging on or determining individual capacity. The situation influences and is also influenced by human action; it can enable or constrain but not determine action. Overall, the distributed form of leadership, in all three models, is perceived as the exercise of influence rather than power, as a *social* process that occurs in-between people and goes beyond merely delegating administrative responsibilities.

III.3. School Culture and Leadership

As discussed in the previous section, structure and culture are closely intertwined and both are key to effective leadership. Yet, given its complex and subtle nature, culture within schools merits a more detailed examination, one which can demystify its role in the change process. Leadership by any group of people within any organization is unlikely to yield results without an appropriate understanding of culture and its effect on action. Deal (1985) maintains that:

Understanding the symbols and culture of a school is prerequisite to making the school more effective.... Unless improvement strategies and programs are guided by a sensitive awareness of the role played by school culture, the effective schools movement could collapse under its own weight. (p. 602)

Leadership loses direction and purpose and remains impotent when not built on a strong comprehension of culture as it pertains to individuals, schools, and nations at large.

The importance attached to culture, the software of schools as Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010) call it, springs from the fact that it is eventually what makes change happen or fail. Barth (2002) states that:

A school's culture has far more influence on life and learning in the schoolhouse than the president, the state department of education, the superintendent, the school board, or even the principal, teachers, and parents can ever have. (p. 6)

There is a close relationship between cultures and practices within schools in the sense that effective cultures are often linked to productive teaching and learning practices and vice

versa. It is how people think and feel that wields direct influence on student learning rather than policies, which are important for what they represent and express but not for what they accomplish (Deal, op. cit.). In this respect, Fullan and Hargreaves (op. cit.) maintain that:

However noble, sophisticated, or enlightened proposals for change and improvement might be, they come to nothing if teachers don't adopt them in their own classrooms and if they don't translate them into effective classroom practice. (p. 13)

In other words, what happens within schools is mainly a function of their overall cultures, which determine whether and how members proceed with creating or implementing ideas for change.

This section aims at providing an in-depth understanding into school culture, its meanings, levels, components, and how it can either facilitate or impede improvement. The characteristics of strong and weak cultures, the interrelationship between school culture and national culture, and the various roles leaders can play in shaping productive cultures are carefully examined in order to pinpoint the invisible forces affecting the work of leadership. Overall, the section represents a deconstruction of culture aiming at unraveling the subtleties at work in the change process and providing different perspectives into how resources, specifically those that are human in nature, could be put to effective use. These perspectives are all important for shaping effective school culture, a major role of leaders and a key factor in improvement.

III.3.1. Definitions

While there is no single agreed-upon definition of culture, there is wide consensus among researchers (e.g. Maslowski, 2001; Schein, 2004; Deal & Peterson, 2009) about the ingredients of which it is composed, namely norms, rituals, ceremonies, and shared values and behaviors. These constitute the major components of culture, whether it be of schools, other organizations, or whole nations.

To start with, school culture mainly consists of rituals, ceremonies, and shared norms and values which shape people's attitudes, feelings, and behaviors and act as a code of conduct premised on previous experiences and meanings derived from them (Peterson, 2002; Barth, op. cit.; Fullan & Hargreaves, op. cit.). Peterson (op. cit.) defines school culture as:

The set of norms, values and beliefs, rituals and ceremonies, symbols and stories that make up the "persona" of the school. These unwritten expectations build up over time as teachers, administrators, parents, and students work together, solve problems, deal with challenges and, at times, cope with failures. (p. 1)

Similarly, Barth (op. cit.) describes school culture as:

A complex pattern of norms, attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, values, ceremonies, traditions, and myths that are deeply ingrained in the very core of the organization. It is the historically transmitted pattern of meaning that wields astonishing power in shaping what people think and how they act. (p. 6)

On the other hand, Fullan and Hargreaves (op. cit.) describe culture in terms of the beliefs and expectations that drive action and govern relationships within the school environment. They (op. cit.) point out that culture refers to:

The guiding beliefs and expectations evident in the way a school operates, particularly in reference to how people relate (or fail to relate) to each other. In simple terms, culture is 'the way we do things and relate to each other around here. (p. 37)

Moreover, Maslowski (op. cit.) defines school culture as "the basic assumptions, norms and values, and cultural artifacts that are shared by school members, which influence their functioning at school" (p. 8-9). He draws a distinction among three interrelated facets of culture: content, homogeneity, and strength. The content of culture refers to "the meaning of its basic assumptions, norms and values as well as cultural artifacts that are shared by members of the school" (op. cit., p. 12). Homogeneity represents the extent to which these assumptions, norms, and values are shared and endorsed across the school while the strength of culture concerns the level of influence it has on attitudes and behaviors (op. cit.). To provide a clearer understanding of culture, Tagiuri (1968) distinguishes culture from three other related concepts: ecology, milieu, and social system. He maintains that culture consists

of “the norms, values, and meaning systems shared by members of a school” (cited in Higgins-D’Alessandro & Sath, 1998, p. 554). It is distinct from the ecology of the school (the physical plant, equipment, and setting), its milieu (the sociocultural background of students, teachers, and community), and its social system (organizational structures and operating procedures) (op. cit.).

Regarding culture in organizations in general, several definitions are cited here to further clarify the notion of culture, its essence, and its manifestations. For example, Schein (op. cit.) describes organizational culture as:

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 17)

Culture, as also indicated by Peterson (op. cit.), Barth (op. cit.), and Fullan and Hargreaves (op. cit.), does not emerge or develop arbitrarily but is rather based on experiences and how they have been interpreted in terms of their effectiveness and benefits. Other definitions of organizational culture include those formulated by Ouchi (1981), Deal and Peterson (op. cit.), and Deal (op. cit.). Ouchi (op. cit.: 41) indicates that culture concerns the “systems, ceremonies, and myths that communicate the underlying values and beliefs of the organization to its employees” (qtd. in Hoy, 1990, p. 156). Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) affirm that culture encompasses “the stable, underlying social meanings that shape beliefs and behavior over time” (p. 6). Deal (op. cit.) adds that culture is “an expression that tries to capture the informal, implicit—often unconscious—side of business of any human organization” (p. 605). The importance of these definitions lies in the fact that they all focus on the deeper levels of culture variably called “basic assumptions” (Schein, op. cit.), “underlying values and beliefs” (Ouchi, op. cit.), “underlying social meanings” (Deal & Peterson, op. cit.), and “the implicit—often unconscious—side of business” (Deal, op. cit.). These convey that culture essentially consists of the deep-seated beliefs shared by a group of people and expressed in

rituals, norms, and ceremonies. As Busher (2006) emphasizes, the different components of culture mutually affect one another and no linear relationship exists among them.

Organizational culture is closely related to national or societal culture; neither one can thrive and achieve results without support from the other. The definitions assigned to national culture and organizational culture are similar in many ways, except that the former concern a whole nation while the latter pertain to organizations within a given nation. For instance, Dimmock and Walker (2000) describe societal culture as “the values, customs, traditions and ways of living which distinguish one group of people from another” (p. 308). For Hofstede et al. (op. cit.), culture constitutes “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others” (p. 6). They (op. cit.) note that culture is learned unlike human nature, which is inherited, or personality, which represents the unique mental attributes that do not have to be shared with others.

Overall, culture is a complex concept intertwined with many variables such as social relationships, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, history, political context, and national discourse on education (Busher, op. cit.). It does not consist of “isolated, bounded, and cohesive meaning systems” (McLaren, 1991) that can be derived independently of the temporal, spatial, and sociopolitical context (cited in Higgins-D’Alessandro & Sadh, op. cit., p. 554). Culture, for example, cannot escape the influence of power and privilege; it can be manipulated to express competing or conflicting discourses (op. cit.). As Foucault (1977) indicates, culture can function as a conduit of power to advance and sustain the interests of the elites (cited in Busher, op. cit.). In short, culture has historical and ideological underpinnings. It is pervasive and dynamic rather than bounded and static, and it can serve to achieve common or self-interest (cited in Higgins-D’Alessandro & Sadh, op. cit.).

III.3.2. Levels of Culture

There are three major levels of culture represented by basic assumptions, values and beliefs, and norms and artifacts (Hoy, 1990; Goldring, 2002; Schein, *op. cit.*). Basic assumptions, the deepest level of culture, concern people's fundamental beliefs about interpersonal relationships, human nature, truth, reality, and the environment (Hoy, *op. cit.*). They are unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, and feelings that shape behaviors and actions (Schein, *op. cit.*; Goldring, *op. cit.*). Values and beliefs, which constitute a less abstract level of culture, comprise how people think and behave (Hoy, *op. cit.*) and their espoused strategies, goals, and philosophies (Schein, *op. cit.*). Examples of values include interaction, trust, cooperation, and teamwork (Hoy, *op. cit.*). These are deemed less abstract because they can be expressed in relationships and actions within organizations (Goldring, *op. cit.*). Norms and artifacts reflect the most visible layer of culture and consist of the unwritten or informal expectations that influence how people think, feel, and behave (Hoy, *op. cit.*). They include aspects such as how time and space are used, how meetings are organized, how communication and conflict are managed, and how celebrations are held (Goldring, *op. cit.*). In brief, norms and artifacts concern all visible organizational structures and processes (Schein, *op. cit.*). While basic assumptions, the deepest level of culture, might have greater influence on the less abstract levels (shared values and beliefs, and norms and artifacts), all three mutually affect one another. Changes at any one of these levels can produce changes at the others (Goldring, *op. cit.*). In addition, the three layers of culture reveal that improving practice is a very delicate and complex task. Culture, as Schein (*op. cit.*) affirms, involves deep-rooted beliefs or assumptions that can work as defense mechanisms against attempts to cultivate new cultures or against what could be seen as a cultural invasion. As a result, efforts need to be directed at reducing the fear and anxiety that often accompany change by exploring the beliefs and values underlying action and developing a well-

deliberated scheme to influence assumptions towards achieving desired outcomes. Rather than ignoring, rejecting, or suppressing fear and anxiety, leaders need to show understanding and provide support so that members can display similar commitment to invest adequate time and effort in achieving the proposed change (op. cit.).

III.3.3. Composition of Culture

As previously mentioned, there is wide agreement among researchers (e.g. Deal, op. cit.; Busher, op. cit.; Bolman & Deal, 2003) about the ingredients of which culture is made. For example, Busher (op. cit.) summarizes the main components of culture into symbols and rituals, customs and myths, language and style of communication, actions and people praised or reprimanded, stories of success or failure, explicit and implicit rules of behavior, and goals and mission of the school. According to Bolman and Deal (op. cit.), culture comprises rituals, ceremonies, stories, myths, metaphors, vision, and play and humor. In the school context, culture includes behaviors, rituals, ceremonies, rules, curriculum, language, facilities, uniforms, conceptions and metaphors, organizational aims and stories, crests and mottos, and how teaching and learning are approached (Busher, op. cit.). While focus is laid on school culture, a brief overview of the key elements constituting culture in general is provided in order to further clarify the terminology and pinpoint the major cultural forces at work within organizations.

Drawing on Deal (op. cit.), Busher (op. cit.), and Bolman and Deal (op. cit.), the core components of culture can be summarized in rituals, ceremonies, stories, and metaphors. Rituals represent the day-to-day behaviors and actions in relation to communication, management, and how work is conducted (Deal, op. cit.). They serve to achieve several important functions in schools; they create order and clarity, establish predictability to deal effectively with complex issues, reinforce positive traditions and values, and inject everyday practices with meaning and structure. Also among the functions of rituals are establishing

bonds among members, providing socioemotional support in times of celebration or tragedy, and creating opportunities for entertainment in order to stimulate motivation and reduce stress (Bolman & Deal, op. cit.). Compared to rituals, ceremonies are usually “grander, more elaborate, less frequent occasions” (op. cit., p. 264). They are annual or semi-annual meetings for purposes such as rallies, retreats, assemblies, sports contests, graduation ceremonies, retirement parties, parents’ nights, etc. (Deal, op. cit.). Ceremonies are important means for socialization, stabilization, reassurance, and communication; they serve to mark important moments in the history of the school and in the lives of faculty and staff (Bolman & Deal, op. cit.). On the other hand, stories are accounts of memorable events and accomplishments that reflect and promote cherished values within the school (Deal, op. cit.). They provide comfort, reassurance, direction, and hope, and communicate information, values, and ethics. Stories serve to honor the sacrifices and achievements of members and inspire those inside and outside schools (Bolman & Deal, op. cit.). Finally, metaphors involve a creative and refined use of language that bends the meanings of words to promote and accomplish shared goals. Metaphors rely on blending speech with important historical events or figures to create inspiring images and convey powerful messages. They “capture subtle themes that normal language can overlook... [and] compress complicated issues into understandable images, influencing out attitudes, evaluations, and actions” (op. cit., p. 267-8). Clearly, the four components (rituals, ceremonies, stories, and metaphors) represent the observable levels of culture, but they are strong indicators of the deeper aspects such as assumptions.

With respect to culture in the school context, researchers such as Busher (op. cit.), Higgins-D’Alessandro and Sadh (op. cit.), and Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) put forward elaborate frameworks having somewhat different foci but all dissecting various cultural aspects pertinent to schools. Busher (op. cit.) provides a detailed framework of school culture consisting of four major components: customs and conventions, beliefs, rituals and symbols,

and language. The characteristics of each of these components are outlined in table 3.1 (see next page). A similar model of school culture is proposed by Higgins-D'Alessandro and Sadh (op. cit.) and comprises four major dimensions: normative expectations, student-teacher/school relationships, student relationships, and educational opportunities. These dimensions and their characteristics are summarized in table 3.2 (see page 123). While it is similar to Busher's (op. cit.) framework in many respects, Higgins-D'Alessandro and Sadh's (op. cit.) model tends to assign more importance to students' values and behaviors inside and outside schools. Yet, both models underscore the values defining relationships between and among students, teachers, and administrators.

Given the centrality of beliefs and values in the makeup of culture, Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) focus on the informal networks of social actors within schools. Such networks reflect the nature of attitudes and behaviors existing among teachers and therefore constitute a major component of school culture. There are either positive and pro-change networks or negative and anti-change ones. Those deemed positive consist of players such as navigators, nodes, compasses, explorers and pioneers, and spirit guides, who all perform several important roles elemental to improvement.

- Navigators help their schools navigate safely through challenges and crises by suggesting ideas, developing solutions for problems, and working to achieve desired outcomes.
- Nodes help circulate information of value to other members of the school, whether it be related to curriculum, instruction, official guidelines, or any other relevant news.
- Compasses act as role models for productive values; they promote positive attitudes and behaviors through actions and emotions.

Table 3.1: Components and characteristics of school culture (adapted from Busher, *op. cit.*)

Components of school culture	Characteristics
Customs and conventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal and informal rules • The values given most/least importance • The people deemed most/least powerful
Beliefs	<p>Beliefs about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • students and their learning and social needs • colleagues and other people • teaching students of different age, sex, and ability • self-identity as teachers or administrators • mission of the school <p>How teachers deal with competing beliefs about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • students' learning needs and standardized curriculum • the need for academic excellence and for social inclusivity <p>The stories people tell about success or failure</p>
Rituals and symbols	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How students are seated in rooms and listed in registers • The work displayed in schools/classrooms or mentioned in assemblies • How resources are allocated to different student groups • How parents are welcomed and involved in school processes • How students are assigned to classes and the impact of this on their self-esteem and self-identity
Language	<p>The lexicon used to talk about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • other teachers and administrators • students of different age, sex, and ability • the problems faced and the changes proposed

Table 3.2: Dimensions and characteristics of school culture (adapted from Higgins D'Alessandro & Sath, op. cit.)

Dimensions of school culture	Characteristics
Normative expectations about student behavior	<p>These mainly concern:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • physical fighting • cutting classes or skipping school • stealing • damaging school property • use of drugs or alcohol • verbal abuse or putting people down • cheating
Student-teacher/school relationships	<p>The extent to which there is/are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • trust between students and teachers • interest in students' academic and personal lives and willingness to help them • open discussion of problems between students and teachers • respect and fairness towards students • student involvement in decision making
Student relationships	<p>The extent to which these are present amongst students:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respect and fairness • trust and loyalty • support and cooperation • friendliness among members of different groups
Educational opportunities	<p>The extent to which these goals are achieved:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing quality education • cultivating responsibility and caring for others • developing students' ability to express opinions and listen to others • providing opportunities for thinking about and discussing real

	<p style="text-align: center;">and relevant issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • instilling hope and providing a chance for a better future
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- Explorers and pioneers contemplate and devise new ways of teaching and learning.

They enjoy experimentation and show willingness for collaboration and sharing with colleagues.

- Spirit guides act as sources of wisdom and provide spiritual guidance for colleagues.

The schools where such informal networks are dominant usually reflect substantial improvement sustained by dynamic actors, whose efforts culminate in organic change (op. cit.).

Conversely, the negative networks consist of players that seek to sabotage change and perpetuate the status quo by acting as saboteurs, pessimistic tale-tellers, keepers of the nightmare, negaholics, equipment and resource vultures, or rumor mongers. These think and behave in ways that impede progress and weaken schools.

- Saboteurs conspire and employ tactics to stop or fail attempts at improvement and innovation.
- Pessimistic tale-tellers constantly invoke and recount stories of failure, unresolved problems, and lost opportunities.
- Keepers of the nightmare always remind colleagues of ideas, dreams, and hopes that could not be achieved.
- Negaholics always have negative, unfavorable, or pessimistic views towards new ideas.
- Equipment and resource vultures monopolize and seize any materials available for use by faculty and staff.
- Rumor mongers try to find or make up stories to tarnish good reputations (op. cit.).

According to Deal and Peterson (op. cit.), the schools where such networks of players are dominant have little or no chance of success. Without proactive involvement on the part of teachers, achieving lasting and meaningful change remains very unlikely. The informal networks of players, therefore, constitute strong indicators of the strength or weakness of school culture. Because they reflect the deepest levels of culture and exert a powerful impact on other cultural aspects of schools, these networks need to receive close attention from leaders and decision makers.

The insights provided here by Busher (op. cit.), Higgins-D'Alessandro and Sadh (op. cit.), and Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) reveal that culture permeates all levels of school life. Culture is everywhere; it is in what people say, how they think, how they behave and feel, what they do, and how they relate to one another (Deal & Peterson, op. cit.). In fact, the three insights can only provide an understanding into the core components of culture but cannot capture all possible aspects. There are other subtle, unspoken, and invisible features that vary across time and space and that escape description. Such features reside mainly in deep-seated beliefs and values prevalent among members of the school and community at large. Therefore, the frameworks explored above are not by any means exhaustive in their description of what culture is. Instead, they are meant to be angles from which to approach and discern the nature of culture, which according to McLaren (1995) has no specific boundaries or unified and static meanings.

III.3.4. Strong versus Weak Cultures

There is no doubt that an appropriate understanding of culture is elemental to the success of leadership. It is especially important to understand what cultural characteristics of the school are productive and need to be reinforced and which are negative and need to be reduced or contained. While it is difficult to identify with precision all different characteristics of strong and weak cultures, which are largely fluid and tacit, the focus is placed on more

observable aspects, mainly norms and values. These latter, as indicated by Hoy (op. cit.) and Goldring (op. cit.), can help unearth and even transform the deepest levels of culture. The aim, therefore, is to provide an adequate understanding into the nature of strong and weak cultures by focusing on aspects that are visible but also predictive of those that are subtle and elusive.

III.3.4.1. Characteristics of Strong Cultures

Strong cultures have recognizable features consistent across time and space and agreed upon by researchers (e.g. Saphier & King, 1985; Peterson, 2002; Seashore Louis & Wahlstrom, 2011; Goldring, op.cit.). The most important among these features are collaboration, shared decision making, innovation, communication, shared vision, and traditions (Negis-Isik and Gursel, 2013; Goldring, op. cit.; Busher, op. cit.). Each of these plays an important role in the success of the school: collaboration helps carry out school-wide improvement projects; shared decision making allows members to exert influence on events across the school; innovation helps establish and maintain the practice of challenging existing assumptions; communication creates understanding and strengthens coordination; shared vision provides direction and purpose; and traditions develop and communicate values (Goldring, op. cit.). Such cultural attributes, Busher (op. cit.) notes, thrive in environments where there are trust and respect among colleagues, appropriate socioemotional and material support, profound knowledge of pedagogy, curriculum, and organizational processes, and adequate time for teachers and administrators to meet and discuss the issues of importance to the school.

In addition, Seashore Louis and Wahlstrom (op. cit.) note that strong cultures are built around three major axes: a culture of excellent instruction, a culture of shared norms and values, and a culture of trust. The first is characterized by wide involvement among teachers and administrators in instructional improvement driven by finding and solving problems and

effectively exploiting available resources. The second involves productive professional networks and communities of teachers collectively engaged in developing effective practices, providing feedback on instruction and pedagogy, and setting up long-term plans for school improvement. The third is considered a prerequisite for the development of the first and second. Trust boosts commitment to instructional improvement and nurtures shared values, which are both unlikely without strong relationships based on positive interpersonal qualities and driven by common interest (op. cit.). When meeting students' learning needs becomes the driving force of action within schools, a high level of trust is likely to develop. It is only when action is largely driven by self-interest that mistrust creeps into the minds of actors and impairs their willingness and ability to achieve results. As emphasized by Seashore Louis and Wahlstrom (op. cit.), there is a reciprocal relationship among the three axes identified; they do not happen in a sequence but rather in parallel. Attempts to focus on one axis but not the others will result in limited or no improvement.

More specifically, strong cultures have identifiable norms which act as informal rules and expectations that shape how people think and behave (Deal & Peterson, op. cit.). According to Saphier and King (1985), strong cultures have twelve major norms: collegiality, experimentation, high expectations, trust and confidence, tangible support, reaching out to the knowledge bases, appreciation and recognition, caring, celebration, and humor, involvement in decision making, protection of what is important, traditions, and honest and open communication. These perform several important functions necessary for school development.

- Collegiality includes cooperation, communication, sharing ideas, planning together, and joint development and evaluation of the curriculum.
- Experimentation involves exploring and trying new ideas without fear of being reprimanded for failure.

- High expectations imply high performance standards driven by collegiality and experimentation. Rewards are provided for those who meet the standards while those who do not are required to do better.
- Trust and confidence entail trust in teachers' commitment to improvement and confidence in their ability to achieve professional growth and develop effective instruction.
- Support consists of providing time and resources (e.g. sabbaticals, workshops, guest speakers, funds, etc.) for teachers who need help and seek improvement.
- Reaching out to the knowledge bases involves exploring what is being done in other classrooms and schools through attending workshops, visiting classes, sharing journals, etc.
- Appreciation and recognition take place through recognizing effective practice and desired behavior whether via awards, praise, notes, or emails.
- Caring, celebration, and humor include providing socioemotional support in times of celebration or tragedy in the lives of faculty and staff and arranging short gatherings for humor and laughter to stimulate motivation and enthusiasm.
- Involvement in decision making comprises seeking and implementing input from teachers on matters that affect them and their students.
- Traditions, whether related to the curriculum or ceremonies, consist of activities such as fairs, trips, and science Olympiads. Observing traditions helps build loyalty to and pride in the school.
- Honest and open communication implies freedom in voicing ideas and expressing beliefs without fear of losing esteem or damaging relationships with others.
- The protection of what's important concerns mainly protecting teachers' time for planning and instruction (op. cit.).

These norms reflect the major characteristics of strong cultures and can serve to unveil the nature of the beliefs underlying action within schools. They are all closely interconnected; they do not happen in isolation from one another, nor do they occur in a sequence (Saphier & King, *op. cit.*). When examined carefully, the twelve norms somehow illustrate the three axes of strong cultures identified by Seashore Louis and Wahlstrom (*op. cit.*). For example, experimentation, high expectations, and reaching out to the knowledge bases exemplify a culture of excellent instruction. Traditions, collegiality, and caring, celebration, and humor represent a culture of shared norms and values. Trust and confidence, honest and open communication, and involvement in decision making epitomize a culture of trust. In brief, strong cultures have specific norms that need to be nurtured and maintained in order to achieve success.

III.3.4.2. Characteristics of Weak Cultures

Weak or toxic cultures include destructive values and behaviors that obstruct improvement; their defining characteristics are essentially the opposite of those attributed to strong cultures. For example, Reynolds (1998) identifies the following characteristics of ineffective cultures: reluctance to innovation and experimentation, preference for preserving the status quo, blame on external forces for the lack of improvement, mistrust of outsiders and what they can offer the school, unproductive relationships among members characterized by clashes, feuds, and cliques, and finally unwillingness to admit deficiencies in instruction and pedagogy. In addition to these, Deal and Peterson (*op. cit.*) provide an extensive account of the characteristics of toxic cultures, which mostly include:

- a dominance of negative values and narrow self-interests coupled with a lack of enthusiasm and motivation. Emphasis is placed on rules and routine rather than experimentation and innovation.

- fragmentation and isolation evident in loyalty to subcultures of formal or informal groups rather than to the parent organization. There are widespread anti-student sentiments and a lack of collaboration and shared goals.
- hostile and destructive relationships involving deep mistrust, hostilities, and antagonism against those trying to make a difference.
- negative views towards students and a lack of interest in their academic and personal lives. Students are viewed as a burden; there is no genuine interest in addressing their learning and social needs.
- a lifeless and fractured spiritual atmosphere. There is a lack of enthusiasm, passion, excitement, and emotional connection to students. There are instead hopelessness, selfishness, and a sense of depression and disengagement.
- few positive rituals or ceremonies that bring people together. There are hardly any opportunities for celebrating accomplishments, showing appreciation for the hard work of faculty and staff, and for connecting members with the deeper purpose of the school.
- incompetence, low expectations, and apathy. Stories of incompetent and uncaring teachers, poorly performing or misbehaving students, and indifferent and strange parents abound at the school.
- opposition to change and hostile, pessimistic, and self-interested informal networks of players (op. cit.).

Put briefly, toxic cultures are characterized by negativity and self-interest, fragmentation and isolation, unproductive working relationships, widespread apathy and negative views towards students, lack of positive rituals and ceremonies, incompetence and low expectations, opposition to change, and hostile informal networks (Deal & Peterson, op. cit.). To identify the presence of these values and behaviors within schools, a systematic reading and analysis

of culture are required. To limit their effects, a preemptive strategy is necessary. Efforts need to be focused on shielding schools against the emergence and spread of damaging values. To fulfil this task, attention needs to be directed at strengthening the positive aspects of culture, mainly those indicated by Saphier and King (op. cit.), as a strategy to prevent or counteract the conditions that give rise to destructive cultures. Nevertheless, the task of building strong cultures within schools cannot be achieved by school leaders alone even when shaping culture is at the center of their attention. Changing culture is a very complex process influenced by many different variables inside and outside schools related to political ideologies, social statuses, religious beliefs, and overall national cultures. In fact, an examination of the role of national culture in shaping school culture is vital.

III.3.5. Role of National Culture

National culture, or the common cultural characteristics of a whole nation, plays an important role in the shaping of school culture (Hofstede et al., op. cit.; Dimmock & Walker, op. cit.). While the latter is acquired only upon joining a school, the former is usually developed during the early years of one's life as a result of interaction with the immediate environment. Therefore, national culture comprises deeply ingrained values and beliefs since people's patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting are mostly acquired during childhood. These patterns can be modified over time but only through unlearning previously acquired values and learning new ones. Unlearning, however, is deemed more difficult than learning something new for the first time. It follows then that a strong national culture would facilitate the development of effective school culture while a weak national culture would have the opposite effect. In the latter case, national culture would be in contradiction with the principles of effective school culture, which would require a great deal of unlearning. In the former case, national culture would be in alignment with the tenets of productive school culture, which would involve far less unlearning (Hofstede et al., op. cit.). How national

cultures exactly facilitate or hinder the development of effective school cultures is examined based on specific criteria delineating general patterns of thinking and behavior across nations.

For Hofstede et al. (op. cit.), these criteria include four dimensions of national culture: *power distance*, *collectivism versus individualism*, *femininity versus masculinity*, and *uncertainty avoidance*. Power distance refers to “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (op. cit., p. 61). Collectivism versus individualism concerns the extent to which the interests of the group override those of individuals (collectivism) or vice versa, the interests of individuals supersede those of the group (individualism). Hofstede et al. (op. cit.) state that:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (p. 92)

Femininity versus masculinity addresses the extent to which a society is masculine or feminine. In a masculine society, gender roles are clearly distinct: men are assertive, tough, and focused on material success while women are soft, modest, and tender. In a feminine society, gender roles overlap: both men and women are modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. Lastly, uncertainty avoidance refers to “the extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations” (op. cit., p. 191). The degree of intolerance towards ambiguity or uncertainty is usually expressed in the level of stress and nervousness people display in unpredictable situations, where there are no clear rules, procedures, or outcomes. According to Hofstede et al. (op. cit.), an effective national culture conducive to building a strong school culture is that in which power is distributed more equally (limited power distance), common interest overrides self-interest (collectivism), men and women have equal rights and overlapping roles (femininity), and members tolerate

uncertainty and view it as an opportunity (uncertainty acceptance). On the other hand, an ineffective national culture detrimental to school culture is that which is characterized by a large power distance, individualism, masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance (op. cit.). Certainly, culture is not either effective or ineffective but rather varies along a continuum. It is not static or unchangeable, nor is it an external force beyond the influence of individuals and organizations. Culture, whether of a whole nation or an organization, is dynamic in nature and changes over time either positively or negatively depending on how people interact with and relate to one another (Spillane et al., op. cit.).

Nevertheless, the validity of the criteria identified by Hofstede et al. (op. cit.) has been questioned by Dimmock and Walker (2000), who suggest several alternative dimensions for examining societal culture. The authors (op.cit.) argue that Hofstede et al.'s dimensions are simplistic and vague because they rely on polarities that are too general to appropriately pinpoint the complex nature of today's societies. These latter have become increasingly multicultural and therefore attempts to reduce whole national cultures to either end of the polarities are unlikely to yield accurate results. For a more appropriate investigation and understanding of national cultures, Dimmock and Walker (op. cit.) suggest six alternative dimensions: *power distribution versus power concentration, group orientation versus self-orientation, consideration versus aggression, proactivism versus fatalism, generation versus replication, and limited relationships versus holistic relationships*. The first dimension concerns whether power within a society is distributed more equally or rather concentrated in the hands of a few. The second explores whether people give priority to self- or common interest. In self-oriented cultures, people emphasize independence, and relationships are largely driven by self-interest. In group-oriented cultures, there are strong ties among members, and high value is attached to harmony, face-saving, and equality. The third dimension concerns whether emphasis is placed on achievement, competition, assertiveness,

and power (aggression cultures) or rather on relationships, solidarity, compromise, and negotiation (consideration societies). The fourth deals with people's fundamental beliefs about change and whether they believe that they can change events around them or not. In proactive societies, people believe that they have some control over reality and are tolerant of unpredictability and difference. In fatalistic cultures, people believe that "what is meant to be, will be" (op. cit., p. 309) and are intolerant of uncertainty and risk. The fifth dimension investigates whether a culture is inclined towards creativity and innovation (generative) or replication and adoption of others' ideas (replicative). Finally, the sixth dimension deals with the nature of relationships within a society. In limited relationship cultures, there are evenhanded rules guaranteeing equitable rights for all members of the group regardless of social status and family relationships. In holistic cultures, family, friendship, sociopolitical affiliation, and social connections exert great influence on people's decisions and the nature of relationships among them (op. cit.).

According to Dimmock and Walker (op. cit.), these six dimensions of national culture have considerable influence on schools' cultural characteristics. For example, whether power is concentrated or distributed within a society affects whether and how teachers are involved in decision making and consulted about issues of importance to them and their students. Also, developing innovative instruction, creating individualized curricula, and promoting autonomous learning are more likely to take place in self-oriented than in group-oriented cultures, where innovation and autonomy might be viewed as selfishness and nonconformity. Similarly, practices such as setting goals and developing plans for school improvement are more likely to take place in proactive than in fatalistic cultures, in which the role of human agency is undermined and change is considered a function of circumstance rather than choice. Further, generative cultures facilitate the development of effective curricula and instruction which focus on problem solving and higher-order thinking skills. Such goals, however, are

difficult to attain in replicative cultures. Finally, recruiting competent teachers, an important factor in school improvement, is more likely to take place in limited relationship cultures, in which appointment and promotion are based on merit, than in holistic relationship cultures, where family, friendship, and sociopolitical affiliation influence the recruiting process (op. cit.).

Regardless of their validity and reliability, all cited dimensions reveal an important role of national culture in shaping school culture. Compared to those acquired later in life (e.g. upon joining a school, club, team, etc.), the values and behaviors learned during childhood are relatively more difficult to change and some can even accompany people for the rest of their lives (Hofstede et al., op. cit.). National culture, therefore, plays a key role in shaping people's fundamental beliefs and values, which turn out to be either in accordance or in contradiction with the cultures desired at schools. Change is easier to accomplish in the case of accordance than in the case of contradiction. Yet, schools do also have a role to play in shaping national culture. How people interact in a single set of organizations, schools for example, does influence ideas and behaviors in other organizations and the nation at large. Efforts, therefore, need to be made in order to cultivate effective cultures within schools and eventually create a productive harmony between the cultures prevailing inside and outside schools.

III.3.6. Role of School Leaders

School leaders play a pivotal role in the development of effective cultures. Through collaboration with teachers, parents, and communities, they can forge productive cultures premised on excellent instruction, trust, and shared norms and values (Seashore Louis & Wahlstrom, op. cit.). Undoubtedly, there is no single way or proven method for shaping culture since schools have different contexts. There are instead mechanisms and roles that can help in cultivating effective cultures.

According to Peterson (op. cit.), leaders need to follow three major steps in their efforts to nurture positive cultures. The first consists of reading culture and exploring the history of the school through examining past experiences and analyzing values, norms, rituals, and ceremonies. The second involves assessing culture and the extent to which it facilitates or hinders improvement. The third includes shaping culture by reinforcing the positive aspects of a school's culture and reducing the impact of the negative features. Based on the three steps, reading and assessing culture are considered prerequisites for effectively shaping culture (op. cit.).

More specifically, Schein (op. cit.) identifies twelve mechanisms for building effective school cultures: six are primary and others secondary. The primary mechanisms include mainly the ways in which leaders promote desired values and practices, react in times of crises, allocate resources, rewards, and status, use role modeling and coaching to achieve the target outcomes, and recruit, select, promote, and excommunicate (laying off employees or assigning them to a less important position). The secondary mechanisms comprise the school's design and structure, systems and procedures, rites and rituals, stories about important events and people, organizational philosophy and character, and physical space, facades, and buildings. These are considered secondary because they are more difficult to control by leaders and have less influence on members compared to the primary mechanisms, which are easier for leaders to control and have far more influence on the school community. However, both types of mechanisms serve to communicate and foster productive cultures and therefore need to receive close attention from school leaders. Whether to place emphasis on the primary or secondary mechanisms depends on the developmental stage of the school. For emerging or new schools, it is important to focus attention on the primary mechanisms in order to help members acquire new ways of perceiving, thinking, and behaving. For midlife or mature schools, attention needs to shift towards the secondary mechanisms because such

schools usually enjoy a large repertoire of experience which they can capitalize on in the socialization of newcomers. Shifting focus towards the secondary mechanisms is therefore unlikely to undermine the primary ones; rather, it would create an equilibrium between both types of mechanisms and help sustain increased improvement (op. cit.).

In their turn, Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) specify eight major roles that leaders can play in the development of effective school cultures. Leaders can act as historians, anthropological sleuths, visionaries, poets, actors, healers, icons, or potters. Historians seek to understand the history of the school in terms of its past social norms and values, whereas anthropological sleuths analyze the values and practices within the school to determine the extent to which they are effective or otherwise. Visionaries coordinate with faculty, staff, and community members to formulate goals and missions both in the short and long run while poets use expressive language to foster positive values and enhance the school's image. Actors provide support and show concern in times of tragedy in order to reaffirm values and insure continuity. In times of celebration, they act in comedies and talent shows to express the human side of their lives. Actors can also intervene in times of conflict to redirect efforts and values. Healers provide emotional support and work to heal the wounds inflicted by conflict or loss. They recognize important transitions in the lives of faculty and staff, such as retirement and tenure, and provide emotional comfort in difficult times such as the death of a student or teacher. Icons deal with several important matters such as:

- design, accessibility, decoration, and location of classrooms and offices,
- recognition of students and teachers' accomplishments,
- availability of appropriate learning and teaching activities and materials,
- appearances and emotions,
- general climate (humor, warmth, caring, etc.),

support, interpersonal relationships, and communication patterns (emails, newsletters, websites, etc.), and

time and how it is used (op. cit.).

Icons attempt to make a difference at all levels by acting as role models for productive values and practices. Finally, potters seek to reinforce the school's rituals, traditions, and ceremonies through powerful metaphors and coordinated action with members of faculty and staff. They employ anecdotes and stories of important figures and events in the history of the school to create meanings and stimulate motivation among members. Potters communicate beliefs and values through mottos and slogans, and during meetings, parties, informal lunches, and school openings and closings (Deal & Peterson, op. cit.). The fact is that there are countless ways in which teachers and administrators can contribute to school improvement. Given the many responsibilities they have to honor, actors need to be selective in how they allocate their time and effort depending on the needs of the situation.

Leadership can be effective only when grounded in an appropriate understanding of culture, i.e. how people think and perceive life, how they relate to one another, and how they interact with the environment where they operate, whether at the macro (national) or micro (organizational) level. In order to identify the values and norms that are productive and need to be reinforced and those that are negative and need to be reduced, a systematic investigation of the thinking and behavior patterns common inside and outside the school is necessary (Peterson, op. cit.). Undoubtedly, what leaders can do in schools cannot escape the influence of the situation where they function, which can either constrain or enable action (Spillane et al., op. cit.). For example, unfavorable socioeconomic and political conditions (lack of infrastructure, poverty, corruption, war, etc.) do limit improvement and can even worsen the quality of education provided. The responsibility for improvement, therefore, does not lie with schools alone but also with other political, economic, and socio-educational institutions. As

Hargreaves and Fullan (op. cit.) argue, the problem of education is systemic, and the system can only improve through collaboration, trust, and dedication within and across all institutions of a nation.

Change is not a product of circumstance but rather an outcome of interaction between people and their environment. The role of human agency constituted in how people view themselves and others and how they interact with each other is key (Spillane et al., op. cit.). Therefore, there is no room or excuse for fatalism within or outside schools; no matter how difficult the situation could be, people will still have some control over the course of events around them. By being self conscious about their words, views, beliefs, behaviors, and actions, people can make a difference that may be small in magnitude but durable and meaningful. In fact, by being proactive, people can further increase their control over the forces of circumstance. When most, if not all, individuals within and across organizations work together to fulfil their duties effectively and help others do likewise, success does occur. It is the value system within schools and the nation at large that is the most decisive factor in the change process; values are admittedly difficult to change, but they are never completely outside the influence or control of people.

III.4. Conclusion

Leadership in a distributed fashion is nowadays a necessity rather than an option. To address the ever increasing and changing challenges facing schools, all human resources have to be involved in creating and implementing change. An elitist view of leadership based on power rather than influence where a powerful few decides the fate of a weak or weakened majority is obsolete and counterproductive. Leadership of this nature hinders frequent, open, and amicable interaction among actors within schools, impedes the free transfer of ideas and skills, divides people into superior and inferior based on rank and position, and generally intoxicates relationships, the driving force of distributed leadership. In contrast, under

distributed leadership, differences of all types are set aside as members of staff and faculty are united by a strong inner calling for making a difference in the lives of their students and communities at large. All members are equal in rights and obligations and all stand to gain in moral and material terms; narrow self-interest gives way to common interest, bringing principals and teachers together for negotiating ideas, feelings, and beliefs for the benefit of all. Unlike hierarchical leadership where a few wins and a majority loses, distributed leadership is a win-win process where actors at all levels invest in and benefit from others. Nevertheless, distributed leadership is an extremely complex process; it is not as smooth as it sounds in the writing. For it to be understood appropriately, it must be viewed in relation to school culture, i.e. the characteristics of the natural habitat where it tends to grow or wither. Culture is made up of many different layers, some of which are visible while others are less so, but these all mutually influence each other. The implication is that there is a myriad of factors at work in the forming of culture, a fact that makes it difficult to control or change, rendering distributed leadership a challenging, unpredictable, fluid, and delicate process. Being premised on strong interaction across the board, the practice of distributed leadership cannot be elegant. In fact, it is messy and so is change in all walks of life. Human relationships are extremely complex and need to be awarded the utmost importance in the leadership work, particularly in its distributed form where individuals of all different stripes join in together in the development of their schools. Leadership of this nature is stressful and destined to stir emotions of frustration and disappointment, at least sometimes. Certainly, schools ruled by a bureaucracy for years are unlikely to be fully prepared to embrace and implement the precepts of the practice; as a result, they need to adopt a gradual course and allow themselves the time necessary to learn, mature emotionally and intellectually, and overall gain experience in leading in a distributed manner.

Chapter Four:

School Leadership in the Moroccan Context: Prospects and Challenges

IV.1. Introduction

There is no doubt that the outcome of human action is determined neither by the individual nor by the situation alone but rather by the patterns of interaction between the two. While the situation does affect, to varying degrees, how people in an organization think and behave, no linear cause-effect relationship is assumed between action and the environment where it takes place. Instead, the two variables mutually influence each other. This chapter, therefore, is meant to explore all the different characteristics of Morocco as a country and its educational system while assuming no linear cause-effect relationship between such characteristics and action on the ground. Regardless of its nature, the situation in the country and within its schools does only influence, to a certain extent, the outcome of action, either in a negative or positive way. Consequently, for the culture of leadership to flourish throughout Moroccan schools, a supportive sociocultural, economic, and political environment is crucial. There needs to be an environment in which the content and methods of education are strongly shaped by those in the field, mainly principals and teachers, who are well aware of the nuances of their physical and social settings and better able to identify and serve the needs of their students.

To determine how the Moroccan context is affecting the work of teachers and principals and their capacity for change, this chapter looks into all different political, social, and economic features of the country, examines the conditions prevailing in its schools and the performance of its educational system, and analyzes its policies and reform strategies over the years. It is important to recognize that educational improvement is a factor of micro and macro situational attributes. Those micro concern students, teachers, administrators, and their immediate environment while those macro include the system of government in place, how power and wealth are distributed, how democratic decision making at the national and organizational levels is, to what level accountability and the rule of law are enforced in an

equal and a transparent manner, and to what extent freedoms and rights are protected. These variables exert tremendous influence on the overall performance of the educational system in any given country and on the conditions at its schools, mainly (a) the availability and quality of school infrastructure, human resources, and material and socioemotional support, and (b) the level of autonomy and decision-making authority institutions enjoy. Together, the micro and macro contextual features and the interactions between and among them are important factors in-although not determinants of- improvement at schools.

This chapter, therefore, sets out to identify all possible factors, visible and invisible, having a direct or indirect effect on learning across Moroccan schools. It seeks to explore the different interactions among these factors to determine how they constrain or enable teacher- and principal-led change efforts, i.e. the exercise of leadership. Emphasis is placed on the historical, political, and socioeconomic characteristics of the country, the ways in which these have shaped the reality at schools, and their impact on the leadership practice. The recommendations of the National Charter of Education and Training (NCET) and the Emergency Program, two large-scale top-down reform projects, are examined to provide an insight into how realistic and effective the strategies adopted are in terms of addressing the problems typical of Moroccan schools and removing the obstacles at all levels impeding educational improvement. The goals and ideas constituted in the NCET and shaped solely by those at the top of the power hierarchy are compared with the political and socioeconomic features of the country and those of its public schools to determine the practicability of the reform initiatives launched and how useful they have been to student learning. Of particular relevance to the practice of leadership is the idea of school councils promoted by authorities as means of strengthening collaboration and shared decision making across schools. The composition and responsibilities of each of these councils is reviewed to locate how the

theory embraced for developing leadership compares to the reality at schools, especially in terms of resources and decision-making power.

It is only through a holistic and integrated approach to educational improvement that the obstacles of all types, subtle and explicit, can be appropriately understood and removed. To lay fingers on the roots of the problems, which lie not only in the education sector but more importantly in the political and economic spheres, is key to discerning effective solutions and ideas for enhancing the quality of learning in the country.

IV.2. Leadership within the Historical, Political, and Socioeconomic Context

The promotion of leadership, or any other desired practice, across schools needs to be approached in relation to the historical, political, and socioeconomic characteristics of the country in question. Attempts to plant new practices within schools without due consideration to contextual variables often fail to achieve tangible results. The overall context within which schools operate is important for understanding why people act and think in a certain way, what support they need, what change they are capable of achieving and how it could be best achieved, what is reasonable to expect of them, and most importantly how to communicate these expectations. To this end, an overview of Morocco's historical, political, and socioeconomic characteristics is provided for an adequate understanding of the behaviors and values prevalent across schools and how they could be shaped in ways conducive to improved learning.

IV.2.1. Historical Context

As noted by DeGorge (2002), formal modern schooling, with diverse curricula composed of different fields of study and rigorous assessment for evaluating students' performance, has taken hold in the country only after Independence in 1956. Before then, the only option available for those interested in schooling was *msids*, a space within mosques devoted for learning, or independent schools where students could memorize the Quran, learn

about Islam, and study arts and human sciences. Few school-aged children used to attend these types of schools for various political and socioeconomic reasons, such as constant internal conflicts for power and control, dependence on farming and cattle raising, impoverished population, lack of infrastructure, and a general disinterest in seeking knowledge.

Modern formal schooling has started during the French colonization of Morocco over the 1912-1965 period. During this era, a few schools were established for educating European children, and later on Moroccans (e.g. Moulay Youssef in Rabat, Moulay Idriss in Fez, “College Berbère” in Azrou, etc.) from wealthy families to use their help in governing the country (DeGorge, op. cit.). The colonial policy of educating mostly rich Moroccans had perpetuated an elitist educational system that Morocco has not yet managed to move away from despite the many attempts at reform. Large numbers of school-age children, mainly from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds, cannot join school, drop out of school, or receive poor education that does not qualify them for employment (see section IV.3).

Soon after Independence in 1965, the country moved to install a functioning educational system in alignment with its national cultural and economic interests. Efforts centered on four major principles: generalization, Arabization, Moroccanization, and unification/standardization and tuition-free education. Generalization meant providing education for all Moroccan pupils, not only for those from wealthy families, while Arabization aimed at using Arabic rather than French as the language of instruction across schools. Moroccanization sought reducing dependence on foreign personnel working in the sector while increasing the number of Moroccan nationals in administrative and teaching positions. Unification/standardization aimed at bringing all different school systems inherited from the colonial French and Spanish era under one system consistent in terms of content, methods, and goals. These four axes were the guiding principles of action over 40 years, but

little progress was achieved, especially with regard to Arabization and generalization (Diyen, 2004). Arabization has proved too difficult to implement, especially at the level of higher education where the language of instruction used in many fields of study, French, is different from that officially adopted in elementary through secondary education, Arabic. This linguistic inconsistency has created a deep confusion for those not proficient in the French language. Regarding generalization, poor infrastructure and staff shortages continue to prevent many school-aged children from obtaining adequate education. Unlike in elementary education, enrolment in secondary education has not seen substantial increases (see section IV.3). The rush towards Moroccanization resulted in recruiting large numbers of poorly educated and trained Moroccan teachers and administrators, whereas unification/standardization created a bureaucratic system in which decisions are made by a handful of individuals at the top level of power in the country.

In 1999 and in response to the lack of progress in the sector, the late King Hassan II instructed his advisor, Abdelaziz Meziane Belfquih, to set up a special committee to develop a comprehensive plan for reforming the education system in the country. The committee would later be known as the Special Committee for the Reform of Education, or in French *la Commission Spéciale d'Éducation et de Formation* (COSEF). The plan developed was later known as the National Charter of Education and Training (NCET), which lays out the country's goals and policies regarding all educational and training matters. Nevertheless, the reform proved too slow and the country had to launch yet another plan in 2009, known as the Emergency Program, to accelerate the implementation of the recommendations enshrined in the NCET. In 2012, the Program was declared ineffective and consequently discarded by the Ministry of National Education (MNE). Therefore, top-down reform has, since independence in 1965, brought little improvement in the quality of public education, which reveals a need for exploring alternative venues for enhancing education in the country.

IV.2.2. Political Context

How politics is conducted and policies are made in a country and the levels of freedom, justice, and equality its citizens enjoy exert the greatest influence on its development and prosperity in all walks of life, not only in education. The Moroccan political system remains highly centralized and bureaucratic despite the many attempts at reform, mainly the promulgation of a new constitution in 2011. Morocco is presumably a Constitutional Monarchy, one in which the King, Mohammed VI, enjoys wide but not absolute powers since decision making also lies with parliament. Under the 2011 constitution, the King can dissolve parliament, rule by decree, and dismiss or appoint cabinet members; he sets national and foreign policy, commands the armed forces and intelligence services, and oversees the judicial system (Freedom House, 2014). On the other hand, there is parliament which consists of two houses: a lower house, the Chamber of Representatives, comprising 395 directly elected members serving five-year terms, and an upper house, the Chamber of Counselors, made up of 270 members who serve nine-year terms. The party obtaining most parliamentary seats forms a coalition government with other parties to secure a majority in the Chamber of Representatives. The Government works to manage the different social and economic sectors and implement improvement strategies in line with the general policies adopted by the Monarchy, which has the final say over both national and foreign policy (op. cit.).

The concentration of power and decision making at the highest levels of the political system has slowed down the democratization process which the country has sought to intensify over the last two decades. According to Freedom House (op. cit.), Morocco falls within the category of *partly free* countries due to practices deemed undemocratic, such as state control of media, manipulation of the judiciary, silencing of political dissent, and other human rights abuses. Politics in the country is largely driven by self- rather than common interest. Political opportunism and profiteering dominate policy making, keeping the country

from achieving a real economic takeoff. The law is not always enforced equally among all citizens and is often manipulated by powerful members of society. These and many other corrupt practices are no hidden features of the political arena in Morocco.

The centralized political system and stalled democratization process have meant tight control over education and a bureaucratic rather than democratic approach to its reform. The MNE takes control of almost all aspects of the educational process, including the curriculum, instruction, assessment, staffing, training, equipment, facilities, etc. Consequently, schools' power to effect and lead—rather than only manage—change has been markedly restricted. Teachers and administrators often feel marginalized and therefore refuse to join in the reform efforts engineered from above and sometimes even work to sabotage such efforts. Highly centralized political systems often divide people into distinct groups, the haves and the have-nots, keen on serving their self-interest, which seeds deep schisms and distrust and makes collaboration among these groups for achieving the common good difficult. Therefore, improvement, whether in education or any other sector, is fundamentally a matter of justice and freedom, not merely techniques, methods, and resources, both at the national and international levels.

IV.2.3. Socioeconomic Context

Other important variables of relevance to the improvement of education are the socioeconomic indicators of a country. Morocco seems to have achieved very little, if any, progress at the level of these indicators, especially corruption (e.g. bribery, favoritism, fraud, embezzlement, etc.), rural-urban divide, illiteracy, and poverty. These latter pose major impediments to development and breed many other social problems affecting the quality of education, in particular, and life in the country, in general.

Corruption is the single most destructive force, not only from a moral but also a practical point of view, which obstructs development and wellbeing within any given society.

According to Transparency International, a global organization engaged in the fight against corruption worldwide, Morocco is a highly corrupt country, occupying a rank of 91 out of 177 countries on the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) released in 2013. The implications of corruption for education include favoritism in recruiting and appointing staff, buying grades and diplomas, diversion of resources intended for public benefit, staff absenteeism, private tutoring in place of formal teaching, ‘shadow schools’ not reported to government, ‘ghost employees’ receiving regular pay but never showing up for work, and ‘ghost authors’ writing books and articles for others (Transparency International, 2013). The presence of such practices, as is the case in highly corrupt countries of which Morocco is one according to Transparency International, makes educational improvement an extremely difficult task unless measures are taken to curb corruption. Besides increasing costs and diminishing outcomes, corruption antagonizes members of society against each other, creates deep divisions among them, and weakens their ability to achieve change. To enhance the quality of learning, therefore, requires not only promoting new methods and techniques but also demonstrating integrity and dedication in the fight against corruption.

In addition, a large divide exists between rural and urban areas in Morocco, particularly in terms of access to public services and economic opportunities (Khandker, Lavy, & Filmer, 1994). The size of the population in rural areas is estimated at 40% according to the 2014 figures provided by the Higher Commission for Planning, known in French as *Haut Commissariat au Plan* (HCP). This divide impacts education in a number of ways. There is often poor access to education in rural areas where schools are usually located far from students’ homes and where roads, electricity, potable water, transportation, and other basic amenities are either difficult to obtain, in poor condition, or lacking altogether. As a result, school enrolment and attendance are much higher in urban than in rural areas. For example, in the year 2013-2014, school enrolment in lower secondary education reached 67%

in urban areas while it did not exceed 33% in rural areas (MNE, 2014). Over the 2008-2012 period, school attendance for elementary education was estimated at 96% in urban areas compared to 82% in rural areas (UNICEF, n.d.). Disparities also exist in the allocation of resources. Rural children usually have new, inexperienced and less effective teachers due the MNE's policy of appointing less competent teachers in rural areas, as a form of punishment, and highly skilled ones in urban areas, as a form of reward (Khandker et al., op. cit.). Taken together, rural children have poor access to, and low quality of, education compared to their urban counterparts. Given that a large percentage (about 40%) of Moroccans dwell in rural areas, addressing the disparities discussed above and others is key to achieving the country's education and development goals.

Nevertheless, the urban population may have better but, definitely, not *adequate* access to public services. The country as a whole remains severely underdeveloped. For instance, Morocco was ranked 129 out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI), "a summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living" (United Nations Development Program, 2014). Regarding access to knowledge, illiteracy (inability to read and write in a language) is widespread in the country, reaching 33% of the population age 15 and older in 2011 (UNESCO, 2014). School enrolment rates have increased over the last decade, e.g. from 84.8% in 2003 to 96.9 in 2012 (op. cit.), but quality has experienced a downslide, making little contribution to socioeconomic development (see section IV.3). The education provided is generally of little relevance to the needs of today's world, one which is driven by innovation and knowhow. In an era of globalization, the generalization of education, per se, is unlikely to secure the survival and prosperity of nations. It is the yield or benefit of such education that makes a difference.

Given the lack of development across the political, social, and economic spectrum, the poverty rate in the country is high. According to the 2007 figures provided by the HCP (n.d.), 9% of the population is below the national income poverty line while 18% remains vulnerable to poverty. In Morocco, those considered poor are those individual members of a household whose per capita expenditure is below the relative poverty line, which is (in DH of 2007) 3,834 DH per person per year in urban areas and 3,569 DH per person per year in rural areas (op. cit.). Those vulnerable to poverty are individuals who are not poor, but live under the threat of poverty; they are those members of a household whose expenditure per person per year is (in DH of 2007) between 3,834 and 5,751 DH in urban areas compared to 3,569 and 5,353 DH in rural areas (op. cit.). Poverty, as indicated by the HCP, has decreased over the 2004-2007 period, e.g. dropping from 20% to 15% in the Gharb-Chrarda-Beni Hssen region and from 19% to 12% in the Fès-Boulemane region over the period in question. Regardless of how accurate they are, these recorded decreases in poverty came mainly as a result of global economic developments marked by the transition from the modern to the postmodern world, one in which major economic powers focus on high-tech industries and outsource production of low-value goods and services. Given its strategic location, its proximity to Europe and coastlines along the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, Morocco makes an attractive destination for outsourcing, which helps create jobs but brings little economic gain for the country. Poverty is likely to persist as a major problem unless Morocco undertakes drastic reforms at all levels.

There is, therefore, an interdependent relationship among all different sectors in a country; improving one sector is unlikely without improving others. Irrespective of available human and material resources, it is difficult to achieve progress, in education or any other sector, in an environment where freedoms and rights are violated, whether by ordinary or powerful individuals, responsibilities are not properly carried out, and wealth and decision

making are concentrated in the hands of a few. By the same token, it is difficult to achieve sociopolitical reform without promoting and demonstrating a culture of democracy, justice, freedom, and responsibility across and by schools and communities so that democratic values can strengthen among the grass roots. Such a view of reform needs to guide all efforts aiming at enhancing education, particularly through promoting leadership across schools.

IV.3. Leadership Development and the State of Affairs across Moroccan Schools

In addition to historical, political, and socioeconomic variables, the efforts to promote leadership also need to be guided by an adequate understanding of the situation typical of most Moroccan schools in order to precisely identify problems and decide which need urgent action, set reasonable expectations and goals, and come up with effective ideas to deal with the specific challenges faced. In the Moroccan context, overcrowding, grade repetition, and school dropout are major challenges that have been plaguing public schools for decades, indicating a poor performance of the system as a whole and carrying serious ramifications on the quality of education served.

Overcrowding is among the most persistent problems facing Moroccan schools and impeding improvement in student learning nationwide. While it provides no specific definition for overcrowding, the MNE sets the maximum number of students to be in a class at 40, or 45 under special circumstances (Assaket, 2012). It seems, therefore, that overcrowding is calculated based on classes above 40 or 45 students, which could explain

Table 4.1: Overcrowding rates by level of education (MNE, 2014)

	2007-2008	2012-2013
Elementary education	3.1%	1.93%
Lower secondary	4.3%	9.63%
Upper secondary	9.6%	10.17%

why the figures cited in table 3.1 do not show overcrowding to be an epidemic problem. Regardless of the room's capacity, condition, and design, a class of 40 or 45 students is already overcrowded simply because it is difficult for teachers to accommodate, in an effective and appropriate manner, the social and learning needs of all these learners. Classes as large as these make it difficult for both teachers and students to achieve quality teaching and learning. Yet, the figures in table 3.1 do show that overcrowding is generally increasing, e.g. from 4.3% to 9.63% in lower secondary and from 9.6% to 10.17% in upper secondary over the 2007-2012 period. Such increases indicate that the conditions in classrooms are making improving teaching and learning even more difficult. The situation at elementary schools might seem better but partly due to student absenteeism and dropout, particularly in rural areas, resulting from a lack of development.

In addition to other aspects related to poor management and planning at the school level, especially in terms of forming, assigning, and scheduling classes, overcrowding is mainly rooted in inadequate school infrastructure and human resources. In relation to the latter factor, the data provided by the MNE reveal no huge shortages in teachers. As shown in table 3.2, the student-teacher ratio in the year 2013-14 did not exceed 27 in elementary education, 26 in lower secondary, and 17 in upper secondary. These ratios seem reasonable but are too *generic*; they are aggregates of all teachers divided by all students in each level of education. They do not account for variations across subjects, fields of study, and regions. The ratios could in fact double for core subjects, such as Math, Physics, French, etc., majors in the arts and humanities, and for densely populated areas. Still, the numbers in table 3.2 are useful and reveal two important truths. The first is that little improvement has been made at the level of infrastructure and staffing. The student-room ratios have stagnated over the last decade, e.g. oscillating between 48 in 2006 and 47 in 2013 for lower secondary. The student-

teacher ratios have also remained stagnant, e.g. fluctuating between 24 in 2006 and 26 in 2013 for lower secondary. The second truth is that there are more teachers than there are

Table 4.2: Student-room and student-teacher ratios by level of education (MNE, 2014)

		2006-07	2013-14
Elementary education	Student-room ratio	40.1	35.5
	Student-teacher ratio	28.0	27.5
Lower secondary	Student-room ratio	48.2	47.2
	Student-teacher ratio	24.8	26.8
Upper secondary	Student-room ratio	39.3	37.5
	Student-teacher ratio	17.4	17.2

rooms for students. While student-teacher ratios have all stayed below 30 over the 2006-2013 period, those concerning students per room have been much higher, e.g. reaching 47 in lower secondary and 37 in upper secondary in the year 2013-14. Therefore, Morocco is still at a stage where it is grappling with providing sufficient rooms and seats for enrolled students, let alone libraries, computer and science labs, sports facilities, and other educational supports. Where schools are suffering shortages in rooms and teachers, enhancing quality is unlikely to receive adequate attention from involved actors and is therefore difficult to achieve, or at least perceived to be so. Teachers and administrators working in difficult conditions usually grow desperate and cynical; many tend to ridicule and reject any attempts at improving learning, whether from within or outside schools, while schools are in dire conditions.

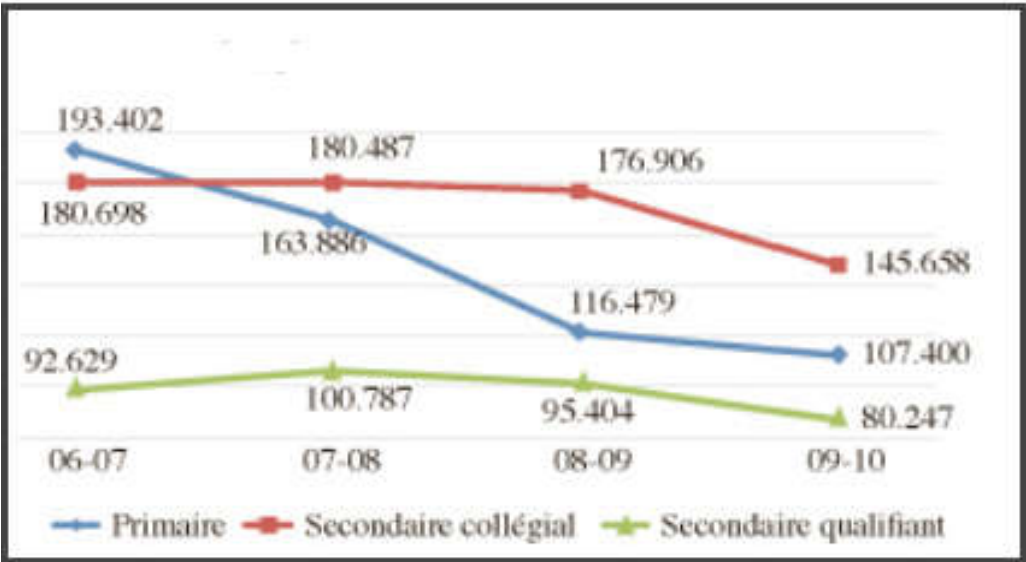
Having direct effects on student and teacher performance, overcrowding is a major factor among many others giving rise to grade repetition, the process in which a student repeats a whole academic year for failure to meet the performance standards required for admission to the next grade level. According to the MNE, grade repetition rates in 2013 reached a total of 11% in elementary education, 16% in lower secondary, and 18% in upper

secondary. The overall rate of graduation from high school did not exceed 53% countrywide in the year 2014, that is, only a little over half of those participating in the exit exam, nationally administered and standardized, managed to achieve a passing grade or above and obtain a degree, known in French as *baccalauréat* (“Ministry of Education announces the results,” 2014). Repetition rates are calculated based on the students who fail to meet the minimum achievement standards, usually a final grade of 5 out of 10 points in elementary education and 10 out of 20 in secondary. In many cases, some of those not meeting the requirements are passed on to the next grade level, either to keep them in the system as they might be at risk of dropout or to avoid adding more pressure on rooms and teachers by retaining them. When these ‘promoted’ students are combined with those who officially repeat and barely pass, the Moroccan children demonstrating poor understanding and learning of the material, regardless of how useful it is, might constitute a majority, which the low graduation rates from high school (53% in 2014) strongly suggest. It is clear, then, that poor student achievement originates from a combination of factors related to the system and the country as a whole. Besides the teaching and learning conditions, low performance has to do with students’ socioeconomic background, governance and planning, material and social support, coordination among stakeholders, curriculum, instruction, and assessment, etc. Teachers and administrators regardless of the circumstances will always have some leverage to exercise on student learning, particularly through collectively developing and implementing focused projects with clear procedures and specific goals.

Among other variables, overcrowding, grade repetition, and poor achievement are all intertwined factors that lead to school dropout. Unfavorable conditions make it difficult for students to attain adequate learning that prepares them for success in subsequent grade levels, which often results in repetition, hopelessness, and eventually dropout. Based on the data provided by the UNESCO (2014), dropout rates have dramatically decreased over the

2000-2012 period, from 26% to 8% in elementary education and from 22% to 12% in lower secondary. Nevertheless, large numbers of students continue to drop out of school. As indicated in figure 4.1, these numbers reached in the year 2009-10 a total of 145,658 in elementary education, 107,400 in lower secondary, and 80,247 in upper secondary (MNE, in “Rentrée scolaire,” 2011). When combined, a total of 333,305 students left school in the year 2009-10 alone. Dropout rates are particularly high in lower secondary education for two main reasons. First, many students at the elementary phase are not adequately prepared

Figure 4.1: Dropout rates across levels of education



Primaire: Elementary
Secondaire collégial: Lower secondary
Secondaire qualifiant: Upper secondary

Source: “Rentrée scolaire,” 2011

for success at this level, a reality that affects their learning abilities for the rest of their lives. Second, schools mostly in rural areas might be located far from homes or generally difficult to access. These and other technical and socioeconomic reasons often make students opt out of school. To effectively address the challenge of school dropout, efforts need to be directed at improving the quality of learning to increase the worth of public education and give students reason to continue their studies in spite of hardships. It is difficult for people to persevere and

invest, or be convinced to do so, in their pursuit of education if this latter has or brings little practical value in one's real life. Certainly, cooperation among actors inside and outside schools for providing or facilitating access to classroom space is desirable but not sufficient to address the challenge of school dropout. Enhancing the quality of education needs to be at the heart of all action.

The situation across schools and the nation at large is definitely worrying but not irreversible. Progress essentially hinges on the extent to which national and organizational values are productive. In Morocco, there is a reckless disregard for common interest, driving people apart from, and indifferent to, each other and diminishing their commitment to serving the common good in an honest and effective manner. For actual improvement to take place nationwide, it is necessary that common interest supersedes self-interest in defining and motivating action among citizens. With respect to education, teachers and principals need to work closely together to develop effective use of available resources, such as time, rooms, equipment, etc., and devise instructional methods that could work well in large classes. Efforts also need to be directed at creating strong relationships with local organizations to garner support for improvement schemes. Indeed, the power to influence events springs from multiple sources and lies with all different actors composing the system. Failure on the part of some to fulfil their obligations can constrain but not doom the efforts of others. Improvement can never be completely beyond the control of students, teachers, or administrators, even in difficult situations. The lack of action within schools is therefore inexcusable.

IV.4. Leadership in the National Charter of Education and Training (NCET)

As mentioned previously (see section IV.2), the country first attempted to set up a functioning educational system premised on Arabic as the language of instruction (Arabization), dependent on indigenous teaching and administrative staff (Moroccanization), serving all Moroccan pupils (generalization), and having coherent values, procedures,

methods, and goals (unification/standardization). However, pressed by landmark advances in science and technology, Morocco moved to redefine its educational policies to meet the challenges of the postmodern era. In 1999, the country's top authority, late King Hassan II, set up a special committee, known for its acronym as COSEF, for drafting a comprehensive plan to reform the education and training system. The plan later came to be known as the NCET, which consists of two major parts: the "Basic tenets" and "Reform Areas." The former lays out the foundations and goals of education in the country while the latter specifies six areas of reform requiring urgent and focused action. The two parts are examined here in terms of the extent to which they promote the practice of leadership through teacher and principal involvement in schoolwide improvement initiatives. Particularly of interest are the approaches of reform adopted and the aspects of leadership embedded in the NCET.

IV.4.1. Leadership in the "Basic Tenets" of the NCET

As is the case in many other countries, Morocco's educational system is premised on religious, national, and universal values, most notably Islam, patriotism and the Constitutional Monarchy, and respect of human rights. Creating a "virtuous citizen exemplifying rectitude, moderation and tolerance, open to science and knowledge, and has a spirit of initiative, creativity, and enterprise" is at the heart of the educational process (NCET, Part 1, Art. 1).

Leadership in the Basic Tenets of the NCET is mainly evident in the emphasis on collaboration between and among three major parties: schools, students' parents, and local authorities (*les collectivités locales*). Schools are awarded special importance in leading the change efforts through collective involvement centered on student learning. What is needed is "a vibrant school espousing a pedagogical approach based on active rather than passive learning, cooperation, discussion, and collective rather than individual effort" (op. cit., Art. 9a). It is collectivism rather than individualism that is perceived as the means to achieve results. Teachers' efforts are not to be confined to their individual classrooms; rather, they

need to extend their influence to impact learning schoolwide. In addition, schools are required to coordinate with parents in all productive ways utilizing all sorts of communication channels. Both parties need to be consistently engaged in sharing views, concerns, and information, developing common goals, and working collaboratively to achieve them. The interrelationship and urgency of collaboration between parents and schools is clearly emphasized in the Charter.

The parents and guardians of students need to be aware that education is not solely the responsibility of the school but also of the family, a vital educational institution with considerable influence on children's development, their preparation for effective learning, and their academic and professional lives. (op. cit., Art. 16).

Education is therefore a shared responsibility lying on the shoulders of schools and parents alike, which renders coordination between both sides a necessity not an option. Parents have an important role to play in the educational process, but their involvement is to be sought rather than awaited by schools. These latter represent the nucleus and driving force of all action and need to act as such. Besides their collaboration with parents, they are required to weave strong relationships with local authorities to better serve students' needs. Instead of relying heavily on the central government, schools are urged to work closely with local authorities to find solutions for arising problems, whether they be related to infrastructure, equipment, transportation, or security. In their turn, local authorities must play their part in the promotion and enhancement of education across the areas under their jurisdiction. In the Charter, it is stated that:

Local authorities have to give priority to education and training.... Regional and local councils have to be aware of the critical role of education and training in preparing young people for active and productive life, one which is of benefit to their region or community. They [councils] must give the parents or guardians of students hope and confidence in the future of their children, thus motivating them to work tirelessly for the good of their region or community. (op. cit., Art. 15)

In line with the country's policy of decentralization, local authorities are bound to acquire greater resources and decision-making power to increase their ability to respond appropriately

to the needs of their respective populations. The idea is that reducing dependence on the bureaucratic machine will help boost efficiency in leading and implementing change.

In sum, schools are required to adopt an inclusive approach based on cooperation with and mobilization of all social forces for improved learning. The challenge is to create a school that is open to its environment, one which welcomes and reaches out to the community for the benefit of all. As emphasized in the Charter, the success of the reform requires mobilization at all levels and of all capacities, institutions, and organizations.

All active forces in the country, government, parliament, local authorities, political parties, labor unions and professional organizations, associations, territorial administrations, religious scholars, intellectuals, scientists, artists, and all concerned parties, are urged to work *collectively* in order to ensure the success of the reform, placing national interests ahead of all other considerations. (op. cit., Art. 23)

The situation of education in the country is surely alarming and great improvement can only be achieved through collective involvement among all political, social, economic, and cultural entities. It is only when systems and institutions work in harmony, not in isolation or discord, towards common goals that they can actually solve the problems each and all of them face.

IV.4.2. Leadership in the “Reform Areas” of the NCET

The second part of the NCET consists of six major areas of reform containing nineteen “levers of change.” As illustrated in table 4.3, these areas are mainly concerned with extending education and improving educational organization, scheduling and curricula, governance and management, and human resources. Although the six areas are closely interrelated and all important for enhanced student learning, the focus is laid on those areas with direct relevance to the promotion of leadership across schools, namely “human resources” and “governance and management.” An overview of all components of the NCET is provided in table 4.3 for an appropriate understanding of the goals, mechanisms, and strategies of change espoused by the country.

Table 4.3: Overview of the major areas of reform in the NCET

Areas of reform	Levers of change
1. Extending education and anchoring it in the economic environment	1. Generalization of quality education 2. Literacy training and non-formal education 3. Anchoring education in its economic environment
2. Restructuring educational organization	4. Reorganizing the stages of education and training 5. Examinations and assessment 6. Academic and career counseling
3. Improving education and training quality	7. Reviewing the curriculum 8. Scheduling and school and pedagogic rhythms 9. Teaching and use of Arabic and foreign languages 10. Use of information and communication technologies 11. Encouragement of excellence, innovation and scientific research 12. Promotion of sports and extracurricular activities
4. Human resources	13. Motivation of staff 14. Better social and material conditions for teachers and learners
5. Governance and management	15. Decentralization and deconcentration 16. Improving governance and strengthening evaluation 17. Diversifying modes of facilities and equipment
6. Partnership and funding	18. Encouraging and regulating private education and training 19. Mobilization and optimal use of financial resources

Source: Based on the NCET, 1999

As indicated in table 4.3, the NCET is a comprehensive reform plan addressing all aspects of the educational process. Each designated area of reform consists of several “levers of change,” outlining specific strategies and goals for achieving the desired change. Across all ‘areas’ and ‘levers’ of change, the exercise of leadership within and across schools and between these and local organizations, public or private, is assigned great importance. Collaboration among neighboring educational and training institutions is deemed elemental to the success of the reform. This emphasis on collaborative work is explicitly underlined in the Charter.

There is need for collaboration based on sharing and a coordinated exercise of responsibilities across all structures of general, technical, and vocational education to allow for a shared and optimal use of equipment, research laboratories, workshops and training. (op. cit., Part 2, Art. 40)

To bring together academic, social, and economic institutions, creating local and regional *networks* of education and training, comprising schools, training centers, businesses, and cooperatives is considered crucial. These networks will serve as vehicles for strengthening relationships and combining capacities for the extension and improvement of education.

Of particular relevance to the development of leadership across schools are the fourth and fifth areas of reform. In the fourth area, human resources, great emphasis is placed on the role of teachers in effecting schoolwide improvement. “The renewal of the school depends on the quality and commitment of teachers” (op. cit., Art. 133). Training and incentives are considered key elements in the professional development of teachers. Training consists of two types: one takes place annually to update teachers and administrators about the latest ideas in their respective fields while the other is organized every three years to upgrade the skills of staff members. “The objectives, duration, content and programs of training will be continually readjusted, depending on the evolution of the educational context and outcomes of educational assessment” (op. cit., Art. 134). The other factor in professional development concerns motivation and incentives, usually in the form of increases in salary based on

performance, innovation, and research. Another form of motivation includes offering material and logistic assistance for teachers' associations to help them organize scientific, cultural, and sports events for entertainment, celebration, and recognition of accomplishments.

The fifth area of reform, governance and management, revolves around decentralization, improving governance and evaluation, and diversifying modes of facilities and equipment depending on the specific needs of each region. As highlighted in the Charter, "Morocco pursues a policy of administrative decentralization and deconcentration" (op. cit., Art. 144) and is committed to its implementation in the education sector as "a decisive choice, irreversible strategy, and pressing responsibility" (op. cit.). As a result, special committees or councils in charge of planning, management, and supervision of education are designed to work as mechanisms across regions, provinces, and local institutions for strengthening the exchange of knowledge and expertise and bridging the gap between theory and practice.

Morocco is divided into sixteen regions, each consisting of a school district known as *l'Académie Régionale d'Éducation et de Formation* (AREF), Regional Academy of Education and Training. The creation of regional Academies with administrative and financial autonomy aims at:

- adapting education and training to the needs of the different communities and regions in the country;
- simplifying, rationalizing, and accelerating the procedures for managing infrastructure and resources;
- facilitating partnership and collaboration among all concerned parties for an effective planning, management, and evaluation of operations; and
- encouraging constructive initiatives and distributing responsibilities throughout all parts of the country to effectively solve problems at the local level (op. cit., Art. 144).

The AREFs, therefore, have an important role to play in the development of education nationwide. Their decision making authority has been extended to include:

- monitoring the construction and equipment of schools and the general operation of education and training in the region;
- managing human resources, including recruitment, appointment, and evaluation;
- weaving partnerships with other economic, social, and cultural institutions to help implement region-wide improvement projects;
- conducting studies, gathering statistics, and overseeing educational research publication; and
- providing national authorities with recommendations and information helpful for adjusting policies and programs to local needs (op. cit., Art. 146).

To fulfil their responsibilities, the AREFs need to work closely with the provincial administrations responsible for education, specifically *les Délégations Provinciales de l'Enseignement* (DPE), Provincial Delegations of Education. Regions are made of several provinces, each having a DPE for running local schools. Delegations are required to play an active role in the promotion of education at the provincial level; they are to enjoy greater resources and decision-making power.

The [provincial] departments responsible for education and training will be strengthened in terms of powers and means of work; coordination between their various components will also be strengthened with the prospect of full integration. (op. cit., Art. 147)

Although variations from one region to another exist, depending on the powers delegated by the regional Academies, the DPEs have common responsibilities they all have to fulfill, the most important of which are:

- drawing plans for the development of preschool, elementary, and secondary education;
- establishing the province's needs in terms of school buildings, equipment, and human and financial resources;

- representing the province in meetings and events of importance to education and training; and
- supervising the work of all administrative services and educational institutions within the territory of the province (MNE, 2008).

To achieve improvement at the provincial level, Delegations will work with schools to help them lead change from within by mobilizing all concerned parties and available resources. At the school level, four councils concerned with different but interrelated aspects of the educational process will operate within every institution to spur collaborative work and create meaningful and lasting change. All information about the types, composition, roles and responsibilities of these councils is included in section IV.6.2 of this chapter. Regardless of the nature of its work, each council is made up of members including teachers, administrators, parents, local authorities, associations, and other public and private institutions. The diversity in constituting members is aimed at diversifying resources, human and material, and increasing commitment to a better quality of education through exchanging ideas about what and how change needs to be undertaken. As a result, the work of school councils is meant to mobilize the intellectual and sociocultural involvement of major stakeholders within schools and their surroundings for quality learning.

A drastic shift in thinking about what generates improvement lies also in the emphasis placed on the roles of local authorities, civil society organizations, and other public and private institutions. These are considered key players in the reform efforts. Local authorities are urged to be actively involved in the development of education, especially at the elementary level, through building, renovating, equipping, and maintaining schools in collaboration with the state and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Partnerships between local authorities and NGOs with renowned expertise in the generalization of education, mainly in rural areas, are perceived particularly helpful in reducing dependence on

the bureaucratic machine and strengthening decentralization. Also important for the promotion of education are local businesses and their contributions to training and preparing students for the job market.

Companies are places for and actors in training mainly through receiving apprentices and trainees and concluding partnership agreements with vocational and higher education institutions of specializations related to their economic and technological activities. Thus, companies will participate in the management and support of such institutions. (op. cit., Art. 172)

The idea is that education should not be perceived as a concern of only those inside schools but also of outside stakeholders. All social forces are required to work harmoniously towards achieving a better quality education. On their own and whether as individuals or groups, teachers, administrators, parents, local authorities and NGOs, and other public and private institutions are unlikely to bring about substantial improvement in the quality of learning. This view echoes through all different articles of the NCET and is indicative of a new culture towards change, at least in theory, one in which the power to influence the course of events does not reside in any one single source, not even with the government, but rather in multiple sources. The promotion of education in a nation is the responsibility of all citizens. Individuals and institutions, as stressed in the Charter, need to work collectively for the benefit of all.

Education and training need to be perceived as an integrated body whose structures, levels, and patterns are related to each other in a coherent system characterized by permanent interaction with and adaptation to the social, professional, scientific, and cultural environment. (op. cit., Art. 154)

The role of collective involvement has been also highlighted in speeches of King Mohamed VI, the country's top executive power. In his speech of October 8, 1999, the King emphasized that:

The achievement of the goals envisaged for national education necessitates a rational exploitation of resources, effective use and development of available expertise and competence, participation of local authorities, the private sector and businesses, associations, social and economic actors, and students' parents. ("Discours de S.M. le Roi Mohammed VI," op. cit.)

Although not explicitly stated in the NCET, involvement in the leadership activity is perceived to be of great importance to the development of education in the country. The emphasis placed on decentralization and collaboration, both horizontally and vertically, reflects an awareness of the critical role of wider involvement in shaping decisions and events with direct consequences on the work and lives of local populations. Decentralization is empowerment for local actors; it is a means to increase efficiency, boost trust, and strengthen commitment to the desired change. Providing schools and communities with more control over education constitutes an acknowledgment and appreciation of their roles. Schools and local political, economic, and sociocultural entities are regarded in the Charter as agents rather than subjects of change. Ideas for improving education ought to spring from within schools and communities rather than be imposed by central authorities. It is this approach to reform that the NCET espouses.

Nevertheless, there are huge discrepancies between the theory and practice of reform, especially in terms of how the system works and the results it aims to achieve. On the one hand, there is a highly centralized system in which decision making lies with a very few at the top of the hierarchy; on the other, there is a reform plan, the NCET, aimed at increasing collective involvement among all major stakeholders. The system in place seems to be in contradiction with the reform desired. How the former works leads to conditions (see section IV.3) that make it difficult to achieve the goals of the latter. The NCET, as a roadmap for educational improvement, shies away from mentioning any specific procedures and goals for dealing with the hard pressing issues, especially overcrowding, underpayment, understaffing, and a general lack of basic infrastructure and resources. There are plans, which are rarely implemented effectively and completely, to build more schools and recruit more teachers but the outcomes these plans are supposed to deliver or how they will affect the teaching and learning conditions are not defined in any specific manner.

The reform strategies embodied in the NCET seem to be largely focused on *structure* and *technique* with little, if any, consideration to the context in which the change they imply is meant to take place. To use Spillane et al.'s (op. cit.) words, the change desired in Morocco is approached *in vacuo* rather not *in situ* (see Chapter III.2), i.e. not in situation but apart from it. The subtle and often invisible workings involved in the change process are awarded little attention; there is very little emphasis on the expectations, emotions and beliefs running at all levels, especially among those in the field, teachers, who are often treated as subjects rather than agents of change considering their lack of representation in the decision-making process. This state of affairs creates a sense of alienation amongst those most instrumental to the success of change, namely teachers and administrators, and leads them to meet whatever initiatives launched by government with negative reactions of suspicion and distrust. In other words, how reform is pursued by government, usually through unilateral decision making and compulsion, is not conducive to its success because teachers are placed at a disadvantage and therefore many of them will demonstrate little commitment, if not complete disengagement, and exert minimal effort to accomplish the stated goals of the reform. Therefore, the arrangement and governance of the education system, based on control and command, contribute to a paradigm of "us versus them" and fuel an atmosphere of adversaries-not partners-who are bent on failing each other. Such an environment dominated by conflict and tensions among stakeholders wrecks any attempts at improvement and explains at least in part why the many top-down reform initiatives launched nationwide have never managed to achieve tangible enhancement in the quality of learning delivered across Moroccan schools.

Control over decision making continues to be a reality despite the discourse on decentralization and deconcentration. Decisions about all important educational matters, such as the curriculum, instruction, assessment, and training, are exclusively made by a very few at the top level of the political system. Decentralization as conceived in the NCET is in fact

about devolving powers that concern the *management* but not the *making* of policies. In other words, the administrations, namely the AREFs and DPEs, created throughout the country are meant to share the administrative burden of operating and overseeing local schools while shaping policy making remains outside their realm. In such a situation where power is concentrated rather than distributed, collaboration and the exercise of leadership at the school level are seriously constrained and so are ingenuity and creativity. Actors are compelled to fit into predetermined models of teaching, which are often borrowed from developed countries and not necessarily practicable or productive in the Moroccan context. To use Dimmock and Walker's (op. cit.) words, teachers and staff members are directed towards *replication* rather than *generation*, i.e. emphasis is placed on adoption of others' ideas rather than on creation of new and original ones. Therefore, the reality of centralization and concentration runs counter to the theory embedded in the NCET emphasizing partnership and cooperation across schools and local communities. Knowing that their involvement has little or no influence on the course of action, actors inside and outside schools will see no reason or incentive for collaboration.

To pinpoint how the reform strategies adopted constrain or enable the change desired, especially with regard to collaboration, particular attention is awarded to the fourth and fifth areas of reform in the NCET, i.e. human resources, and governance and management. These areas carry most importance and relevance to the development of leadership and the success of the reform. In the Charter, providing training and incentives are viewed as key mechanisms for strengthening teachers and administrators' competence. The question to be explored is how effective the adopted methods are in achieving the goals.

As indicated in Article 133 of the Charter, training is uniquely formulated and dictated by the MNE, which decides what instructional approaches and methods are to be used in the classroom and how they are to be implemented. Consequently, teachers' views are often

marginalized and their needs are overlooked in the making of training programs, a state of affairs that leads many of them to refrain from joining in the implementation of whatever innovations are introduced by the central authorities. State control over training implies that teachers are required to use supposedly novel but rigid and confusing methods in their teaching; exploring alternative venues (see chapter III.3) in which they could learn, whether by themselves or together with colleagues, how to improve teaching is underrated and nowhere mentioned in the NCET as a systematic and effective strategy for in-service training. This official approach to professional development reflects an outdated belief that expertise and solutions to problems lie outside schools. Such a view is counterproductive in many ways: it induces imitation, inertia, dependency, resentment, and conflict emanating from lack of congruency between the context and theory, a condition that eventually makes collaboration of any sort among teachers, administrators, and schools at large very unlikely. In Morocco, teachers' work is surrounded by loads of prescriptions as to what and how to teach and their efforts are exhausted by perpetual struggles to understand, comply with, and reconcile these prescriptions with the reality of the schools. These latter are apparently not yet at the stage where they are expected to create and therefore lead change; their roles seem to stop at implementing and managing change. The official expectations from schools, as promoted and enforced by the NCET, are centered on management rather than leadership, affording little room for the creation and flow of original ideas and inducing an atmosphere that does not enhance collaboration. Confinement to implementation deprives teachers of exercising discretion and ownership of change, which are important factors in motivating collaborative work and binding together individuals for improved outcomes. To recognize that quality education depends on "effective pre-service and in-service training, appropriate educational materials, and adequate evaluation of performance" (op. cit., Art. 133) is essential. However, the affective dimensions and treating of teachers as persons are

prerequisite to the implementation of whatever techniques are advocated. It is important to involve teachers in making and directing their training, which tends to yield better results when voluntarily undertaken than when imposed. Unlike top-down initiated training, which is often erratic, rigid, and despised, bottom-up training tends to be consistent, context-specific, and more effective especially when willingly endorsed.

Inconsistencies also exist at the level of incentives and the goals they are meant to achieve, mainly collaboration and increased performance. Generally, the policy of incentives adopted for increasing motivation and commitment has unwarranted results. The reward system promotes individual rather than collective work and therefore does not help mobilize efforts for initiating genuine improvement at the school level. There is no mention in the NCET of procedures for rewarding work conducted in groups or for collaboration in general, either within or across institutions. While great emphasis is placed on school councils and regional networks of education and training, there is no compensation, material or social, for involvement in these organisms. As a result, the rhetoric on collaboration is in contrast with the incentive system, which rewards individualism and therefore perpetuates a state of fragmentation and mediocrity. More importantly, there is no reference in the Charter to incentives of a socioemotional or symbolic nature, such as praise and acknowledgement for innovations by individuals or groups. The latter kinds of rewards play a key role in motivating human action and need to be assigned paramount importance; when effectively used, they can even make up for the lack of those material in nature.

Briefly, the problem is systemic (Fullan, 2007; Hargreaves, 1994) and the system needs a drastic reconfiguration, especially with regard to the decision making process and the allocation of resources, which are both elemental to achieving the goals envisaged for national education. It is important to focus not only on the *what* but also the *how* of reform by paying

close attention to teachers' feelings and thoughts, addressing their needs and concerns, and making use of their expertise to increase their motivation and eagerness to change.

IV.5. The 'Emergency Program' for Implementing the Education Reform

The Emergency Program was designed to address the slow pace of change embedded in the NCET and rectify the inefficiencies that characterized its implementation. The ten-year period (2000-2011) set for the reform was drawing to a close with little progress being achieved. As a result, King Mohammed VI, in a speech delivered at the opening of the parliamentary session of fall 2007, gave instructions to the government to develop a comprehensive plan for accelerating the implementation of the recommendations of the NCET.

We call on the next government to undertake without delay the development of an emergency plan for consolidating what has been achieved and making the adjustments needed, ensuring an optimal implementation of the provisions of the National Charter of Education and Training. ("Discours de S.M. le Roi Mohammed VI," October 12, 2007)

Acting on these instructions, the MNE put together a four-year Emergency Program to be implemented over the 2009-2012 period. The government partnered with five major sponsors, namely the African Development Bank (ADB), the European Union, the World Bank, the French Development Agency, and the European Investment Bank, to secure a colossal budget of DH 43.7 billion for the achievement of the Program' goals (ADB, 2009).

As illustrated in table 4.4, the Emergency Program is built around four axes: implementing compulsory education up to the age of fifteen years, encouraging initiative and excellence in secondary and higher education, addressing cross-cutting problems of the system, and providing resources for success. Each axis consists of several projects, 23 in total, designed to achieve the "levers of change" specified in the "reform areas" of the NCET. In the first axis, focus is laid on increasing education through (a) building, renovating, and

Table 4.4: Overview of the Emergency Program

Axes of the program	Projects of implementation
Implementing compulsory education up to the age of fifteen years	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Development of preschool education 2. Increasing the availability of compulsory education 3. Upgrading educational institutions 4. Providing equal opportunity of access to compulsory education 5. Combating grade repetition and dropout 6. Increasing gender equity in the educational and training system 7. Supporting equity for children with special needs 8. Refocusing on basic knowledge and skills 9. Improving the quality of school life 10. Instituting respect in schools
Encouraging initiative and excellence in secondary and higher education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Extending secondary education 12. Promoting excellence 13. Improving higher education 14. Promoting scientific research
Addressing cross-cutting problems of the system	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Upgrading teachers and administrators' skills 16. Strengthening the mechanisms of guidance, monitoring and evaluation of teachers 17. Optimizing human resources management 18. Implementing decentralization and restructuring the MNE 19. Planning and management of the education and training system 20. Improving language learning 21. Developing an efficient information and orientation system
Providing resources for success	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 22. Optimization and sustainability of financial resources 23. Mobilization and communication

Source: The Emergency Program, 2009.

expanding schools and dormitories, (b) recruiting and training more teachers and administrators, (c) providing transportation, financial aid, free meals, and school supplies, and

(d) providing tutoring and access to computers and the Internet. In the second axis, efforts are centered on increasing the quality of education, especially at the level of secondary and higher education. There is a focus on promoting scientific research and reviewing curricula, instruction, and pedagogy. The third axis is concerned with improving governance and management through decentralizing decision making, providing quality training for faculty and staff, strengthening communication and coordination among all different stakeholders, and increasing accountability and oversight. The fourth and last axis involves financing education by establishing partnerships with social and economic actors, mainly NGOs and businesses. The Emergency Program, therefore, comprises mechanisms for implementing the country's educational policies defined in the NCET.

Embodying the spirit and aspirations of the NCET, the Program contains projects of particular importance to the work of leadership. For example, the ninth project, improving the quality of school life, deals with promoting students' involvement in activities, such as the Math Olympiad, School Theater, National Student Forum, Children's Parliament, sports contests, creative writing (short stories and poetry), press releases, fine art, music, etc. These and other activities are major gateways for collective involvement bringing together students, teachers, principals, and the community at large. Other projects important for the work of leadership include the eighteenth and nineteenth, which target shared decision making and increased collaboration across institutions. Action is focused on enabling the work of school councils (see section IV.6.2) to serve as platforms through which actors inside and outside schools can exert influence over educational matters affecting each and all of them. It is hoped that such councils will help transform schools by promoting a culture of trust, innovation, and leadership for improved outcomes. Change, as echoed throughout the Program, necessitates strong and positive relationships among all involved actors.

Overall, the Emergency Program consists of well-defined projects with clear procedures and specific goals addressing all different aspects, both structural and cultural, affecting the educational process. Factors such as infrastructure and equipment, hiring and training of teachers, shared decision making and collective effort, cooperation with local political and socioeconomic organizations, and curricula, instruction, and assessment are all placed at the center of attention. The different components of the Program reflect an adequate understanding of what the problems are, whether pertaining to schools or inherent in the system as a whole, and how they ought to be solved. However, it is no secret that the problems the Program set out to solve continue to plague the education system in the country. Bureaucratic control, poor infrastructure, teacher shortages, poor planning and training, overcrowding, school dropout, overload in study programs, and dependence on rote learning and summative assessment remain major features hindering actual improvement in student learning. Often, the reform plans launched are sophisticated in design but their implementation is weak due to poor governance and widespread corruption amid individuals, groups, and institutions. Relationships between and among stakeholders are generally characterized by distrust, conflict, apathy, selfishness, greed, and many other unproductive values and behaviors. These latter are visible in relations and dealings among people in all domains and continue to weaken the nation's capacity to achieve improvement at any particular level. Unless efforts are made by citizens, especially those concerned with education, to promote and adopt productive values, their lives and wellbeing in a globalized and capitalist world will severely deteriorate.

Teachers and administrators are undoubtedly faced with overwhelming challenges, but if united they can succeed in their endeavors for schoolwide improvement. What teachers can achieve by working together will never completely escape the influence of their environment, but their perseverance and continued collective effort will eventually bend the force of

circumstances in their favor. Their collaboration for enhanced learning, whether in informal or formal ways, is bound to benefit their students a great deal. Some of the major ways in which teachers could exercise leadership are detailed in chapter II.2; what remains for investigation are the formal structures across Moroccan schools for promoting the work of leadership, especially those concerning school councils.

IV.6. School Councils as Major Platforms for the Exercise of Leadership

According to the MNE (2009), schools must consist of four major functioning councils: a Management Council (known in French as *conseil de gestion*), an Educational Council (*conseil pédagogique*), a Teaching Council (*conseil d'enseignement*), and a Class Council (*conseils de classes*). These are meant to serve as vehicles for reinforcing shared decision making and collaborative work for an enhanced quality of learning schoolwide. Each council draws together members from among students, teachers, administrators, parents, and local authorities for the purpose of developing shared values and goals and combining efforts for an effective implementation of locally-engineered improvement projects.

Central to the work of all four councils are school principals and other members of the administrative staff. To weigh the level of leverage they have over the course of events, it is necessary to explore their responsibilities and roles, as defined by the MNE (op. cit.), to identify the nature of their work and the boundaries of their decision making authority, which could either enable or constrain their involvement in the leadership practice.

IV.6.1. Administrative Staff at Public Schools: Roles and Responsibilities

While elementary schools operate with no more than two administrators (a principal and his or her assistant), the administrative staff for secondary schools consists of five members: the principal, the assistant principal, the campus supervisor or in French *surveillant-général d'externat*, supervisor of housing and dining services or *surveillant-général d'internat* in the case of boarding schools, and the treasurer. All five are key players

in the work of school councils; defining their responsibilities is important for understanding the ways in which they can influence student learning.

School principals at all levels of education perform several common responsibilities comprising educational, administrative, financial, and promotional functions. The most important among these include:

- coordinating and monitoring the work of school councils and associations;
- setting priorities depending on the needs of the school;
- participating in the evaluation of school internal and external performance;
- ensuring staff and faculty's compliance with laws and regulations;
- chairing and ensuring regular meetings of school councils;
- communicating information about recent educational, administrative, and legal developments;
- leading efforts for the development of an annual action plan and working towards its implementation;
- building strong relationships with local social, economic, and political institutions;
- monitoring and evaluating teachers' performance and facilitating the work of visiting supervisors;
- organizing meetings and campaigns for mobilizing support for a better quality of education;
- representing the school in meetings with the authorities and in public events;
- nurturing positive relationships among school councils;
- setting up working groups to achieve proposed action plans; and
- monitoring the preparation and implementation of the school's budget (MNE, op. cit.).

These obligations reveal that school principals are expected to act as leaders, not merely managers, whose main focus is on student learning. Their responsibilities extend beyond

everyday administrative matters to include exercising influence in all different ways for quality learning. Collaboration with and mobilization of major stakeholders inside and outside schools lie at the heart of their work.

Assistant principals, or those holding the position of *censeur* as known in French, work to enforce rules and implement the school's policies. Their educational and administrative responsibilities consist of:

- maintaining order and discipline across the school;
- scheduling and organizing work;
- monitoring the implementation of curricula by examining teachers' lesson plans and other educational activities;
- monitoring and ensuring the implementation of decisions, projects, and goals concerning the entire school;
- participating in the organization and supervision of all different forms of evaluation and examination;
- representing the principal in meetings and events when necessary;
- tracking and coordinating the work of faculty and staff; and
- facilitating meetings of the Educational Council and making sure its resulting decisions are implemented (MNE, op. cit.).

Assistant principals therefore play a key role in monitoring and organizing work throughout the school and directing all action in alignment with goals. Their diverse responsibilities afford them great influence over the quality of education offered by the school.

On the other hand, campus supervisors work to ensure students' compliance with rules and policies and create a nurturing environment for their psychological, social, and academic growth. Their responsibilities mainly involve:

- monitoring students' behaviors throughout campus, especially during breaks and entering and leaving school;
- tracking and managing student absences;
- participating in organizing, monitoring, and tracking the various forms of evaluation and examination;
- Examining teachers' reports about students' discipline and referring cases of concern to the Class Councils;
- coordinating and monitoring the work of all assistants performing warden duties under their supervision; and
- representing the principal in meetings of school councils (MNE, op. cit.).

Performing these responsibilities enables campus supervisors to engage in direct and frequent contact with all those forming part of the school and exert considerable influence on the kind of relationships existing among all. Through their daily interactions with students and teachers, campus supervisors act as contact persons who communicate concerns and reconcile differences, and role models who embody and promote productive values.

In their turn, supervisors of housing and dining services play a vital role in the lives of resident students and their psychological, intellectual and social growth. Among their most important duties are (a) maintaining order and discipline throughout the residence and dining halls, (b) ensuring students' comfort, health, and safety, (c) organizing cultural, artistic, and sports activities on campus, and (d) participating in administering and monitoring the various forms of evaluation and examination. These and other responsibilities give supervisors of dining and housing services the leverage to shape students' learning in real terms by promoting a supportive and healthy environment conducive to their socioemotional and intellectual development. Finally, treasurers play an equally important role in the improvement of learning schoolwide; they are entrusted with the management and

development of school finances in collaboration with local socioeconomic organizations to mobilize sufficient resources for achieving the envisaged goals.

Conceptually, the responsibilities of all five members of the administrative staff do allow for the exercise and promotion of leadership across schools. The members perform distinct but interdependent responsibilities, making cooperation and positive relationships among all essential to the success of their efforts. Besides those technical in nature, their roles involve monitoring, analyzing, evaluating, planning, and implementing school-based improvement projects. Tasks such as these are key features of the leadership practice and reflect an emphasis on exercising influence, not only power. As argued by Gronn (op. cit.), Harris (op. cit.), and Spillane et al. (op. cit.), leadership does not lie in position, that is, leaders are not necessarily those powerful but rather influential members of organizations (see chapter III.2). Yet, it is undeniable that the leverage administrators can exert on student learning will always be influenced by the environment in which they work and vice versa. Tight state control over education in Morocco is bound to limit the practice and outcomes of collaborative work throughout schools even though collaboration does eventually help people increase their control over the environment.

IV.6.2. School Councils: Roles and Responsibilities

As mentioned previously, school councils are meant to serve as vehicles for strengthening collective involvement across the school and community at large for an improved quality of learning. While focused on different aspects of the educational process, the councils complement the work of each other and are therefore destined to coordinate their efforts for the accomplishment of their goals. To explore the ways in which these councils promote involvement in the leadership work, an overview of the composition and responsibilities of each is necessary.

IV.6.2.1. Management Council

The Management Council, as illustrated in table 4.5, brings together members from among teachers, students, administrators, parents, academic advisors, technicians, and local authorities. The Council is meant to promote a new philosophy towards school management based on shared decision making and collective effort for the development of effective solutions to encountered problems. Upon invitation from the chairperson, the principal, members of the Council meet at least twice a year: once at the beginning of the year to identify needs and develop an annual plan of action, and another at the end of the year to

Table 4.5: The composition of the Management Council across levels of education

Elementary education	Lower secondary	Upper secondary
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School principal as chairperson - A representative of faculty for each grade level - A representative of administrative and technical staff - President of parents' association - A representative of local authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School principal as chairperson - Campus supervisor - Supervisor of housing and dining services where relevant - A representative of faculty for each subject area - The treasurer - Student academic advisor - Two representatives of administrative and technical staff - President of parents' association - A representative of local authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Same members as in lower secondary - Assistant principal - Two representatives of the student body

Source: MNE, 2009

discuss achievements and suggest solutions for existing or potential problems. Decisions of the Council are made through voting and are considered binding when half or more members attend the meeting in question. The Council performs several educational and administrative roles. The educational mostly include putting in place clear procedures and rules for defining

roles and relationships throughout the school, and studying and approving proposed action plans by the Educational and Teaching Councils. The administrative involve (a) developing an action plan for the new school year and overseeing its implementation, (b) following other Councils' decisions, monitoring their performance, and using gathered data to increase educational, administrative, and financial efficiency, (c) ensuring a proper maintenance of the school and conserving its assets, (d) approving an annual report about the school's different activities and accomplishments, and (e) identifying its future needs. A third mission of the Council concerns networking with local and regional stakeholders for the development of education.

The Management Council is therefore a platform for all major actors inside and outside school to articulate their views, share their expertise, and exert influence on the quality of education delivered communitywide. The different roles of the Council afford it great leverage to launch and implement fruitful improvement initiatives of immediate benefit to students.

IV.6.2.2. Educational Council

As indicated in table 4.6, the Education Council draws members from students, teachers, administrators, academic advisors, and parents for the purpose of improved educational outcomes. Underlying the work of the Council is the idea that enhancing learning is not only a responsibility of teachers but also of administrators, students and their parents. Collaboration among these parties is necessary for improvement to occur. Members of the Council are required to meet at least twice a year: once at the beginning of the school year and once at the end, and they work to achieve several educational and administrative roles. The former encompass (a) developing a plan of action outlining goals and strategies for the new school year, (b) providing needed social and academic support for students, (c) offering recommendations about the curriculum and instructional methods, (d) coordinating among all

different subject areas, and (e) organizing cultural, artistic, and sports contests. The latter include (a) discussing and making suggestions about scheduling, student distribution across

Table 4.6: The composition of the Educational Council

Elementary education	Lower secondary	Upper secondary
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School principal as chair - A representative of faculty for each grade level - President of parents' association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School principal as chair - Campus supervisor - A representative of faculty for each subject area - Student academic advisor - President of parents' association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - same members as in lower secondary - Assistant principal - Two representatives of students

Source: MNE, op. cit.

classes, and the use of rooms for all kinds of purposes, (b) developing and administering tests and exams at the school level, and (c) studying requests for financial aid and recommending deserving student candidates to the Management Council.

The Council is therefore a school organism that allows members to impact the quality of education schoolwide by working collectively and harmoniously. There is no doubt that cooperation undertaken in a systematic manner by those closest to practice is bound to yield results on the ground. Yet, the fact that members of the Council are appointed by the director of a respective AREF could undermine the outcomes of the efforts made. Because they are not necessarily approved of by others, members of the Council might find it difficult to garner support for the implementation of their projects and recommendations.

IV.6.2.3. Teaching Council

For each subject area, there is a Teaching Council that works to improve the instructional methods and techniques utilized in practice. The Council is made up of all teachers of a given subject area, the principal and assistant principal in the case of secondary

schools. These members convene at least twice a year to share knowledge and expertise, set goals and define means for achieving them, develop innovative teaching methods, and help identify and solve problems facing teachers and learners. The principal works to provide all support necessary for carrying out adopted action plans. There are several educational and administrative roles the Council undertakes, the most important of which are:

- evaluating how effective the teaching of the subject is and how it could be improved;
- discussing problems faced in implementing the curriculum and suggesting solutions;
- strengthening coordination among teachers of the same subject;
- selecting appropriate textbooks for the subject and submitting suggestions to the Educational Council for approval;
- developing an agenda of educational activities for the subject;
- tracking student performance and exploring new and innovative ways for a better quality teaching;
- scheduling examinations for the subject and identifying teachers' training needs;
- making suggestions about scheduling and assignment of classes among teachers; and
- preparing regular reports about educational activities organized for the subject and presenting results to academic supervisors and the Educational Council (MNE, 2009).

Engaging in such roles enables members of the Council to exercise considerable influence over teaching and learning schoolwide. Their involvement in democratic decision making and collective effort gives them a sense of ownership and self-actualization, boosts their morale, and increases their commitment to adopted improvement plans. Teachers in the Council occupy the center stage of action, which contributes tremendously to their professional development and helps them generate authentic solutions to encountered problems.

IV.6.2.4. Class Council

A class here refers to “a group of students who meet at a regularly scheduled time to study the same subject” (“class,” n.d.). The Class Council functions as the nucleus or deepest level of collective involvement for improved learning. Its focus is not only on technical matters, whether related to the curriculum and instruction, but also on students’ socioemotional and intellectual development. As shown in table 4.7, the Council brings together all teachers of a respective class within the school to share information about students’ personal, social, and intellectual growth and how it could be reinforced across all different subject areas. Involvement in the Council helps teachers better understand and serve their students’ needs through gathering and analyzing relevant data about their weaknesses and strengths and exchanging hands-on knowledge for nurturing their socioemotional and

Table 4.7: The composition of the Class Council across levels of education

Elementary education	Lower secondary	Upper secondary
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School principal as chairperson - All teachers of a designated class - A representative of the parents’ association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School principal as chairperson - Campus supervisor - Student academic advisor - All teachers of a designated class - A representative of the parents’ association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Same members as in lower secondary

Source: MNE, op. cit.

intellectual development. Members of the Council meet whenever necessary, at least twice a year, and carry out several educational and administrative responsibilities. These include mainly (a) tracking students’ performance and analyzing collected data to provide appropriate support and reinforcement, (b) studying and evaluating applications for specialization in a

particular field of study, determining what students are to pass and what are to repeat their respective grade level based on final scores, and (c) taking disciplinary actions against those who interrupt study or disrupt order at school.

The Class Council plays a key role in the success of students both academically and socially. Its members are practitioners who deal directly and daily with students and therefore are sufficiently aware of the situation of learning as it pertains to each group of learners throughout the school. The focus is laid on specific-not anonymous-persons or group of persons, a condition that helps increase the efficacy of the plans and decisions adopted. The work of the Council is not based on assumptions but rather on real-life experiences and elaborate knowledge of students, their environment, and their development through time, which all enable the members to better identify and serve learners' various developmental needs and effect actual improvement in the quality of education delivered.

The four Councils as described above hold great benefit for schools; they are vehicles for shared decision making, collaboration among all major stakeholders, and the mobilization of resources across the school and community for improved education. In these Councils, teachers, students, administrators, parents, advisors, elected officials, and social and economic entrepreneurs occupy the center stage in the change efforts and perform roles involving leading, not merely implementing, educational change. The members are expected to work closely together to identify and solve problems and develop authentic and innovative ways for enhanced teaching and learning schoolwide. However, the Moroccan education system and the conditions at schools (see sections IV.3 and IV.4.2) constrain rather than enable the work of these Councils, which are unlikely to achieve tangible improvement in student outcomes given the lack of adequate material and socioemotional support, especially in terms of time, funding, training, and other resources. These latter are difficult to obtain given that the system can barely provide enough teachers, rooms, and seats for enrolled students, let alone those

who drop out or never join school because there is not one in their locality. In view of such conditions, it is difficult for these Councils to take root and function effectively across schools. Certainly, the work of leadership in the Moroccan context is not impossible, but it could appear overwhelming and its results might seem unpredictable and unwarranted, leading many teachers to show little or no interest in collaborative work. In short, the success or failure of these Councils all depends on the cultural, political, and socioeconomic features of the environment in which they function. While actors within schools and communities do have a level of control that when used appropriately can help achieve desirable outcomes, deficiencies in the system such as underfunding, understaffing, poor infrastructure and governance, and many others do undermine the emergence and outcomes of the leadership practice.

IV.7. Conclusion

Education in any particular nation is influenced not only by what methods are used in practice but more importantly by wider interdependent political, sociocultural, and economic factors. These in the Moroccan context seem to impede school-based improvement and limit the extent to which teachers can influence student learning. Little progress is being achieved at the political and economic fronts; corruption, poverty, and illiteracy are high while freedoms are restricted, which constitute major obstacles to improvement in any sector. Decisions on what and how to teach are made by a very few at the top level of the political pyramid. Teachers cannot modify nor object to what and how they are being asked to teach, a fact that undermines their ability to come up with authentic solutions for the problems they or their students encounter on a daily basis. A look into the NCET and the Emergency Program reveals an innovative approach to educational change, placing great emphasis on shared decision making and collaboration among all different actors. Teachers, students, administrators, academic advisors, parents, and social and economic entrepreneurs are all

assigned the center stage in leading the change efforts. However, the official discourse about reform seems to contradict what is being done on the ground. While teachers and administrators are encouraged to collaborate, innovate and take initiative, there is tight state control over curricula, instruction, assessment, and training. There is also a reward system that promotes individual effort and imitation while providing little or no compensation for innovation and collaborative work. Focus is often placed on the extent to which teachers stick to the curriculum, instruction, and assessment procedures standardized nationally; creativity and departing from the prescribed ways in one's teaching could be frowned upon by principals and rebuked by academic supervisors, making experimentation with new ideas a risky and troublesome venture. It seems that in reality teachers are being led while in rhetoric they are being asked to lead. The question is not any more *whether* but rather *what* and *how* to lead. As long as teachers, students, and parents continue to be excluded from shaping the *what* and *how* of education, many of them will consider whatever methods and strategies engineered at the top of the hierarchy a conspiracy and will even work to sabotage the changes proposed.

In the NCET, cooperation and networking are considered key to the success of the reform. In reality, there seems to be deep schisms and distrust among all different stakeholders whose relationships with one another are in constant conflict. There seems to be perpetual differences between central authorities, namely the MNE, and teachers; hostilities between these two major parties are not concealed but rather openly expressed in the media. Each party seeks to discredit and blame the other for the lack of progress in education. In an interview with Hespress (2014), an online newspaper, the Minister of National Education explicitly blamed teachers for the low proficiency in reading among many pupils. He said that:

I seize this opportunity to call upon all actors to think seriously about the issue of education and consider the fact that the situation we reached does not leave time

for empty discussions.... We have some statistics indicating that about 50% of teachers believe that their students are incapable of reading or achieving success. This is something outrageous. There is a predetermined judgment about our children from those [teachers] whose job is to help them succeed in the future. (Hespress, op. cit.)

There are two remarks to be made about the Minister's statement. First, throwing the blame solely on teachers reveals a too simplistic understanding of the factors affecting student performance. Second, the Minister's statement reflects an attempt to acquit those in charge, the MNE, of any responsibility for the consequences of their decisions while provoking teachers, which will only exacerbate the situation further. Actors are urged to "think seriously" by the Minister but what they think is rarely taken into consideration or has a significant weight in shaping policy making. As reported in an article published by Hespress (2014), teachers took to the streets to protest against what they described as "unilateral and authoritarian" decisions of the MNE and denounce their exclusion from participation in shaping the new Education Reform Project branded "Vision 2030." The teachers also voiced their rejection of "the views and statements released by Belmokhtar which offended members of the teaching family" (Benhda, op. cit.).

Additionally, authorities in the country seem to be relentless in their effort to increase school enrolment but their supply of material and human resources falls far behind demand, creating conditions that hamper effective learning and teaching. While there are large numbers of students joining schools, there are severe shortages of teachers, school buildings, and classrooms. This situation often results in large classes and unfavorable learning conditions, negatively affecting student and teacher performance. It is difficult for teachers to provide adequate help for large groups of students, especially if many of them are being passed to the next grade level without qualifying, which explains in part why only a little over half (53% in 2014) of those participating in the high school exit exam managed to graduate.

It is not clear why policy makers show a lot of enthusiasm for increasing enrolment and reducing dropout rates but demonstrate little devotion to addressing the persistent shortages in teachers, classrooms, and schools (see section, IV.3.). With insufficient staff and school buildings, the quality of education is often undermined and subsequently many families, mainly in rural areas, see no use in sending their children to, or keeping them in, school. Therefore, in the long run, extending education without putting in place adequate infrastructure and resources is an unattainable goal. Efforts need to be directed at increasing the availability of quality education, not availability per se which cannot advance the interests of the country in a world economy based on knowledge, ingenuity, and invention. As long as there is a huge mismatch between the envisaged goals and the means to achieve them, the talk about educational improvement and the many reform initiatives launched by government will only be for public consumption or at least perceived so. It seems as if the authorities are desperate for any increases in numbers to gain legitimacy and maintain power. With its heavy dependence on foreign funding, the country often finds itself obligated to cut spending on public services to meet the terms imposed by international fund providers.

To substantially increase the quality of education in Morocco, it is a must that educational authorities adopt a policy of rapprochement rather than open confrontation with teachers and genuinely seek to address their grievances in order to gain their support for proposed reform plans. Without building trusting relationships with teachers, showing appreciation and recognition for their efforts, and reversing the negative views about them and their work, it will be difficult to achieve any improvement in the quality of learning nationwide. Being antagonized by government, negatively portrayed by the media, undervalued in the public eye, many teachers will refrain from joining in the reform efforts for being underprivileged in society even if they positively view and can implement the innovations advocated. Undoubtedly, teachers are not excused to think or behave in

unproductive ways as a reaction to their ill-treatment by others, but people are not always rational beings; their emotions can take over control of their actions. In short, there is a need for a humanistic approach to reform, one in which the focus is on teachers as socioemotional beings whose performance is primarily influenced by how they are viewed and treated by others, not merely by their technical know-how. Reform is a matter of attitude, emotions, and values, not only methods and techniques, which are abundant and easily accessible in today's world.

In their turn, teachers need to know that inaction on their part is inexcusable. The fact that their role in society is undermined, their effort is unrecognized and underpaid, and their working conditions are harsh constitutes no justification for failure to honor their responsibilities. There is no excuse for adopting damaging attitudes and behaviors that run counter to students' interests, which are not to be compromised under any circumstances. The environment in which they operate can never completely invalidate the outcomes of their individual or collective effort. Teachers need to strive for performing their responsibilities, persevere in the struggle to achieve a better quality of learning, and fulfil their moral obligations towards their students. Fatalism or the belief that "what is meant to be, will be" (Dimmock & Walker, op. cit., 309) among people in any organization is destructive to the self and others. Teachers will always have some control over the fate of their students' learning no matter how difficult the situation is; therefore, they cannot always use the pitfalls of the system to justify their lack of action. Teachers might feel ill-treated or even attacked, but they have to resist any feelings for revenge because there is an innocent third party involved, students, whose victimization has dire consequences on the future of the whole country. Rather than whining about their situation or seeking revenge at the expense of their students, teachers need to act as tokens of wisdom, self-denial, and sacrifice and direct their attention at what can be done to improve the situation.

Briefly put, it is important to end the 'blame game' and antagonism between policy makers and teachers and work to reverse the negative views held about the Moroccan school through both words and actions. It is also important to end the lack of stability and continuity caused by the many reform projects launched by government and its obsession with technique and negligence of the human and affective factors in the change process.

Chapter Five:
Research Methodology

V.1. Introduction

The credibility of research is closely linked to how it is conducted. This chapter therefore comes to define *what* the focus of this research is, *how* it has been conducted, and *why*. These three components constitute what is known as research methodology, which concerns not only what methods are used but also why they are chosen. Coleman and Briggs (2009) describe research methodology as:

The theory (or set of ideas about the relationship between phenomena) of how researchers gain knowledge in research contexts and why. The ‘why’ question is critical since it is through methodological understanding that researchers and readers of research are provided with a rationale to explain the reasons for using specific strategies and methods in order to construct, collect, and develop particular kinds of knowledge about educational phenomena. (p. 15)

The purpose of the study is to describe the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco. The focus is laid on three major variables: the structural features of public schools across the country, the attitudes of principals and teachers, and their leadership behaviors. The goal is to depict the nature of each of these variables and explore how they influence each other. To do so, a mixed methods approach involving the use of questionnaires and interviews is adopted, and the reasons behind such an approach are explained.

V.2. Research Paradigms

To understand what a ‘research paradigm’ is, it is important to understand what ‘research’ is. While the latter has no unified definition, researchers (e.g. Mertens, 2010; Bassey, 1999) generally agree that research is a process involving a systematic enquiry conducted for a variety of reasons, such as understanding, describing, predicting, controlling a particular phenomenon, or empowering individuals. Mertens (2010) states that research is “a process of systematic inquiry that is designed to collect, analyze, interpret, and use data” (p. 2). Bassey (1999) describes research as a “systematic, critical and self-critical enquiry which aims to contribute to the advancement of knowledge and wisdom” (p. 38). According to

Bassey (1999), there is research that intends to inform the judgments and decisions of practitioners and that which deals with the *phenomena* of educational action and intends to inform understandings of such phenomena. The former is value-laden and has immediate relevance to teachers and policy makers while the latter may be relevant to their professional lives but not to their day-to-day decisions (Bassey, 1999).

On the other hand, a research paradigm is “a network of coherent ideas about the nature of the world and of the functions of researchers which, adhered to by a group of researchers, conditions the patterns of their thinking and underpins their research actions” (Bassey, 1999, p. 42). There are three major research paradigms that underlie how research is conducted. These are the positivist, interpretivist, and transformative paradigms (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Mertens, 2010; Creswell, 2003). An overview of the principles underlying each of these is provided hereby.

V.2.1. Positivist Paradigm

Positivism is rooted in empiricism and rationalism, i.e. the idea that objective knowledge, one that is value-free, can be obtained by use of the scientific method in research (Mertens, 2010; Morrison, 2002; O’Leary, 2004). The social world, it is assumed, can be studied the same way as the natural world, mainly through describing experiences through observation and measurement (Mertens, 2010; O’Leary, 2004). The underlying assumptions of the paradigm can be summarized as follows:

- There is one fixed reality (Mertens, 2010; O’Leary, 2004);
- The world is knowable and can be comprehended by human beings; predictable and is regulated by laws and theories such as the law of gravity; and singular containing a truth that applies to all people (O’Leary, 2004)
- Positivists deal with observable phenomena; people are approached the same way as objects (Morrison, 2002);

- The researcher and participants are independent, i.e. they do not influence each other (Mertens, 2010). A separation between facts and values can be attained and is necessary to achieve objective knowledge (Scott & Morrison, 2006);
- Explanations for causal relationships can be provided (Mertens, 2010);
- Positivists are concerned with developing general theories of human behavior based on complex research methodologies (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 22).

V.2.2. Interpretivist Paradigm

Interpretivists reject the idea that there is one fixed reality and that objective knowledge can be obtained, particularly in the study of human behavior. In their view, positivism is mechanistic and reductionist because it does not account for human experience and notions of freedom, morality, and individuality (Cohen et al., 2007). Positivism, as Hampden-Turner (1970) notes, presents a “restricted image of humans” focusing on the repetitive, predictable, and invariant aspects of human experience, i.e. the “visible externalities,” while excluding the subjective world (cited in op. cit.). Put succinctly by Giddens (1976), positivists fail to take account of the profound difference between social and natural sciences; the former involves a subject studying another subject (a subject-subject relationship) while the latter involves a subject studying an object (a subject-object relationship). For interpretivists, approaching subjects the same way as objects is bound to result in inaccurate findings about human behavior (cited in Cohen et al., 2007).

Interpretivists argue that knowing or making sense of what others do and say depends on “some background or context of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices, and so forth” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 201). In other words, understanding or knowing is interpretation.

Schwandt (op. cit.) maintains that:

Most of us would agree that knowing is not passive—a simple imprinting of sense data on the mind—but active; mind does something with those impressions, at the very least forms abstractions or concepts. (p. 197)

That is, gaining knowledge of a human phenomenon is an active process that involves inventing concepts, models, and schemes to make sense or interpret experiences. These concepts and models are continually tested and modified as people go through new experiences. The basic tenets of the interpretivist paradigm can be summarized as follows:

- There are multiple realities. Individuals develop subjective meanings formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms (Schwandt, 2000; Creswell, 2003; Scott & Morrison, 2006);
- Social reality "...is not some "thing" that may be interpreted in different ways: it is those interpretations" (Blaikie, 1991, p. 120, in Perlesz & Lindsay, 2003, p. 29);
- The focus is on understanding individuals' interpretations of the social world, i.e. understanding situations or experiences through participants' own points of view (Mertens, 2010, p. 16; Cohen et al., 2007);
- Understanding the part (e.g. a specific act, sentence, or utterance) requires comprehending the whole (e.g. intentions, beliefs, desires, institutional context, practice, language, etc.), and vice versa (Schwandt, 2000, p. 193);
- A researcher's job is to recapture and reconstruct the meanings or intentions of actors in a situation (Cohen et al., 2007);
- Research is "a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them" (Mertens, 2010, p. 16);
- Theory is emergent rather than universal and arises from particular situations; it consists of sets of meanings that provide an understanding of individuals' behaviors. There can be no one theory. There are, instead, as many theories as the human meanings they are meant to explain (Cohen et al., 2007);

Regarding how interpretivists go about knowing the world or conducting research, there is often an emphasis on interaction or interviews with participants as a method of collecting

data (Mertens, 2010). The researcher attempts to understand a situation by focusing on the views of those who live in it, mainly by using open-ended questions. Creswell (2003) explains that:

The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied. The questions become broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons. The more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings. Often these subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically. (p. 26)

Interpretivists rely on interaction in which they examine words and acts of specific individuals in specific contexts. In their view, a researcher's job is to reconstruct the meanings of individual experiences to ultimately generate theories of meaning that could apply to similar situations (Creswell, 2003, p. 26). To do so, identifying with participants to grasp their motives, desires, beliefs, or their overall "subjective consciousness" is crucial (Schwandt, 2000, p. 193). While acknowledging that subjectivity cannot be escaped altogether, adherents of the paradigm insist that researchers need to abide by a method that allows them to rise above personal frames of reference and reconstruct meanings of action as objectively as possible (op. cit.).

Nevertheless, interpretivism is not without criticism. Researchers (e.g. Bernstein, 1974; Rex, 1974) note that participants' interpretations or reports of their experiences could be false, incomplete, or misleading, which necessitates an objective viewpoint that is not restricted to participants' accounts. Besides, reliance on interviews consisting mostly of open-ended questions could undermine the reliability of the data and findings. Layder (1994) sums up the weaknesses of the paradigm as follows:

The danger of interactionist and interpretive approaches is their relative neglect of the power of external-structural-forces to shape behaviour and events. There is a risk in interpretive approaches that they become hermetically sealed from the world outside the participants' theatre of activity—they put artificial boundaries around subjects' behaviour. Just as positivistic theories can be criticized for their macro-sociological persuasion, so interpretive and qualitative theories can be

criticized for their narrowly micro-sociological perspectives. (cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 25)

In other words, in their attempt to understand a situation solely through the views of those who live in it, researchers lose sight of factors external to participants that might have a role in shaping events within a particular context. Therefore, narrowly focusing on participants' views does also undermine the validity of the research conducted.

V.2.3. Transformative Paradigm

Transformative researchers include critical theorists, participatory action researchers, emancipatory researchers, Marxists, feminists, etc. (Mertens, 2010; Creswell, 2003). Unlike interpretivists who believe in multiple, equally-legitimate versions of reality, transformative researchers believe that some versions of reality are privileged over others based on socioeconomic and ethnic variables. Therefore, it is imperative that researchers question the dominant versions of reality and examine the ways in which they could perpetuate oppressive social structures and policies (Mertens, 2010, p. 32). The essence of the paradigm can be captured in this quote by O'Leary (2004):

It is one thing to want to improve skills and practice, or to endeavour to change how things are done in a workplace, a school, or a community, but what if you believe that the only path to sustainable change is through fundamental transformation of larger social systems. What if you believe that it will take more than working within the system, and that at the heart of the social issue or social problem is injustice or inequity in the system itself, i.e. the repressive school system, the authoritative nature of the workplace, or the hierarchical structures of the community. Or underpinning even this, the underlying ideologies of, say capitalism, patriarchy, development, globalization, etc. (op. cit., p. 142)

Transformative researchers, therefore, do not take the conventional methods of research for granted; they ask “not only what it is, but why it is, who benefits, and what are [sic] the alternate possibilities” (op. cit.). There is a focus on identifying the interests involved in a given situation and revealing the extent to which such interests are legitimate and promote equality and democracy (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 26). Accordingly, educational research needs to examine several factors such as:

The relationships between school and society – how schools perpetuate or reduce inequality; the social construction of knowledge and curricula, who defines worthwhile knowledge, what ideological interests this serves, and how this reproduces in-equality in society; how power is produced and reproduced through education; whose interests are served by education and how legitimate these are (e.g. the rich, white, middle-class males rather than poor, non-white females). (op. cit., p. 27)

Rather than merely trying to understand a situation to make it more efficient, transformative researchers attempt to question and change a situation for the ultimate goal of achieving equality within society (op. cit.). Therefore, these researchers work *with* the researched rather than *on* or *for* them (O’Leary, 2004). In their view, participants need to be actively engaged in the research process and benefit from it if they are to be empowered and liberated (op. cit.; Creswell, 2003). Research, in fact, needs to provide a voice for participants and serve as a means for their “conscientization” (Freire, 1970) or enlightenment and awakening (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991).

In educational settings, researchers need to pay close attention to the dynamics of class, race, and gender and their roles in educational phenomena. There are power structures that prevent disadvantaged groups from attaining and producing knowledge. Rather than being confined to techniques and practices, research needs to expose any existing oppressive structures and promote fair access to resources, employment, public transportation, and decent housing (Mertens, 2010). Issues of power and justice need to be at the heart of research in order to move away from authoritarianism and achieve actual change (Cohen et al., 2007).

Research, under the transformative paradigm, is not value free. Neutrality is viewed as a means used by those in power to define and control what passes as worthwhile knowledge (O’Leary, 2004). Powerful groups often use contrived criteria, such as objectivity, to marginalize and undermine the knowledge of disadvantaged groups (O’Leary, 2004). To achieve objectivity, transformative researchers examine their personal values and their likely influence on the *what* and *how* of research (Mertens, 2010).

There are multiple criticisms leveled against the transformative paradigm. First, research is confused with social activism, which undermines its credibility. Second, there is no agreement as to what constitutes a marginalized group; one that could be categorized as ‘marginalized’ by a researcher may not be viewed as such by another or by the group itself. Consequently, transformative researchers could impose, intentionally or otherwise, their political agenda onto the researched, resulting in serious threats to the validity of findings (O’Leary, 2004). Third, inserting one’s political views in the research by advocating a personal agenda for change is as biased as being objective and disinterested in the particular situation in which participants live. Fourth, transformative research is not as empowering as it claims to be because researchers have little power at hand and their influence on the situation studied is likely to be very limited. Finally, empowerment and change can take place via different means, not only through transformative research (Cohen et al., 2007).

In this research, a blended approach drawing on all three paradigms is used and manifest throughout all stages of the research. Since all paradigms are deficient in some manner, using only one could pose serious threats the reliability and validity of the whole study. Making use of all three paradigms is meant to combine their strengths and compensate for their weaknesses in order to gain a more accurate understanding of the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools. Therefore, this research is based on a quantitative method, the questionnaire survey traditionally associated with the positivist paradigm, and a qualitative one, the interview survey which is often linked with the interpretivist paradigm. Although to a lesser extent and in less visible ways, the research also draws on the transformative method in the sense that it deals with the public school system as a whole, questions its legitimacy, and focuses on changes, namely the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers, which need to take place in order to improve the system. Further, the research highlights the different issues associated with central research criteria, e.g. reliability,

validity, representativeness, triangulation, etc., points out their relative truth, and advances a flexible approach in which different conceptualizations of such criteria are accepted. Thus, an approach in which elements from all three paradigms are blended together in the research is bound to yield more reliable and valid findings.

V.3. The Research Questions

The purpose of this study is essentially to describe the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco. In other words, the focus of the study is not merely on the leadership behaviors but also on the context within which they occur. As is evident in the questions cited below, the study sets out to answer questions relating not only to *what* principals and teachers' behaviors are like but also to *why*. The questions the research attempts to answer are as follows:

1. To what extent do school structural characteristics enable or constrain principal and teacher leadership?
2. Are there any incentives and training for involvement in leadership?
3. What are principals and teachers' attitudes towards each other?
4. How frequently do principals and teachers interact with one another?
5. How do principals perceive their leadership behaviors and those of their teachers?
6. How do teachers perceive their principals and colleagues' leadership behaviors?

These questions therefore concern a network of variables: school structural characteristics, training and incentives, principals and teachers' attitudes, and their leadership behaviors. All these are investigated by eliciting the views of two sources of information, principals and teachers, about the same research topics, which allows for a cross-check of the data. The sequence in which these questions come presumes no linear relationship among them. Rather, the variables are interrelated and mutually influence each other in several ways. That is, school structure could influence attitudes and behaviors and vice versa. As argued by Spillane

et al. (op. cit.), the extent to which a situation could enable or constrain human action depends not only on structure but also on human agency. These two are in fact indivisible parts of a whole. This research therefore sets out to examine the interrelationships among all specified variables in order to identify the most persistent problems at all different levels of the public school system, point out how they combine together to produce the current situation at public schools characterized by poor performance, and indicate what needs to be done at all these levels in order for change to happen.

V.4. Mixed Methods Approach

In this study, a mixed methods approach combining both quantitative and qualitative methods is used. Quantitative research is based on “testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables” while qualitative research involves “exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, op. cit., p.22). Rather than being restricted to a single method, either testing objective theories or examining the subjective views of participants, this study combines both mainly because “research claims are stronger when based on a variety of methods” (Gorard &

Table 5.1: Advantages of a mixed methods approach

Triangulation	Seeking convergence and corroboration of results
Complementarity	Clarifying results from questionnaires with those from interviews
Initiation	Discovering contradictions in results from both methods
Development	Using findings from interviews to inform data from questionnaires or vice versa
Expansion	Expanding the breadth and range of research

Adapted from Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004: 22)

Taylor, 2004, p. 7). Specifically, the mixed methods approach in this study lies in using both questionnaire and interview surveys, an approach that has several important advantages summarized in table 5.1. Combined together, these features are bound to increase the

reliability and validity of the findings. For example, triangulation, which according to Gorard and Taylor (op. cit.) involves the use of “a minimum of two vantage points or datasets to tell us something about a third phenomenon” (p. 43), has several virtues cited by Perlesz and Lindsay (2003) as follows:

Triangulation has been used to increase the concurrent validity (Goodwin and Goodwin 1984), the convergent validity (Jick 1979) and construct validity (Waege 1997) of the data gathered; to enhance the trustworthiness of the analysis through building up a more rounded, credible and coherent narrative (Kidder and Fine 1987, Mason 1994); to reduce bias and limitations of a particular method by compensating with the strengths of another method (Lincoln and Guba 1985); and to confirm and disconfirm hypotheses (Miller and Fredericks 1987). (p. 27)

Put simply, triangulation helps demonstrate that: (a) results of one instrument concur with those of another assessing the same phenomena (concurrent validity), (b) a researcher’s construction of a concept (e.g. self-esteem, intelligence, leadership, etc.) is consistent with that generally accepted in the literature (construct validity), and (c) results from two different measures of a construct (anger, self-esteem, motivation, etc.) are strongly related (convergent validity) (Cohen et al., op. cit., p. 163). These advantages and others attest that conducting research from more than a single vantage point contributes greatly to its overall quality.

The need for a mixed methods approach becomes more pressing when considering the characteristics of both quantitative and qualitative research. As shown in table 5.2, each method has strengths and weaknesses. To reduce the biases inherent in each, using both is crucial. The sequencing of methods in the study is important; the quantitative method is used first followed by the qualitative. This is known as a *sequential explanatory strategy*, which involves collecting and analyzing quantitative data in the first phase of the research followed by qualitative data. The latter phase builds on the former; however, both methods have equal weighting (Creswell, op. cit.). That is, the questionnaire survey carries the same importance as the interview; the sequence in which they come in the research is merely for organizational purposes.

The choice of the questionnaire as a quantitative measure and the interview as a qualitative tool is in alignment with the nature of the research which descriptive and

Table 5.2: Major strengths and weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative research

Strengths	Weaknesses
Quantitative research	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gathers standardized information. - useful for studying large numbers of people. - allows for generalizing results, observing patterns, and making predictions. - data collection is relatively quick and inexpensive. - provides precise quantitative data. - no interviewer bias; results are relatively independent of the researcher. - convenient and confidential for participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - researcher's theories may not reflect participants' understandings. - results may be too abstract and general. - inability to record nonverbal and spontaneous responses. - participants may misunderstand questions or not answer honestly and carefully. - poor response rate, which can undermine the representativeness of the sample.
Qualitative research	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides in-depth understandings of personal experiences. - allows for identifying contextual factors. - provides detailed descriptions of complex phenomena. - allows for clarification and further probing of questions. - ability to record nonverbal and spontaneous responses. - stronger potential for trust and cooperation between interviewer and participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - results may not generalize to other people or settings. - making predictions or testing hypotheses may be too difficult. - data collection and analysis are often time consuming. - results are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases. - reluctance to disclose information for concerns over anonymity or confidentiality. - lack of standardization, which can undermine reliability.

Developed from: Burke Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (op. cit.), Cohen et al. (op. cit.), and Creswell (op. cit.)

explanatory. Both instruments are originated in survey research which involves asking members of a population a set of questions that can be in the form of a questionnaire (mailed

or emailed) or an interview over the phone or in person (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2012). Researchers such as Gall et al. (op. cit.) and Gay et al. (op. cit.) affirm that both questionnaires and interviews work well for collecting information about opinions, attitudes and practices. For example, Gay et al. (op. cit.) state that survey research is mainly used to “test hypotheses or to answer questions about people’s opinions on some topic or issue” (p. 184). Since this study is based on principals and teachers’ opinions about their leadership behaviors in the context of their schools, the use of the questionnaires and interviews is most fit for the purpose of the research.

Using a mixed methods approach to describe and explain the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools greatly contributes to the overall quality of the research. As detailed in table 5.2, the quantitative and qualitative methods have strengths and weaknesses; therefore, merging both forms in one study is likely to compensate for the deficiencies in each and yield more reliable and valid findings.

V.5. Target Population and Sample

Central to any research study in the human sciences are the characteristics of the target population, the sample obtained, and the sampling methods used. This section therefore comes to describe each of these elements in detail and explain the reasons underlying the choices relevant to each.

V.5.1. Target Population

A population is generally described as “the total membership of a defined class of people, objects, or events” (O’Leary, op. cit., p. 102). A research population, however, is “the group to who you want to apply your results” while a sample is “the group that you have chosen from your population from which to collect data” (Mertens, op. cit., p. 4). In this study, the research population consists of principals and teachers at public schools in Morocco. First, both principals and teachers are included because they are considered the

most instrumental elements with the most direct influence on the quality of education delivered within their respective schools. Second, leadership in this study is not considered the sole realm of principals or those at the top of an organization's hierarchy. Rather, it is the collective involvement of both principals and teachers in the improvement of learning across their schools. On the other hand, including principals and teachers of all levels of schooling, both elementary and secondary, stems from the fact that the study is concerned with the public school system as a whole, its organizational and physical features, and the ways in which it enables or constrains the leadership work. Public schools throughout the country are subject to the same policies in terms curricula, instruction, assessment, funding, teacher training and recruitment, and salaries and promotion. The focus of the study therefore renders the differences that may exist across regions, grade levels, or subject areas of little detriment to the validity of the research. In fact, being concerned with the whole school system without ensuring diversity in terms of all given criteria could pose serious threats to the validity of the data and findings. Finally, only those principals and teachers working at the time of conducting the surveys were targeted; those retired, on leave, still training, or not working for any particular reason were not included in this research survey. This is important for collecting up-to-date information about principal and teacher leadership at it pertains to today's schools.

V.5.2. Sampling

Sampling refers to “the method used to select a given number of people (or things) from a population” (Mertens, op. cit., p. 309). How a sample is obtained determines the quality of the data collected and the conclusions made (op. cit.).

For the questionnaire survey, nonrandom *snowball* and *volunteer* sampling are used. Unlike random (also called probability) sampling in which “every member of the population has a known, nonzero probability of being included in the sample” (op. cit., p. 317),

nonrandom sampling implies that not *every* member of the target population has an equal chance of being selected to participate in the study (O’Leary, op. cit., p. 106). For snowball sampling, the process is based on cascading referrals in which everybody who is requested to participate encourages others to do likewise (op. cit.). More clearly, snowball sampling implies the following:

Basically, the process involves building a sample through referrals. You begin by identifying someone from your population who is willing to be in your study. You then ask them to identify others who meet the study criteria. Each of those individuals is then asked for further recommendations. (O’Leary, o. cit., p. 110)

Thus, the researcher’s relatives, friends and colleagues from the target population working in different parts of the country were asked to participate, advocate participation, and encourage others to do likewise. The availability of an electronic version of the questionnaire, besides a paper-based one, made the sampling process even more practical and effective in terms of time, effort, and cost. The questionnaires were distributed and collected through email or in person. Close relatives, friends and colleagues made follow-up calls, stored completed questionnaires as they arrived, and emailed or handed them back to the researcher.

Another nonrandom sampling strategy used in this study is volunteer sampling, which involves seeking volunteers for participation through advertisement in all different media, online or in print, or by visiting relevant public or private institutions such as schools, businesses, associations, etc. (op. cit.). The researcher and his friends and colleagues engaged in posting the questionnaire on relevant Facebook groups or going to schools and principal or teacher clubs to request participation in and circulation of the survey. Paper-based or electronic copies of the questionnaires were distributed to willing participants and collected either on the spot or at a later time. The fact that relatives and colleagues advocating participation in the study worked themselves to distribute, follow-up, and collect the questionnaires helped a great deal in increasing the response rate. Generally, participants feel

more compelled to return questionnaires to someone they know or work with than to someone they do not for several reasons such as trust, a sense of obligation, face saving, etc.

The choice of nonrandom sampling is for practical reasons. The other method, random sampling, requires that *all* members of the target population be known, accessible, and equally willing to participate in the study (op. cit.). Not knowing some members of the population results in coverage error while not having access to some of them produces nonresponse bias because those who accept to be part of the sample are usually different from those who decline (op. cit.). Opting for a nonrandom sampling, therefore, arises from the fact that not *all* members of the populations (principals and teachers) are accessible and equally willing to take part in the study. This is particularly because of the lack of trust members might have for researchers who could criticize certain practices at their schools, reveal information that could damage their reputation, or expose them to reprimand by superiors or even loss of their jobs. Also, accessing all members of the population is costly if not impractical in terms of time and money. Obtaining authorization from all appropriate administrations and securing consent of all those randomly selected to participate are undoubted beyond the resources of the researcher (Mertens, op. cit.). This is particularly true in a highly bureaucratic and unreliable system characteristic of Morocco, where rules are unclear and complicated. All these reasons together make nonrandom snowball and volunteer sampling the most effective for the purposes of this study.

With regard to interviews, nonrandom purposeful sampling is used. This type of sampling involves selecting a sample for the purpose of acquiring in-depth information about the phenomena being studied (op. cit.). Specifically, a strategy of purposeful sampling, known as maximum-variation sampling, is adopted. It involves maximizing the variation of a sample in terms of all pertinent criteria, such as age, gender, experience, location, etc. This has the benefit of gaining various perspectives and insights about the topic under investigation (op.

cit.). Accordingly, friends and colleagues of the researcher working in different parts of the country were requested to encourage their principals' participation in the interviews in order to obtain a sample that varied geographically and socioeconomically. In his turn, the researcher went to several schools to solicit principals' participation in the survey. As for teachers, the same sampling strategy was adopted. The researcher carefully selected participants so they come from different regions. The aim, however, is not representation to increase the generalizability of the results but rather variation to collect a wide range of insights and secure a rich sample. Considering that the goal is to obtain rich information about the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools, nonrandom purposeful sampling proves to be most suitable for the purposes of the study.

It is important to note that some of those participating in the questionnaire survey were also interviewed. This is known as *sequential nested* sampling, in which a quantitative method is followed by a qualitative one and in which "a subset of those in one method of the study are chosen to be in the other part of the study" (op. cit.). In all cases, both principals and their teachers were invited to participate but on most occasions only the teachers accepted the invitation. The reasons many principals declined requests for interview range from a lack of trust to a fear of disclosing information that could harm their position and reputation. Given their position and the sensitivity of the topic investigated, principals stand to lose, at least hypothetically, much more than teachers from participating either in the questionnaire or interview survey.

V.5.3. Samples

In this subsection, the characteristics of the samples for both principals and teachers in terms of size, mode of administration, and distribution across levels of education and regions are discussed. Also, the issues associated with representativeness and its different conceptualizations and implications are examined.

V.5.3.1. Questionnaire Sample

As shown in table 5.3, a total of 205 teachers and 44 principals participated in the questionnaire survey. The extent to which a sample is adequate in terms of size and all other important criteria depends on several factors, such as the research questions, population, the

Table 5.3: Sample size for principals and teachers

	Teacher Questionnaire				Principal Questionnaire			
	Elementary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Total	Elementary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Total
electronic version	39	25	55	119	05	01	05	11
Paper-based version	33	22	31	86	16	12	05	33
Total	72	47	86	205	21	13	10	44

data to be collected, and the analysis to be conducted. There is therefore no ideal, fixed sample size that all researchers have to obtain (O’Leary, op. cit.). Given the constraints of the context and the descriptive nature of the data collected and analyzed, it is reasonable to argue that the samples are relatively sufficient for the purposes of the study, which relies on minimal statistical analysis.

As the figures in table 5.3 reveal, the sample size for teachers is much larger than that for principals for two main reasons. First, the population of teachers in public elementary and secondary education (estimated at 226,079 in 2013-14) is much bigger than that of administrators in general (at a total 30,433 in the same year) (MNE, 2013). While no official records of their exact number could be obtained, principals should make about a third (10,000) of the total population of administrators, which makes it a much smaller population than that of teachers. The second reason, clarified in the previous section, is that there is much more risk for principals to participate than there is for teachers. These and other reasons related to bureaucracy and the lack of resources make obtaining a much larger sample of principals extremely difficult.

Concerning the response rate, the use of snowball *and* volunteer sampling in this study makes it very challenging for the researcher to track the total number of who were targeted and those who actually participated. An unknown number of people all over the country engaged in distributing and collecting questionnaires, either in electronic or paper-based format, which makes it very difficult, if not impractical, to come up with an exact response rate. The latter is however estimated at about 70% for teachers since the questionnaires were circulated by and to friends and colleagues, and 50% for principals who were mostly approached by teachers working under their supervision, a factor that helped increase the response rate. Also, administering the questionnaires in two modes, electronic and paper-based, considerably contributed to the response rates. Both principals and teachers could choose whichever mode was most convenient for them. Those familiar with and having access to the technology could fill out the electronic copy while those not could complete the paper-based version, a key feature reducing bias and increasing response. The nature of the people who participated or encouraged participation coupled with the different modes in which the instrument is available all combine together to support the estimated response rates and subsequently increase the validity of the results.

Nevertheless, what is important about a sample is not only its size or response rate but also its representativeness. Size, per se, does not guarantee representativeness (Cohen et al., op. cit.). Therefore, close attention has been awarded to the representativeness or rather variation of the sample, which is considerably maximized in this study. As detailed in table 5.4, the teacher sample includes participants from nine (out of twelve) regions and 22 DPEs while the principal sample consists of participants from seven regions and twelve PDEs. The fact that participants, whether principals or teachers, are not concentrated in any one single region but rather spread out across almost all regions gives more credibility to the data and findings. The details in table 5.4 show that the samples are reasonably varied in terms of

Table 5.4: Distribution of participants across regions, delegations, and levels of education

Regions	DPEs	Teacher Questionnaire			Principal Questionnaire		
		Elementary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Elementary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary
Marrakech-Safi	Essaouira Delegation	01	-	03	-	-	01
	Kalâa des Sraghna Delegation	-	-	03	-	-	-
The Eastern Region	Figuiq Delegation	03	05	05	01	-	-
	Driouch Delegation	-	-	07	01	01	01
	Guercif Delegation	01	-	01	-	-	-
	Moulay Rachid-Sidi Othmane Delegation	01	-	2	-	-	-
Casablanca-Settat	Casa-Anfa Delegation	-	-	2	-	-	-
	Mohammedia Delegation	-	-	04	-	-	-
	Sidi Albarnoussi-Zanata Delegation	-	-	05	-	-	02
	Larache Delegation	01	02	01	-	-	-
Tangier-Tetouan	Tangier Delegation	02	-	-	-	-	-
	Ouezzane Delegation	01	01	02	01	-	-
	Chefchaouen Delegation	18	01	-	01	-	-
	Tetouan Delegation	10	15	05	01	-	-
	Taounate Delegation	05	-	09	-	-	01
	Taza Delegation	11	07	11	04	04	-
Fez-Meknes	Fez Delegation	13	10	08	11	07	03
	Ouarzazate Delegation	-	-	08	-	-	01
Beni Mellal-Khenifra	Azilal Delegation	01	03	06	01	01	01
	Tata Delegation	02	-	-	-	-	-
Souss-Massa	Taroudannt Delegation	01	02	01	-	-	-
	Sale Delegation	01	01	03	-	-	-
Rabat-Sale-Kenitra		72	47	86	21	13	10
	Total		205		44		

regions, DPEs, and levels of education, increasing their representativeness, a notion that is viewed in this study in relative rather than absolute terms especially when considering the descriptive nature of this research.

Representativeness as conceptualized by positivists has for example been contested by many researchers (e.g. O’Leary, *op. cit.*; Guba & Lincoln, 1989), especially proponents of the interpretivist and transformative paradigms. These researchers argue that there can be no absolute representativeness of a population regardless of the sampling strategy used, including random sampling. Mertens (*op. cit.*) cites Guba and Lincoln (*op. cit.*) among the researchers who “reject the notion that it is possible to reach a generalizable conclusion because of a particular sampling strategy” (p. 328). O’Leary (*op. cit.*) affirms that “there is growing recognition that non-random samples can credibly represent populations, given that selection is done with the goal of representativeness in mind” (p. 109). Even researchers using nonrandom sampling could achieve representativeness by addressing issues concerning credibility, namely unwitting bias and erroneous assumptions. Unwitting bias occurs when a researcher selects members whose experiences reinforce his or her beliefs and preconceived theories. Erroneous assumptions occur when the selection of a sample is based on incorrect assumptions, e.g. drawing a sample from women who go to mosques for a study on Muslim women in general. The erroneous assumption is that not all Muslim women go to mosques (*op. cit.*). O’Leary (*op. cit.*) sums up her argument by stating the following:

Now sampling can be done in numerous ways, but these strategies are broadly divided into two types: those that find samples randomly selected and those that find samples strategically selected in non-random ways. Personally, I do not believe that one type of strategy is inherently better than the other. (p. 106)

Mertens (*op. cit.*), in her turn, asserts that the notion of representativeness as being a feature of solely random samples has been abandoned by most researchers in educational and psychological studies. She (*op. cit.*) states that “although randomized probability samples are set forth as the ideal in the postpositivist paradigm, they are not commonly used in

educational and psychological research” (p. 310). Hence, the use of nonrandom sampling, as is the case in this study, is a tradition in educational research. Given the special attention directed at issues pertaining to credibility, e.g. unwitting bias, erroneous assumptions, variation, it is legitimate to argue for an adequate level of representativeness of the samples used in this research.

In sum, the different characteristics of the samples in terms of size, response rate, modes of distribution, variation, and those involved in distributing and collecting the questionnaires all contribute greatly to the overall quality of this research.

V.5.3.2. Interview Sample

As indicated in section V.5.2, a subset of those participating in the questionnaire sample was selected for interview using nonrandom purposeful sampling. The selection was done with careful attention to variation in terms of age, gender, educational stage, subject area, and site of the institution. This has the goal of increasing transferability, i.e. the extent to which the results from the interviews could apply to other schools in the country, not merely to those of individual interviewees (Cohen et al., op. cit.). O’Leary (op. cit.) emphasizes that:

For small-scale, in-depth studies, the indicator of *transferability*, which highlights that lessons learned might be applicable in alternative settings, can be useful for researchers who, while not claiming representativeness, want their findings to be seen as more than idiographic. (p. 103)

As made clear by the author, the concern in sampling for an interview survey is increasing the applicability of the findings to other situations rather than representativeness. When data is collected from individuals, whether principals or teachers, different in terms of all important criteria, there is less risk of bias and a stronger chance that the data apply to other schools in the country.

The interview sample for teachers, as the data in table 5.5 indicate, includes eight participants from different regions in the north, south, west and east of the country. They teach different subjects at different educational stages. Almost all teachers interviewed are

male (except one female), between the age of 25-31, and with 3-6 years of experience. Even though most of these participants are male, relatively young, and with modest experience, the sample is fairly varied overall. The interviewees work in different regions with different socioeconomic features, allowing for insights from various locations and eventually increasing the transferability of the findings. As previously stated in section V.5.2, the resources at hand make it very difficult to secure a sample that is varied in terms all criteria.

As for principals, the interview sample consists of seven participants from all three educational stages and with varying levels of experience. As displayed in table 5.5, most principals interviewed are above fifty years of age and have long experience in the profession ranging between 12-16 years. Unlike the teacher sample, achieving variation at the level of

Table 5.5: The interview samples for principals and teachers

	Interview N°	Age	Gender	Years of experience	Educational stage	Subject area	Location by Delegation
Teacher sample	1	29	M	5	upper secondary	Philosophy	Albarnoussi-Zanata
	2a	29	M	5	upper secondary	Philosophy	Azilal
	2b	27	M	3	upper secondary	Philosophy	Guelmim
	3	25	F	4	lower secondary	French	Tetouan
	4a	27	M	3	upper secondary	English	Driouch
	4b	31	M	4	upper secondary	English	Driouch
	5	29	M	4	elementary	French	Ouezzane
	6	27	M	6	elementary	Arabic	Chefchaouen
Principal sample	1	50	M	14	elementary	N/A	Fez
	2	47	M	12	elementary		Fez
	3	57	M	16	elementary		Fez
	4a	55	M	15	elementary		Fez
	4b	56	M	16	elementary		Fez
	5	54	M	12	upper secondary		Fez
	6	53	M	13	lower secondary		Fez

geographical location has proved particularly difficult with regard to principals. Despite assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, many requests for interview made either by the researcher or his colleagues were turn down. Principals generally find no reason for

participating in interviews that could potentially harm their interests. All interviews took place in Fez because the researcher is located in the city and has a strong network of friends and colleagues who made contacts to secure the interviews. In some cases, two principals or teachers were interviewed at the same time. These were usually friends working in different or the same regions. The pair was asked the same questions but could react to each other's opinions. For organizational purposes, each member is assigned a different alphabet letter, either *a* or *b*. The use of this type of interviews allows for identifying similarities and differences across schools and individual participants, increasing the validity of the data collected.

Despite the constraints of the context making it very difficult to obtain a sample that is ideally varied, the interviews conducted are bound to provide important insights into the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco.

V.6. Data Collection

How data is collected in a study is an important criterion of its quality. This section therefore comes to describe the instruments used for collecting data and how and why they have been applied. As indicated in the previous section, there are mainly the questionnaire and interview surveys. Since the study concerns two groups, principals and teachers, there are two versions of each instrument: one for principals and another for teachers.

V.6.1. Questionnaire

There are two types of questionnaires: the principal questionnaire (PQ, see appendix A) and the teacher questionnaire (TQ, see appendix B). Several questioning methods have been used in both questionnaires in order to limit error in measurement, i.e. design and wording. The instruments therefore consist of dichotomous questions, multiple choice questions, and rating scales (Likert and semantic differential). As illustrated in table 5.6, each type of

questions has strengths and weaknesses, which makes the variation of questions in this study likely to limit error and increase reliability and validity. Different types of questions allow for different types of data to be collected. There are nominal, ordinal, and ratio data. The questionnaires used collect both nominal data indicating categories (e.g. ‘private’ or

Table 5.6: Strengths and weaknesses of different types of questions

Types of question	Strengths	Weaknesses
Dichotomous questions: elicit ‘yes’ or ‘no’ responses or dichotomous variables (e.g. gender).	help obtain clear and unequivocal responses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack differentiation of responses. • stronger likelihood for bias as participants tend to agree more than disagree with a statement.
Multiple choice questions	provide a range of likely response categories.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response categories might be incomplete, resulting in bias. • Participants tend to respond more positively to earlier items than later ones (primacy effect).
Rating scales	allow for degrees, intensity, and differentiation of responses. economical in terms of time and space.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants may choose the same response all through the scale (response set). • Reliability may be compromised in case of negatively-worded items which participants tend to disagree with or not respond to at all. • no guarantee of equal intervals between response categories. • Participants tend to avoid extreme responses at both ends of the continuum or opt for the one in the middle.

Developed from Cohen et al. (op.cit.)

‘public’) or ordinal showing order (e.g. ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’). Both the PQ and TQ are highly structured consisting primarily of closed-ended questions because the goal is to obtain large samples. Cohen et al. (op. cit.) maintain that:

Although there is a large range of types of questionnaire, there is a simple rule of thumb: the larger the size of the sample, the more structured, closed and numerical the questionnaire may have to be, and the smaller the size of the sample, the less structured, more open and word-based the questionnaire may be. (p. 320)

As indicated in table 5.2, the aim of the questionnaire survey is to reach large numbers of participants, collect standardized information, and generalize results. Including many open ended questions would render results very difficult to analyze, discourage participation and subsequently decrease the response rate. The use of interviews will help offset the weaknesses of the questionnaire and vice versa.

All types of questions in table 5.6 are included in the questionnaires. The PQ includes three dichotomous questions, fifteen multiple choice questions, three rating scales comprising 45 items in total, and two open-ended questions. The TQ consists of three dichotomous questions, fifteen multiple choice questions, four rating scales containing 53 items in total, and two open-ended questions. As illustrated in table 5.7, both questionnaires are divided into six sections; each is designed to answer a particular research question.

Table 5.7: Sections of the PQ and TQ and the questions addressed under each

Section I: Background information	What are participants' demographic and professional characteristics?
Section II: Structural characteristics	To what extent do school structural characteristics enable or constrain the leadership work?
Section III: Training and incentives	Are there any training and incentives for involvement in leadership?
Section IV: Attitudes and interaction	What are principals and teachers' attitudes towards each other? How frequently do principals and teachers interact with one another?
Section V: Perceptions of leadership behavior	How do principals perceive their leadership behaviors? How do teachers' perceive their principals' leadership behaviors?
Section VI: Perceptions of leadership behavior	How do principals perceive their teachers' leadership behaviors? How do teachers perceive their colleagues' leadership behaviors?

The first section of the PQ and TQ is designed to gather background information about participants, e.g. age, gender, years of experience, educational qualifications, etc. These are

important in defining the characteristics of both samples. The second section is meant to elicit information about general school structures (e.g. classroom facilities, equipment, scheduling, sizes of classes, etc.) and those particularly important to the work of leadership, namely school meetings and committees for specific purposes. For those general, a five-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” is used to determine participants’ satisfaction with their schools’ structural features. The scale is adapted from the School Structure and Teacher Leadership Questionnaire (SSTLQ) developed by Galland (2008) and the Purdue Teacher Opinionnaire devised by Bentley and Rempel (1972). For those particular, dichotomous and multiple-choice questions are used to identify the presence of, and the frequency of participation in, school meetings and specific committees. These latter are adapted from Stuckey’s (1956) research on teachers’ meetings. The section, therefore, aims at determining the extent to which the context where participants work enables or constrains their leadership behaviors.

The third section is focused on two major factors in the leadership work: training and incentives. The goal of this section is to find out whether the practice of leadership is given any importance in the training programs and reward system. These two are closely related: training helps prepare actors for the exercise of leadership and incentives serve to award and eventually promote the practice. For the PQ, the section also includes questions about the ‘leader position power’ (e.g. rewarding or punishing teachers) adapted from Fiedler, Chemers, and Mahar (1976). The power principals wield within schools surely influences their leadership behaviors and those of their teachers. Exploring this variable is therefore key in understanding both principals and teachers’ leadership behaviors.

The fourth section is concerned with principals and teachers’ attitudes towards each other, to the leadership work, and the level of their involvement in the practice. For the PQ, a semantic differential scale consisting of seven pairs of opposite adjective is used to identify

principals' attitudes towards their teachers. For the TQ, the Job Descriptive Index for Supervision (JDIS) developed by Bowling Green State University (1985) is utilized. The JDIS is a scale consisting of three response options: 'yes,' 'no,' and 'cannot decide' which teachers choose from to rate twelve of principals' traits and behaviors. Meanwhile, multiple choice questions are used to elicit participants' attitudes towards leadership and the level of their involvement in the practice. The three components of this section mutually affect each other and the goal is to reveal how attitudes among major actors affect involvement in the leadership activity.

The fifth and sixth sections address principals and teachers' perceptions of their and each other's leadership behaviors. In each of these sections of both questionnaires, a Likert scale is used to measure participants' perceptions of specific leadership behaviors. The scales consist of five response options: strongly disagree, disagree, undecided, agree, and strongly agree. The researcher drew on the following instruments in designing the measures:

- the Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) developed by Kouzes and Posner (2003);
- the Principal Leadership Questionnaire (PLQ) by Jantzi and Leithwood (1995);
- the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire-Form XII (LBDQ-12) by The Ohio State University (1962);
- the Purdue Teacher Opinionnaire by Bentley and Rempel (op. cit.).

Each scale in both sections consists of several subscales measuring distinct leadership behaviors, which are namely:

- Persuasiveness: using persuasion and argument effectively and exhibiting strong convictions;
- Consideration: regarding the comfort, well being, and contributions of others;
- Integration: maintaining a closely knit organisation and resolving conflicts;
- Tolerance of freedom: allowing followers scope for initiative, decision and action;

- Production emphasis: working together to achieve specific outcomes (Stogdill, 1963);
- Modeling: exemplifying desired behaviors and values;
- Intellectual stimulation: encouraging staff to be creative and rethink their ways of doing work (Jantzi & Leithwood, op. cit.).

The first five behaviors are adapted from the LBDQ-12 developed by Stogdill (op. cit.). The instrument originally contains twelve measures of principal leadership behavior, but only five are practical under the Moroccan educational system and are therefore chosen for study. On the other hand, ‘modeling’ and ‘intellectual stimulation’ make part of a six-factor model of transformational leadership developed by Jantzi and Leithwood (op. cit.). Only two of these behaviors are included because the others are either similar to those selected from the LBDQ-12 or lack relevance to the context of the study. There are existing laws and regulations that render certain behaviors impractical. Many of features of the system, such as curricula, hiring and firing teachers, salary policies, etc., are under direct state control, which leaves little or no room for principal and teacher leadership.

The three types of rating scales (Likert, semantic different, and JDIS) used in this study have somehow different scoring systems. The Likert scales are scored as follows: (SA) strongly agree = 5, (A) agree = 4, (U) undecided = 3, (D) disagree = 2, and (SD) strongly disagree = 1. To reduce bias, about half of the items in each scale are worded unfavorably and therefore scored in the reverse direction: (SA) strongly agree = 1, (A) agree = 2, (U) undecided = 3, (D) disagree = 4, and (SD) strongly disagree = 5. Scores of each item on the scales are averaged to obtain the mean score which is considered positive when it is 3.0 or above and negative when below 3.0. A higher a mean score implies a stronger occurrence of a behavior or presence of a characteristic. Scores on both ends of the scale (SD & D, SA & A) are combined together and represented in graphs to illustrate the positive and negative responses which are lost in the aggregates of mean scores. For the semantic differential in the

PQ, responses on both ends (1 & 2, 4 & 5) of each adjective pair are combined and assigned a particular score: those on the positive end receive “5,” on the negative obtain “1,” and in the middle take “3.” A mean score for each pair is generated to indicate the nature principals’ attitudes towards their teachers; a score of 3 or above indicate positive attitudes while one below 3 shows negative attitudes. To avoid response set, choosing the same answer all through the scale, the items in the scale alternately starts with positive or negative adjectives. When beginning with those positive, the values are reversed in order to align the scores. Last, the third type of scales used in the TQ is the JDIS consisting of three response options: “yes,” “no,” and “can’t decide.” The scale is scored as follows: “no” = 1, “yes” = 5, and “can’t decide” = 3. A mean score of 3 or above reveals that teachers have positive attitudes towards their principals while one that is below 3 indicates negative attitudes. Considered together, the variety of scales used in this study contributes a great deal to the reliability of the data collected.

Both the PQ and TQ were translated into the Arabic language for several reasons: Arabic is the official language of the country and the language of instruction across public schools; the research concerns all members of the target populations, not only those who can speak English. The process of translation took place in three stages. The first involved a teacher experienced in the teaching of the two languages: Arabic and English. He holds a Bachelor’s degree in English and Master’s degree in French. Currently, he is teaching English at the upper secondary level, but he has seven years of experience in the teaching Arabic at the elementary level and in translation from English into Arabic and vice versa. The professional worked in close coordination with the researcher to translate the questionnaires; this allowed for clarifying and negotiating meanings, merging effort and expertise, and eventually increasing the overall accuracy of the translation. The second stage consisted of distributing both the Arabic and English versions of the questionnaires to several friends and

colleagues with a good command of both languages to elicit their feedback and enhance the translations. During the last stage, the researcher carefully reviewed the translations embedding the feedback received and making appropriate modifications. Afterwards, a piloting of the Arabic versions of the PQ and TQ was conducted to enhance clarity, readability, wording, adequacy and relevance. The piloting process helped identify and address several errors in the instruments. Almost all questionnaires were administered in Arabic to avoid any possible inconsistencies that may result from their distribution in different languages. Yet, the chances for discrepancies between the English and Arabic versions of the questionnaires are very limited given the many people involved in the process, their expertise in both research and translation, and their coordination with one another in the performance of the task.

All questionnaires were self-administered, i.e. completed by participants on their own (Oppenheim, 1992). Some were completed in the presence of the researcher or his colleagues while others in their absence. In the former case, participants' questions could be addressed immediately, which helps in completing the questionnaires more correctly and collecting them quickly. In the latter case, participants have more time to complete the questionnaires and in privacy, yielding more honest data (Cohen et al., op. cit.). Consequently, the use of both procedures helped combine their advantages and reduce bias and error.

V.6.2. Interview

As discussed in section V.4, the interview serves as another means to investigate the research questions. It is another vantage point for clarifying, informing, expanding, confirming or disconfirming information yielded by the questionnaires and vice versa.

Cannell and Kahn (1968) define the research interview as:

A two-person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation. (cited in Cohen et al., op. cit., p. 351)

An interview is therefore a conversation originated by the interviewer for specific research purposes. The process could be conducted in different ways, e.g. structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. In this research, the semi-structured interview was used, in which “topics and open-ended questions are written but the exact sequence and wording does not have to be followed with each respondent” (op. cit., p. 361). This type of interview allowed for collecting systematic and comprehensive data. The pre-planning of questions was important for identifying patterns in responses while the flexibility in sequencing and wording was essential for eliciting in-depth information. The interview schedules (see appendices C & D), whether for principals or teachers, were all built to answer the research questions (see section V.3.) and also elicit new insights not foreseen by the researcher. While there was a focus on specific themes, there was an openness to new information and room for detail to emerge in the course of the interview.

The interviews were mainly based on open-ended questions defined by Kerlinger (1970) as “those that supply a frame of reference for respondents’ answers, but put a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expression” (cited in Cohen et al., op. cit., p. 357). This type of questions allows participants to express their views freely with depth and authenticity and answer questions in their own way and words. In addition, less direct and specific questions were used to make the interviews less threatening and elicit more honest responses. Tuckman (1999) notes that:

Specific questions, like direct ones, may cause respondents to become cautious or guarded and to give less-than-honest answers. Nonspecific questions may lead circuitously to the desired information while provoking less alarm by the respondent. (p. 238)

The use of less direct open-ended questions proved particularly useful with principals who enjoy a status much higher than that of the researcher. Sometimes, even being interviewed

could be threatening and trigger feelings of uneasiness for people in positions of power, let alone asking them specific questions. Cassell (1993) asserts that:

Elites and powerful people might feel demeaned or insulted when being interviewed by those with a lower status or less power. Further, those with power, resources and expertise might be anxious to maintain their reputation, and so will be more guarded in what they say, wrapping this up in well-chosen, articulate phrases. (cited in Cohen et al., op. cit., p. 152)

Adapting wording and sequence in interviews with such people is therefore strategic. If pressured to give specific answers, principals may give less honest or misleading information or may not even answer the questions. Instead of focusing solely on reliability or validity, the semi-structured interview helps balance the quest for both.

All interviews were conducted by the researcher himself. In the pre-interview stage, participants were assured confidentiality and non-maleficence, i.e. absence of harm in any manner (Cohen et al., op. cit.), and informed of the purpose, duration, and nature of the interview. All interviews were conducted in colloquial Arabic at the researcher's home, schools, or cafes convenient for the purpose. Easier and less threatening questions were always asked first to make participants feel at ease and build trust. Considering the sensitivity of the situation, the interviews with principals were not recorded and no permission for doing so was requested in order to encourage openness and honesty in answering the questions. The researcher instead took notes during the interviews and wrote down participants' input immediately after the conversations.

For teachers, all interviews were either audio- or video-recorded. The interviewees had no objections to being recorded in either way mainly because they all have strong and trusting relationships with the researcher. Video recording is useful for catching the non-verbal elements of the interview, but it could be too threatening for participants (op. cit.). Therefore, only two out of six interviews were filmed. The rest were audio-recorded and notes were taken of the non-verbal data. Both the video and audio tapes were transcribed and the data

was examined to identify, classify, and summarize meanings. The interviews were directly translated into English during the process of transcription.

As mentioned in section V.5.3.2, some interviews included a pair of principals or teachers. For principals, there was one ‘pair interview’ whose members were working in different schools but the same educational stage (elementary) and region (Fez-Meknes). For teachers, there were two pairs consisting of members teaching different school subjects, at different educational stages, and in different regions and schools (see table 5.5). For each pair, members took turns answering the same questions but could also make comments and debate each other when appropriate. The ‘pair interviews’ are important for identifying similarities and differences across regions and schools. Arksey and Knight (1999: 76) emphasize that:

having more than one interviewee present can provide two versions of events—a cross-check—and one can complement the other with additional points, leading to a more complete and reliable record. It is also possible to detect how the participants support, influence, complement, agree and disagree with each other, and the relationships between them. (cited in Cohen et al., *op. cit.*, p. 373)

These advantages add to other features of the interviewing process to increase the overall reliability and validity of the data collected. This is particularly so given that members of the pairs had trusting relationships with each other and the interviewer and could express their views with more openness and honesty.

Finally, it is important to mention that the data collection process, for both the questionnaires and interviews, spanned a period of ten months. The process started in the first week of May 2015 and ended in February 2016. While the questionnaires took about three months to collect, the interviews proved especially costly in terms of time and effort for reasons discussed previously in section V.5.

V.7. Reliability and Validity

In this study, reliability and validity are viewed in relative rather than absolute terms. There is no incontestable measure to determine that a piece of research is absolutely reliable

or valid or otherwise. Reliability and validity vary in degree from one study to another; there is no consensus as to what really constitutes both concepts (Mishler, 1990; Scheurich, 1997; Winter, 2000). Miller, Linn, and Gronlund (2009) emphasize that “validity is a matter of degree” (p. 72). Cohen et al. (op. cit.) maintain that validity varies across research traditions and should be viewed within the context of such traditions. They (op. cit.) state that:

It is important that validity in different research traditions is faithful to those traditions; it would be absurd to declare a piece of research invalid if it were not striving to meet certain kinds of validity, e.g. generalizability, replicability and controllability. (p. 134)

The criteria used, especially under the positivist paradigm, to determine reliable and valid research are not value-free and do certainly have limitations at least in some contexts. Such criteria could also be used to advance certain kinds of knowledge and undermine others for all kinds of purposes (Scheurich, op. cit.; Mishler, op. cit.). As a result, there is a need for an integrative approach in which all different understandings of reliability and validity are considered to minimize bias and increase the quality of the research.

V.7.1. Reliability and Validity in the Questionnaires

Generally, reliability is understood as consistency over time, instruments, and groups of participants. In other words, a reliable instrument is one which yields similar results over time when used with similar participants (Cohen et al., op. cit.). Validity, on the other hand, is the extent to which an instrument measures what it intends to measure. An instrument that is unreliable is also invalid, but one that is reliable is not necessarily valid. An instrument could produce consistent results when used with the same person or group but may not be measuring what it purports to measure (op. cit.).

For the quantitative instrument, there are several features, whether in terms of sampling or instrumentation, contributing to the reliability and validity of the research. These can be summarized as follows:

- The use of two different modes: email-based and paper-based. Participants could choose whichever was convenient for them, thus minimizing nonresponse bias. Those familiar with technology could use the email-based questionnaire while those who are not had the choice to use a paper-based copy.
- The survey relies on two sources of information, principals and teachers, to answer the research questions. The PQ and TQ elicit members' views about the same research topics, providing a cross-check of the data.
- The administration of all questionnaires in the Arabic language culminated in greater consistency and a wide range of participants from different disciplines and grade levels, which immensely contributed to the representativeness of the samples.
- The electronic version of the survey helped reach large numbers of people across the country and increase the size and variation of the samples. The paper-based version helped secure a greater response rate since the questionnaires were handed in person rather than mailed to participants.

Such features of sampling and instrumentation do undoubtedly contribute to the reliability and validity of the research as a whole despite the limited resources available the bureaucratic machine in place.

V.7.2. Reliability and Validity in the Interviews

In qualitative research, reliability generally refers to the degree to which the data being recorded reflect what is actually happening. The concept comprises “fidelity to real life, context- and situation-specificity, authenticity, comprehensiveness, detail, honesty, depth of response and meaningfulness to the respondents” (op. cit., p. 149). On the other hand, validity concerns several aspects of the research process: honesty, depth, scope of the data collected, participants, objectivity, and triangulation (Winter, op. cit.). Among the features contributing to the reliability and validity of the interview survey are the following:

- The use of a semi-structured interview which helped balance the quest for consistency and depth. Conversations with participants focused on the same topics, increasing consistency, but the wording and sequencing of questions varied depending on the exigencies of the situation, yielding more honesty.
- Balancing recording and taking notes during interviews depending on how threatening the process was perceived by participants. The teachers were recorded because they all had strong relationships with the interviewer and were therefore more likely to be open and honest. In contrast, the principals had no knowledge of the interviewer and were more likely to be guarded in their reactions even off the record given the sensitivity of the research. To render the interviews less threatening, taking notes was more useful.
- All interviews were conducted face-to-face by the researcher himself in the Arabic language, providing for strong consistency all through the interviewing process. A researcher is usually better equipped to address and minimize threats to reliability and validity. Also, in cases in which the interviewer is a stranger, face-to-face interviews help establish trust with participants and subsequently encourage more honesty and openness in answering the questions.
- All interviews were transcribed and translated by the researcher himself, allowing for a systematic, deep, and intensive engagement with the data.

These characteristics have certainly given more credibility to the data and conclusions drawn from the interviews. In fact, the design of the research as a whole is bound to yield more reliable and valid results. The study is based on two sources of information (principals and teachers) and two different methods of data collection (the questionnaire and interview).

There is also the focus of the research. The leadership behaviors of principals and teachers are approached in the context where they occur rather than in isolation. Such an approach is likely

to reveal the different forces at work in the leadership activity, how they interact with one another, and where and what action is needed to achieve progress. Based on all these features, it is reasonable to argue that the research has an adequate level of reliability and validity, especially when considering the many constraints of the context and the sensitivity of the topic. Still, the notions of reliability and validity are fluid rather than fixed; they vary according to time, place, nature of the research, the researcher, resources, etc.

V.8. Data Analysis

The choice of statistical procedures depends on several factors: (a) the goal of the research and whether it is to describe, establish relationships, determine differences between groups, make predictions, etc; (b) whether participants are divided into groups based on any particular criteria and what types of groups they are (e.g. independent, dependent, matched groups, etc.); (c) if variables are divided into independent and dependent and how many they are; and (d) the scales used for measurement (Mertens, *op. cit.*, p. 412).

This research is descriptive. It sets out to describe schools' structural characteristics, principals and teachers' attitudes towards each other, and their leadership behaviors. The research is based on nonparametric, nominal and ordinal, data for which intervals between values (e.g. strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, undecided = 3, etc.) are unknown or unequal and in which no assumptions are made about the characteristics of the population studied (Cohen et al., *op. cit.*). The methods used to collect this type of data include mainly the questionnaire and interview, which seek to elicit participants' responses and report findings. The groups and variables in this research are not approached in terms of dependent and independent; rather, they are all viewed as a network of interdependent factors influencing each other in multiple, unpredictable, and constantly changing ways across space and time. The goal is to describe the current state of affairs with regard to each variable and pinpoint

how each is likely to interact with the others. As a result, descriptive rather than inferential statistics are used in this study.

Descriptive statistics simply presents data such as the mean (the average score), mode (the score obtained by most participants), and the highest and lowest scores (op. cit.). This type of statistics allows for a flexible and more insightful analysis of data. Rather than being confined to any specific predetermined variables that may result in an incomplete understanding of the phenomenon investigated, these statistics provide room for embedding all pertinent matters in the analysis, whether they be related to the public school system or the country as a whole. The result is meaningful knowledge premised on fluid thinking in which ideas emerge, flow freely, and mesh together to provide a profound understanding into the issues raised, an understanding that is not blinded by any particular preconceived, rigid categories. These attributes make descriptive statistics the most useful for the purposes of this study.

No inferential statistics (e.g. correlations, regression, and measures of testing difference) are used in this research. Correlations indicate the extent to which two or more variables fluctuate together either in the same or opposite direction. Regression is a measure of the strength of the relationship between one dependent variable and one or more independent variables. Correlations determine whether there is a relationship between two variables (e.g. academic achievement and IQ) while regression is used to predict the specific value of one variable based on a known or assumed value of another. For example, a known number of study hours can predict a specific level of achievement expressed in grades. Last, measures of testing difference include the t-test which determines the difference between the means of two groups, and variance which indicates how widely individuals in a group vary from the mean (Cohen et al., op. cit.). The fact that the variables in this research are viewed as interdependent rather than dependent or independent renders inferential statistics unfit for the

purposes of this study. The aim is to describe and explain rather than conduct statistical tests or make predictions. Also, the data collection methods (the questionnaire and interview), the nature of the data collected (nominal and ordinal), and the sampling methods (snowball and volunteer sampling) are features that make descriptive rather than inferential analysis most useful for the study.

V.9. Limitations

There is no piece of research without limitations regardless of how many researchers are involved, their expertise, and the resources at their disposal. Perfection in research is unattainable, particularly in the context of a lone researcher with limited resources and expertise. Therefore, this research study has several limitations summarized as follows:

- The sample for principals is relatively small and the results therefore might not be generalizable to the wider population;
- The percentage of female participants in both the questionnaire and interview surveys is too small compared to that of males, which limits the extent to which the samples are representative of the general populations;
- Given the sensitivity of the research, some participants might not be honest in answering the questions, which does affect the reliability and validity of the data;
- All interviewed principals work in one urban setting, Fez, which limits the breadth of the data collected and the application of findings to other parts of the country;
- Varying the wording and sequence of the questions during interviews makes it very difficult to elicit specific information, especially in the case of principals, a feature that affects the depth and authenticity of the data obtained;
- The focus of the research is limited to principals and teachers. The views of other important stakeholders, such as students, parents, members of teacher unions, local authorities, and civil society organizations, are not included. Examining the views of

these actors could yield new insights into other factors at work in the leadership activity across public schools;

- Some participants might interpret items differently or answer questions incorrectly;
- The researcher's personal beliefs might influence the research at all different stages.

Subjectivity can be minimized but not eliminated.

These limitations do affect the research in terms of representativeness, reliability and validity but only to some degree. The use of two different methods (the questionnaire and interview) and the reliance on different sources of information (principals and teachers) to answer the research questions are important features that give strong credibility to the results of the study.

V.10. Conclusion

In this study, the focus is on the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco. That is, several factors pertaining to principals, teachers, and their schools are at the heart of the study. The aim is to describe the schools, attitudes, and leadership behaviors of principals and teachers and explain how all these interact with one another to either achieve or impede improvement. In essence, the focus of the study is on people in context or specifically how principals and teachers, the most instrumental elements to the change process, feel and act within their schools, the nucleus of all educational action. This type of research certainly requires a methodology that aims at breadth and depth. As a result, both quantitative and qualitative research methods, namely the questionnaire and the interview, are used in this study. Mixing methods helps compensate for the weaknesses inherent in each and ultimately increase the reliability and validity of the research. The questionnaire exists in two different forms: email-based and paper-based, which helps a great deal in reducing sampling bias since participants could fill out whichever version was most convenient to them, and in reaching large numbers of participants in different parts of the country. The interview is of a semi-structured type in which the research topics are

predetermined, but the wording and sequence of the questions is varied to encourage more honest and open responses. To increase the representativeness of the samples, members of the target populations from different regions in the country were invited to participate using snowball and volunteer sampling. These helped increase the variation of the samples which include participants from different parts of the country. In alignment with the nature of the research, in which the focus is on several interdependent variables, descriptive rather than inferential statistics are used in the analysis of data. Descriptive analysis is fluid and well-suited for unraveling complex issues, such as the ones under investigation, while inferential analysis is somehow mechanistic, reductionist, and therefore unsuited for the purposes of this study. As is the case with all research, this study is not without limitations, particularly the small percentage of female participants, which do affect the extent to which the data and results are reliable and valid even though there is no consensus as to what constitutes reliability and validity. Regardless, the research has many strengths that grant the data and results great consistency and credibility.

Chapter Six:

Principals' Perceptions of their Leadership
Behaviors and those of their Teachers across
Public Schools

VI.1. Introduction

Principals occupy an important position vital to the quality of education being delivered within schools. They wield tremendous influence on, just as they are influenced by, everyone within the school building. How they behave and impact their schools is therefore approached in context rather than isolation. The focus in this chapter is laid not only on principals' leadership behaviors or those of their teachers but also on relationships and schools' structural characteristics. Such an approach is rooted in the nature of this research, which is descriptive and explanatory, i.e. it seeks to answer questions about the *what* and the *why* of behavior. However, the goal is not to determine any cause-effect relationships between any of the variables investigated, whether they be related to the characteristics of schools, principals' attitudes, or their behaviors. There is rather an interdependent relationship among these variables which mutually influence one another. Schools' characteristics can influence attitudes and behaviors and vice versa.

This chapter consists of three major parts. The first provides a detailed description of schools' structural characteristics, both those pertaining schools and the system in general and those specifically relevant to the work of leadership. Such a description is meant to determine the extent to which the schools where principals and their teachers work enable or constrain their leadership behaviors. The second part is centered on principals' attitudes towards their teachers. Leadership is all about collaboration and is unlikely to yield results without positive relationships between principals and teachers. This part therefore comes to identify the nature of attitudes principals have towards their teachers and the extent to which they are conducive to the work of leadership. Finally, there is no doubt that behaviors or what is done on the ground is what matters most. An abundance of resources and a positive school climate are no guarantee of effective leadership behaviors. Eventually, it is systematic and purposeful action that makes the difference. In fact, behaviors or the level of agency actors within an

organization exhibit can change in all different ways the circumstances in which they work. This last part has as a goal not only describing principals and teachers' leadership behaviors but also finding out whether these behaviors reflect any agency on their part to improve the quality of education within their schools. The goal of the chapter as a whole is exploring the different ways in which the three variables are likely to interact with one another and the possible implications of such interactions.

It is important to note that data from the questionnaires are analyzed first followed by those from the interviews. Yet, the two instruments have equal weighting and are meant to answer the same research questions from two different angles in order to provide a deeper understanding into the issues raised and increase the reliability and validity of the findings.

VI.2. Background Information

As indicated in chapter V (section V.5.3), a total of 44 principals participated in the questionnaire survey. According to the numbers in table 6.1, a majority of participants are male (87%) between the age of 46-55 (74%), hold a bachelor degree (80%), serve in urban areas (54%), and have from 0-10 years of experience (64%). About half of participants (48%) work in elementary schools and the other half (52%) in secondary: 29% in lower secondary and 23% in upper secondary. There are two important observations to be made about the sample in general. The first is that most participants are fairly old but have modest experience in the profession. The reason for this is that principals in the country are usually promoted to the position after years of service as teacher. The second observation is that there are very few female participants in the study because the population of principals is predominantly male. No official records about the exact percentage of female principals could be obtained but they commonly make a very small minority for different sociocultural reasons. These two observations are important to remember when considering the representativeness of the sample. As illustrated in figure 6.1, the lack of variation at the level of age and gender is not

exclusively a result of sampling bias but also a factor of the makeup of the population itself. Yet, the sample is fairly varied in terms of other criteria such as experience, site of the institution (urban vs. rural), and educational stage. The small size of the sample needs to be considered within the context of the small size of the population as a whole, the sensitivity of

Table 6.1: Background Information about Principals

						No answer
Age	< 25	25-35	36-45	46-55	> 55	0 / 0%
	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	6 / 13.63%	32 / 72.72%	6 / 13.63%	
Gender	Male		Female			5 / 11.36%
	38 / 86.36%		1 / 2.27%			
Years of experience	< 5	5-10	11-15	16-20	> 20	1 / 2.27%
	14 / 31.81%	14 / 31.81%	10 / 22.72%	5 / 11.36%	0 / 0%	
Educational stage	Elementary		Lower secondary		Upper secondary	0 / 0%
	21 / 47.72%		13 / 29.54%		10 / 22.72%	
Educational qualifications	Bac ^a	DEUG ^b	Licence ^c	MA	Doctorate	0 / 0%
	6 / 13.63%	1 / 2.27%	35 / 79.54%	2 / 4.54%	0 / 0%	
Site of the institution	Urban		Semi-urban	Rural		0 / 0%
	24 / 54.54%		4 / 9.09%	16 / 36.36%		

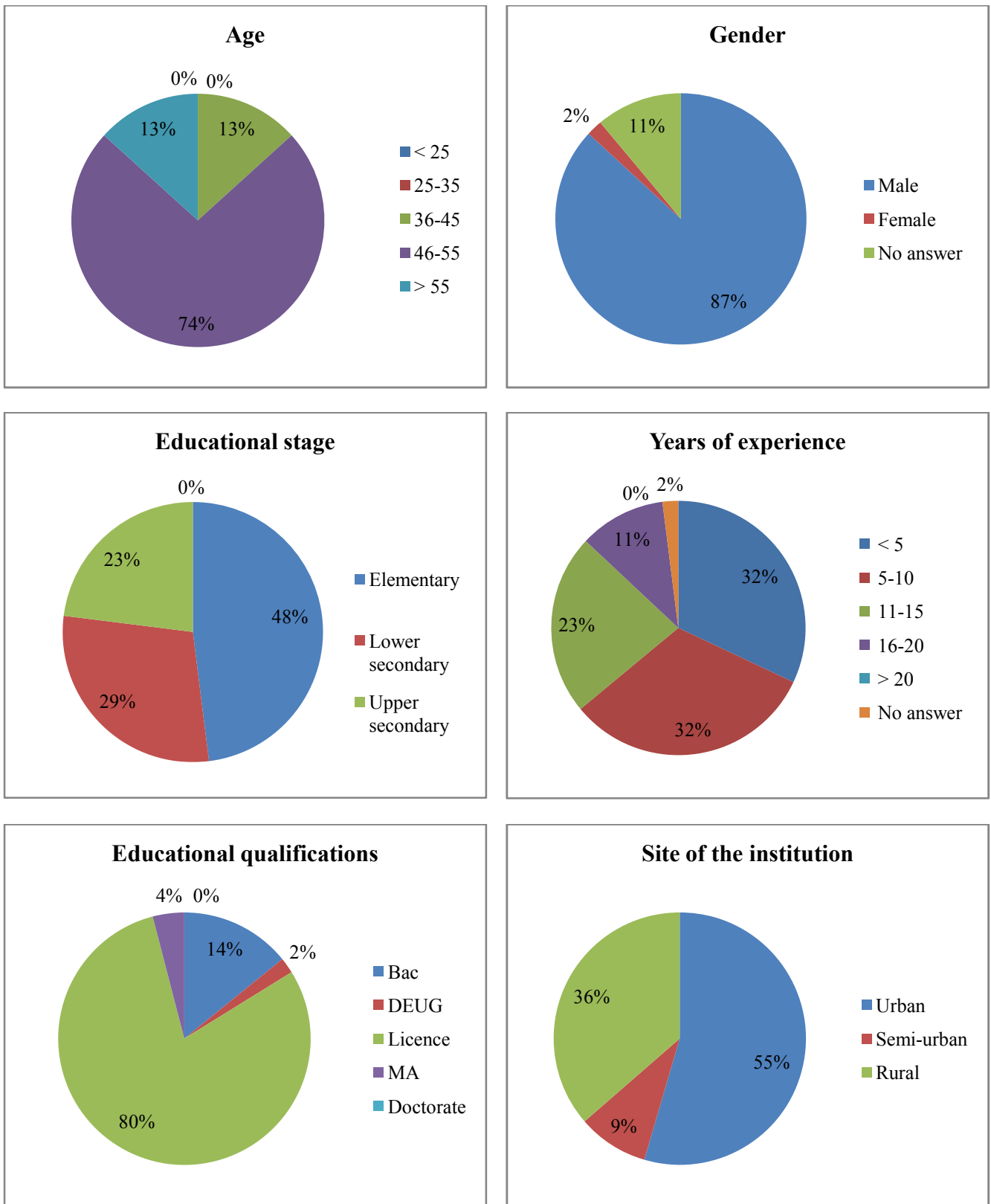
^a *Baccalauréat*: the French equivalent for a high school degree.

^b Diploma lower than Bachelor Degree awarded upon completion of two years of study at university.

^c The French equivalent for Bachelor degree.

the research topic, the issues of power and status, the lack of resources and support, and the bureaucracy. These all make it very difficult to obtain a sample much larger than the one obtained. Nonetheless, this research is based yet on another and much larger sample of teachers (205 participants), the relatively small size of the principal sample is unlikely to severely undermine the generalizability of the results.

Figure 6.1: Background information about principals



VI.3. School Structural Characteristics

As argued by Spillane et al. (op. cit.), thinking and behavior need to be investigated *in situ* rather than *in vacuo*, i.e. in context not apart from it (see chapter III). The latter can affect-but not determine-human action either positively or negatively. What people can do is not merely a function of their capacities but also of the situation where they operate (op. cit.). This section therefore comes to provide a detailed description of the schools and system where principals and their teachers work. The focus is on both general features of the public school system and those specifically relevant to the work of leadership. Such a description is bound to reveal the extent to which schools' structural characteristics enable or constrain the work of leadership for both principals and teachers.

VI.3.1. General School Structures

The general school structures concern principals' workload, quality and availability of classroom facilities, promotion opportunities, classroom supplies and equipment, scheduling of work, availability of space for collaboration, methods of communication, and salary policies. To determine to the extent to which these enable or constrain principals and teachers' leadership behaviors, a five-point Likert scale consisting of eight items is used. Those negatively worded are starred (*) and scored in the reverse direction. For the items left unanswered, the percentages do not add up to 100%. Table 6.2 provides the results for each response category (SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; U = Undecided; A = agree; SA = strongly agree) in the scale while table 6.3 present the mean score for each item and the average mean score for the whole scale. The figures in table 6.3 show that nearly all the features in question received a negative mean score below 3.0. Only the fourth statement about the methods of communication obtained a positive score of 3.18, which is mainly due to the low cost and ubiquity of information and communication technologies. The scale as a whole obtained an average mean score of 2.45. These results indicate that the structural

characteristics of the schools where surveyed principals work constrain rather than enable the leadership work. The conditions in which they work could be described as follows: a heavy workload, a lack and poor quality of classroom facilities, a lack of promotion opportunities, a lack of classroom supplies and equipment, a lack of time and space for collaboration, and unfair salary policies. These all do constrain the level of improvement principals and their

Table 6.2: Schools' structural characteristics as rated by principals

Statements	SD	D	U	A	SA	No answer
The number of hours I work per week at my school is unreasonable.	3 (6.81%)	12 (27.27%)	4 (9.09%)	14 (31.81%)	11 (25%)	0 (0%)
There are adequate classroom supplies and equipment at my school.	14 (31.81%)	15 (34.09%)	6 (13.63%)	8 (18.18%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)
The classroom facilities at my school are sufficient and suitable.	10 (22.72%)	16 (36.36%)	1 (2.27%)	14 (31.81%)	2 (4.54%)	1 (2.27%)
The methods of communication across the school are well developed.	1 (2.27%)	10 (22.72%)	16 (36.36%)	14 (31.81%)	3 (6.81%)	0 (0%)
There is really too little chance for promotion on my job.	2 (4.54%)	6 (13.63%)	6 (13.63%)	15 (34.09%)	14 (31.81%)	1 (2.27%)
My schedule provides sufficient time for collaborating with teachers.	9 (20.45%)	15 (34.09%)	7 (15.90%)	12 (27.27%)	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)
My school has limited space for meetings and collaboration.	5 (11.36%)	9 (20.45%)	3 (6.81%)	19 (43.18%)	8 (18.18%)	0 (0%)
The salary policies in place are fair and clear.	17 (38.63%)	22 (50%)	3 (6.81%)	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)

Note. SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; U = Undecided; A = agree; SA = strongly agree

teachers can achieve within their schools. A closer look at the numbers in table 6.3 reveals that the most important factors in the emergence of the leadership work across schools received the lowest scores. The items concerning classroom supplies and equipment (2), opportunities for promotion (5), fairness and clarity of salary policies (8) obtained scores even lower than the average mean score (2.45). These results imply that principals and their teachers work in very difficult conditions characterized by a lack of resources and support and

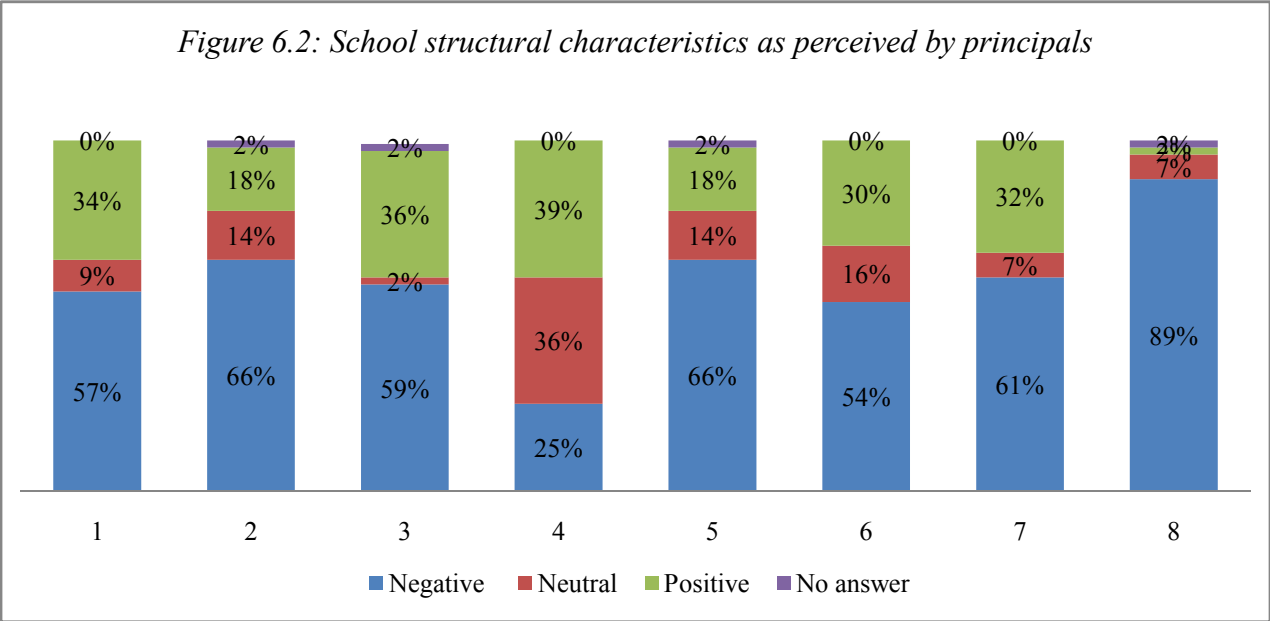
have very little or no incentives for undertaking leadership initiatives to try to make a difference within those conditions. To provide a clear idea about principals' opinions about

Table 6.3: Mean scores for school structural characteristics

Item N°	Aspects of school structural characteristics	Mean score
1*	Adequacy of workload	2.59
2	Adequacy of classroom supplies and equipment	2.18
3	Adequacy of the classroom facilities	2.58
4	Methods of communication	3.18
5*	Opportunities for promotion	2.23
6	Time available for collaborating with teachers	2.56
7*	Space for meetings and discussions with teachers	2.63
8	Fairness and clarity of salary policies	1.72
Average mean score		2.45

their schools' structural characteristics, values for the two negative (1 & 2) and the two positive (4 & 5) positions on the scale were combined into two distinct positions for purposes of comparison. As illustrated in figure 6.2, the negative positions are much higher than those positive except for item 4 concerning methods of communication. The items rated most unfavorably by principals concern salary policies followed by opportunities for promotion, suggesting a deep dissatisfaction with the reward system in place which forces principals into a ceaseless struggle for securing the basic necessities of life. This situation drains much of their effort and time and engenders feelings of ill-treatment, marginalization, ingratitude, and even humiliation by those in charge. Such feelings could lead to resentment, hopelessness, cynicism, and indifference among principals and their teachers. The leadership activity in the circumstances participants report require self-denial, sacrifice, devotion, resolve, and all other aspects of intrinsic motivation that are likely to drive the change efforts within schools.

Certainly, what principals and their teachers can do, even when they demonstrate agency or intrinsic motivation, remains constrained rather than enabled by the organizational and



physical characteristics of their schools.

These findings from the questionnaire survey are confirmed by those from the interviews. The seven principals interviewed all expressed deep disappointment with the structural characteristics of their schools, citing severe shortages in classrooms and human resources, most notably teachers. They reported that even the infrastructure already in place is in very poor condition. One principal notes that “when it rains, we have to move students in some classrooms to one side of the room to avoid leaks in the ceilings” (Interview 3, Fez, elementary, male). This lack of basic infrastructure and resources is detrimental to the quality of education and the leadership work across schools. One principal stressed that the existing shortages in classrooms and teachers constitute the most serious obstacles to achieving progress within his school or any other. He asserted that:

If you give me a class of thirty students and chalk without any textbooks, I will teach them [students] how to write and read well. We have students in the sixth grade who cannot write or read neither in Arabic nor in French. We have students in the first grade who are all passed on to the next grade level because we have to free up seats for those registering next year. The number of failed students passed

on to the next level adds up over the years resulting in a vast of majority of students not able to write or read by the sixth grade. (Interview 1, Fez, elementary, male)

In other words, the lack of classrooms and teachers leads to overcrowding, which results in unfavorable learning and teaching conditions. It is often difficult to deliver quality instruction in overcrowded classrooms, increase student performance, and meet the needs of all. What exacerbates the situation further is passing on students to the next level even when they fail in order to free up seats for those to register the following school year. As students move from one grade level to another without necessarily being prepared, the chances for helping them and taking initiatives to improve their learning become are slim. The task becomes daunting and the results unwarranted, especially when considering that principals and teachers are already overworked and underpaid. The result is a vicious cycle that is really hard to break since securing sufficient rooms and staff is beyond the control of principals and teachers, who are often obliged to do as they are told with regard to most important issues or otherwise face adverse consequences. All these circumstances could result in helplessness and hopelessness among actors and further limit involvement in the leadership practice.

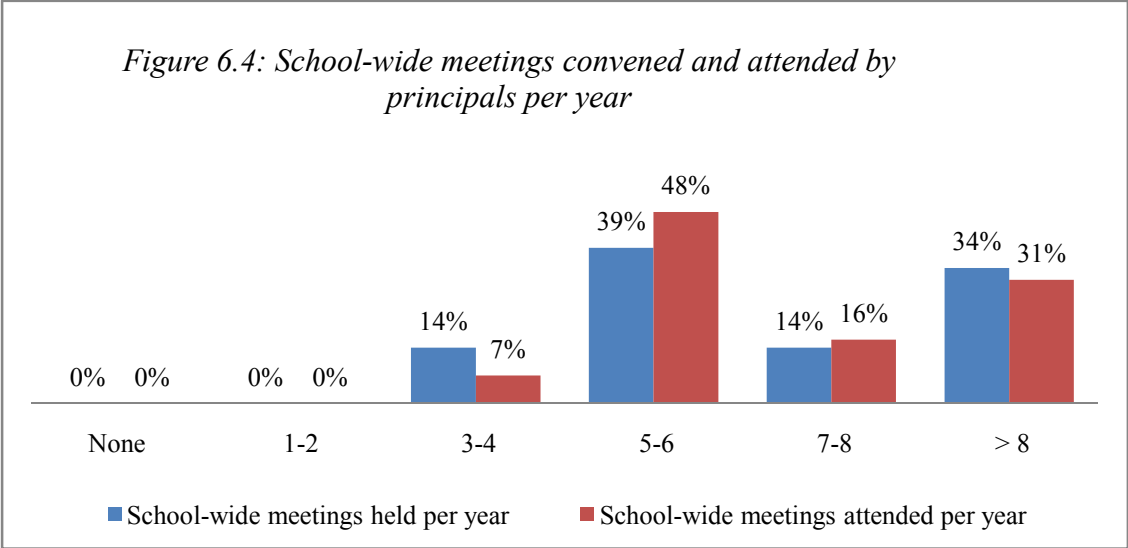
VI.3.2. Collaborative School Structures

The collaborative school structures concern mainly school meetings and committees for specific purposes. Such structures serve as platforms for strengthening collaboration, the driving force of all leadership. The goal is to identify the extent to which these structures are present within schools and how frequently principals participate in them. The figures in table

Table 6.4: School-wide meetings convened and attended by principals per year

	None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	> 8
School-wide meetings held per year.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (13.63%)	17 (38.63%)	6 (13.63%)	15 (34.09%)
School-wide meetings attended per year.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (6.81%)	21 (47.72%)	7 (15.90%)	14 (31.81%)

6.4 and figure 6.4 indicate that the highest percentage of principals (39%) hold between 5-6 meetings a year followed by those who report more that 8 meetings a year (34%). The same could be said about participation: the highest percentage of principals (48%) attend between



5-6 meetings a year followed by those who attend more than 8 (31%). As shown in figure 6.4, there are no huge discrepancies between the percentages for the meetings held and for those attended. The principals are elemental to these meetings and have to attend most if not all of them. These results indicate that there is no scarcity in school-wide meetings, nor is there weak participation in them. Only for the third response category (3-4 meetings) the rates for the meetings attended are much lower (7%) than those for the meetings held (14%) but this remains an exception, not the norm, which could result from answering the questions incorrectly or dishonestly. The number of school-wide meetings held and attended by principals per year reveals the presence of sufficient and active structures for collaboration, the center stage of all leadership.

Also important for the work of leadership are school committees, which serve as platforms for combining efforts and coordinating action within schools. Particularly relevant are four types of committees: the first two are concerned with specific grade levels and subject areas while the remaining two are for voluntary work and teachers with common

interests and concerns. The goal is to determine the presence of and participation in these committees across public schools. The figures in table 6.5 indicate a strong presence of these committees, especially those concerned with grade levels and subject areas, across schools. Except the last type of committees for teachers with common interests and concerns,

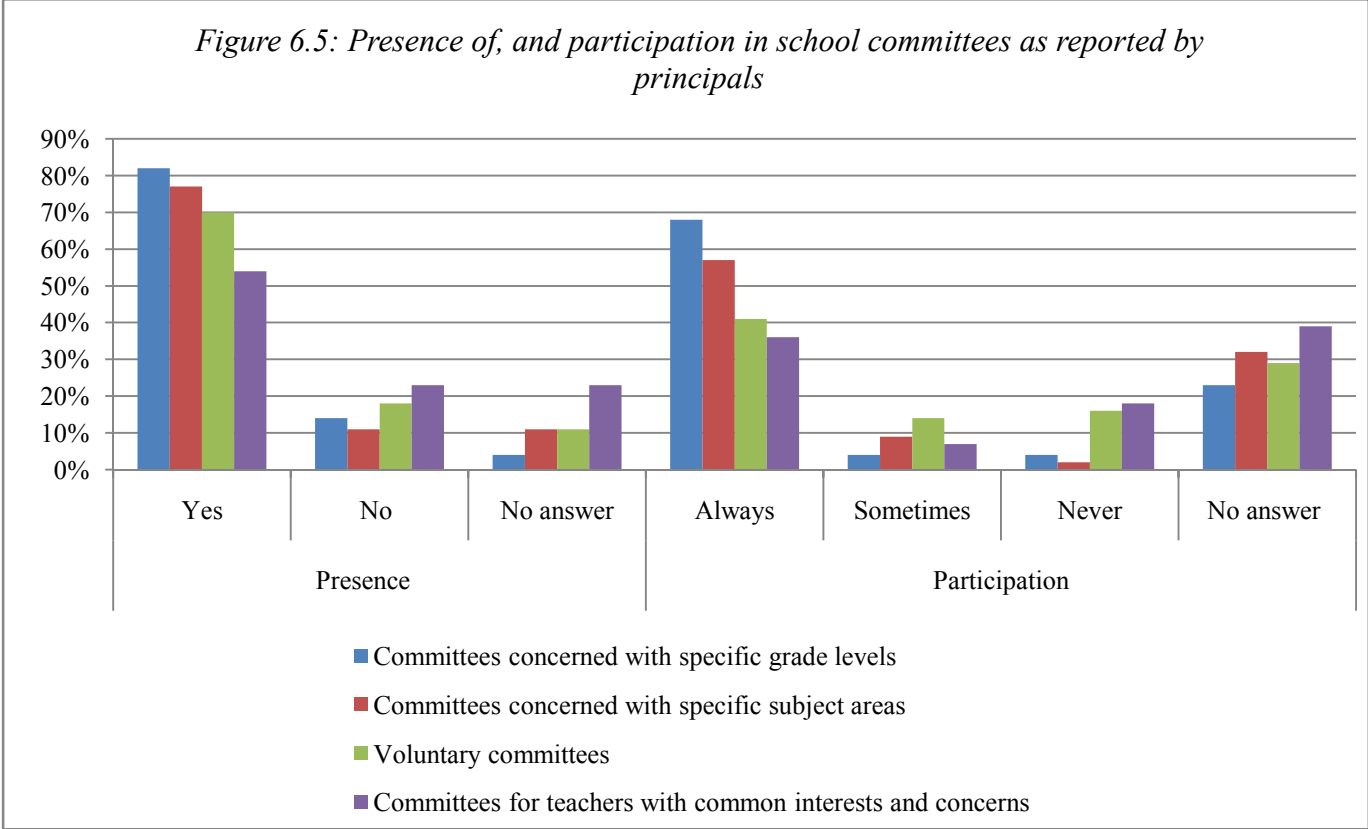
Table 6.5: Presence of and participation in school committees as reported by principals

	Presence			Participation			
	Yes	No	No answer	Always	Sometimes	Never	No answer
Committees concerned with specific grade levels.	36 (81.81%)	6 (13.63%)	2 (4.54%)	30 (68.18%)	2 (4.54%)	2 (4.54%)	10 (22.72%)
Committees concerned with specific subject areas.	34 (77.27%)	5 (11.36%)	5 (11.36%)	25 (56.81%)	4 (9.09%)	1 (2.27%)	14 (31.81%)
Voluntary committees.	31 (70.45%)	8 (18.18%)	5 (11.36%)	18 (40.90%)	6 (13.63%)	7 (15.90%)	13 (29.54%)
Committees for teachers with common interests and concerns.	24 (54.54%)	10 (22.72%)	10 (22.72%)	16 (36.36%)	3 (6.81%)	8 (18.18%)	17 (38.63%)

all others received rates of 70% or higher. However, principals' participation in these committees varies from strong for the first and modest for the rest. As illustrated in figure 6.5, 68% of principals report that they *always* participate in the committees concerned with specific grade levels while those who indicate participation at the same frequency in the other committees range from over a half (56%) for the committees concerned with specific subject areas to less than a half (40% & 36%) for the remaining two. The reason presence and participation are stronger for the first two types of committees is that these are mandated by the MNE. Principals are required to create and oversee a teaching council, which brings together all teachers of a given subject area, and a class council, which consists of all teachers of a certain class (see chapter IV, section 6.2). The remaining two committees are optional and need not be attended by principals, which explains why they are less present and participated in across schools. It is important to note that some participants report no presence of the committees in question in their schools and subsequently provide no answer as to how often they participate in such structures. To sum up, there is a strong presence of the specified

collaborative structures which serve as important platforms for the exercise leadership.

However, participation fluctuates from strong for mandatory committees, namely the first



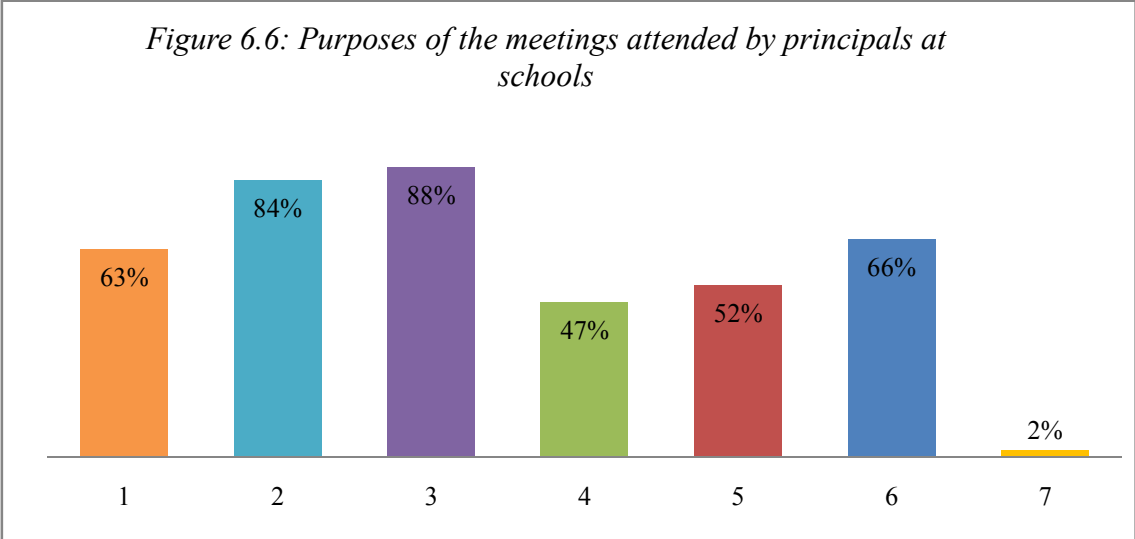
two, which have to be convened and chaired by principals themselves to modest for those that are discretionary, precisely the last two committees. Certainly, the number of committees present and the frequency of participation in such formal structures are important but they are no guarantee of productive leadership.

Since meetings and committees are only a means to an end, it is important to determine the foci of these structures and the extent to which they are oriented towards the work of leadership. Therefore, participants were asked to indicate the major purposes of all meetings they attend at school. The figures in table 6.6 reveal that the most important purpose of the meetings attended is telling teachers what and how to do (88%). Second in importance is discussing ways of working together on common interests and concerns (84%). Other major

purposes of the meetings include sharing experience (65%) and informing teachers about rules (63%). These results reveal that the major focus of the meetings attended is not leadership but rather followship. Telling teachers what and how to do is what these meetings are mostly held for, which implies that actors within schools are expected to obey and do as they are told rather than think for themselves and create original solutions. In fact, this has become no secret given the many directives issued by the MNE prescribing one-size-fits-all

Table 6.6: Purposes of the meetings attended by principals at schools

Item N°	Purposes	Answers	Percentages
1	To inform teachers about rules	28	63.63%%
2	To discuss ways of working together on common interests and concerns	37	84.09%
3	To tell teachers <i>what</i> and <i>how</i> to do	39	88.63%
4	To discover common interests and concerns	21	47.72%
5	To inform teachers about or demonstrate new techniques	23	52.27%
6	To share experience	29	65.90%
7	No answer	1	2.27



solutions for many of the problems facing public schools and consequently leaving principals and teachers with little discretion to exercise. The other two major purposes of the meetings attended may reflect some form of leadership, since they both involve working together and sharing experience, but not necessarily so. Discussing ways of working together on common

interests and sharing experiences could somehow benefit teachers but what is learned from the interaction during these meetings may not always translate into action on the ground. In fact, discussing common interest and sharing ideas may be no more than routine having no specific target and ultimately resulting in little or no influence on performance in schools. When considering the relatively low percentages obtained by the fourth and fifth purposes, which are core components of the leadership work, it becomes clear that the focus of the different meetings attended by principals is not principally leadership. Discovering common interests and concerns registered a percentage of 47% while informing teachers about or demonstrating new techniques received 52%, which are both low percentages compared to the others. As depicted in figure 6.6, the percentages do not add up to 100% because participants could choose more than one answer. The conclusion to be drawn from the results is that the focus of the meetings convened at schools is implementing orders by those at the top of the system's hierarchy rather than on creating an agenda of change from within. Principals and their teachers are expected to follow, not to lead. As a result, their ingenuity and influence are curtailed.

These same conclusions are corroborated by the data from the interviews. All principals interviewed affirmed that all the school committees or councils mandated by the MNE, including the management council, education council, teaching council, class council, are present and convened regularly in their schools. They all mentioned discipline and examinations as the primary focus of these structures. None of them claimed the improvement of student learning schoolwide to be at the center stage of action during the meetings held. The interviewees all stressed that the limited resources and decision-making authority leave them and their teachers with little or no influence to exercise. They particularly referred to the damaging effects of the MNE' circulars that interfere in the details of the educational process, such as how teachers should deal with disciplinary problems in the classroom. According to

one controversial circular issued by the MNE in 2014, the class councils, consisting of principals and teachers, are instructed not to suspend students for disruptive behavior and are asked instead to adopt alternative disciplinary measures such as cleaning, gardening, and assisting in events across the school (MNE, in “Minister of Education prevents class councils from suspending disruptive students,” 2014). A circular of such nature constitutes a direct interference in the work of an important collaborative structure, the class council, across public schools, which results in teachers being desperate and shying away from participation in any type of committees. It is very difficult to achieve quality learning and teaching in largely overcrowded schools while teachers have no power to take action against disruptive behavior. Being stripped of instrumental decision-making authority, principals and their teachers usually see no use in, and have no energy or passion for undertaking leadership initiatives they practically cannot implement. Being able to maintain an orderly and safe learning environment is prerequisite to the success of any action plan developed through engagement in the leadership work.

An important conclusion drawn from the conversations with the principals is that the presence of and participation in school committees, particularly those mandatory, is merely for compliance with the directives of the MNE. One principal mentioned that while all mandatory committees are present and meet regularly at his school there is no follow-up or coordination among teachers for implementing the ideas and suggestion discussed. He commented that:

These councils [the four school councils] are present in my school. For example, the class council meets whenever there is a disciplinary problem to discuss ways to deal with it. We also meet to discuss the problems we face at school and how to deal with them. We write reports of the meetings and keep a record of them at school. (Interview 4, Fez, elementary, male)

The principal in question and all others interviewed mentioned no specific goals set for meetings of all kinds and no specific procedures for coordinating action to put theory into

practice. The goal as stated in the quotation above is clearly to “write reports of the meetings and keep a record of them” to provide evidence of compliance with the guidelines of the MNE. Yet another major obstacle hampering the work of these committees is according participants the lack of support from the DPEs and AREFs. All interviewees indicated that they never receive a reply to the reports they regularly send to DPEs at the closure of each meeting held at their schools. This lack of communication on the part of the local educational authorities further marginalizes principals and their teachers. It is difficult for principals and teachers to act as leaders while they are in reality treated as subordinates whose superiors at the DPEs and AREFs show no interest in building even cordial relationships with them by responding to their reports and at least encouraging their efforts. It is the mentalities of people, especially those in charge, where most change efforts must be focused.

VI.4. Leader Position Power, Training, and Incentives

The power principals have, the training they receive, and the incentives available to them are all important factors in the work of leadership. The nature of interaction among all three interdependent variables can either enable or constrain the leadership activity. Position power is important but in itself it guarantees no specific outcomes. It is character or how power is used that makes a difference. The importance of training and incentives lies in that they can serve as means for refining character and promoting a wise use of power and vice versa.

Accordingly, when power, training, and incentives are all aligned to serve a common goal, principal leadership, great results could be achieved. First, position power can either strengthen or weaken principals’ ability to provide strong direction, set and reach goals, steer action and innovation, enforce discipline and order, and generally move the school forward. Second, quality training, whether pre-service or in-service, helps principals update their knowledge and hone their skills and usher in innovation

and creativity in dealing with the challenges faced at their schools. Finally, incentives are crucial for the emergence of the leadership practice within schools. The task of leading schools towards improvement is no easy undertaking, particularly under the difficult circumstances described in section VI.3. Therefore, rewarding principals' involvement in leadership through all different forms of material and moral incentives is essential.

This section comes to describe the state of affairs with regard to each variable, explore the ways in which they are likely to interact with one another, and identify the extent to which their interactions enable or constrain the work of leadership within schools.

VI.4.1. Leader Position Power

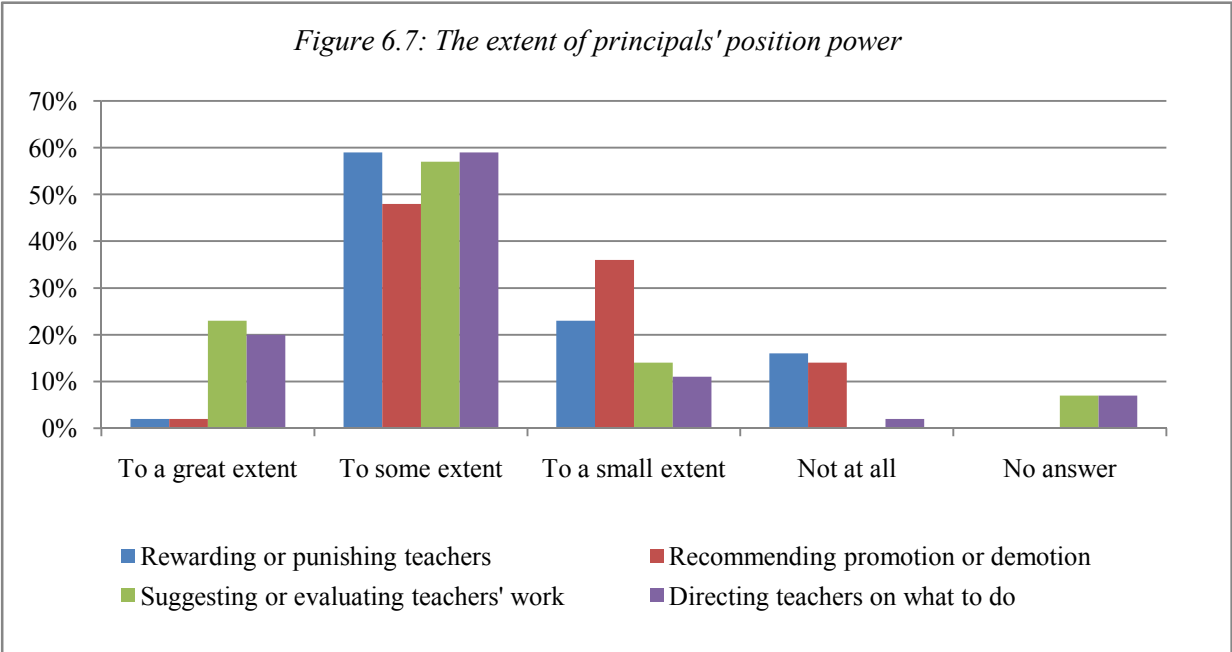
There is focus on four major aspects of principals' position power: rewarding or punishing teachers, recommending promotion or demotion, suggesting or evaluating teachers' work, and directing teachers on what to do. The goal is to identify the extent of influence principals have on each of these aspects and its implications on the leadership work. The figures in table 6.7 indicate that principals general have some control over the four matters. A

Table 6.7: The extent of principals' position power

Aspects of position power	To a great extent	To some extent	To a small extent	Not at all	No answer
Rewarding or punishing teachers.	1 (2.27%)	26 (59.09%)	10 (22.72%)	7 (15.90%)	0 (0%)
Recommending promotion or demotion.	1 (2.27%)	21 (47.72%)	16 (36.36%)	6 (13.63%)	0 (0%)
Suggesting or evaluating teachers' work.	10 (22.72%)	25 (56.81%)	6 (13.63%)	0 (0%)	3 (6.81%)
Directing teachers on what to do.	9 (20.45%)	26 (59.09%)	5 (11.36%)	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)

majority of participants cite that they enjoy *some extent* of power over rewarding or punishing teachers (59%), suggesting or evaluating teachers' work (56%), and directing teachers on

what to do (59%). The principals report less power over recommending the promotion or demotion of teachers, a component that obtained a relatively lower percentage of 47%. These findings are not out of the ordinary under a public school system, in which principals play only a part in the decision making process as a whole. The power to decide on these and many other matters are shared among the principals, academic supervisors, DPEs, and the MNE which has the last word. This distribution rather concentration of power is positive in many respects but it is not without drawbacks. While distribution provides a check against abuse of



power by any of the stakeholders, it could constrain principals' clout in securing commitment to the goals and vision of the school, if they exist at all. In addition, the data in figure 6.7 indicate that there is no consensus among participants as to how much power they have over each of the four components, which transmits a sense of ambiguity surrounding what is in principals' power and what is not. This ambiguity could result from a lack of clear rules and inconsistencies in practices and expectations across regions of the country. The different DPEs might have different expectations of and relationships with the principals under their jurisdiction. There are no strong protections to principals' power whose decisions need to be

somehow sanctioned by superiors in the upper levels of the hierarchy. This gray area characterizing the role and authority of principals allows the state to interfere and impose its will whenever seen appropriate, which severely undermines leadership from within schools. The conclusion is that principals' position power is very limited due to a tightly controlled public system affording schools very little or no independence at all. Yet, principals need to lead by example since leadership is not a function of power itself but rather how it is used. In fact, power can be generated by modeling desirable behaviors and values and inspiring others to do likewise.

The interviews conducted with principals yielded similar results. There is a consensus among all seven principals that their position power is very limited. They all report difficulty ensuring their teachers' participation in school meetings and activities, compliance with binding rules and regulations, and even fulfillment of basic duties. One principal proclaimed that:

As a school principal, I cannot make my teachers participate in school activities let alone engage in improvement projects. Therefore, it is important to afford principals more authority in accordance with the law to protect against abuse of power. (Interview 6, lower secondary, Fez, male)

The participants also cite difficulty in enforcing laws and regulations. They declare that they are very cautious and hesitant when it comes to applying the law, which could result in adverse consequences. They point out that taking action against teachers or students for failure to abide by rules often draws unfair criticism, poisons relationships, and increases tensions within the school, consequences which they are advised to avoid at all cost by superiors. As a result, they all insist on the importance of leniency and flexibility when trying to enforce discipline and order across the school. One principal noted that "if you try to apply the law, you will end up with an empty school or you will set it on fire" (Interview 4a, elementary, Fez, male). He gives an example with teachers who fail to show up for work without on any given day without prior notification. Reprimanding or reporting these

teachers, he continues, would only exacerbate the problem of absenteeism because these teachers could resort to obtaining a sick note for a much longer period of time when they are actually not sick. The problem therefore has to be resolved amicably and tactfully. This same approach, they report, has to be adopted with students. The interviewees indicate that they stand powerless in the face of students' disruptive and violent behavior which has become an epidemic within their school. They argue that their authority to action to ensure discipline, order and an adequate learning environment has become out of hand after the MNE's circular preventing the suspension of students for misbehavior, a policy that has dire consequences on the educational process. One principal affirmed that:

A serious impediment to achieving a better quality of education is students' disciplinary problems and the lack of authority we have to address such problems. The situation is out of control; we have teachers who are attacked by their students, but we cannot do anything about the aggression apart from talking to parents and giving warnings. We have to have punishment just as we have reward to be able to take all necessary measures against the lack of discipline. How can we lead while we are stripped of all authority to do so and faced with an ever increasing workload? This is happening at a time when decentralization and shared decision making are at the center stage of public debate. I believe that for any improvement to occur, it is a must to increase school autonomy across the country. (Interview 5, upper secondary, Fez, male)

Principals claim to enjoy little autonomy not only in dealing with students but also with teachers. They all assert that they have little power over rewarding and punishing teachers, who they are pressured by superiors and others to give highly favorable evaluations irrespective of their performance. One principal commented that:

We always give teachers the top mark (20/20) because giving lower marks usually draws anger from teachers and suspicion and discontent from superiors in the DPE. If we give teachers a mark lower than 20/20, we have to submit a report to the DPE explaining the motivations behind our decision, whereas giving the highest mark requires no report and causes not troubles. (Interview 4a, elementary, Fez, male)

These practices on the part of the DPEs reveal that increasing performance and the quality of learning across schools is in effect not a priority, if not on the agenda of education officials. There seems to be a preference for inaction and keeping the status quo as the interviewees

made clear. Officials at the DPEs are most interested in whether schools are running, not so much how they are running. The goal is that classes meet as scheduled and every effort should be made so that no interruptions take place even when at the expense of learning. The participants insist that there is no genuine desire among superiors for identifying and addressing problems faced at schools; rather, there are attempts for covering problems and keeping them away from the public. A principal stressed that:

Officials always demand that we keep and solve problems within the parameters of the school. Even when we have serious issues that need intervention from the DPE, we are told to do anything to get by. When we raise problems with officials at the DPE, they ask us to deal with them by ourselves in whatever way possible. (Interview 4, elementary, Fez, male)

Another principal confirmed that:

The officials at the DPE emphasize that we do not bring to their attention any problems. They say, “do not bring us your problems, keep and solve them within your school.” (Interview 1, elementary, Fez, male)

This lack of support results in a reluctance among principals to undertake any initiatives that might challenge the status quo, the top priority of educational authorities. One principal explained the situation where he and his counterparts operate as follows:

When we take action against a student or a teacher, the DPE never approves of our decisions. They often suggest a course of action contradicting ours, which constrains our ability to take action and make appropriate decisions when needed. (Interview 4b, elementary, Fez, male)

Adding to all these challenges is interference from teacher unions, politicians, and businesspeople in school affairs. All principals cite relentless meddling from powerful individuals who intervene to secure decisions in favor of a teacher or student for all kinds of reasons, which is detrimental to the leadership work within schools. One principal indicated that:

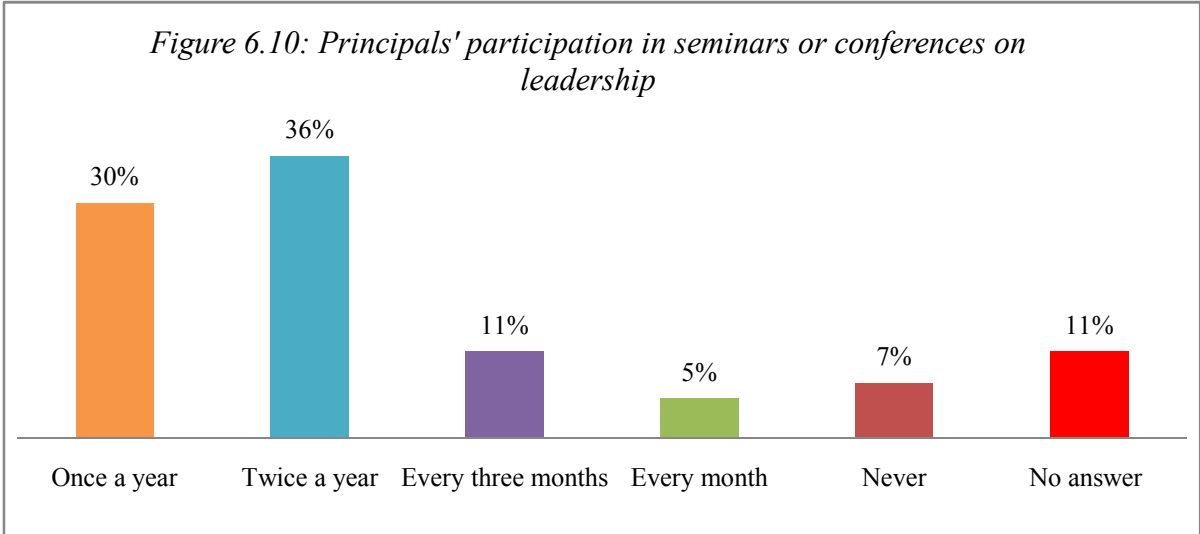
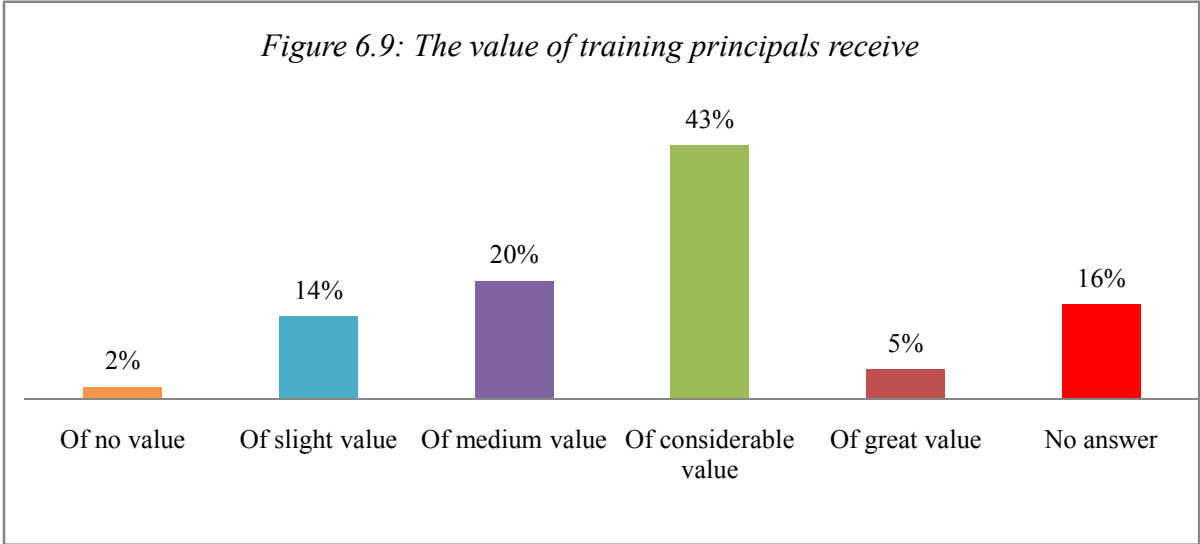
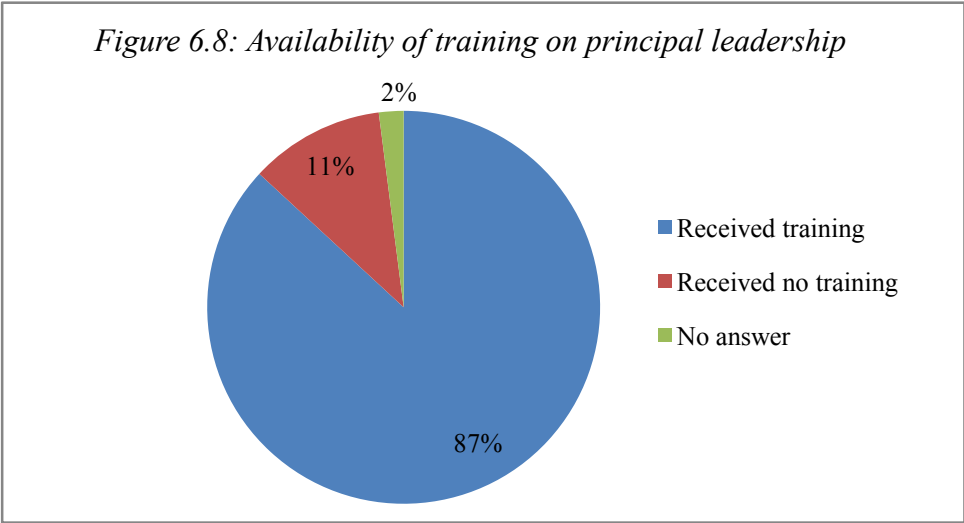
There are teachers who are negligent and fail to perform their jobs properly. When I report them to authorities in the DPE, they take no action against them. These teachers often have connections that shield them against any form of punishment and allow them to get away with their negligence and irresponsibility. (Interview 6, lower secondary, Fez, male)

All these findings reveal one important truth, which is that leading schools is in the hands of those outside, not inside, schools. Decision making lies in the realm of a few at the top of the hierarchy. These elites' actions reveal no particular interest in leadership because their biggest concern is keeping the status quo. They act as royalties who do not want to deal with others' problems and who reduce their jobs to giving orders which have to be obeyed under all circumstances. Principals are expected to implement rather than create change; they are to follow rather than lead. They operate in an uncharted zone, leaving them powerless and hesitant to uncover and address the problems that not many inside and outside schools want to confront.

VI.4.2. Training and Incentives

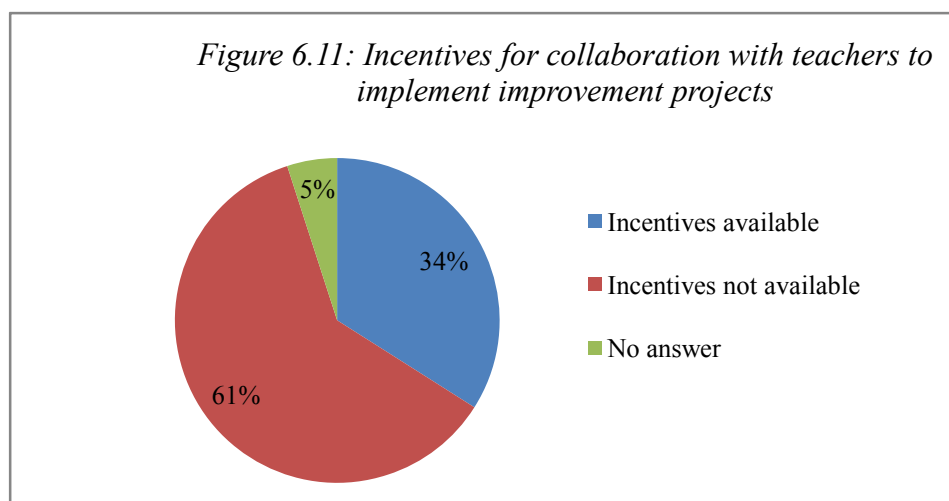
Position power is certainly important, but in itself it produces no specific results. It is how power is used that makes the difference. Training and incentives are important because they could optimize the yields of the power at hand or otherwise. When principals are equipped with adequate knowledge and skills, they can achieve improvement, which may be small but incremental, even if their position power is severely constrained. This is particularly true when incentives are provided for those who invest time and effort to improve learning across their schools. It is important therefore to determine whether there is any training on principal leadership, the worth of such training, and whether there are any incentives for principals to engage in leadership within their schools. The percentages in figure 6.8 reveal that a vast majority of participants (87%) indicate that they have received some type of training on principal leadership. However, their views about the value of the training provided vary. As shown in figure 6.9, the highest percentage of participants (43%) mention that the training is of considerable value while 20% indicate it is of medium value and 14% find it to be of slight value. Overall, the training provided viewed favorably. To identify the extent to which principals are involved in other forms of training, they were asked how often they

participate in seminars or conferences about school leadership. As illustrated in figure 6.10, participation in these types of events ranges mainly from once to twice a year. These results



reveal that there is training on leadership and that principals generally participate in and value the training available. In other words, principals on the whole have the knowledge and skills to effect improvement within their schools, but it is not clear how effectively they use what they learn in practice and to what extent they are enabled to do so. During the interviews, all principals stressed that the problem is not much a lack of ideas or skills but rather of resources and support. These latter are, they note, what keeps the leadership work across schools under great constraint. They insist that attention needs to be directed at developing an environment receptive of the revolutionary ideas embedded in the concept of school-based leadership.

Incentives, whether moral or material, are an important factor in human action. In fact, incentives and training are closely interlinked. When their efforts are appreciated and rewarded, principals are likely to show more dedication to their work by seeking new knowledge and skills and adopting creative solutions to the problems faced. Similarly,



devotion to one's work can draw praise from others and result in a sense of fulfillment or even material gain, which all work to fuel the leadership work within schools. Therefore, principals were specifically asked if there were any incentives for their collaboration with teachers to implement school-wide improvement projects, a practice that is at the heart of all leadership. The percentages in figure 6.11 show that incentives for principals' involvement in the

leadership work are absent in most cases. A majority of participants (61%) cite that there are no incentives while only 34% indicate that there are. This lack of incentives is detrimental to leadership across schools. Principals might have the willingness and readiness to lead, but they might be hesitant to do so because their initiatives may not be welcomed by those inside and outside schools and may threaten the status quo, which seems to be a priority for the educational authorities. The case is that principals are not expected to lead and it is only natural that there are no incentives for their involvement in such work. It would be very costly, mentally, psychologically, socially, and even economically, for principals to challenge the status quo and venture into a terrain, i.e. leadership, which is rife with risk and ambiguity and which they are not advised to conquer.

Briefly, principals across public schools in Morocco enjoy very limited position power and are generally given no incentives for exercising leadership within their schools. Principals are not expected to lead or act independently of their superiors under all circumstances. They mostly serve as a watchdog ensuring teachers' compliance with the MNE's policies and orders. The training the participants indicate they receive might be focused more on management than on leadership, i.e. how to better serve within, rather than how to change, an existing structure or culture (Schein, *op. cit.*). There seems to be a particular emphasis by those at the top of the hierarchy on following the prescribed ways because, in their view, conformity to a single authority is important for unity. Lack of conformity, they believe, is a direct threat to the unity of society. That is, there must be one leader, not many.

VI.5. Principals' Attitudes towards Teachers

Human agency has proved to achieve miracles. The attitudes principals have towards their teachers and the leadership work exert tremendous influence on the educational outcomes within schools. Attitudes reveal the nature of relationships existing between principals and their teachers. Leadership cannot take place in any school, regardless of the

conditions, without supportive, cooperative, and trusting relationships among actors. To identify the nature of attitudes and therefore relationships principals have with their teachers, a semantic differential scale consisting of seven items is used. The items alternately start with

Table 6.8: The semantic differential results for principals' attitudes towards their teachers

		1	2	3	4	5		No answer
1*	Energetic	15 (34.09%)	21 (47.72%)	3 (6.81%)	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)	Sluggish	4 (9.09%)
2	Impractical	3 (6.81%)	1 (2.27%)	5 (11.36%)	19 (43.18%)	14 (31.81)	Practical	2 (4.54%)
3*	Strong	10 (22.72%)	16 (36.36%)	13 (29.54%)	3 (6.81%)	0 (0%)	Weak	2 (4.54%)
4	Lazy	2 (4.54%)	2 (4.54%)	5 (11.36%)	14 (31.81%)	20 (45.45%)	Industrious	1 (2.27%)
5*	Friendly	22 (50%)	12 (27.27%)	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)	4 (9.09%)	Unfriendly	2 (4.54%)
6	Deceitful	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)	8 (18.18%)	10 (22.72%)	21 (47.72%)	Frank	1 (2.27%)
7*	Helpful	26 (59.09%)	10 (22.72%)	4 (9.09%)	1 (2.27%)	2 (4.54%)	Unhelpful	1 (2.27%)

* Items starting with a positive adjective

positive or negative adjectives so that participants do not randomly select the same the answer throughout the scale. As illustrated in table 6.8, the values for the asterisked items starting with a positive adjective on the left-hand are reversed (1 = 5, 2 = 4, 3 = 3, 4 = 2 & 5 = 1) to synchronize the scores. Some items were left unanswered, which is why the percentages do not add up to 100%. The raw results of the scale are cited in table 6.8, which provides details of the values obtained in each of the five positions between the adjective pairs.

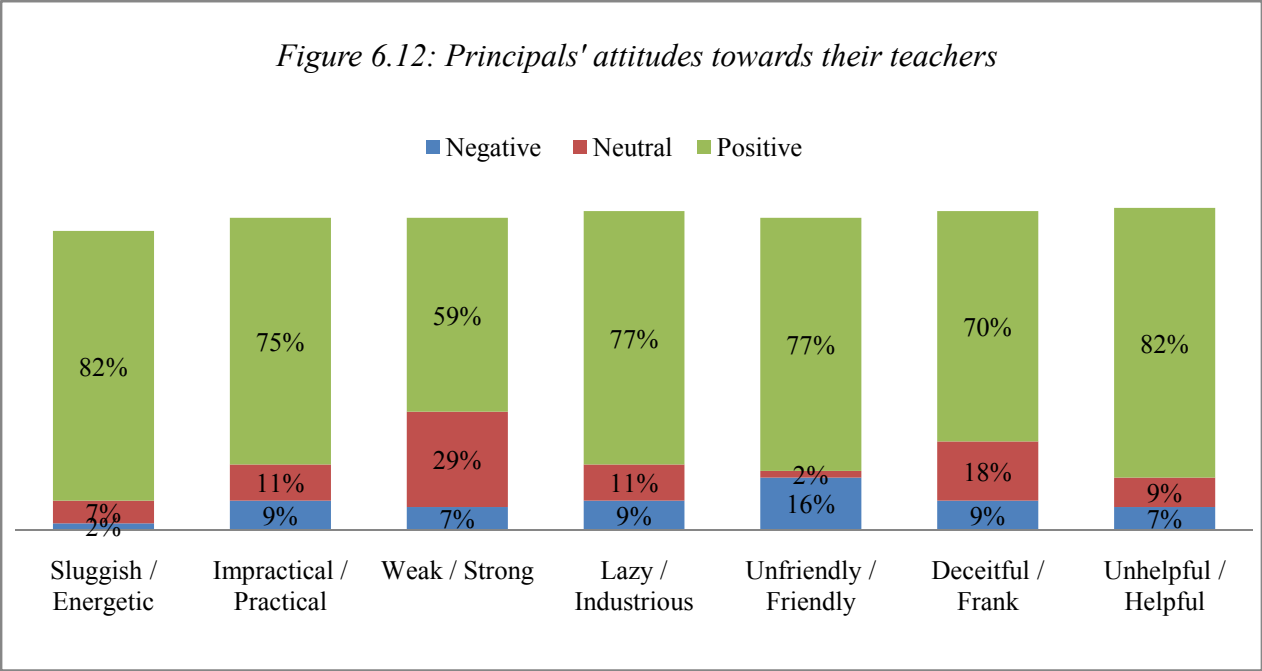
To make sense of the data, responses on the negative (1 & 2) and positive (4 & 5) ends of each item are combined and a mean score is calculated to indicate the nature principals' attitudes towards their teachers. The figures in table 6.9 indicate that principals' attitudes towards their teachers are highly positive. All seven items achieved a mean score above 4.0; the whole scale obtained an average mean score of 4.38. As depicted in figure

6.12, a vast majority of participants reveal that their teachers are energetic (82%), practical (75%), industrious (77%), friendly (77%), frank (70), and helpful (82). These results imply that the principals have positive relationships with their teachers, a factor that is key to the

Table 6.9: The mean scores for the semantic differential items

	Adjective pairs	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Mean score
1	Sluggish / Energetic	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)	36 (81.81%)	4.75
2	Impractical / practical	4 (9.09%)	5 (11.36%)	33 (75%)	4.38
3	Weak / Strong	3 (6.81%)	13 (29.54%)	26 (59.09%)	4.09
4	Lazy / industrious	4 (9.09%)	5 (11.36%)	34 (77.27%)	4.39
5	Unfriendly / Friendly	7 (15.90%)	1 (2.27%)	34 (77.27%)	4.28
6	Deceitful / Frank	4 (9.09%)	8 (18.18%)	31 (70.45%)	4.25
7	Unhelpful / Helpful	3 (6.81%)	4 (9.09%)	36 (81.81%)	4.53
Average mean score					4.38

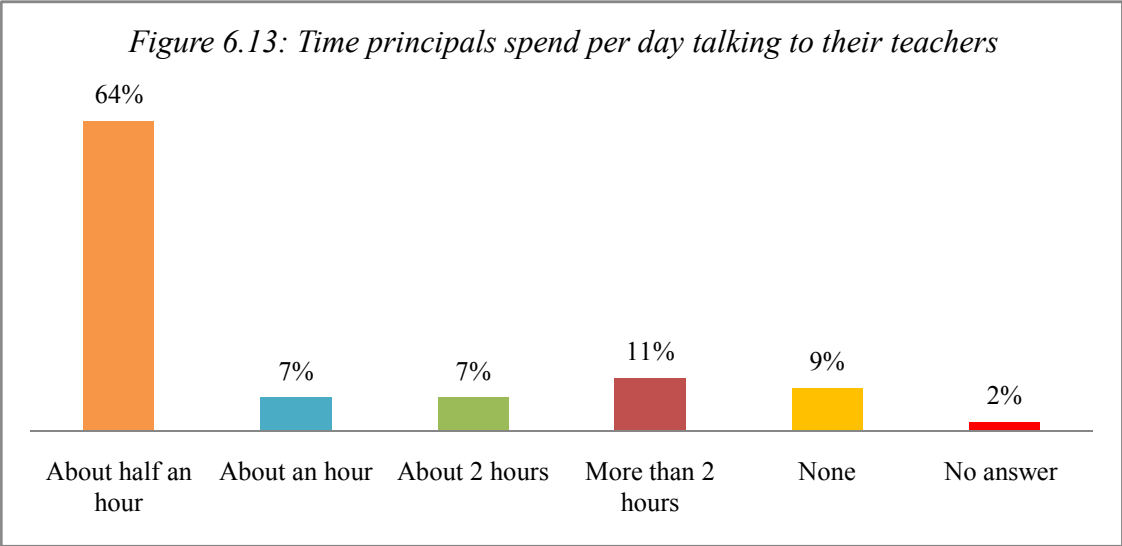
Figure 6.12: Principals' attitudes towards their teachers



work of leadership. However, these results cannot be taken at face value because it is hard for principals to resist the drive to overrate their teachers to project a good image about

themselves and their schools. Admitting that teachers are sluggish, lazy, or unfriendly would mean that there is trouble in the school, for which principals must be partly responsible. The risks for principals in being completely honest and revealing what they really think about their teachers are high; honesty in these types of matters in their view is unprofessional and cannot be but harmful. The data derived from the interviews reveal weak and unproductive relationships between and among principals and teachers. One revolutionary principal showing great confidence and integrity succinctly described the kind of relationships existing at his school and many others. He insisted that “on the surface, there seems to calm and peace within the school, but beneath there is war” (Interview 4a, elementary, Fez, male). This same principal added that “if you try to apply the law, you will end up with an empty school or you will set it on fire” (Interview 4a, elementary, Fez, male). Undoubtedly, conflict or disagreement within a school cannot be eliminated altogether. In fact, some level of disagreement is sometimes healthy because it could help minimize groupthink, a condition in which members of a group refrain from questioning the group’s methods or decisions for fear of being rejected (Gronn, *op. cit.*). However, the level of conflict described by this principal and all interviewed others cannot be but destructive. The delusion of peace and harmony on the surface and the presence of “war” beneath are symptomatic of schizophrenia, hypocrisy, and deep distrust characterizing relationships between and among principals and teachers. When participants indicate that their teachers are practical, industrious, frank, friendly, and helpful as illustrated in figure 6.12, they are describing “surface relationships” rather than “depth relationships.” The many problems principals report in section VI.4.1, e.g. absenteeism, and lack of integrity and commitment, reveal widespread antagonism and strife among actors, which harms the prospects for leadership within schools. At the deepest levels of relationships, there is distrust or, as plainly put by the principal, war between principals and teachers, which makes building partnerships, the backbone of all leadership, very difficult.

As a cross check question, the participants were asked how long they spend per day talking to their teachers in person. The percentages in figure 6.13 show that principals spend very little time interacting with their teachers. A large majority of participants (64%) indicates that they spend about half an hour per day talking to their teachers, whereas those who spend



an hour or two are very few (7%). There is therefore a lack of interaction of all kind, whether it be productive or otherwise, between principals and their teachers, which implies a prevalence of privatism running counter to the spirit of leadership, collaboration. This tendency towards privatism has roots in the concentration of decision making at the top levels of government. The what and how of doing work are not shaped by those inside schools; rather, they are prescribed by powerful bureaucrats who are positioned to make political decisions which put the interests of the ruling elite first and those of students, the weakest element in the power equation, last. Since matters are not subject to negotiation or change, principals and teachers find no reason in interacting with one another regularly and frequently. In addition, there are the extremely difficult working conditions described in section VI.2 which often lead to burnout, hopelessness, and negativity, making the notion, let

alone the practice, of leadership appear senseless in the eyes of principals and teachers. One principal lamented that:

The difficult working conditions at our schools render the practice of leadership unthinkable. What can you expect of a teacher of 56 students in class? It would take at least ten minutes to calm down these students. This is if the teachers are competent; if they are not, it would take much more time. How can our teachers have any motivation for change in such conditions? Even when they do, those in charge “pour a cold bucket of water on them” [i.e., they extinguish their desire for change]. (Interview 5, upper secondary, Fez, male)

Another major obstacle to leadership repeatedly mentioned in the interviews is ineffective scheduling that makes it hard for teachers to meet and collaborate. One principal noted that:

Teachers work either in the morning or the afternoon. Once they finish, they leave. This type of scheduling provides little opportunity for teachers to interact with each other and develop a sense of belonging to the school. (Interview 6, lower secondary, Fez, male)

Another principal openly declared that:

My teachers are all female. They come to work and leave once they are done. I rarely get to see them as they come and go. I usually prefer not to engage in any interaction with them since I do not want to be involved in the many conflicts they have with each other. (Interview 3, elementary, Fez, male)

These findings are indicative of deep-seated inertia across the system originating not merely from a lack of resources but most importantly from a lack of will, skill, and integrity, particularly among those in power, which have all become contagious and crippling of any attempts at change. Interaction between principals and teachers is minimal, if not nonexistent, because it is self- rather common-interest that is the driving force of action. Most damaging of all is that self-interest is pursued at the expense of public interest. Leadership of course is unlikely to materialize in a society or community that disintegrated and divided upon itself because leading is fundamentally acting in the interest of the public. Therefore, it is the mentalities, not only the system, that have to be reconfigured.

VI.6. Principals' Self-perceptions of their Leadership Behaviors

How one behaves in any particular situation can reflect leadership or a lack of it. Even the most difficult of circumstances cannot eliminate the practice of leadership altogether

because human action is a function of not only the situation where it takes place but also human agency (Spillane et al., op. cit.). People are thinking beings, not machines, who can influence in different ways and to different degrees their environment just as they can be influenced by it. The conditions described in all three previous sections (VI.3, 4 & 5) do constrain but not invalidate the work of leadership within schools. The aim of this section is to find out how principals are acting in the face of the adversity and the level of agency they demonstrate under the constraints of the context.

Undoubtedly, leadership is fluid in nature and cannot be reduced to any specific set of behaviors. The focus in this study is on those behaviors most consistent throughout time and space and most practical under the situation where principals operate. These behaviors are based on several instruments outlined in section V.6.1 of the fourth chapter and are as follows: persuasiveness, consideration, integration, tolerance of freedom, and intellectual stimulation. To determine the extent to which principals exhibit these behaviors, an 18-item Likert scale is employed. The scale, as shown in table 6.10, contains five response categories, each assigned a particular score: strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, undecided = 3, agree = 4, and strongly agree = 5. The asterisked items are negatively worded and scored in the reverse direction. To identify whether participants exhibit a behavior or not, responses to each item are averaged to obtain a mean score. Overall, a mean score of 3.0 or above means that the behavior occurs, whereas one below 3.0 indicates that the behavior does not occur. The raw results for the whole scale are displayed in table 6.10.

It is paramount to note that the leadership behaviors in question are desirable and can effect positive change across schools, but they cannot be tied to any specific results. There is a range of interacting variables that influence the results achieved on the ground. Also, the data

Table 6.10: Results of the 18-item Likert scale measuring principals' perceptions of their leadership behaviors

Item N°	As a school principal, I...	SD	D	U	A	SA	No answer
1	talk about the values and principles that guide my actions.	1 (2.27%)	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)	27 (61.36%)	11 (25%)	1 (2.27%)
2*	refuse to let teachers experiment when outcomes are uncertain.	5 (11.36%)	13 (29.54%)	3 (6.81%)	19 (43.18%)	4 (43.18%)	0 (0%)
3	make sure that teachers work together to develop and achieve shared goals.	3 (6.81%)	0 (0%)	3 (6.81%)	28 (63.63%)	9 (20.45%)	1 (2.27%)
4	develop cooperative relationships amongst teachers.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17 (38.63%)	26 (59.09%)	1 (2.27%)
5	share my beliefs about how things can be run most effectively within our school.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	20 (45.45%)	24 (54.54%)	0 (0%)
6	praise teachers for doing a job well.	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)	22 (50%)	19 (43.18%)	1 (2.27%)
7*	prefer not to challenge teachers to be innovative in doing their work.	13 (29.54%)	9 (20.45%)	7 (15.90%)	5 (11.36%)	6 (13.63%)	4 (9.09%)
8	treat teachers and students with dignity and respect.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)	12 (27.27%)	28 (63.63%)	3 (6.81%)

9*	refuse to give teachers a lot of freedom in deciding how to do their work.	18 (40.90%)	19 (43.18%)	3 (6.81%)	2 (4.54%)	2 (4.54%)	0 (0%)
10*	insist on following exact procedures in doing work.	13 (29.54%)	17 (38.63%)	3 (6.81%)	8 (18.18%)	3 (6.81%)	0 (0%)
11*	prefer not to maintain close relationships with teachers.	23 (52.27%)	13 (29.54%)	5 (11.36%)	2 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)
12*	refrain from enabling teachers to act like leaders.	12 (27.27%)	16 (36.36%)	8 (18.18%)	3 (6.81%)	4 (9.09%)	1 (2.27%)
13	excite teachers with visions of what can be done if we work together as a team.	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)	19 (43.18%)	24 (54.54%)	0 (0%)
14*	make decisions without consulting teachers.	30 (68.18%)	10 (22.72%)	2 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)	1 (2.27%)
15	encourage teachers to evaluate progress towards the achievement of school goals.	1 (2.27%)	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)	21 (47.72%)	21 (47.72%)	0 (0%)
16	accept and implement suggestions made by teachers.	1 (2.27%)	2 (4.54%)	3 (6.81%)	25 (56.81%)	13 (29.54%)	0 (0%)
17	stimulate teachers to think about what they are doing for the school's students.	0 (0%)	2 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	29 (65.90%)	13 (29.54%)	0 (0%)
18	urge teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work.	0 (0%)	3 (6.81%)	4 (9.09%)	25 (56.81%)	11 (25%)	1 (2.27%)

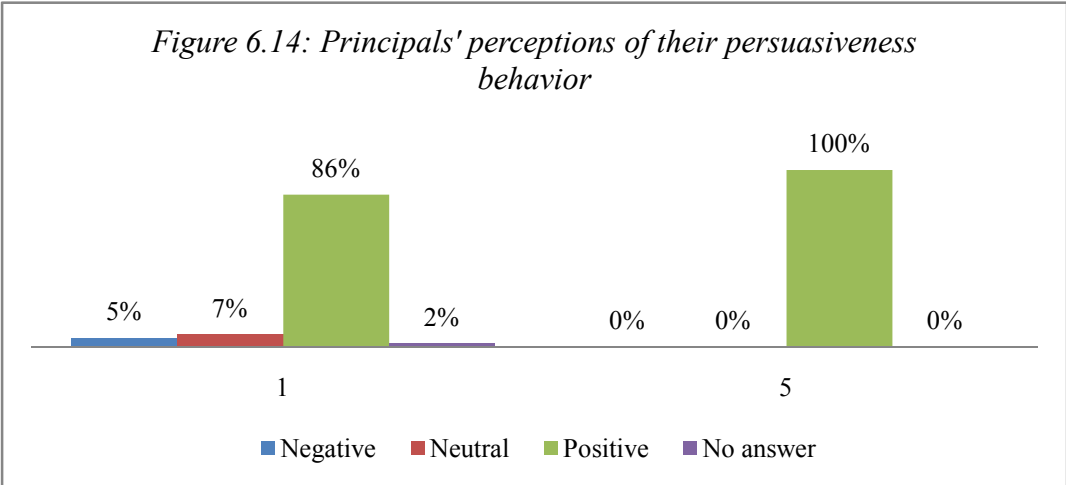
are based on principals' self-perceptions of their own behaviors and therefore cannot be taken for granted. For principals to make public, even when confidentiality is assured, how they really behave within their schools is taking unnecessary risk that may inflict self-harm. Self-perceptions, even when they are not meant to be public, tend to be more subjective than others' perceptions. The findings need to be viewed with a critical eye.

VI.6.1. Persuasiveness

If teachers are to join in the leadership work, they need to be persuaded, not coerced, particularly under the difficult working conditions. Persuasiveness, as specified in table 6.11, entails that principals talk about the values and principles underpinning any of their actions and share their beliefs about how matters could be run most effectively within the school. The

Table 6.11: Principals' perceptions of their persuasiveness behavior

Item N°	As a school principal, I...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
1	talk about the values and principles that guide my actions.	2 (4.54%)	3 (6.81%)	38 (86.36%)	1 (2.27%)	4.06
5	share my beliefs about how things can be run most effectively within our school.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)	0 (0%)	4.54
Average mean score						4.3



data in table 6.11 indicate that participants do exhibit the behavior. The two items representing the behavior obtained an average mean score of 4.3. After combining the

negatives (1 & 2) and positive (4 & 5) values into two distinct positions, 86% of participants cite that they do explain the values guiding their actions and 100% claim that they do share their beliefs about how things can be run effectively within the schools. These results imply that principals are extraordinarily persuasive, which cannot be but positive. An important reminder, however, is that matters are not in the hands of those inside schools, whether principals or their teachers. Decisions regarding what and how to teach are shaped solely by those at the very top of the hierarchy. These decisions are often, if not always, made without consultation with teachers; they are nonnegotiable and failure to abide by them is punishable. By and large, it is compulsion rather than persuasiveness that dominates the education spectrum in the country. Public officials, whether in charge of education or other sectors, have lost all credibility in the public eye. They need to change their actions, not only words, if they are to ever persuade the public. The relationship between those in power and teachers has never been one of partnership but rather of a superior-inferior type. Teachers' knowledge and grievances are completely ignored; they are overworked, underpaid, and expected to keep calm and obey. Yet, these officials want the public to believe that they are serious about change.

VI.6.2. Consideration

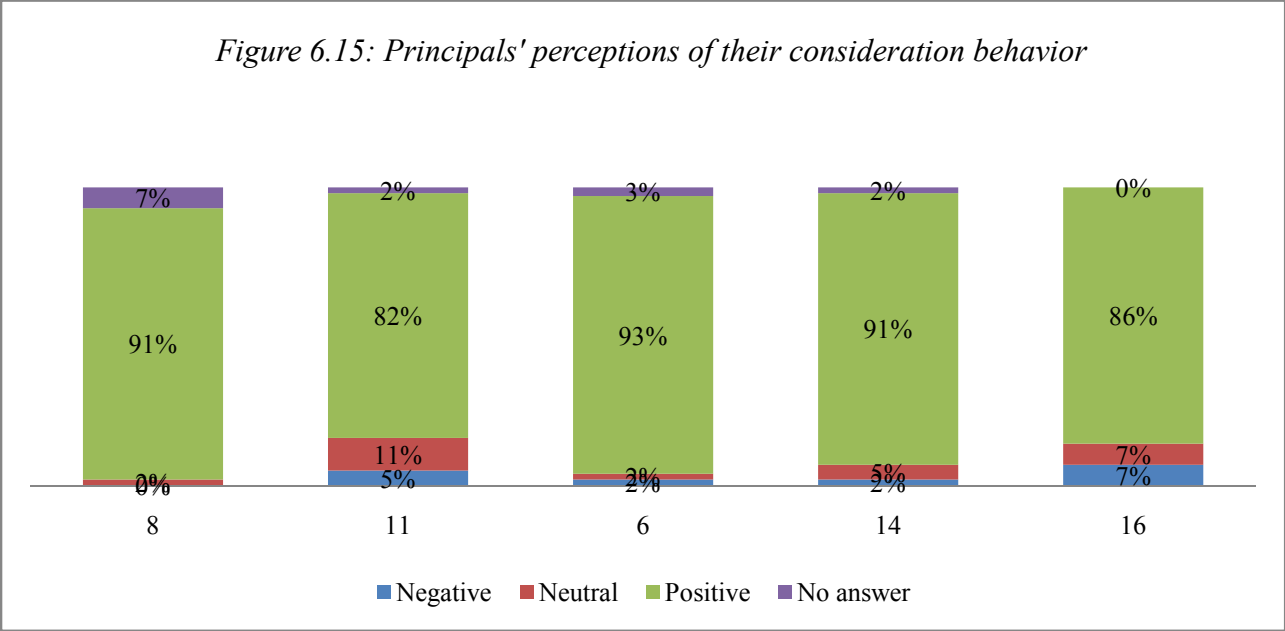
Consideration as a leadership behavior involves regarding the comfort, wellbeing, and contributions of others (Stogdill, 1963). Change does not happen merely by building more schools, hiring more teachers, increasing budgets, revising curricula, etc. Change is about people and relationships which have to be assigned utmost importance. To lead, principals or their superiors have to treat teachers with dignity and respect, maintain close relationships with them, recognize their efforts, and involve them in decision making. According to the numbers in table 6.12, the participants do demonstrate all cited aspects of the consideration behavior. All five items achieved a mean score above 4.0; the average mean score for the

whole scale is 4.39. The results obtained after collapsing the negative (1 & 2) and positive (4 & 5) values into two distinct positions reveal that a vast majority of participants do exhibit consideration. As displayed in figure 6.15, the positive positions all received high percentages of 80% or above. However, the extent to which these self-perceptions match what participants actually do on the ground remains unclear. It is really hard for principals to admit to not

Table 6.12: Principals' perceptions of their consideration behavior

Item N°	As a school principal, I...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
8	treat teachers and students with dignity and respect.	0 (0%)	1 (2.27%)	40 (90.90%)	3 (6.81%)	4.65
11*	prefer not to maintain close relationships with teachers.	36 (81.81%)	5 (11.36%)	2 (4.54%)	1 (2.27%)	4.32
6	praise teachers for doing a job well.	1 (2.27%)	1 (2.27%)	41 (93.18%)	1 (2.27%)	4.34
14*	make decisions without consulting teachers.	40 (90.90%)	2 (4.54%)	1 (2.27%)	1 (2.27%)	4.58
16	accept and implement suggestions made by teachers.	3 (6.81%)	3 (6.81%)	38 (86.36%)	0 (0%)	4.06
Average mean score						4.39

Figure 6.15: Principals' perceptions of their consideration behavior



behaving responsibly and declare that they are failing not only themselves but a whole community. Relationships, as discussed in section VI.5, are weak; most principals (64%)

report spending no more than half an hour per day interacting with their teachers. This simply means that principals and their teachers rarely, if ever, come to contact with one another. The level of interaction reported (about half an hour per day) is not by any means sufficient for showing any behavior of any type. Consideration, whether it be recognizing teachers' efforts, consulting them when making decisions, or treating them with respect, entails frequent contact and strong relationships among all those involved. If teachers "come to work and leave once they are done" (Interview 3, elementary, Fez, male), consideration becomes no more than an occasional cordiality, not a consistent and purposeful behavior. One important truth is that teachers' comfort, wellbeing, and contributions are not highly regarded by the state and society alike. The political elite allocate colossal budgets to upgrade the "hardware" of education, e.g. facilities, curricula, instruction, etc., which it has repeatedly failed to do, and refuses even to discuss, let alone address, the poor condition of the "software," i.e. people in the field. These are often blamed for decisions in which they never participate. Their efforts are undermined rather than recognized, and their reputation is being deliberately tarnished. Regardless of what principals might do, the state' heavy-handed and hawkish interference in the ins and outs of the educational process leaves actors within schools with little influence to exercise.

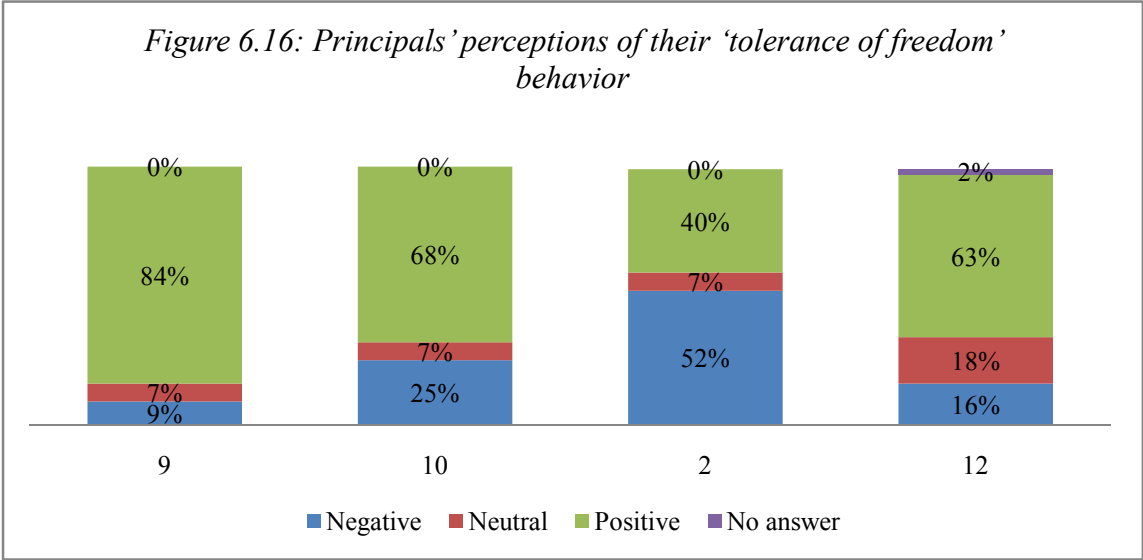
VI.6.3. Tolerance of Freedom

The 'tolerance of freedom' behavior entails allowing teachers scope for initiative, decision and action (op. cit.). Leadership cannot take place at schools unless teachers are allowed, to some degree, to act as leaders, not merely as obedient followers. Important aspects of the 'tolerance of freedom' behavior are affording teachers a level of freedom in deciding how to do their work, letting them experiment when outcomes are uncertain, and generally enabling them to act as leaders. The figures in table 6.13 indicate that principals exhibit the behavior but not as strongly as they demonstrate the two previous behaviors, persuasiveness

and consideration. Except item 2 which received a negative score of 2.90, all other items obtained a mean score of 3.0 or above. The scale as a whole achieved an average mean score of 3.58. Nevertheless, a close look at the percentages in figure 6.16 reveals inconsistencies in the results. While a vast majority of participants (84%) indicate that they give their teachers a lot of freedom in deciding how to do their work, 52% cites that they do not let teachers

Table 6.13: Principals’ perceptions of their ‘tolerance of freedom’ behavior

Item N°	As a school principal, I...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
9*	refuse to give teachers a lot of freedom in deciding how to do their work.	37 (84.09%)	3 (6.81%)	4 (9.09%)	0 (0%)	4.11
10*	insist on following exact procedures in doing work.	30 (68.18%)	3 (6.81%)	11 (25%)	0 (0%)	3.65
2*	refuse to let teachers experiment when outcomes are uncertain.	18 (40.09%)	3 (6.81%)	23 (52.27%)	0 (0%)	2.90
12*	refrain from enabling teachers to act like leaders.	28 (63.63%)	8 (18.18%)	7 (15.90%)	1 (2.27%)	3.67
Average mean score						3.58



experiment when outcomes are uncertain. This is an inconsistency because having freedom in deciding how to do work presupposes being able to experiment when outcomes are not warranted. Experimentation is an integral part of the freedom in deciding how to perform one’s work. Reporting tolerance of freedom but not experimentation is contradictory at best.

Moreover, the fact that a majority of participants (52%) indicate that they refuse teachers' experimentation when outcomes are uncertain implies an emphasis on following orders or the prescribed ways evident in the focus of the meetings principals attend at their schools, which is telling teachers what and how to do (see section VI.3.2). The lifeline of leadership is the freedom to think "outside the box," experiment, and come up with authentic solutions for the problems faced. In a centralized system that dictates and stresses compliance with one single approach to education engineered at the top level of government, tolerance of freedom whether by principals or respective authorities cannot be but meager.

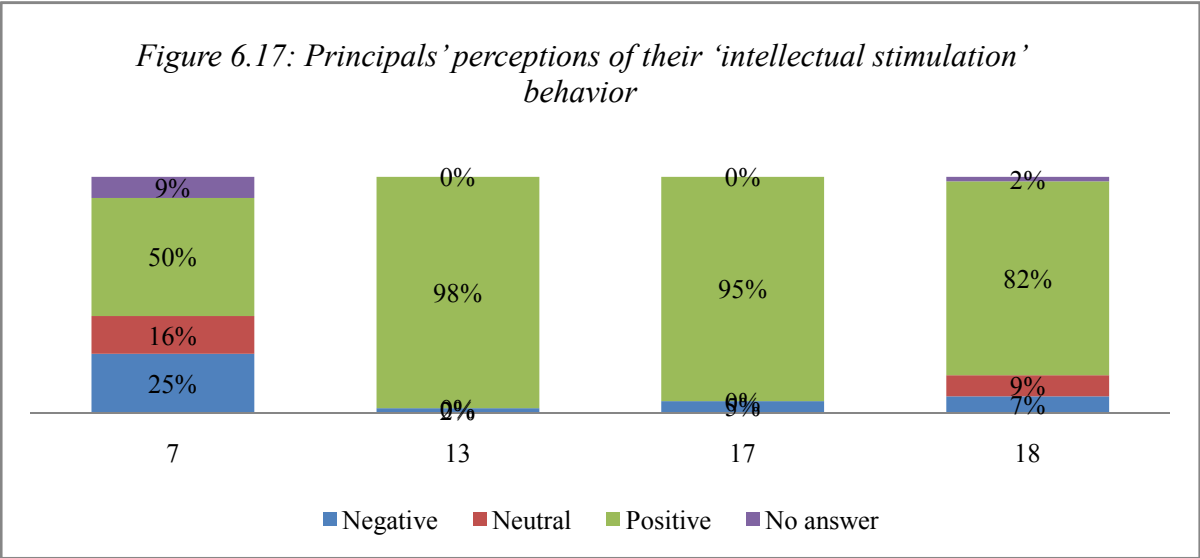
VI.6.4. Intellectual Stimulation

An important form of leadership is intellectual stimulation through which principals work to motivate their teachers through all appropriate means to come up with new and innovative ways of doing work. Important components of the behavior are encouraging teachers to be innovative, to work together as a team, to think about what they are doing for the school's students, and to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work. The participants, as illustrated in table 6.16, claim to exhibit all cited aspects of the behavior, suggesting they are transformational leaders to the core. All items of the scale achieved a positive score of 3.0; the average mean score for the whole scale reached 4.04. According to the percentages in figure 6.17, the vast majority of participants report that they work to stimulate teachers' intellect in all specified ways. As is the case with all studied behaviors, the interviews conducted with principals reveal a reality different from that portrayed by the quantitative data. For example, the fact that principals' interaction with their teachers is minimal and that the state exercises tight control over virtually all educational matters make the process of intellectual stimulation very improbable, if not ironic, because it necessitates adequate time and scope to thrive. It is possible that principals demonstrate the behavior occasionally but not in any systematic and purposeful fashion. The situation is that

teachers are being persistently asked to fit into a mould for all facets of the profession solely shaped by those at the top of the hierarchy rather than being encouraged to design, or participate in the design, of one. Certainly, teachers might be encouraged to think about how they could best fit into the existing mould, but what they could fit into well might not

Table 6.14: Principals’ perceptions of their ‘intellectual stimulation’ behavior

Item N°	As a school principal, I...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
7*	prefer not to challenge teachers to be innovative in doing their work.	22 (50%)	7 (15.90%)	11 (25%)	4 (9.09%)	3.45
13	excite teachers with visions of what can be done if we work together as a team.	1 (2.27%)	0 (0%)	43 (97.72%)	0 (0%)	4.5
17	stimulate teachers to think about what they are doing for the school’s students.	2 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	42 (95.45%)	0 (0%)	4.20
18	urge teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work.	3 (6.81%)	4 (9.09%)	36 (81.81%)	1 (2.27%)	4.02
Average mean score						4.04



ultimately deliver the results desired, which is often the case with top-down, one-size-fits-all reform projects. For innovation, collaboration, and reflection to take hold within schools, teachers need to be at the forefront of shaping the what and how of education; they need to be at the center not the periphery of decision making. In the former case, they are positioned to

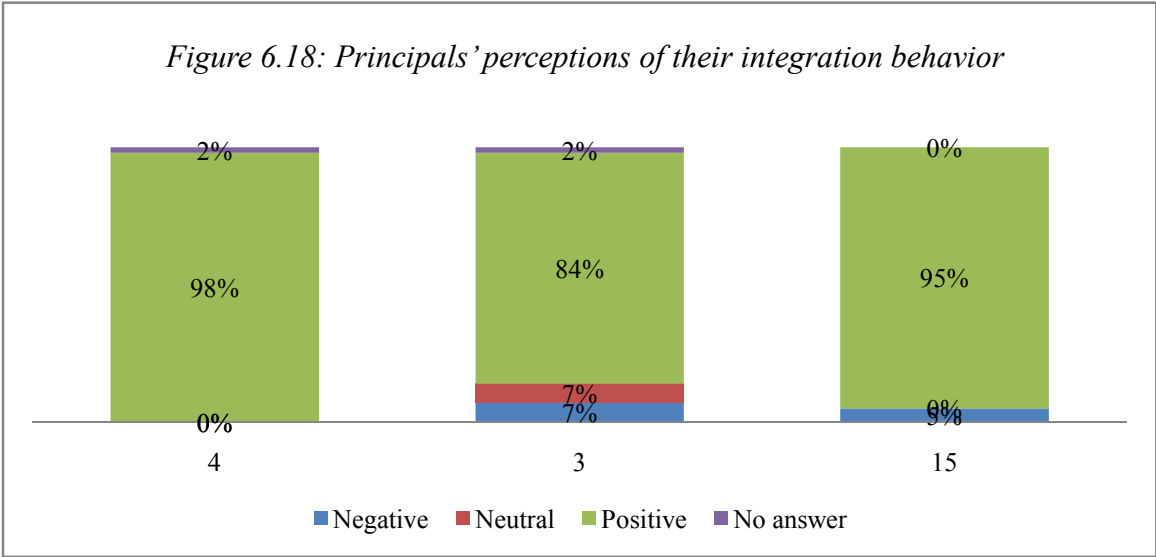
act as agents and leaders, whereas in the latter they are expected to serve as subjects with little or no influence over the course of action.

VI.6.5. Integration

Integration is yet an important leadership behavior that involves bringing teachers together for the achievement of common goals. The emphasis in this study is placed on the extent to which principals work to strengthen cooperation among teachers for the development and achievement of shared goals, and the evaluation of progress towards the set goals. The data in table 6.15 indicate that the participants demonstrate all specified forms of

Table 6.15: Principals’ perceptions of their integration behavior

Item N°	As a school principal, I...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
4	develop cooperative relationships amongst teachers.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	43 (97.72%)	1 (2.27%)	4.60
3	make sure that teachers work together to develop and achieve shared goals.	3 (6.81%)	3 (6.81%)	37 (84.09%)	1 (2.27%)	3.93
15	encourage teachers to evaluate progress towards the achievement of school goals.	2 (4.54%)	0 (0%)	42 (95.45%)	0 (0%)	4.36
Average mean score						4.29



the behavior. The scale as a whole obtained an average mean score of 4.29. A vast majority of participants, as displayed in figure 6.18, claim to exhibit each of three aspects of the behavior.

These results reveal attempts among principals to increase collaboration among their teachers, which is a major feature of the leadership practice. In fact, the work of integration is at the heart of principals' responsibilities; it is part of their duties to convene meetings and increase coordination and cohesion among members of staff. Yet, the extent of integration that takes place due to principals' efforts remains unclear, particularly in light of the many problems plaguing the public school system. Integration is difficult to achieve even in democratic systems where there are adequate support and resources and where the human asset is assigned paramount importance. In the case of an extremely bureaucratic, hierarchical system that relies on command and control and suffers perpetual deficiencies, integration is even more difficult to achieve. People in such a system are separated by rank and status, creating socioemotional barriers that draw individuals apart rather than together. In a hierarchy, people are divided into leaders-followers by virtue of their positions rather than actions. Those designated leaders can only disapprove, if not oppose, attempts by those designated followers to assume leadership roles within schools or any other organization. Principals' efforts at integration may not even be welcomed by superiors because the process, if it presumably materializes, would increase teachers' power and eventually pose a threat to the established hierarchy and the status quo. After all, whatever decisions or plans of action that might result from integration could be revoked or simply sidelined by the appointed leaders who have the upper hand in all educational matters. In sum, for integration to take place within schools, it has to be worth the time and effort.

VI.7. Principals' Perceptions of their Teachers' Leadership Behaviors

Leadership, as discussed in chapters II and III, is not the sole realm of principals but also of teachers. These latter, as Smylie et al. (2004) point out, are a constituting part of school leadership which "exists and functions in the relationships between leaders and followers" (p. 177). Teachers, like all living beings, are capable of action (Varghese, 2007)

and therefore influencing the environment where they operate just as they can be influenced by it. Smylie et al. (op. cit.) clarify that:

Whether or not they [teachers] occupy leadership roles, whether or not they perform particular leadership functions, teachers can exert influence by simply being part of the “webs” of relationships that define school organizations. We are reminded that influence in schools is exercised in all directions and among all participants. (p. 177)

It is these mutually influential relationships that make studying the leadership behaviors of both principals and teachers crucial. Such a type of study allows for comparing principals’ perceptions of their own leadership behaviors to those of their teachers’, and ultimately identifying the ways in which both groups are likely to influence each other.

There are three important leadership behaviors of teachers investigated in this study: consideration, integration, and production emphasis (see section V.6.1). To determine the extent to which teachers exhibit these behaviors, a 13-item Likert scale is used. The scale, as displayed in table 6.16, contains five response categories, each assigned a particular score: strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, undecided = 3, agree = 4, and strongly agree = 5. The asterisked items are negatively worded and scored in the reverse direction. To establish whether participants exhibit a behavior or not, responses to each item are averaged to obtain a mean score. Overall, a mean score of 3.0 or above indicates that the behavior occurs, whereas one below 3.0 implies that the behavior does not occur. The raw results for the whole scale are detailed in table 6.16.

As could be noticed throughout this study, the data is analyzed from the perspectives of all three research paradigms: positivist, interpretivist, and transformative. That is, to understand why principals and teachers behave the way they do, all relevant features of the situation are considered in the analysis. The situation here includes not only the characteristics of schools but also those of the education system and the political establishment. Influence, as

Table 6.16: Results of the 13-item Likert scale measuring principals' perceptions of their teachers' leadership behaviors

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I supervise at school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA	No answer
1	trust and care for each other.	1 (2.27%)	6 (13.63%)	11 (25%)	20 (45.45%)	4 (9.09%)	2 (4.54%)
2*	fail to work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement.	9 (20.45%)	17 (38.63%)	10 (22.72%)	5 (11.36%)	0 (0%)	3 (6.81%)
3	praise and appreciate the work of each other.	1 (2.27%)	7 (15.90%)	13 (29.54%)	19 (43.18%)	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)
4*	make no effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies.	5 (11.36%)	18 (40.90%)	9 (20.45%)	10 (22.72%)	0 (0%)	2 (4.54%)
5*	have a tendency to take sides and feud among each other.	6 (13.63%)	18 (40.90%)	6 (13.63%)	8 (18.18%)	2 (4.54%)	4 (9.09%)
6	treat each other with dignity and respect.	0 (0%)	4 (9.09%)	8 (18.18%)	21 (47.72%)	9 (20.45%)	2 (4.54%)
7*	show no interest in working together to achieve common goals.	10 (22.72%)	18 (40.90%)	7 (15.90%)	7 (15.90%)	0 (0%)	2 (4.54%)
8*	undermine each others' ideas.	9 (20.45%)	19 (43.18%)	6 (13.63%)	8 (18.18%)	0 (0%)	2 (4.54%)
9	develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement.	0 (0%)	7 (15.90%)	12 (27.27%)	18 (40.90%)	4 (9.09%)	3 (6.81%)
10*	have trouble getting along with each other.	9 (20.45%)	20 (45.45%)	6 (13.63%)	6 (13.63%)	1 (2.27%)	2 (4.54%)
11	are fun to work with.	2 (4.54%)	2 (4.54%)	12 (27.27%)	21 (47.72%)	5 (11.36%)	2 (4.54%)
12*	are reluctant to share ideas and materials.	6 (13.63%)	18 (40.90%)	8 (18.18%)	8 (18.18%)	2 (4.54%)	2 (4.54%)
13	work to improve learning schoolwide, not only in their classrooms.	1 (2.27%)	3 (6.81%)	13 (29.54%)	19 (43.18%)	5 (11.36%)	3 (6.81%)

Smylie et al. (op. cit.) maintain, flows from and into different sources; the exclusion, intentional or unintentional, of any of these sources is destined to result in a biased analysis. Therefore, the element of political power and how it works to influence actors within the school organization and society as a whole figure in the analysis whenever the need arises.

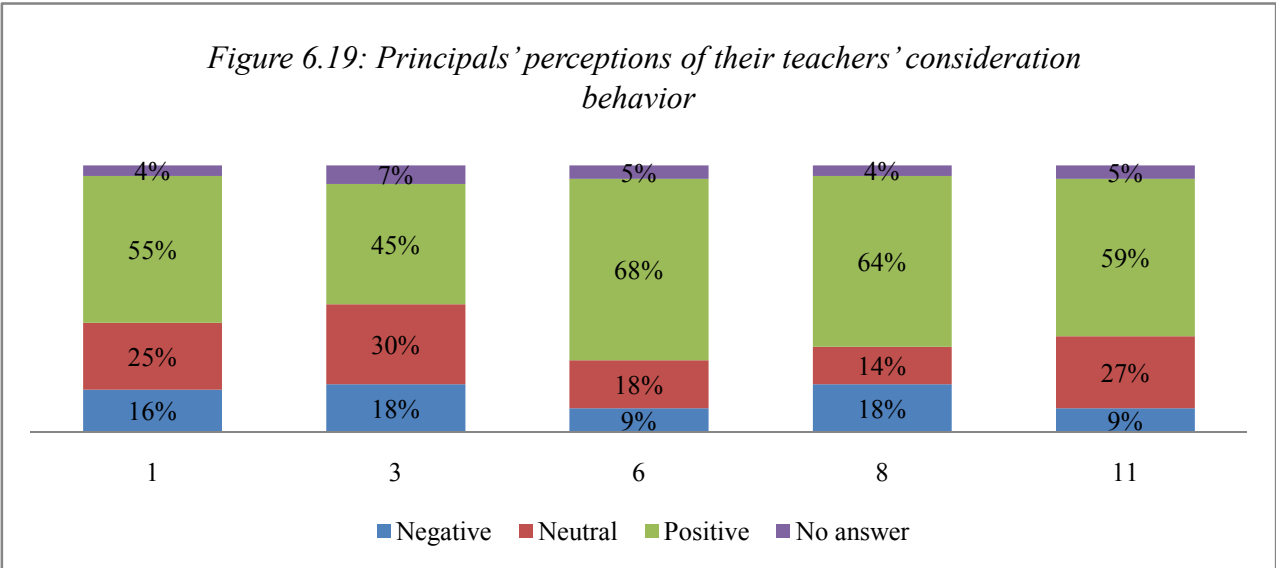
VI.7.1. Consideration

For a school to move forward, the most vital behavior its teachers need to exhibit is consideration. People’s regard for each other’s comfort, wellbeing, and contributions could do wonders within organizations and society at large. As detailed in table 6.17, the consideration behavior involves showing trust, honesty, recognition, appreciation, respect, and friendliness

Table 6.17: Principals’ perceptions of their teachers’ consideration behavior

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I supervise at school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
1	trust and care for each other.	7 (15.90%)	11 (25%)	24 (54.54%)	2 (4.54%)	3.47
3	praise and appreciate the work of each other.	8 (18.18%)	13 (29.54%)	20 (45.45%)	3 (6.81%)	3.29
6	treat each other with dignity and respect.	4 (9.09%)	8 (18.18%)	30 (68.18%)	2 (4.54%)	3.83
8*	undermine each others’ ideas.	28 (63.63%)	6 (13.63%)	8 (18.18%)	2 (4.54%)	3.69
11	are fun to work with.	4 (9.09%)	12 (27.27%)	26 (59.09%)	2 (4.54%)	3.59
Average mean score						3.57

Figure 6.19: Principals’ perceptions of their teachers’ consideration behavior



in interactions with colleagues, aspects that are elemental to achieving the mission of any particular organization. The numbers in table 6.17 reveal that teachers do generally exhibit all stated forms of the behavior. All items of the scale achieved a positive score of 3.0 or higher; the average mean score for the whole scale reached 3.57. The lowest score was registered by item 3 (3.29) followed by item 1 (3.47). As illustrated in percentages in figure 6.19, only 45% of principals agree that their teachers praise the work of each other while no more than 55% indicate that their teachers do trust and care for each other. The conclusion is that appreciation and trust are not widely common behaviors among teachers across schools. Furthermore, principals rate their consideration behavior much more favorably than those of their teachers. When rating themselves, the scale yielded an average mean score of 4.39 while it did not exceed 3.57 when rating their teachers. This difference could mean that principals are really more considerate to their teachers than these are to each other, tend to be subjective when rating themselves and less so when rating others, or a combination of both. Regardless, the teachers seem to be decently considerate to each other, at least on the surface which is still important. Underneath, however, there may not be necessarily the same level of consideration as that which is observed. This is particularly true given the “war” principals report to lie beneath the seemingly existing calm across schools. The weak relationships manifest in minimal contact of any sort between principals and their teachers is indicative of weak consideration, which usually results from and in unstated frictions.

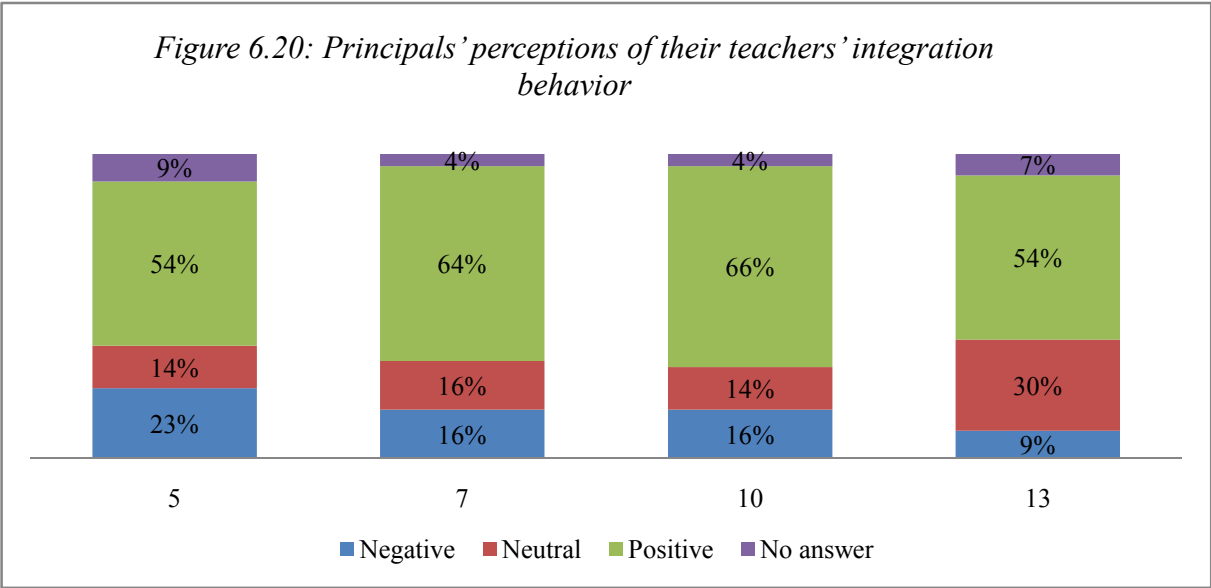
VI.7.2. Integration

Integration is key to the success of the school organization. To be able to lead, teachers need to put differences aside and work together for the common good. There is practically no chance for leadership to take place within schools if teachers are not willing and able to collaborate with one another in a regular and purposeful manner. The figures in table 6.18 indicate that teachers do demonstrate all specified aspects of the behavior. All items in

the scale achieved a positive mean score of 3.0 or above; the scale as a whole received an average mean score of 3.61. The lowest score was registered by item 5 concerning whether teachers have a tendency towards taking sides and feuding among each other. The second lowest score was obtained by item 13 regarding the extent to which teachers work to improve

Table 6.18: Principals’ perceptions of their teachers’ integration behavior

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I supervise at school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
5*	have a tendency to take sides and feud among each other.	24 (54.54%)	6 (13.63%)	10 (22.72%)	4 (9.09%)	3.45
7*	show no interest in working together to achieve common goals.	28 (63.63%)	7 (15.90%)	7 (15.90%)	2 (4.54%)	3.73
10*	have trouble getting along with each other.	29 (65.90%)	6 (13.63%)	7 (15.90%)	2 (4.54%)	3.71
13	work to improve learning schoolwide, not only in their classrooms.	4 (9.09%)	13 (29.54%)	24 (54.54%)	3 (6.81%)	3.58
Average mean score						3.61



learning schoolwide, not only in their classrooms. The percentages in figure 6.20 provide a clearer picture of the extent to which the behavior is exhibited across schools. Not more than about a half (54%) of participants cite that their teachers have no tendency to take sides and feud among each other and that they do work to improve learning schoolwide, not only in their individual classrooms. These results point to the presence of two major symptoms of disintegration, feuding and individualism, in many schools (about half of those surveyed),

rendering the emergence of teacher leadership very difficult. The fact that items 7 and 10 obtained higher percentages reveals inconsistencies in principals' responses. While a vast majority of participants (66%) indicate that their teachers do get along with each other, only 54% cite that there is no feuding among their teachers; this latter item is only a rephrase of the former and is meant as a cross-check, but there is a difference of 10% between the two. The same could be said about responses to items 7 and 13, which are both about collaboration for school-wide improvement but still received starkly different percentages for the positive positions, 64% for item 7 compared to 54% for item 13. As in the case of the consideration behavior, principals rate their integration behavior much more favorably (average score of 4.29) than that of their teachers' (average score of 3.61). This discrepancy could mean that principals strive for integration much more strongly than their teachers do or want to for all kinds of reasons discussed in sections VI.3, VI.4, and VI.5. Also, participants tend to overrate themselves compared to others, which might be a factor in the difference. Finally, there is a consistency in principals' perceptions of their teachers' consideration and integration behaviors. The scale for consideration yielded an average mean score of 3.57 compared to 3.61 for integration. For the consideration behavior, praise and trust among teachers are not strongly present across schools while for integration collaboration for improvement schoolwide is not a common practice, especially when considering principals' reports of hidden conflicts among teachers. All these conclusions point to weak integration among teachers, to say the least, which is not solely their fault but rather a systemic problem constraining the work of leadership across schools.

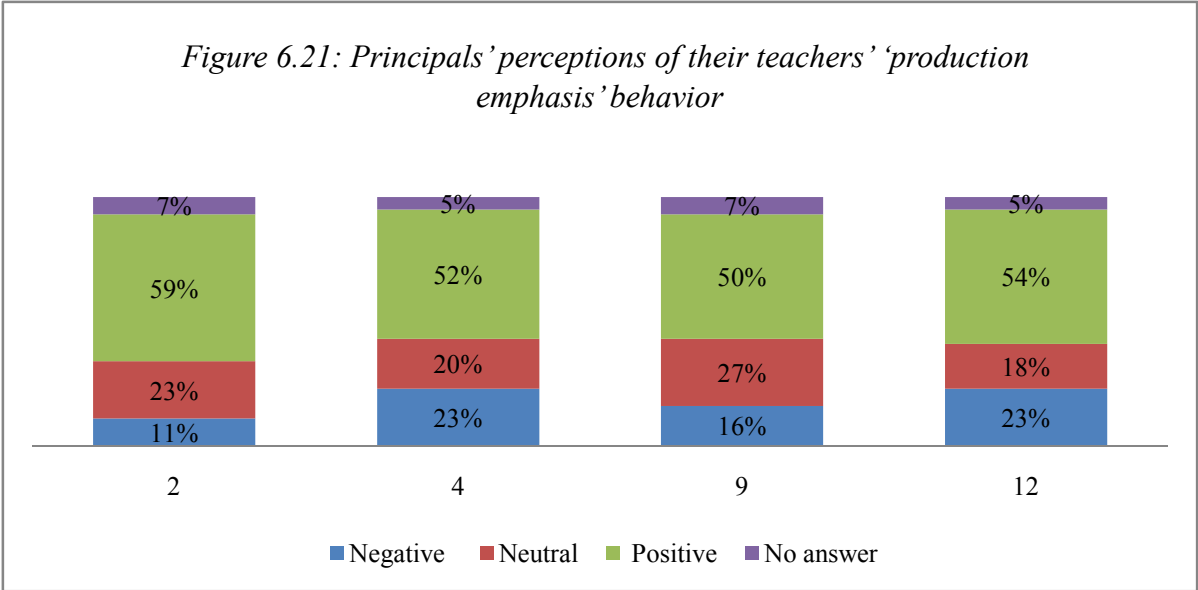
VI.7.3. Production Emphasis

The emphasis on production includes all forms of action teachers take to improve school performance, constituting the most tangible form of leadership across schools. Important aspects of the behavior comprise evaluating practice and exploring ways for

improvement, helping colleagues acquire new skills and strategies, developing shared goals and defining procedures for their achievement, and sharing ideas and materials. According to the data in table 6.19, teachers do demonstrate the ‘production emphasis’ behavior. All items in the scale obtained a mean score of 3.0 or above. The average mean score for the whole scale is 3.50. The percentages in figure 6.21 show that all items received from 50% to 59%.

Table 6.19: Principals’ perceptions of their teachers’ ‘production emphasis’ behavior

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I supervise at school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
2*	fail to work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement.	26 (59.09%)	10 (22.72%)	5 (11.36%)	3 (6.81%)	3.73
4*	make no effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies.	23 (52.27%)	9 (20.45%)	10 (22.72%)	2 (4.54%)	3.42
9	develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement.	7 (15.90%)	12 (27.27%)	22 (50%)	3 (6.81%)	3.46
12*	are reluctant to share ideas and materials.	24 (54.54%)	8 (18.18%)	10 (22.72%)	2 (4.54%)	3.42
Average mean score						3.50



The lowest percentage was registered by item 9 followed by item 4. For the former, only 50% of participants concur that their teachers work to develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement while for the latter no more than 52% confirm that their teachers make effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies. The implication is that these two

aspects of the behavior are not common in many of schools (about half of those surveyed), and so are the other two aspects which received between 54% and 59%. Compared to the consideration and integration, the 'production emphasis' behavior achieved the lowest average mean score of 3.50, suggesting that it is the least exhibited by teachers. Yet, all three behaviors, consideration, integration, and production emphasis, seem to be demonstrated at a superficial level mainly because interaction of any sort between principals and their teachers is very limited (see section VI.5). Even the meetings held at schools, which are supposed to serve as platforms for the work of leadership, are superficial since they are focused on telling teachers what and how to do (see section VI.3). These and many other conditions pertaining to school structure, training, incentives, decision making, attitudes, etc. render the reported presence of all leadership behaviors investigated no more than an occasional cordiality having very little or no impact on the quality of education delivered across public schools in the country.

VI.8. Conclusion

Based on the findings in this chapter, the characteristics of the situation where principals and their teachers operate make their involvement in the leadership practice very difficult and in many cases impractical. The situation is simply out of control; there are epidemic shortages in all types of material and human resources that are to be taken for granted, such as classrooms and teachers. As a result, principals and their teachers have large classes to teach and no authority to enforce discipline and eventually create an environment conducive to teaching and learning. There is also the problem of heavy workloads and mediocre salaries, let alone incentives. These observable challenges do constrain the work of leadership, but there are many others that are less explicit and aggravate the situation even further. These mainly concern the attitudes of the education officials towards principals and their teachers. The authorities often act with a near total disregard for principals and teachers'

expertise and dignity. Principals are often expected to act as watchdogs whose job is to make sure that the agenda of the power elite is not being challenged or abandoned. Similarly, teachers are coerced to serve as subjects and abide by the prescribed ways concerning all aspects of their profession. At the interviews, principals reported a blunt indifference and arrogance in the way authorities deal with actors within schools. All seven interviewees complained that their superiors at the DPE never reply to the reports they regularly send, not even a notification of receipt, let alone a “thank you” for that matter. While there might be an excuse for the lack of material support for teachers, there can be none for discourtesy and the lack of moral support. This latter costs nothing but could achieve miracles when it is honest and well-meant. One can easily notice a discrepancy between words and actions or rather a schizophrenia characteristic of state officials, which inflicts unnecessary damage, to say the least. To say something and do another is deception and moral corruption that give teachers no reason whatsoever to trust or cooperate with the state. It is often these soft moral and socioemotional aspects that matter most and therefore need to be assigned utmost importance. They are in fact the driving force of change and leadership, which are first and foremost about relationships.

Chapter Seven:

Teachers' Perceptions of their Principals
and Colleagues' Leadership Behaviors
across Public Schools

VII.1. Introduction

After investigating principals' perceptions of their own leadership behaviors and those of their teachers across public schools in the country, this chapter examines the same research topics but from the viewpoint of teachers, i.e. their perceptions of the leadership behaviors of their principals and colleagues. The chapter is therefore centered on three major variables: school structural characteristics, teachers' attitudes towards their principals, and teachers' perceptions of their principals and colleagues' leadership behaviors. Underpinning the foci of this study is that human action is a function of not only mental activity but also the situation where people function. No 'either-or' or deterministic approach as to what triggers action is adopted in this research. People influence and are influenced by the situation where they operate. The situation can enable or constrain-but not determine-human action (Spillane et al., 2004). Therefore, the variables explored in this study are not viewed as dependent or independent but rather as interdependent. Such an approach is in accordance with the purpose of the study, which aims at not only describing but also explaining. Specifically, this chapter sets out to describe: (a) the characteristics of schools and determine the extent to which they enable or constrain the leadership work, (b) teachers' attitudes towards their principals, the nature and strength of relationships among them, and how such relationships are likely to affect the leadership activity, and (c) the leadership behaviors' of principals and teachers and the level of agency they actually exhibit to effect change within their schools.

Since influence flows from and into different sources, factors of all sorts, whether they be purely educational, political, or sociocultural in nature, are figured whenever appropriate in the analysis of the data, which follows the principle ascribed to Socrates by Plato in the *Republic*: "We must follow the argument wherever it leads" (Plato, trans. 2004). It is important to note that data from the questionnaires are analyzed first followed by those from the interviews. Yet, the two instruments have equal weighting and are meant to answer the

same research questions from two different angles in order to provide a deeper understanding into the issues raised and increase the reliability and validity of the findings.

VII.2. Background Information

As noted in section V.5.3.1 of the fifth chapter, a total of 205 teachers participated in the questionnaire survey. The numbers in table 7.1 reveal a considerable level of variation in participants' characteristics. For variables such as years of experience, educational stage, site of the institution, and the school subjects taught, there is a sizeable number of participants

Table 7.1: Background information about teachers

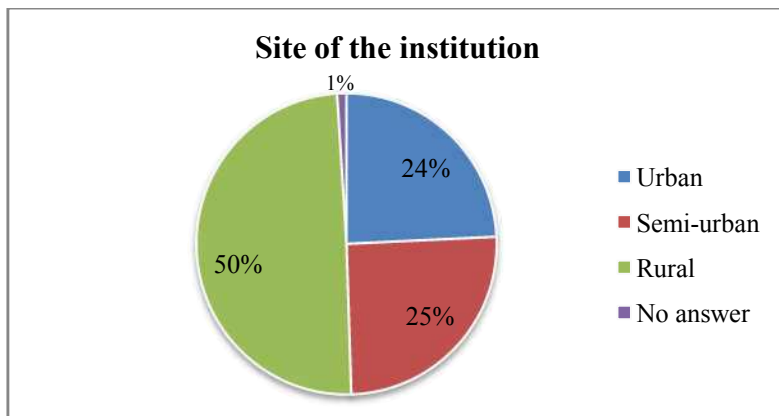
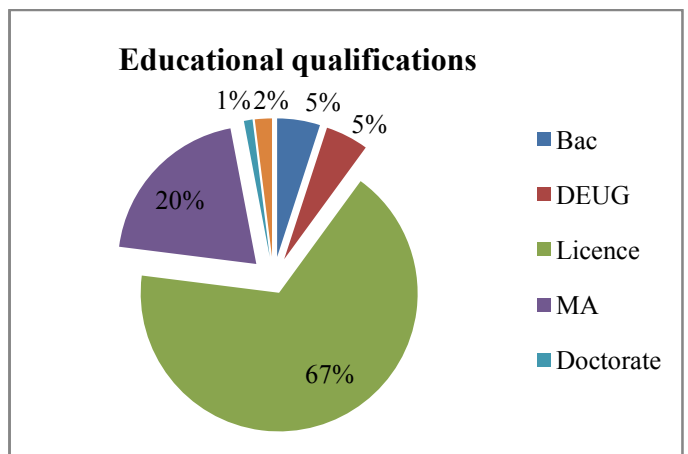
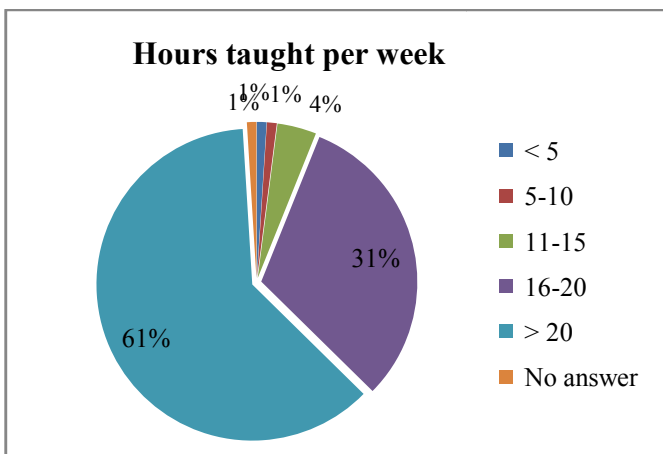
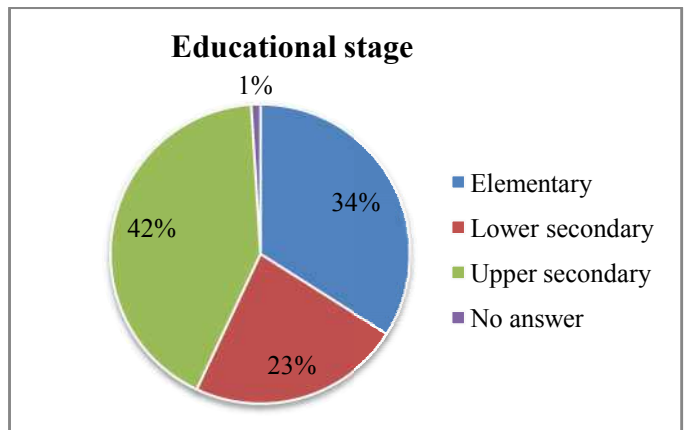
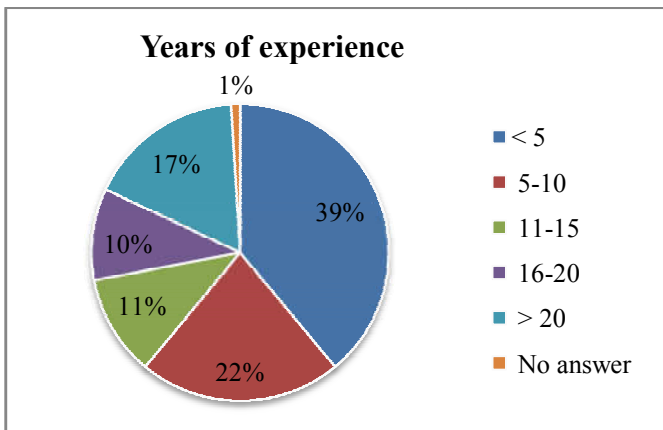
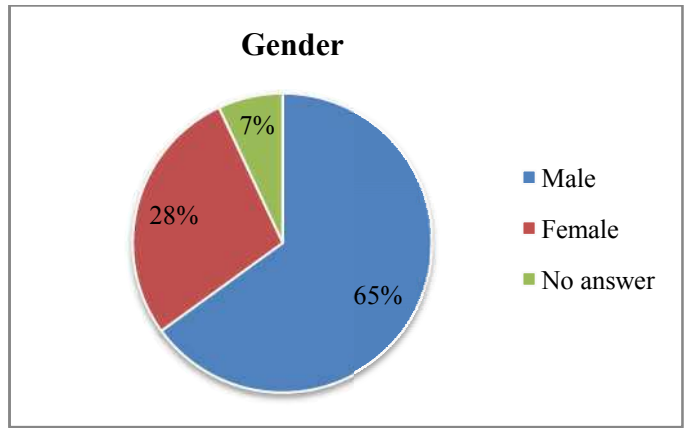
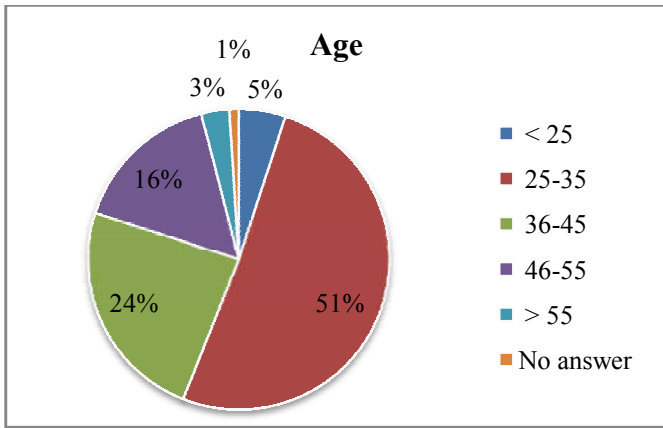
							No answer	
Age	< 25	25-35	36-45	46-55	> 55		2 / 0.97%	
	10 / 4.87%	105 / 51.21%	49 / 23.90%	32 / 15.60%	7 / 3.41%			
Gender	Male			Female			14 / 6.82%	
	133 / 64.87			58 / 28.29%				
Years of experience	< 5	5-10	11-15	16-20	> 20		1 / 0.48%	
	80 / 39.02%	46 / 22.43%	22 / 10.73%	20 / 9.75%	36 / 17.56%			
Educational stage	Elementary		Lower secondary		Upper secondary		2 / 0.97%	
	69 / 33.65%		48 / 23.41%		86 / 41.95%			
Hours taught per week	< 5	5-10	11-15	16-20	> 20		2 / 0.97%	
	3 / 1.46%	2 / 0.97%	9 / 4.39%	64 / 31.21%	125 / 60.97%			
Educational qualifications	Bac ^a	DEUG ^b	Licence ^c	MA	Doctorate		4 / 1.95%	
	10 / 4.87%	10 / 4.87%	137 / 66.82%	42 / 20.49%	2 / 0.97%			
Site of the institution	Urban		Semi-urban		Rural		3 / 1.46%	
	50 / 24.39%		52 / 25.36%		100 / 48.78%			
School subjects taught	Arabic	Philosophy	Physical Education	English	History & Geography	French	ICT	76 / 37.07%
	39 / 19.02%	6 / 2.92%	3 / 1.46%	16 / 7.80%	7 / 3.41%	32 / 15.60%	1 / 0.48%	
	Math	Islamic Education	German	Physics & Chemistry	Tamazight	Life & Earth Sciences		
	9 / 4.39%	6 / 2.92%	1 / 0.48%	2 / 0.97%	1 / 0.48%	6 / 2.92%		

^a *Baccalauréat*: the French equivalent for a high school degree.

^b Diploma lower than Bachelor Degree awarded upon completion of two years of study at university.

^c The French equivalent for a Bachelor degree.

Figure 7.1: Background information about teachers



distributed across all existing categories; no huge differences in percentages are registered across response categories. For the remaining variables such as age, gender, educational qualifications, and the hours taught per week, there is less variation, resulting in majorities being formed. As a result, most participants are male (65%), from age 25-35 (51%), hold a Bachelor Degree (67%), and teach more than twenty hours per week (61%). Yet, the sample remains largely varied. As illustrated in figure 7.1, participants come from diverse age groups, educational stages, work settings (rural v. urban), and levels of experiences. For these variables, no huge discrepancies exist in the percentages registered across the response categories. Of course, an even distribution of participants across categories is unlikely to be attained even in research studies conducted by large well-funded organizations. The fact that participants come from nine out of twelve regions in the country greatly contributes the generalisability and credibility of the findings.

VII.3. School Structural Characteristics

Indisputably, the structural characteristics of schools, whether general or specifically relevant to the work of leadership, exert great influence on the level of improvement that teachers and their principals can achieve. This section comes to identify the nature of these characteristics and the extent to which they enable and constrain the leadership practice. The aim is also to explore the ways in which school structures are likely to influence the leadership behaviors studied, which need to be approached in context rather than in isolation. Those general structures are analyzed first followed by those pertinent to leadership.

VII.3.1. General School Structures

Among the features of school structures included in this study are classroom facilities, supplies and equipment, methods of communication, scheduling, space for collaboration, workload, size of classes, salary policies, promotion opportunities, flexibility of rules and procedures, and curricula. To identify the nature of influence of these characteristics on the leadership activity across schools, a Likert scale consisting of eleven items is used. The scale

contains five response categories, each assigned a particular score: strongly disagree (SD) = 1; disagree (D) = 2; Undecided (U) = 3; agree (A) = 4; strongly agree (SA) = 5. The asterisked items in the scale are negatively worded and scored in the reverse direction. As indicated in table 7.2, answers to each item are averaged to obtain a mean score, which is deemed positive when it is 3.0 or above and negative when below 3.0. The raw results for the whole scale are detailed in table 7.2. The mean scores for each item are presented in table 7.3 and are all

Table 7.2: School structural characteristics as perceived by teachers

	SD	D	U	A	SA	No answer
The number of hours I teach per week at my school is unreasonable.	28 (13.65%)	41 (20%)	18 (8.78%)	55 (26.82%)	60 (29.26%)	3 (1.46%)
There are adequate classroom supplies and equipment at my school.	80 (39.02%)	78 (38.04%)	14 (6.82%)	23 (11.21%)	10 (4.87%)	0 (0%)
The classroom facilities at my school are sufficient and suitable.	63 (30.73%)	71 (34.63%)	17 (8.29%)	36 (17.56%)	15 (7.31%)	3 (1.46%)
The methods of communication across the school are well developed.	48 (23.41%)	99 (48.29%)	13 (6.34%)	29 (14.14%)	10 (4.87%)	6 (2.92%)
There is really too little chance for promotion on my job.	11 (5.36%)	35 (17.07%)	31 (15.12%)	60 (29.26%)	64 (31.21%)	4 (1.95%)
My schedule provides sufficient time for collaborating with other teachers.	77 (37.56%)	80 (39.02%)	17 (8.29%)	22 (10.73%)	5 (2.43%)	4 (1.95%)
My school has sufficient space for teachers to meet and collaborate.	71 (34.63%)	79 (38.53%)	8 (3.90%)	38 (18.53%)	7 (3.41%)	2 (0.97%)
The salary policies in place are fair and clear.	110 (53.65%)	53 (25.85%)	14 (6.82%)	16 (7.80%)	10 (4.87%)	2 (0.97%)
The size of my classes makes it difficult to do a good job.	25 (12.19%)	22 (10.73%)	9 (4.39%)	65 (31.70%)	82 (40%)	2 (0.97%)
Many of the rules and procedures at my school make doing a good job difficult.	13 (6.34%)	58 (28.29%)	24 (11.70%)	71 (34.63%)	36 (17.56%)	3 (1.46%)
The school curriculum is in need of major revisions.	5 (2.43%)	5 (2.43%)	4 (1.95%)	55 (26.82%)	134 (65.36%)	2 (0.97%)

Note. SD = strongly disagree; D = disagree; U = Undecided; A = agree; SA = strongly agree

negative, much lower than 3.0. The average mean score for the scale does not exceed 2.18, suggesting that the structural characteristics of public schools across the country severely constrain teachers' involvement in the leadership work. Receiving the lowest scores are those aspects concerning the curriculum (1.48), salary policies (1.83), and scheduling and the time

available for collaborating with other teachers (1.99). These imply that teachers have a heavy workload, which leaves them with very little time and energy for engaging in leadership. Furthermore, the participants receive meager salaries, suggesting that there is no adequate

Table 7.3: Mean scores for school structural characteristics

Item N°	Aspects of school structural characteristics	Mean score
1*	Adequacy of workload	2.61
2	Adequacy of classroom supplies and equipment	2.04
3	Adequacy of classroom facilities	2.35
4	Methods of communication	2.26
5*	Opportunities for promotion	2.34
6	Time available for collaboration among teachers	1.99
7*	Space for collaboration among teachers	2.16
8	Fairness and clarity of salary policies	1.83
9*	Size of classes	2.22
10*	Flexibility of rules and procedures	2.70
11*	Quality of school curriculum	1.48
Average mean score		2.18

reward for the reportedly huge amount of work teachers have to perform as part of their jobs, let alone for joining in voluntary leadership work. These conditions undoubtedly make the emergence of leadership across schools very difficult, if not impractical.

The interviews with teachers yielded similar results corroborating the data in table 7.3. All eight participants reported with deep frustration a lack of basic infrastructure, equipment and supplies, and all forms of material and human resources. A major obstacle to the work of leadership consistently mentioned by all interviewees is overcrowding and its resulting constraints on teachers’ time and energy. One teacher explained that:

The number of students in one class reaches sometimes up to fifty at my school. In such case, teachers are so preoccupied with how to keep this large number of students under control, which shifts away their attention from teaching to discipline. Most teachers have more than 200 students in total per semester; they hardly have the time and energy for testing, grading, planning, and monitoring their classes. For example, I teach four classes a day and I have to prepare a lesson

plan for each. By the time I finish work, I hardly have any energy for anything. Collaboration with other teachers is not impossible, but the fact that you have 21 hours of teaching a week and large classes makes collaboration very difficult. (Interview 4a, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male)

In addition to overcrowding, the participants pointed to a persistent lack of equipment and supplies having a devastating effect on teachers' morale and eventually involvement in leadership. Even the most basic tools for teaching are lacking, which makes chances for improvement appear very slim, at least in the eye of teachers, and results in a sense of helplessness and negativity all across the school. As a result of the overwhelming challenges they are faced with daily, a sense of defeatism crawls into the minds of many teachers, damaging their self-confidence and self-esteem which are key to involvement in the leadership efforts. Expressing frustration over the lack of resources within schools, one teacher point out that:

At my school, we do not even have a ruler to use in class, nor a compass, a clock, a scale, or a thermometer. How can we improve quality without such equipment? The government spends billions of Dirhams to introduce new teaching and learning methods across schools while teachers do not even have a ruler or a compass to use in classrooms. (Interview 5, Ouezzane Delegation, elementary, male)

The tone with which all interviewees spoke about the severe lack of resources revealed a lot of resentment and defeatism that cripple any attempts at leadership. Another problem detrimental to the leadership activity and repeatedly mentioned in the interviews is the mediocre salaries, which not only place teachers at a disadvantaged socioeconomic status but also reinforce a negative image about their knowledge and work. The daily struggle for catching up with the rapidly increasing living standards diverts teachers' attention from the classroom, to say the least, and drains their energy to perform their most basic responsibilities, let alone extra voluntary work such as leadership. Describing the effects of meager salaries, one teacher insisted that:

Over time teachers grow very disappointed over the mediocre salaries they receive, which are hardly sufficient for survival. Teachers are so consumed by the

problems they face at home, which affect their performance in the classroom.
(Interview 3, Tetouan Delegation, lower secondary, female)

Furthermore, the situation in rural and semi-urban areas is even worse. The interviewees in these areas (Interviews 5 & 6) talked about working and living conditions degrading of human dignity. Such conditions include houses and schools without bathrooms and water, difficulty obtaining groceries due to remoteness from urban centers, a lack of transportation, and an overall poor quality of life. Depicting the plight of many teachers in rural areas, one participant commented that:

We live at a school on a remote mountainous area, which is really a huge challenge. When it rains, you cannot go anywhere because the roads are ravaged by the floods. The classrooms are in poor condition; there are leaks in the roof. There is no water at the school. We have to walk a long distance to get water from a spring or a well. We rarely take a shower because the water is polluted and murky and the weather is really cold. Sometimes, when it rains a lot, the river flows all over the school, causing severe damage. It is also very difficult to find transportation from and to the school and consequently we have a difficult time getting groceries and food. We rely on locals to supply us with bread and other necessities. We find it really difficult to focus on our students' learning needs while we are struggling to secure food and water on a daily basis. (Interview 6, Chefchaouen Delegation, elementary, male)

Such accounts reveal a harsh reality experienced by teachers and students alike incapacitating the leadership practice across schools. The root of the problem, however, is not so much a scarcity of resources but rather poor planning, inadequate policies, and bureaucratic control deliberately depowering and demoralizing teachers and suppressing the spirit of initiative and leadership from emerging across schools.

VII.3.2. Collaborative School Structures

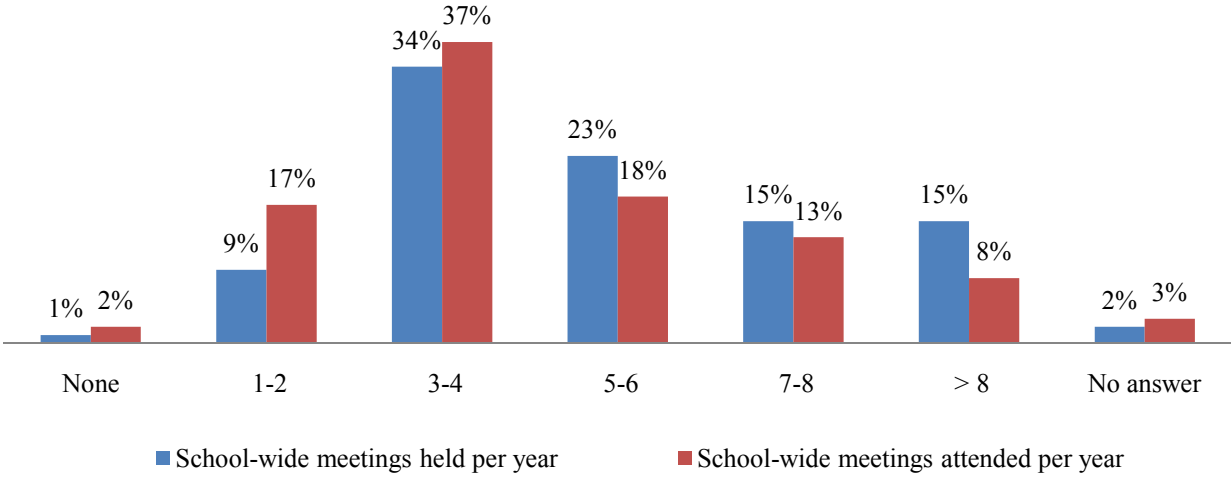
Important to the work of leadership across schools are school-wide meetings and committees, which serve as structures that strengthen collaboration among actors. To find out the extent to which these structures are active across schools, the participants were asked how often they hold and attend school-wide meetings and committees. Concerning the former, the data in table 7.4 show that the highest percentage of teachers hold and attend between 3-4 school-wide meetings per year followed by 5-6 meetings. Generally, attendance of the

meetings held, as illustrated in figure 7.2, is strong. There are no huge differences between the percentages for the meetings held and for those attended except a few instances where attendance is weak such as the case in more than eight meetings. A fact that may explain why the highest percentage of participants hold and attend between 3-4 meetings is that they are

Table 7.4: School-wide meetings convened and attended by teachers per year

	None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	> 8	No answer
School-wide meetings held per year.	3 (1.46%)	19 (9.26%)	69 (33.65%)	48 (23.41%)	31 (15.12%)	31 (15.12%)	4 (1.95%)
School-wide meetings attended per year.	5 (2.43%)	36 (17.56%)	75 (36.58%)	38 (18.53%)	27 (13.17%)	17 (8.29%)	7 (3.41%)

Figure 7.2: School-wide meetings convened and attended by teachers per years



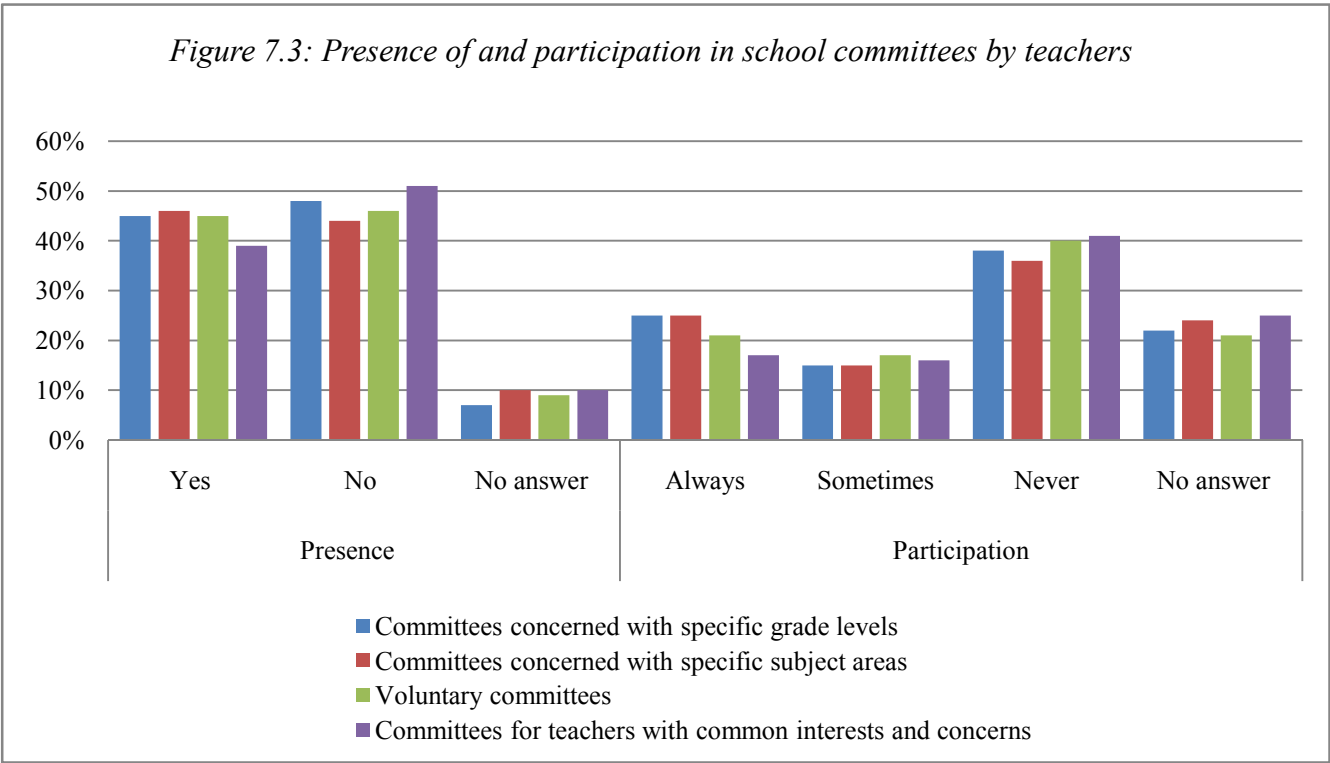
required to meet four times a year, at the beginning and end of each semester. Overall, the data in figure 7.2 reveal a reasonably sufficient occurrence and attendance of school-wide meetings per year. Such meetings, however, remain only a means to an end. It is what teachers do during these meetings and all year long that makes the difference.

The latter type of collaborative structures concerns school committees, namely those for specific grade levels, specific subject areas, voluntary, and for teachers with common interests and concerns. These are important organisms that drive the work of leadership across

schools. It is crucial then to determine the extent to which these structures are present at schools and how frequently teachers participate in them. According to the figures in table 7.5, about half of participants indicate an absence of the committees in question while about another half confirm their presence although more report the former rather than the latter. As for participation, the highest percentages of teachers (38%–41%) cite that they *never*

Table 7.5: Presence of and participation in school committees as reported by teachers

	Presence			Participation			
	Yes	No	No answer	Always	Sometimes	Never	No answer
Committees concerned with specific grade levels.	92 (44.87%)	99 (48.29%)	14 (6.82%)	51 (24.87%)	30 (14.63%)	79 (38.53%)	45 (21.95%)
Committees concerned with specific subject areas.	94 (45.85%)	91 (44.39%)	20 (9.75%)	52 (25.36%)	31 (15.12%)	73 (35.60%)	49 (23.90%)
Voluntary committees.	92 (44.87%)	94 (45.85%)	19 (9.26%)	43 (20.97%)	36 (17.56%)	83 (40.48%)	43 (20.97%)
Committees for teachers with common interests and concerns.	80 (39.02%)	104 (50.73%)	21 (10.24%)	36 (17.56%)	32 (15.60%)	85 (41.46%)	52 (25.36%)



participate in any of the committees mentioned. Those who report that they *always* participate do not exceed 25% for all types of committees while those who mention *sometimes*

participating are below 20% for all categories. Some participants (20%–25%) provide no answer as to how often they participate in the committees partly because these do not exist at their schools in the first place. The conclusion that could be drawn from these results is that there is a weak presence of and participation in the four committees across public schools. There is clearly a tendency towards individualism manifest in the absence of regular and purposeful collaboration, the backbone of leadership. This latter is plainly not viable in half of the surveyed schools where none of the four committees exist. In cases where the structures are present, participation in them is sporadic and weak, rendering them of no particular impact on student learning. Unquestionably, the sheer presence of and participation in these committees are no proof that leadership takes place within schools, but they remain important vehicles for the practice. Without the presence of and involvement in such organisms, it is unlikely that any new and authentic ideas could be produced or shared in a purposeful manner and that any improvement initiatives could materialize across schools. The result is stagnation and deterioration, which are characteristic of bureaucratic hierarchical systems rife with corruption and deficiencies. The education system in the country coerces teachers into compliance, followship, and lethargy, leaving little if any room for their exercising of influence across schools.

To decipher the extent to which the meetings held, whether of committees or schoolwide, revolve around the work of leadership, participants were asked to identify the most important purposes of the meetings they attend at their schools. The figures in table 7.6 show that the focus of the meetings teachers attend is mostly on rules (78%), discussing ways of working together on common interests and concerns (66%), and internalizing official instructions about how and what to do (59%). With these being the major three purposes of the meetings attended by participants, the implication is that they are being asked to follow and implement rather than create and lead change. That is, leadership lies outside the purview of teachers. It is the sole realm of appointed bureaucrats often engineer elitist educational

policies that overlook the urgent needs of schools and marginalize teachers’ expertise, thus resulting in no actual improvement in the quality of education across the country. Top-down blanket policies rarely fit the specificities of the differing local contexts where teachers work

Table 7.6: Purposes of the meetings attended by teachers at schools

Purposes	Answers	Percentages
To inform teachers about rules	161	78.53%
To discuss ways of working together on common interests and concerns	136	66.34%
To tell teachers <i>how</i> and <i>what</i> to do	122	59.51%
To discover common interests and concerns	98	47.80%
To inform teachers about or demonstrate new techniques	48	23.41%
To share experience	35	17.07%
No answer	4	1.95%

and therefore rarely present original solutions for the problems faced at schools; such policies in fact create rather than solve problems, further complicating the situation for those in the field. The focus on rules and how and what to do strips the teaching profession of its meaning and teachers of their humanity. Rather being their own masters who think independently, experiment, create, and exercise influence, teachers are turned into slaves because literally they have no ownership of the education they deliver, which is not their product, nor is it one they like or want to use. A final remark is that the percentages do not add up to 100% because participants could choose more than one answer.

Teachers’ testimonies during the interviews confirm the results yielded by the quantitative data, revealing generally dysfunctional or totally absent school committees (also called councils, see section IV.6.2) and weak participation in them. The interviewees talked mostly about the ‘class council’ but made no mention of the other three councils, namely the management council, the education council, and the teaching council, implying that these do not exist at schools at all. Equally important is that all eight participants consistently mentioned discipline as the being the reason the ‘class council’ is convened, suggesting that

indiscipline is epidemic across schools and that meetings are called upon only when problems arise; there seems to be no shared preventive measures to contain or reduce the occurrence of anticipated problems. The participants insist that the school councils exist only “on paper” or meet only for the sake of meeting and providing proof of compliance with the mandates of the MNE. One teacher commented that:

The school councils exist only on paper; they are not enforced. When we meet, we do so for the sake of meeting and giving the impression that the school is operating according to the law, but in reality no specific results are achieved. In fact, none of the committees is in operation at our school. We usually meet twice a semester, we talk about what is needed at the school and send the DPE reports which we never hear about afterwards. (Interview 1, Sidi Albarnoussi-Zanata Delegation, upper secondary, male)

As a result, participation in these committees is very weak. Two of the interviewees said that they had never attended any meetings of the councils at their schools while the rest indicated that they had rarely done so. The participants cite several reasons for not participating in these committees, the most important among which is the lack of authority and support necessary to implement the resulting decisions or strategies, which are often disregarded by the principal or higher authorities. Explaining how teachers virtually have no decision making authority even over matters directly influencing their work, one participant noted that:

In general meetings, teachers insist that particular suspended students not be allowed back into the school, but these end up readmitted against our will only to continue to disrupt the whole class and spoil classmates. So, the meetings are of no particular use because our suggestions are not seriously taken into consideration. (Interview 4b, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male)

This lack of authority not only weakens teachers’ ability to enforce discipline and secure an adequate learning environment but also undermines their status in the classroom and schoolwide. Describing how many teachers perceive their self-worth and status, one participant stated that “the MNE’s circulars severely restrict teachers’ decision making authority, reducing them to mere toys in the classroom” (Interview 4a, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male). Negative feelings such as these, being a toy in the classroom, can arise for instance from teachers’ daily struggle to appease disruptive students, the only option

available, which is often perceived as a weakness by others and result in further disruption and humiliation in class. Unable to take action against the lack of discipline, many teachers see no meaning in meetings or coordination of all sorts since they have no power to implement ensuing decisions. Such a view was openly expressed by one teacher who revealed that “the school councils are only a sham. They have been rendered meaningless by the circulars issued by the MNE” (Interview 2b, Guelmim Delegation, upper secondary, male).

Besides the lack of authority, the interviewees report illegal meddling by officials at the DPE and local politicians in schools’ affairs. All eight participants talked about repeated interference by such individuals on behalf of students or teachers who break school rules, particularly through absenteeism and verbal or physical aggression, inflicting serious damage on the educational process across schools. One teacher explained that:

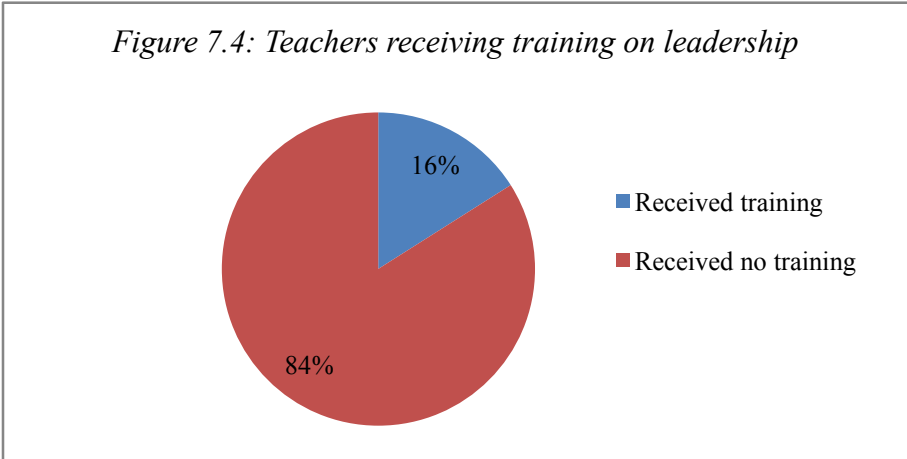
Sometimes, the DPE intervenes in favor of suspended students and forces the principal to let them back into the school. Other times, members of parliament intervene for these students so the locals can vote for them. Once, we refused to readmit a student suspended for physically attacking his teacher, but he was eventually allowed back in the school due to the interference of a local politician on his behalf. (Interview 4b, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male)

Where the rule of law is undermined, hostilities arise, self-interest prevails, and improvement of all sorts becomes very unlikely. These revelations by interviewees show that any decisions made within schools can be rendered ineffective by those with the most power, those who have the final word. In a context where power rules over competence, the chances for improvement in any sector are dim. It is this state of affairs that characterizes the situation at schools and explains the weak presence of and participation in school committees, making the work of leadership virtually impractical. When teachers possess little influence on the course of events, they cannot exercise leadership in any meaningful manner. Therefore, the marginalization of teachers in all different forms is probably more destructive to education than the lack of resources per se. Even with the ubiquity of communication technology, those in charge at the DPE still fail to reply to the reports teachers send upon meetings, which is an

irresponsible and unnecessary behavior leading to further negativity, disengagement, and distrust of state-led reform initiatives. By mandating school committees but not showing any interest in hearing about, let alone listening to, the ideas discussed in the course of their meetings, the state simply contradicts itself, shows that it is not serious about change, and gives teachers a reason for not participating in the work of any committee, fostering a tendency towards privatism with which leadership becomes impractical.

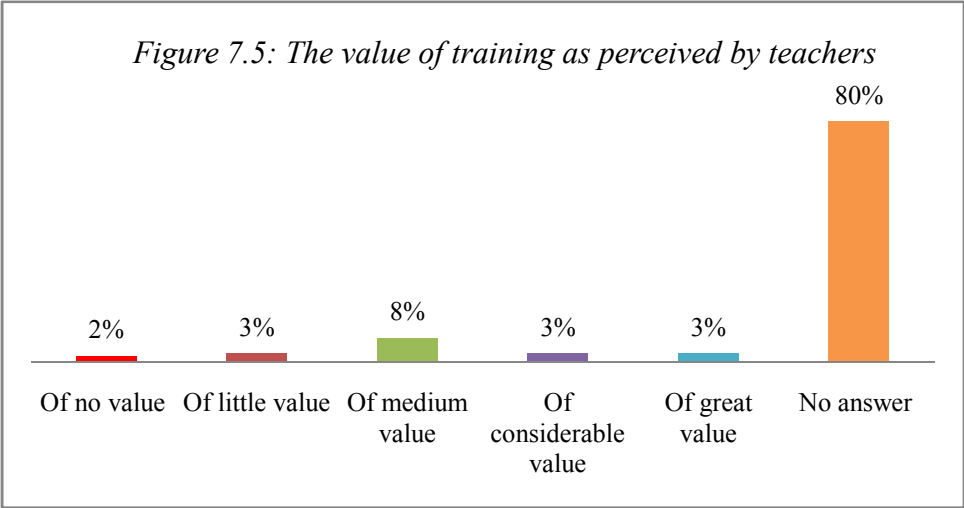
VII.4. Training and Incentives for Leadership

Training and incentives of all sorts are two important factors in the emergence of leadership across schools. Providing teachers with a training that prepares them for effectively addressing the problems faced through mutual respect, collaboration, and leadership can prove incredibly helpful in lifting up student performance schoolwide. Incentives, moral or material, are vital for stimulating actors’ interest in leadership and securing their dedication to the practice. The two factors are therefore closely intertwined; teachers need not only be



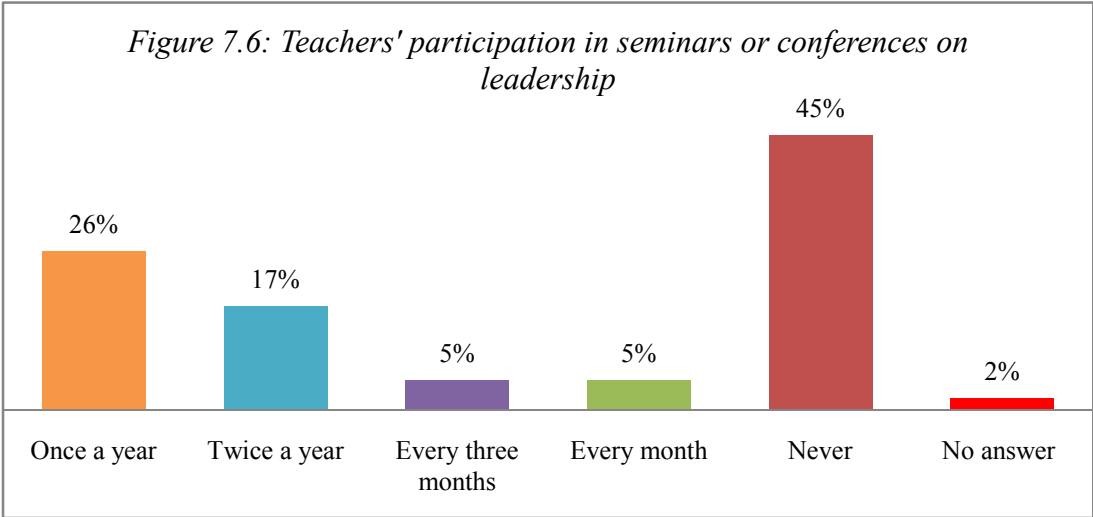
prepared but also motivated and vice versa. The data in figure 7.4 indicate that a vast majority of participants (84%) receive no training on leadership, suggesting that teachers across schools lack not only the skills but also awareness of the practice premised on collaborative work for school-wide improvement, the epitome of leadership. With this reported lack of training, it is unlikely that any meaningful exercise of leadership takes effect across public

schools in the country. Under a highly centralized educational system, leadership or rather control is typically exercised by a powerful elite at the top level of government. The few participants (16%) who cite receiving training on leadership perceive its value quite variably. As illustrated in figure 7.5, there is no agreement or pattern as to how participants perceive



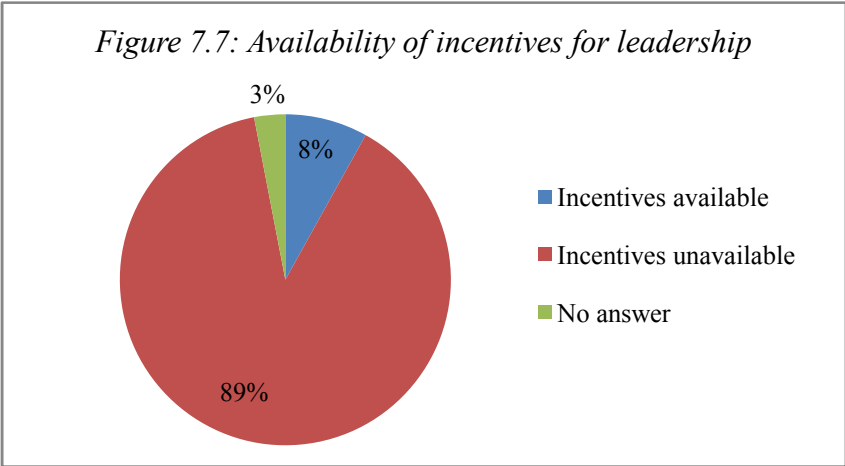
the worth of the training provided. Half (8%) assign it medium value while the rest are divided among other positions. Only 3% find it to be of considerable value and another 3% of great value, entailing that it is not widely recognized as beneficial among the very few who claim to receive it. Lastly, 80% provide no answer because they received no such training.

To determine the extent of involvement in professional development opportunities beyond those directly organized the MNE, participants were asked how frequently they attend seminars or conferences per year about leadership. The results in figure 7.6 show that 45% of



participants never attend any seminars or conferences on leadership while 26% do attend once a year and 17% twice a year. These results imply that participation in informal professional development opportunities concerning leadership is extremely weak, originating in the lack of resources, support, and authority necessary for regular and fruitful involvement in the leadership work across schools (see section VII.3).

Incentives of all sorts play a primordial role in motivating human action. Work is largely driven by people’s longings for improving their status both in material and moral terms. The former may include increases in wealth while the latter concerns mainly achieving the recognition of one’s own worth (Fukuyama, 1992). This latter form of incentives, which incurs no financial costs, is especially important in driving action in organizations such as schools. Failure to recognize teachers’ efforts can have serious consequences on the quality of



education a people receives. Fukuyama (op. cit.) explains that “people believe that they have a certain worth, and when other people treat them as though they are worth less than that, they experience of the emotion of *anger*” (Introduction). Given the importance of the feelings engendered by incentives in any type of activity, the participants were asked if there are any stimulants for their involvement in the leadership work. According to the percentages in figure 7.7, a vast majority of the teachers (89%) report no presence of any form of incentives for engagement in the leadership activity. In addition to the meager financial rewards manifest

in their salaries, which might be understood as an undervaluation of their work, teachers mostly receive no incentives, not even those of a nonfinancial nature such as recognition, for the voluntary collaborative work underpinning leadership. The result, as Fukuyama (op. cit.) points out, is anger and low self-esteem which often lead to disengagement among actors within any organization or community. The absence of all forms of training and incentives concerning leadership makes the prospects for achieving progress across public schools in the country dim. This absence is consistent with participants' reports (see section VII.3.2) that informing of rules and how and what to do is the focus of the meetings they attend at their schools. Since the state expects of teachers followship and obedience, it is only natural that no training or incentives of any kind are generally provided for leadership.

VII.5. Teachers' Attitudes and Interaction with Principals and Colleagues

This section revolves around two major variables: Teachers' attitudes towards their principals, and their interaction with both principals and colleagues. The former factor is considered elemental to school success. Just as no substantial improvement can take place under a hierarchical system based on command and control, the same is true under a principalship or leadership that fails to role model the desired behaviors at school and win the trust of all teachers. As for the latter variable, interaction is the backbone of leadership and is closely intertwined with attitudes. Teachers having positive attitudes towards their principals usually spurs frequent and productive interaction among all. Alternatively, positive interaction among teachers and their principals often culminates in positive attitudes towards each other. It is therefore important to identify (a) the nature of attitudes teachers hold about their principals, (b) the extent and focus of their interaction with their principals and colleagues, and (c) the ways in which the two variables are likely to affect one another.

VII.5.1. Teachers' Attitudes towards their Principals

To identify the nature of attitudes teachers have about their principals, the Job Descriptive Index for Supervision (JDIS) is used (see section V.6.1). The scale consists of

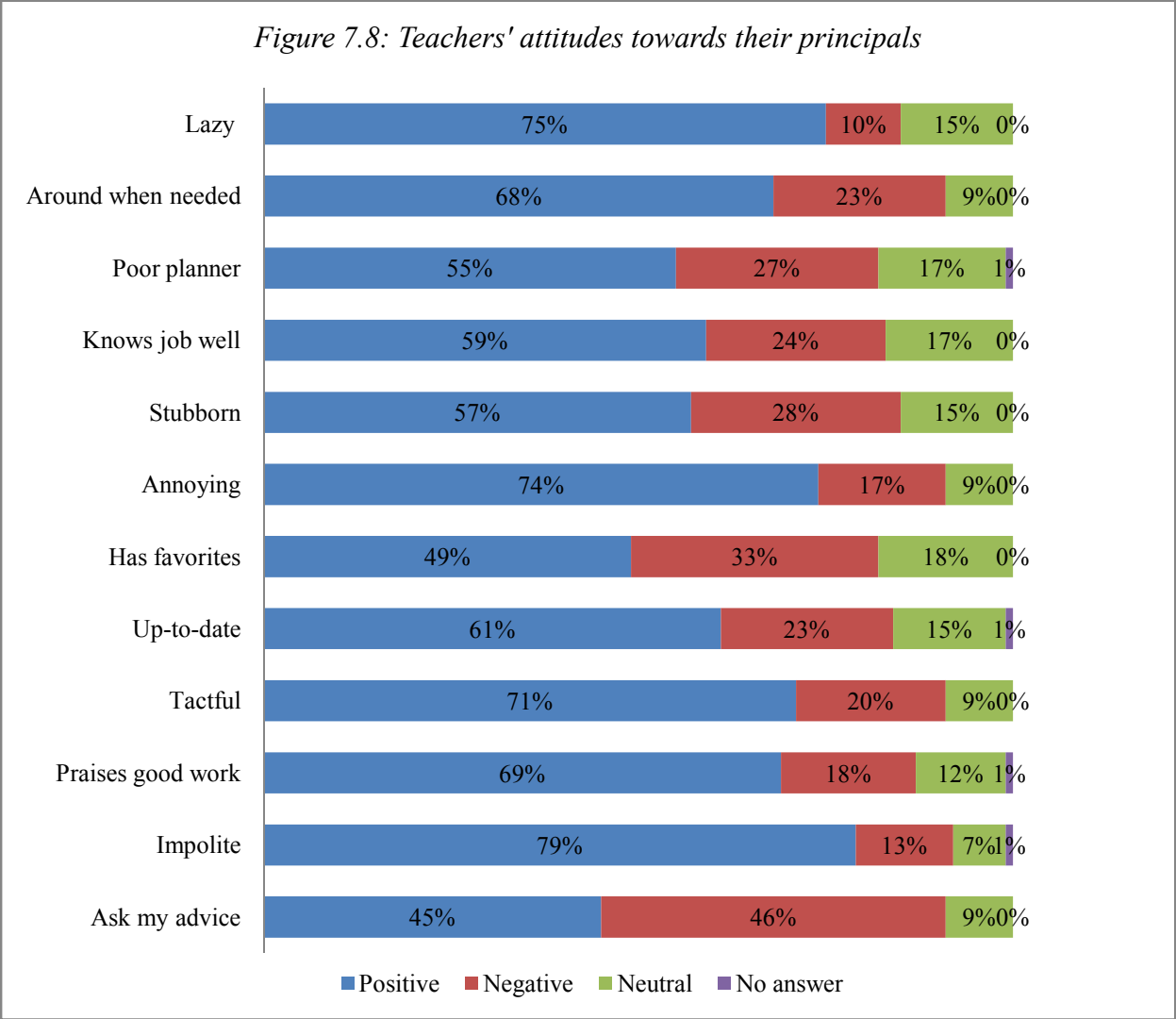
twelve items, half of which are worded positively and scored as follows: “Yes” = 5, “can’t decide” = 3, and “No” = 1. The other half are worded negatively and therefore scored in the reverse direction. According to the results in table 7.7, participants generally have positive attitudes about their principals. The scale as a whole achieved an average mean score of 3.79. Except for item 1 which received a negative score of 2.99, all other items in the scale obtained a positive score of 3.0 or above. Five items (2, 3, 4, 7, & 12) scored above 4.0, implying that teachers view their principals as being particularly polite, praising of good work, and tactful,

Table 7.7: Mean scores for teachers’ attitudes towards their principals

N°	Item	Yes	No	Can’t decide	No answer	Mean score
1	Asks my advice	93 (45.36%)	94 (45.85%)	18 (8.78%)	0 (0%)	2.99
2*	Impolite	27 (13.17%)	163 (79.51%)	14 (6.82%)	1 (0.48%)	4.33
3	Praises good work	142 (69.26%)	37 (18.04%)	25 (12.19%)	1 (0.48%)	4.02
4	Tactful	145 (70.73%)	41 (20%)	18 (8.78%)	1 (0.48%)	4.01
5	Up-to-date	125 (60.79%)	48 (23.41%)	31 (15.12%)	1 (0.48%)	3.75
6*	Has favorites	68 (33.17%)	101 (49.26%)	36 (17.56%)	0 (0%)	3.32
7*	Annoying	35 (17.07%)	152 (74.14%)	18 (8.78%)	0 (0%)	4.14
8*	Stubborn	58 (28.29%)	117 (57.07%)	30 (14.63%)	0 (0%)	3.57
9	Knows job well	122 (59.51%)	49 (23.90%)	34 (16.58%)	0 (0%)	3.71
10*	Poor planner	56 (27.31%)	113 (55.12%)	35 (17.07%)	1 (0.48%)	3.55
11	Around when needed	140 (68.29%)	47 (22.92%)	18 (8.78%)	0 (0%)	3.90
12*	Lazy	20 (9.75%)	154 (75.12%)	31 (15.12%)	0 (0%)	4.30
Average mean score						3.79

which are all important qualities for leadership. Still, a close look at the percentages in figure 7.8 reveal that teachers’ attitudes towards their principals are not as positive as the aggregates of mean scores tend to convey. The negative and neutral positions for several items (1, 6, 8, 9,

& 10) registered fairly large percentages, which when combined equal or exceed those obtained by the positive positions as in the case of items 1, 6, and 10. Only 45% of participants indicate that their principals do seek their advice, and less than half (49%) cite that their principals do *not* have favorites. These results reveal a lack of consultation and fairness on the part of principals, having serious repercussions on the work of leadership across schools. Principals' failure to seek teachers' advice alone is likely to create a lot of



negativity while favoritism often divides teachers into feuding factions, foes rather than partners, and intoxicates relationships, constituting a serious impediment to leadership. As illustrated in figure 7.8, the fact that most teachers view their principals as hard-working, polite, praising of good work, and tactful is important but not enough for the emergence of

leadership across schools. Teachers need to be listened to, involved in decision making, and treated in a fair and equal manner, which are all critical to the leadership work.

The interviews conducted revealed largely negative attitudes towards principals. Out of the eight participants, only two depicted their principals in a positive light. They talked about how their principals work hard to build close and positive relationships with staff, parents, and the community at large, and praised their professionalism, particularly their role in enforcing discipline and order across the school. One of these two teachers explained that:

The principal works hard to create a positive environment across the school. The teachers, students, and civil society organizations all attest that when he first came two years ago he managed to bring the school from “darkness to light.” He turned the school around by reintroducing discipline and order after student disruption was a serious issue in the classrooms. This is all thanks to his ability to communicate effectively with teachers, administrators, and students. He makes sure that students and teachers are present and on time. If a teacher is absent, he calls him or her to find out why. He really applies the law when it comes to teacher absenteeism; those absent have to complete an official form justifying their absence and hand it in to the principal. (Interview 2a, Azilal Delegation, upper secondary, male)

However, all other six interviewees expressed negative views about their principals who they say lack the technical and social skills necessary for the job and leadership. Specifically, the participants reported a lack of cordiality, decisiveness, and communication, and pointed instead to a prevalence of favoritism, dishonesty, gossiping, and sowing divisions among teachers to keep them under control. Frustrated with his principal’s lack of competence, one teacher commented that:

I do not understand how some principals become principals. Personally, my principal is not fit for the job. He does not have the qualities necessary for being a principal. He does not even know how to communicate with teachers and students. Once, he ended up fighting with a student and getting his shirt torn apart as a result, which was humiliating for him. (Interview 4a, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male)

Another participant mentioned a lack of cordiality and willingness to address the problems faced at school, particularly indiscipline. He stated that:

My principal does not care at all. When he happens to interact with students, he is not effective in communicating with them. When I see him I usually greet him,

but he never greets me back. He does this not only with me but also with other teachers. He usually fails to take the necessary action against disruptive students; when we ask him why, he swears that his phone never stops ringing as people keep calling him to ask that he forgives those students. (Interview 4b, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male)

Confirming the results yielded by the quantitative data in figure 7.8, almost all interviewees (except one) affirmed that their principals favor some teachers over others. They report a general tendency among principals to build close relationships or rather alliances with a few, mostly senior teachers so that they could manipulate and control everyone at the school. Principals favor certain teachers not for their effort and competence but rather for their willingness and ability to manipulate colleagues, remain faithful allies under all circumstances, and even give gifts. One teacher explained that “the principal has very close relationships with some teachers who give him gifts and spend up to two hours in his office having tea and socializing. These teachers always receive preferential treatment in all regards” (Interview 2b, Guelmim Delegation, upper secondary, male). Favored teachers are usually given the best classes and times; their absence for a reason or without is never reported by the principal to the DPE; their requests are usually accommodated and their influence on decision making is overriding. Those not favored are usually marginalized and their effort and competence are undermined. They are not favored for speaking up against the principal’s failure to honor his or her responsibilities or refusing to heed his demands for engaging in unprofessional, deceptive behavior, such as spying on and spreading rumors about colleagues. One teacher described the situation at her school as follows:

The principal at my school weaves a close relationship with a teacher of each school subject, one who is willing to find out and tell him what his or her colleagues of the same subject are doing. This chosen teacher becomes a close friend of the principal and tells him everything other teachers are doing or saying. This is not done out of concern for students and their learning. Rather, the administration’s only concern is to keep things under control and give the impression that everything is going well at the school. All the principal worries about is students’ grades which he wants to be high and pressures teachers to inflate. In fact, teachers who give objective grades are usually accused of negligence and incompetence by the principal and inspector. (Interview 3, Tetouan Delegation, lower secondary, female)

Principals' obsession with control rather than student learning was mentioned by another teacher, who reported tactics of manipulation, dishonesty, and sowing divisions, and a general lack of support and professionalism by his principal. He regrettably indicated that:

There is great work being done by some teachers that if the principal supports the school could achieve great things and he could be promoted to the position of Delegate. However, the principal does not care if students are learning and if teachers are doing their work as supposed to. When some of us see that something is wrong and want to act to address the problem, the principal does not like our initiative. He instead asks us to turn a blind eye and just get by. Sometimes, he resorts to tarnishing the reputation of teachers who refuse to concede to his illegitimate demands. Other times, he spreads rumors and lies among teachers to create hostilities among them. (Interview 1, Sidi Albarnoussi-Zanata Delegation, upper secondary, male)

These Machiavellian-inspired tactics of “divide and control” were reported by almost all interviewed teachers. They maintained that sowing divisions among teachers was a common practice among principals who usually perceive strong relationships among teachers as a threat to their status and position and the school as a whole. Principals, in their view, work diligently to divide rather than bring teachers together in order to keep everybody under control. Consensus and understanding among teachers afford them considerable power which they could use to challenge what they see as unjust or ineffective policies imposed by those at the top level of government. Allowing, let alone supporting, the emergence of leadership across schools might be perceived by those in power as a grave political risk and a direct threat to their status and interests, which is particularly true in countries where wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few. All eight interviewed teachers and those the researcher has interacted with for the last eight years have consistently cited that compliance and followship are in reality what the education system emphasizes and promotes. The interviewees' accounts reveal a general tendency among principals to promote divisions rather than cooperation and weaken rather strengthen relationships among teachers all to keep the status quo from being shaken or challenged by organized action across schools. Manipulation, gossip, favoritism, and instigating conflict are unnecessary, unjustifiable, and cannot generate

but resentment and negative attitudes among teachers. Such behaviors constitute a declared war against leadership and quality education across public schools in Morocco.

VII.5.2. Teachers' Interaction with Principals and Colleagues

At the heart of leadership is interaction between teachers and their principals, and among teachers themselves. It is therefore important to determine the level and focus of teachers' interaction with their principals and colleagues across public schools. As for principals, the results in table 7.8 show that the highest percentage of participants (46%) spend about half an hour per week interacting with their principals while very small percentages spend about an hour (13%) or two hours (4%). About a fifth of participants (24%) indicate that they never have any interaction with their principals throughout the week. These

Table 7.8: Length of teachers' interaction with their principals per week

	Answers	Percentages
None	50	24.39%
About half an hour	95	46.34%
About an hour	27	13.17%
About 2 hours	10	4.87%
More than 2 hours	16	7.80%
No answer	7	3.41%

results reveal that teacher-principal interaction across public schools is very limited. When 46% of teachers spend no more than about half an hour per week, five minutes per day, interacting with their principals and 24% have no contact whatsoever with their principals, no leadership is imaginably viable because connections among actors are loose, or severed, and individualism rather than collective work reigns across schools. In fact, it is no surprise that teachers are not extensively interacting with their principals and vice versa because they both have no reason for doing so. All important educational matters are settled at the top of the hierarchy and are not subject to questioning, which provides little room for the practice of leadership across schools. Teachers are made to act as servants who do as they are told, and

therefore they waste no time on “empty talk” about leadership, which they know makes no difference as their resources and authority are close to null.

The extent of interaction between teachers and their principals is important but its focus or nature matters even more. Participants therefore were asked to specify the topics of their interaction with principals. The data in table 7.9 indicate that teachers’ interaction with their principals concerns mostly requests for materials and facilities (64%), ways to improve teaching and learning (54%), and discipline and rules (43%). These results imply that when teachers happen to interact with their principals, the focus of their interaction is not leadership but rather logistic and disciplinary matters. Considering that interaction between teachers and

Table 7.9: The topics of teachers’ interaction with their principals

Topics	Answers	Percentages
Sociopolitical issues	82	40%
Ways to improve teaching and learning	110	53.65%
Gossip about people inside or outside school	20	9.75%
Complaints about people/things inside or outside school	74	36.09%
Permission for absence	80	39.02%
Request for materials and facilities	132	64.39%
Discipline and rules	88	42.92%
News	77	37.56%
No answer	8	3.90%

their principals is scant, its focus cannot be leadership, which is premised on close collaboration and requires much more time than reported by participants in table 7.8.

Teachers’ weak relationships with principals suggest that they either act individually or take no action at all, particularly because they are all expected or rather coerced to act as subjects rather than agents of change. It is difficult for teachers to act as leaders while all decision making lies beyond their purview, with the highest authorities in the country. There is just too much risk for teachers and principals to venture beyond their prescribed, technical roles or rather pigeon holes into the domain of leadership because such a venture would be viewed as an act of disobedience and draw criticism rather than praise from the established authorities.

When teachers and principals are depowered and discouraged from involvement in leadership, it is only rational for them to engage in minimal interaction of no particular impact on the education delivered schoolwide. An interesting remark to make is that only about 10% of participants cite that they engage in gossip during their interaction with principals, which runs counter to interviewees’ reports of widespread gossip across schools (see section VII.5.1). When it comes to unprofessional, dishonest behavior, it is difficult for participants to admit involvement in such behavior. Last, the percentages in table 7.9 do not add up to 100% because participants could choose more than one answer.

The other facet of interaction important to the leadership work is that which takes place among teachers themselves. Participants therefore were asked to indicate how much time they spend per day interacting with their colleagues about any given subject. The figures in table 7.10 show that the largest percentage of participants (41%) spend about half an hour per day interacting with their colleagues while 21% spend more than two hours and 17% about an hour. These results suggest strong interaction at least among some teachers. The fact

Table 7.10: Length of teachers’ interaction with colleagues per day

	Answers	Percentages
None	21	10.24%
About half an hour	84	40.97%
About an hour	36	17.56%
About 2 hours	17	8.29%
More than 2 hours	43	20.97%
No answer	4	1.95%

that they share the same status facilitates building close social and professional relationships with one another inside and outside schools. There are just far more outlets for teachers to interact with each other about all kinds of issues, not necessarily leadership. In the case of teacher-principal interaction, both sides are generally cautious and guarded in what they say and how they say it given the difference in status and power. Teachers naturally open up to

other fellow teachers who they can learn from, identify with, and share views and concerns with unreservedly.

To identify the nature teacher-teacher interaction, participants were asked to indicate the topics they talk about while interacting with their colleagues. According to the data in table 7.11, teachers’ interaction with one another largely centers on sociopolitical issues (74%), ways to improve teaching and learning (67%), news (65%), and salary and promotion (64%). In other words, the focus of teacher-teacher interaction across schools is chiefly on issues bearing little relevance to the work of leadership. Teachers primarily discuss

Table 7.11: The topics of teachers’ interaction with colleagues

Topics	Answers	Percentages
Sociopolitical issues	152	74.14%
Ways to improve teaching and learning	138	67.31%
Gossip about people inside or outside school	53	25.85%
Complaints about people/things inside or outside school	89	43.41%
Salary and promotion	133	64.87%
Sports	62	30.24%
Family	74	36.09%
News	134	65.36%
No answer	10	4.87%

sociopolitical issues because these have a direct influence on their lives and work and shape much of what happens within schools. As highlighted in section VII.3, teachers are placed at a disadvantage at all different levels: social, economic, and professional. They operate under difficult conditions and endlessly struggle to secure a decent life. They may discuss ways to improve teaching and learning, but in reality they have little or no influence on the direction of education in the country. In such a reality, teachers are led to believe that they are weak, worthless, and incapable of making a difference, resulting in disengagement and inertia across schools. An important note is that the percentages in table 7.11 do not add up to 100% because participants could choose more than one answer.

The data gleaned from the interviews corroborate the statistics above suggesting a lack of interaction across schools for leadership. Among all eight interviewees, only one cited frequent and productive interaction among colleagues at his school. He stated that:

At the school where I work, there is coordination and harmony among teachers. This is the way we work and the way we found other teachers working when first joined the school. Our efforts do achieve results. There are no narrow interests, political rivalries, or cliques. We work together to develop common goals and address common concerns in order to increase student learning. This process requires coordination between teachers and administrators. Undermining each other's ideas does not exist at our school, and if does only very few teachers (less than 10%) engage in such behavior. (Interview 2a, Azilal Delegation, upper secondary, male)

Nevertheless, all other seven participants reported scant interaction across their schools due to several factors related to difficult working conditions, a lack of decision making authority, a lack of support, divisions and widespread conflict among teachers, and cynicism and a lack of commitment. One participant explained how the lack of decision making authority for teachers renders engagement in any sort of initiative for school-wide improvement ineffective. He desperately declared that:

I do not think that collaboration among teachers would change anything across Moroccan schools under the current political, social, and educational context. Teachers play no role in the educational process since they practically have no say in what happens at schools. For example, if a student does not bring his textbook or notebook to class, you can do nothing about it given the MNE's circular that prevents teachers from taking any action against these students. If teachers do not have the discretion to decide on minor issues like these, do you think that they would be able to decide on other major issues? It is very unlikely that they would. There is just no logic for collaboration. If the MNE's circulars even dictate the rules to govern our relationships with students, then what is specifically our role in the educational process? (Interview 4b, Driouch Delegation, upper secondary, male)

This view was shared by all other participants who lament being placed on the periphery of change since they enjoy little discretion even with regard to the most delicate issues that are best addressed in the classroom. In addition, there is a lack of material and moral support from the education authorities. Participants insist that their ideas are never taken seriously by

the MNE and therefore see no reason for interacting to develop shared goals or action plans which they know have no chances of success. One participant explained that:

Now suppose you meet with other teachers and suggest or decide on a course of action. They [education officials] tell you that they do not have the means to implement these suggestions. All teachers can do at school is to suggest and report suggestions to senior officials at the DPE who never respond to these reports. As a result, teachers do not bother making any suggestions or sending them to the respective authorities. Even when we meet, our suggestions and ideas remain “ink on paper.” (op. cit.)

On the other hand, interviewees report deep schisms among teachers who have a tendency to form into rival groups along political and ideological lines, a situation that hampers productive interaction aimed at leadership across schools. One teacher revealed that:

There is a tendency among colleagues to form into feuding cliques. The school in general is a miniature of society. You find groups with certain ideological or political orientations. The result is strong polarization or privatism across the school. There are for example some teachers who come to school, do their work, and leave right away; they will not even greet you when you meet them. (Interview 2b, Guelmim, upper secondary, male)

Other obstacles to purposeful interaction among actors across public schools are, as consistently mentioned by seven of the interviewees, a lack of will and commitment, and widespread cynicism and negativity among teachers, principals, and even the education officials themselves. One teacher affirmed:

If there is good will and a commitment among teachers to working together to solve the problems faced and meet students' learning needs, the situation will certainly improve within the school even under the current difficult conditions. Unfortunately, there is a lot of conflict among the teachers at my school. The principal works to fuel rather than reduce conflict because he needs war [amongst teachers] so that he could control everyone at the school. (Interview 3, Tetouan Delegation, lower secondary, female)

Another teacher described the problem across public schools in the country as follows:

The crisis across Moroccan schools is that you have five teachers working and thirty or thirty five commenting on them and trying to find ways to fail them. Most of these teachers are concerned with nothing but self-interest; they do not care about anything else. They are concerned with prestige and appearances; they have no conscience whatsoever. (Interview 1, Sidi Albarnoussi-Zanata Delegation, upper secondary, male)

Echoing this lack of responsibility and commitment among many teachers, another participant disclosed that “some teachers leave their students in the classroom for about half an hour to chat with other teachers about trivial matters. When the principal is not at school, teachers generally do as they please” (Interview 3, op. cit.). Consequently, there is a failure on the part of some teachers to honor their most basic responsibilities that are often taken for granted, revealing a lack of accountability to insure even respect for teaching time, let alone volunteering for leadership. It seems that when there is need for action, the principal and respective authorities withdraw from the scene and let the school sink in its problems. In contrast, when there is action led by enthusiastic and innovative teachers, officials move quickly to suppress it so that their power remains unchallenged. One teacher commented that:

The challenge to leadership in the Moroccan context is that the school administration may refuse the idea of making teachers leaders altogether. They [administrators] may not have the positive view that school administration needs competent teachers who could coordinate with them and other teachers to help implement school-wide improvement projects. (Interview 1, op. cit.)

Based on all these accounts, the problem is not just negligence and conflict among teachers but also that policy makers are unmoved by, and even favor, the current state of affairs across schools. There seems to be no genuine interest in strengthening relationships with and across schools. Teachers working closely together and having strong and positive relationships with one another is perceived as a threat to the narrow interests of the ruling elite, who are unlikely to pass any legislation or enact any laws not in favor of the general public if teachers were to be united and empowered and schools were independent, could take the initiative, and most importantly lead themselves by themselves. Certainly; there is no single party to blame, no single problem to be addressed, and no single, quick and easy fix to the situation. However, a fair system of “checks and balances” where no one, neither the state nor teachers, has absolute powers and where relationships matter the most remains key to change within schools.

VII.6. Teachers' Perceptions of their Principals' Leadership Behaviors

As argued by scholars such as Spillane et al. (2004) and Varghese (2007), people are capable of action even under the most difficult of circumstances, which may constrain but never invalidate the outcomes of human action. This latter is a function of not merely the situation where people operate but also human agency (Spillane et al., *op. cit.*). Therefore, no assumptions could be made about people's action based solely on the characteristics of the situation where they work. A favorable situation guarantees no favorable results and vice versa, an unfavorable situation does always lead to unfavorable results. The implication for principals and their teachers is that they can exercise influence even if the situation where they function severely constrains their efforts. In fact, by exhibiting agency, principals could turn around their schools.

The focus in this section is laid on five leadership behaviors of principals that are key to schools success. These concern modeling, consideration, tolerance of freedom, intellectual stimulation, and integration (see section V.6). To find out the extent to which principals demonstrate these behaviors, a 21-item Likert scale is used. The scale, as shown in table 7.12, consists of five response categories, each assigned a particular score: strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, undecided = 3, agree = 4, and strongly agree = 5. The asterisked items are negatively worded and scored in the reverse direction. To determine whether participants exhibit a behavior or not, responses to each item are averaged to obtain a mean score. Overall, a mean score of 3.0 or above means that the behavior occurs, whereas one below 3.0 indicates that the behavior does not occur. The raw results for the whole scale are displayed in table 7.12.

In this section, the data are based on teachers' perceptions, providing a cross-check of those originating from principals' self-perceptions. Such a strategy allows for confirming and disconfirming data and eventually increases the overall reliability and validity of the research findings.

Table 7.12: Results of the 21-item Likert scale measuring teachers' perceptions of their principals' leadership behaviors

Item N°	The principal at my school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA	No answer
1	develops cooperative relationships amongst teachers.	23 (11.21%)	49 (23.90%)	31 (15.12%)	84 (40.97%)	16 (7.80%)	2 (0.97%)
2	praises teachers for doing a job well.	16 (7.80%)	28 (13.65%)	28 (13.65%)	89 (43.41%)	39 (19.02%)	5 (2.43%)
3*	hesitates to encourage teachers to be innovative in doing their work.	28 (13.65%)	57 (27.80%)	35 (17.07%)	55 (26.82%)	26 (12.68%)	4 (1.95%)
4	seeks and listens to different points of view.	20 (9.75%)	35 (17.07%)	27 (13.17%)	99 (48.29%)	21 (10.24%)	3 (1.46%)
5*	fails to keep the promises and commitments that he/she makes.	27 (13.17%)	76 (37.07%)	27 (13.17%)	50 (24.39%)	18 (8.78%)	7 (3.41%)
6	treats teachers and students with dignity and respect.	20 (9.75%)	11 (5.36%)	18 (8.78%)	110 (53.65%)	39 (19.02%)	7 (3.41%)
7*	shows favoritism in his/her relations with teachers.	33 (16.09%)	68 (33.17%)	29 (14.14%)	45 (21.95%)	23 (11.21%)	7 (3.41%)
8*	declines to give teachers a great deal of freedom in deciding how to do their work.	52 (25.36%)	91 (44.39%)	24 (11.70%)	21 (10.24%)	12 (5.85%)	5 (2.43%)
9	coordinates with teachers to develop and implement shared goals.	21 (10.24%)	34 (16.58%)	33 (16.09%)	95 (46.34%)	19 (9.26%)	3 (1.46%)
10*	insists on following exact procedures in doing work.	12 (5.85%)	50 (24.39%)	44 (21.46%)	82 (40%)	13 (6.34%)	4 (1.95%)

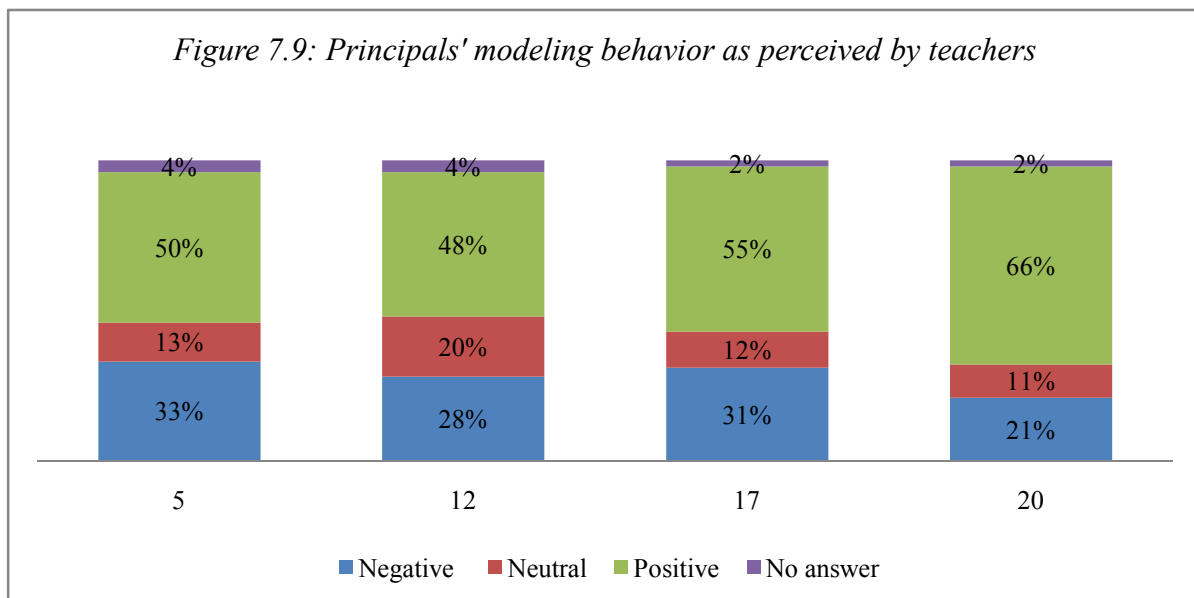
11*	gets annoyed with teachers' criticism of administrative policies.	19 (9.26%)	55 (26.82%)	36 (17.56%)	65 (31.70%)	24 (11.70%)	6 (2.92%)
12	provides a role model for desired behaviors at school.	21 (10.24%)	36 (17.56%)	41 (20%)	81 (39.51%)	18 (8.78%)	8 (3.90%)
13	excites teachers with visions of what can be done if they work together as a team.	22 (10.73%)	42 (20.48%)	28 (13.65%)	83 (40.48%)	22 (10.73%)	8 (3.90%)
14*	makes decisions without consulting teachers.	26 (12.68%)	78 (38.04%)	32 (15.60%)	33 (16.09%)	30 (14.63%)	6 (2.92%)
15*	refrains from enabling teachers to act like leaders.	26 (12.68%)	68 (33.17%)	38 (18.53%)	56 (27.31%)	14 (6.82%)	3 (1.46%)
16	emphasizes common interests and encourages cooperation.	15 (7.31%)	27 (13.17%)	26 (12.68%)	104 (50.73%)	26 (12.68%)	7 (3.41%)
17*	fails to communicate regularly with teachers.	39 (19.02%)	75 (36.58%)	24 (11.70%)	36 (17.56%)	27 (13.17%)	4 (1.95%)
18	convenes regular meetings with teachers.	26 (12.68%)	39 (19.02%)	19 (9.26%)	96 (46.82%)	20 (9.75%)	5 (2.43%)
19	stimulates teachers to think about what they are doing for the school's students.	9 (4.39%)	35 (17.07%)	32 (15.60%)	102 (49.75%)	22 (10.73%)	5 (2.43%)
20*	is absent or difficult to reach when needed.	49 (23.90%)	86 (41.95%)	23 (11.21%)	24 (11.70%)	18 (8.78%)	5 (2.43%)
21	urges teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work.	13 (6.34%)	58 (28.29%)	60 (29.26%)	56 (27.31%)	10 (4.87%)	8 (3.90%)

VII.6.1. Modeling

For leadership to take place across schools, it is crucial that principals lead by example, i.e. model desired behaviors in order to earn the trust of others at the school organization and convince them to commit the time and effort needed for involvement in the leadership work. Important aspects of the modeling behavior include presence and availability throughout the school, regular communication with teachers, keeping promises and commitments, and generally embodying all desired behaviors. According to the data in table

Table 7.13: Principals' modeling behavior as perceived by teachers

Item N°	The principal at my school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
5*	fails to keep the promises and commitments that he/she makes.	103 (50.24%)	27 (13.17%)	68 (33.17%)	7 (3.41%)	3.22
12	provides a role model for desired behaviors at school.	57 (27.80%)	41 (20%)	99 (48.29%)	8 (3.90%)	3.19
17*	fails to communicate regularly with teachers.	114 (55.60%)	24 (11.70%)	63 (30.73%)	4 (1.95%)	3.31
20*	is absent or difficult to reach when needed.	135 (65.85%)	23 (11.21%)	42 (20.48%)	5 (2.43%)	3.62
Average mean score						3.33



7.13, principals do exhibit the modeling behavior. All four items in the scale obtained a mean score above 3.0 or above; the average mean score is 3.33. However, when the negative (1 &

2) and positive (4 & 5) values are collapsed into two distinct positions, the data illustrated in figure 7.9 reveal mixed results as to whether principals demonstrate the behavior or not. Except for item 20 where 66% of participants cite that their principals are usually present at school and available when needed, the positive positions for all other items received either a little less or more than 50%. For example, only 48% of participants confirm that their principals provide a role model for the desired behaviors at school, whereas no more than 50% indicate that their principals do keep the promises and commitments they make. These results reflect an ambivalence with regard to the modeling behavior, which cannot be portrayed as common among principals across public schools. When drawing on both the quantitative and qualitative data in the previous section, it becomes clear that principals are far from acting as role models across schools. There is not only negligence on the part of principals and the education officials but most gravely an undeclared intent to weaken relationships among teachers and thwart attempts at leadership originating from within schools. The problem therefore is not so much that principals fail to model desired behaviors but rather that desired behaviors are undesirable for them and their superiors at the DPEs and MNE.

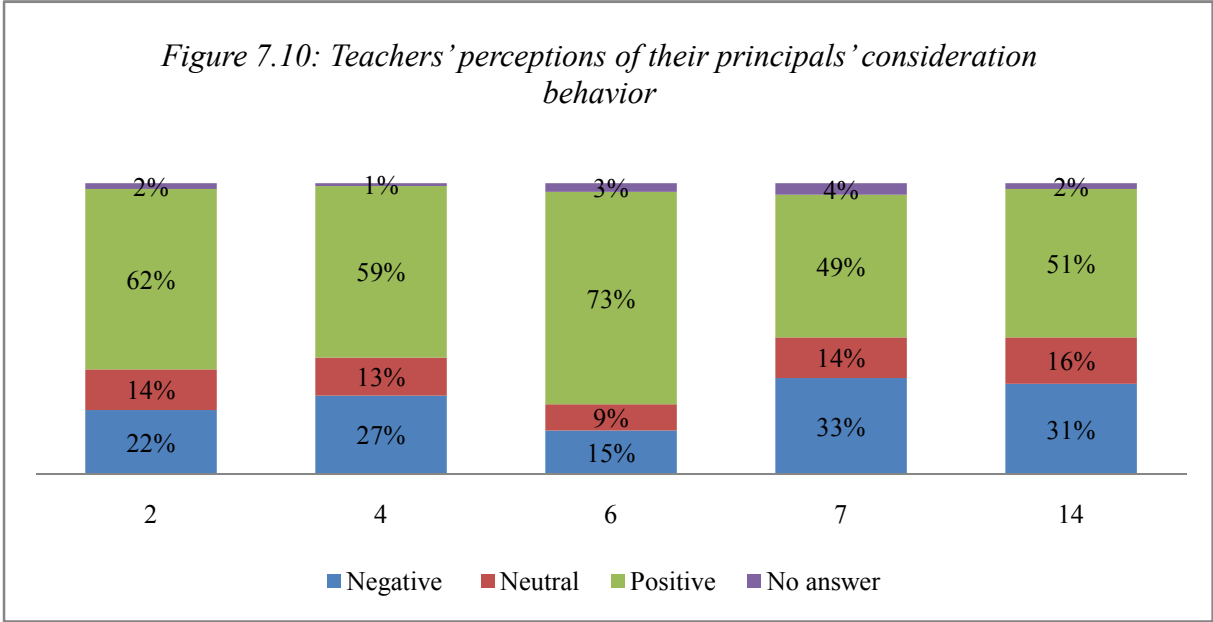
VII.6.2. Consideration

Critical to school development is the consideration behavior, which mainly includes recognition, respect, fairness, and involving teachers in decision making. Demonstrating these forms of the behavior is undoubtedly essential for the emergence of leadership across schools. The numbers in table 7.14 show that principals do exhibit the consideration behavior. All items in the scale achieved a positive mean score of 3.0 or above; the average mean score is at 3.38. Nevertheless, the aggregates of mean scores could be elusive, particularly when considering the percentages in figure 7.10, which reveal inconsistencies in the results. While 73% of participants indicate that their principals treat them with dignity and respect, only

49% cite that their principals show no favoritism in their relations with teachers. These results are somehow contradictory because of the discrepancy (24%) between the two percentages. Principals cannot really be respectful and at the same time unfair as the data suggest. Without treating teachers equally, it is very unlikely that principals could develop positive relationships with their staff based on trust and respect. Favoritism is divisive, to say the least, and often results in a fragmented school, which renders the work of leadership impractical.

Table 7.14: Teachers’ perceptions of their principals’ consideration behavior

Item N°	The principal at my school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
2	praises teachers for doing a job well.	44 (21.46%)	28 (13.65%)	128 (62.43%)	5 (2.43%)	3.53
4	seeks and listens to different points of view.	55 (26.82%)	27 (13.17%)	120 (58.53%)	3 (1.46%)	3.32
6	treats teachers and students with dignity and respect.	31 (15.12%)	18 (8.78%)	149 (72.68%)	7 (3.41%)	3.69
7*	shows favoritism in his/her relations with teachers.	101 (49.26%)	29 (14.14%)	68 (33.17%)	7 (3.41%)	3.21
14*	makes decisions without consulting teachers.	104 (50.73%)	32 (15.60%)	63 (30.73%)	6 (2.92%)	3.18
Average mean score						3.38



Besides favoritism, autocratic decision making is, as the percentages for item 14 convey, widespread amongst principals. No more than about a half of participants (51%) affirm that

their principals consult them when making decisions; the rest either deny that their principals do so (31%) or are undecided (16%). Again, principals cannot be respectful and at the same time autocratic. Respecting teachers entails not simply courtesy but rather seeking and embedding their knowledge and expertise in decision making. It is really ironic to speak of respect and dignity while teachers are overworked, underpaid, and marginalized. As discussed in section VII.5, teachers are treated unfairly in so many different ways including not only a lack of material and moral support but most importantly an emphasis on compliance where inaction rather than action is induced and welcomed by those at the top level of government. Consequently, given their tendency towards favoritism and autocratic decision making, principals cannot be said to exhibit the consideration behavior in any purposeful manner that is likely to give rise to teachers' involvement in leadership across public schools.

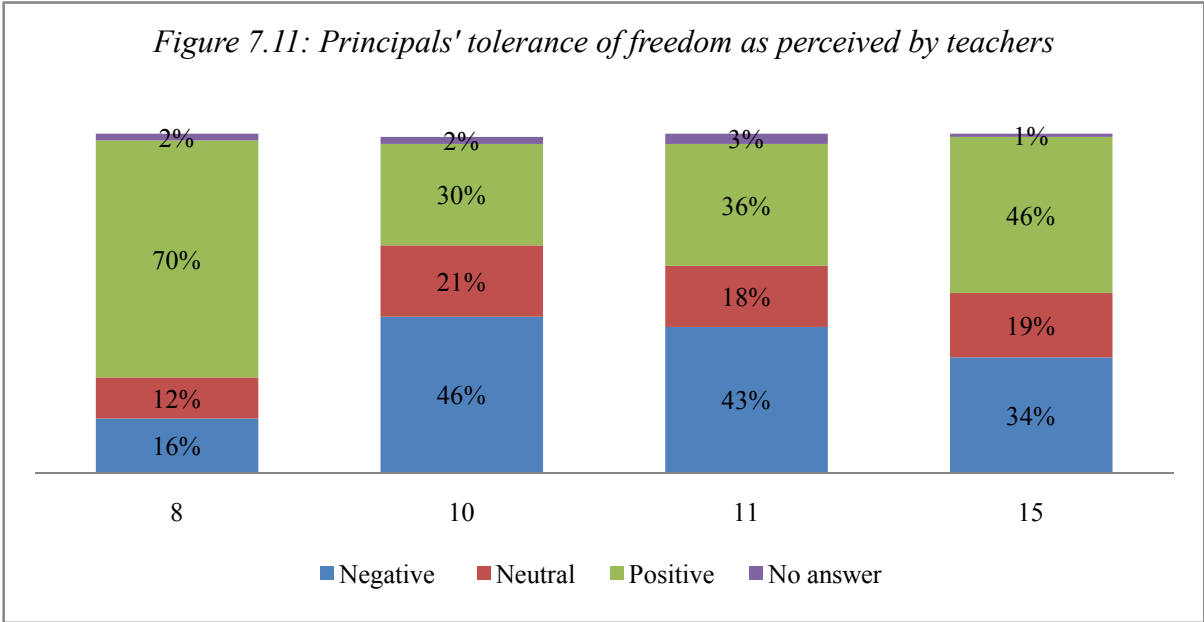
VII.6.3. Tolerance of Freedom

The freedom to act responsibly is the aspiration of all human beings. In fact, the extent to which an organization or society can prosper largely depends on the extent to which its members are free to experiment and explore what works best for them without fear of any kind. In the context of schools, providing quality education hinges on broadening the scope of teachers' freedom with regard to all important educational matters. Principals' tolerance of freedom is therefore elemental to school success. The behavior, as shown in table 7.15, entails that teachers (a) enjoy a great deal of freedom in deciding how to do their work, (b) are safe to criticize administrative policies, and (c) are generally enabled to act as leaders. The data in table 7.15 yielded mixed results. While two items in the scale (8 & 15) obtained positive mean scores of 3.0 or above, two other items (10 & 11) received negative scores below 3.0, implying that principals exhibit some forms of the behavior but not others. However, the results obtained after combining the negative (1 & 2) and positive (4 & 5) values into two different positions are more consistent as illustrated in figure 7.11. Except for item 8, the

positive positions for all other items received low percentages between 30% and 46%. The participants citing that their principals insist on following exact procedures in doing work are higher by 16% than those who deny so. Similarly, those indicating that their principals get annoyed with criticism of administrative policies are larger in percentage (43%) than those who observe no such behavior among their principals (36%). As for enabling teachers to act

Table 7.15: Principals' tolerance of freedom as perceived by teachers

Item N°	The principal at my school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
8*	declines to give teachers a great deal of freedom in deciding how to do their work.	143 (69.75%)	24 (11.70%)	33 (16.09%)	5 (2.43%)	3.75
10*	insists on following exact procedures in doing work.	62 (30.24%)	44 (21.46%)	95 (46.34%)	4 (1.95%)	2.83
11*	gets annoyed with teachers' criticism of administrative policies.	74 (36.09%)	36 (17.56%)	89 (43.41%)	6 (2.92%)	2.89
15*	refrains from enabling teachers to act like leaders.	94 (45.85%)	38 (18.53%)	70 (34.14%)	3 (1.46%)	3.17
Average mean score						3.16



as leaders, only 46% of participants cite that their principals demonstrate such a behavior. Considered together, these results reveal an emphasis on following exact procedures, an intolerance to criticism of administrative policies, and a lack of support for enabling teachers

to act as leaders. All these conditions stifle experimentation, creativity, and leadership. For schools to deliver quality education, ideas from those in the field need to be welcomed and awarded close attention; no meaningful change could ever take place within any organization or society if ideas are not freely expressed, shared, and tested in practice. The emphasis on exact procedures and intolerance to criticism undermine an important pivot of leadership, which is having scope for exercising discretion and influence. As to why item 8 obtained a high percentage (70%) for the positive position, the reason could be that the freedom teachers feel they have in doing their work is an unintended outcome of principals and respective authorities' withdrawal from what goes on in the classrooms. The education officials, as participants emphasize in sections VII.4 and VII.5, show little interest in the quality of education being delivered at schools since they are still grappling with securing enough seats and teachers for enrolled students. As a result, there is no close monitoring of teachers, who are left alone to handle their classes in whatever manner possible or convenient. As long as "the peace" is preserved within the classrooms, no concerns are raised over what goes on inside them. Regardless, the data in figure 7.11 and participants' accounts in all previous sections reveal that there is little, if any, tolerance of teachers' freedom across public schools in the country, which severely constrains their involvement in the leadership work.

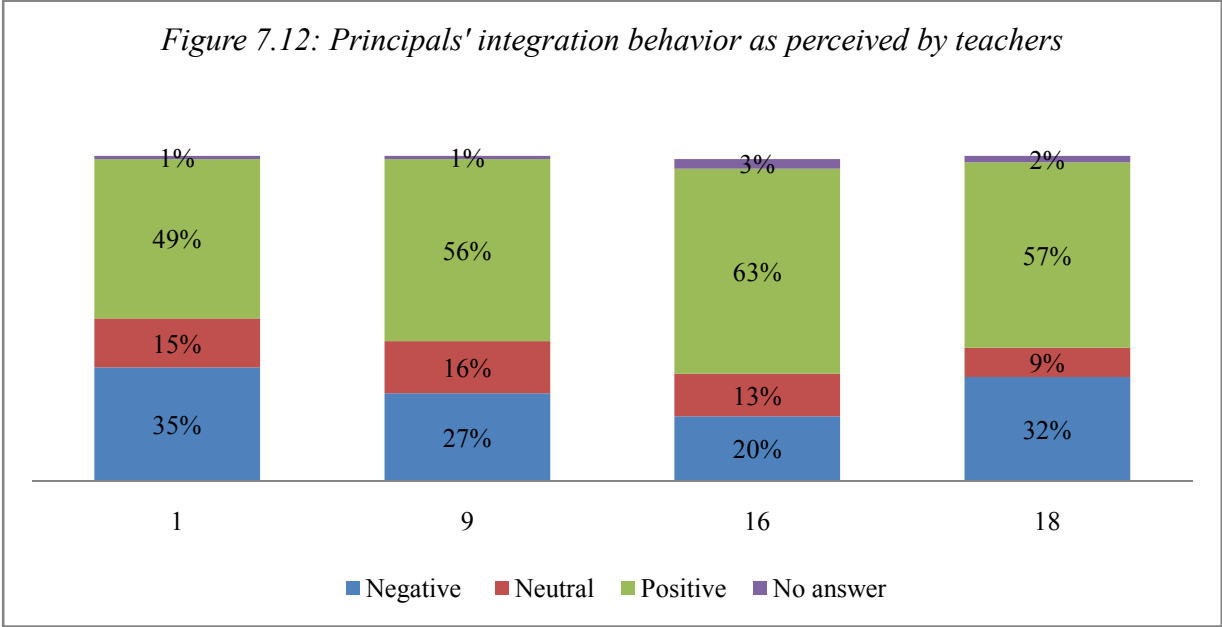
VII.6.4. Integration

Leadership is premised on collaboration and could only emerge within integrated schools where actors are able to rise above differences and narrow interests and work together for the benefit of all students. Principals need to be at the forefront of the efforts at bringing teachers close together. More specifically, they need to exhibit the integration behavior by developing cooperative relationships among teachers, coordinating with them to define and achieve shared goals, emphasizing common interests, and holding regular meetings. All these forms of the behavior are vital to the emergence of leadership across schools. The results in

table 7.16 reveal that principals do generally exhibit the integration behavior. All items in the scale received a positive mean score of 3.0 or higher. The average mean score is 3.27, which is positive but not to the extent to suggest strong agreement among participants that integration is fulfilled by their principals. As illustrated in figure 7.12, the positive positions regarding three of the four items in the scale all obtained percentages between 49% (item 1) and 57% (items 9 & 18), providing no compelling answer as to whether principals

Table 7.16: Principals' integration behavior as perceived by teachers

Item N°	The principal at my school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
1	develops cooperative relationships amongst teachers.	72 (35.12%)	31 (15.12%)	100 (48.78%)	2 (0.97%)	3.10
9	coordinates with teachers to develop and implement shared goals.	55 (26.82%)	33 (16.09%)	114 (55.60%)	3 (1.46%)	3.28
16	emphasizes common interests and encourages cooperation.	42 (20.48%)	26 (12.68%)	130 (63.41%)	7 (3.41%)	3.5
18	convenes regular meetings with teachers.	65 (31.70%)	19 (9.26%)	116 (56.58%)	5 (2.43%)	3.22
Average mean score						3.27



demonstrate the behavior or not. Yet, when considering other variables examined in section VII.5 of this chapter, particularly teacher-principal and teacher-teacher interaction, ample evidence accrues to conclude that principals have little, if any, interest in achieving

integration across public schools. First of all, both principals and teachers report very limited interaction with one another. Second, there is a tendency among principals to weaken rather than strengthen relationships with and among teachers through all different possible means in order to keep the volatile situation at schools under control. Third, teachers are marginalized in decision making; their views are unwanted or ignored; and their attempts at collaboration are often suspected and ultimately thwarted. All these factors, made explicit by interviewees in section VII.5, result in disintegrated schools where teachers have little time, energy, or enthusiasm for the leadership work, which in their view is either impractical or pointless.

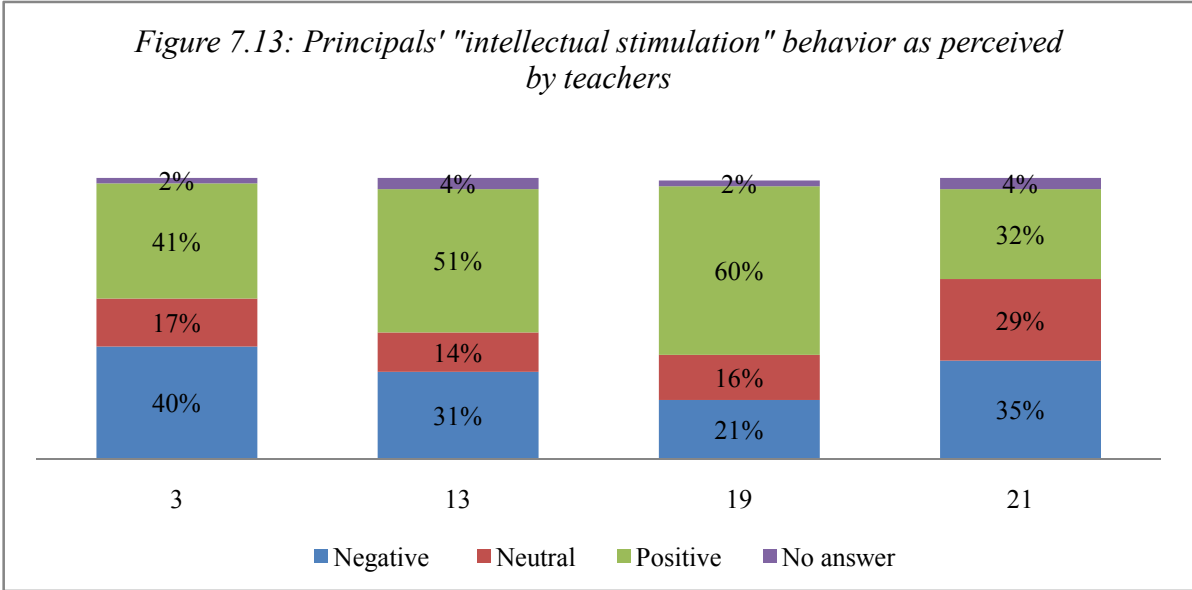
VII.6.5. Intellectual Stimulation

Through intellectual stimulation, principals not only motivate their teachers to come up with new and innovative ways of doing work but also inspire them and earn their trust and respect. The behavior is therefore central to leadership and involves practices such as encouraging teachers to be innovative, exciting teachers with visions of what can be done by working together as a team, stimulating teachers to think about what they are doing for the school's students, and finally urging teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work. The results in table 7.17 show that principals do exhibit the intellectual stimulation behavior. Except for item 21 which received a negative mean score of 2.95, all other items obtained a positive mean score of 3.0 or above. The average mean score for the whole scale is 3.15. The percentages in figure 7.13 provide a clearer picture about the extent to which principals demonstrate the behavior. For example, the positive positions regarding two of the four items received very low percentages between 32% (item 21) and 41% (item 3), implying that encouraging teachers to be innovative and re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work is not a common practice amongst principals across public schools. The same could be said about item 13 where only about a half of participants (51%) indicate that their principals do excite them with visions of what can be

done by working together as a team. These results make clear that principals across public schools generally display no strong involvement in intellectual stimulation for several reasons discussed in this section and all previous ones. Besides the lack of resources and support, teachers in the country are often expected to implement rather than come up with ideas for change. The intellectual stimulation behavior entails that teachers' knowledge is valued and

Table 7.17: Principals' "intellectual stimulation" behavior as perceived by teachers

Item N°	The principal at my school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
3*	hesitates to encourage teachers to be innovative in doing their work.	85 (41.46%)	35 (17.07%)	81 (39.51%)	4 (1.95%)	3.02
13	excites teachers with visions of what can be done if they work together as a team.	64 (31.21%)	28 (13.65%)	105 (51.21%)	8 (3.90%)	3.20
19	stimulates teachers to think about what they are doing for the school's students.	44 (21.46%)	32 (15.60%)	124 (60.48%)	5 (2.43%)	3.46
21	urges teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work.	71 (34.63%)	60 (29.26%)	66 (32.19%)	8 (3.90%)	2.95
Average mean score						3.15



carries great weight in shaping curricula and instruction, which is by no means the case under the current education system. In a context where teachers act as subjects rather agents of change, it is unlikely that principals would engage in intellectual stimulation in any purposeful and productive manner.

In conclusion, the quantitative data in this section yielded mixed results providing no clear evidence as to whether principals exhibit the five leadership behaviors under investigation or not. However, the qualitative data, particularly those in section VII.5.1, provide unequivocal answers. Principals' practices, such as favoritism, sowing divisions, spreading rumors, and gossip, are clearly no tokens of leadership. The problem, as reported by almost all interviewees, is not just that principals fail to exhibit the leadership behaviors important for school development but more seriously that they do not want or allow leadership to emerge among the ranks of dedicated and able teachers across public schools. Principals make every possible effort to insure that teachers obey the commands and follow the guidelines of the education authorities even if they have to engage in scandalous behavior, such as deliberately intoxicating relationships among teachers. Principals who engage in such behaviors to impose followship across schools naturally cannot in manner act as leaders, but they are not squarely to blame since the problem is systemic in nature.

VII.7. Teachers' Perceptions of their Colleagues' Leadership Behaviors

Teachers are at the heart of the educational process. In fact, change all comes down to what teachers do schoolwide and whether they rise above their differences and work together to spearhead initiatives for leadership across schools. By building positive relationships with one another and combining efforts to meet students' needs, teachers can exert considerable influence on the quality of education delivered at schools even when they work under adverse circumstances.

This section therefore comes to determine the extent to which teachers across public schools demonstrate three important leadership behaviors: consideration, integration, and production emphasis (see section V.6). To this end, a 15-item Likert scale is used to measure teachers' perceptions of their colleagues' specified leadership behaviors. The scale, as indicated in table 7.18, consists of five response categories, each assigned a particular score:

Table 7.18: Results of the 18-item Likert scale measuring teachers' perceptions of their colleagues' leadership behaviors

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I work with at school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA	No answer
1	trust and care for each other.	25 (12.19%)	47 (22.92%)	37 (18.04%)	75 (36.58%)	19 (9.26%)	2 (0.97%)
2*	fail to work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement.	25 (12.19%)	62 (30.24%)	49 (23.90%)	55 (26.82%)	10 (4.87%)	4 (1.95%)
3	praise and appreciate the work of each other.	22 (10.73%)	36 (17.56%)	21 (10.24%)	112 (54.63%)	12 (5.85%)	2 (0.97%)
4*	make no effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies.	21 (10.24%)	80 (39.02%)	32 (15.60%)	47 (22.92%)	20 (9.75%)	5 (2.43%)
5*	have a tendency to take sides and feud among each other.	24 (11.70%)	77 (37.56%)	32 (15.60%)	46 (22.43%)	24 (11.70%)	2 (0.97%)
6	are fun to work with.	27 (13.17%)	23 (11.21%)	36 (17.56%)	97 (47.31%)	17 (8.29%)	5 (2.43%)
7	treat each other with dignity and respect.	9 (4.39%)	13 (6.34%)	19 (9.26%)	121 (59.02%)	40 (19.51%)	3 (1.46%)
8	work together to develop appropriate measures for student assessment.	14 (6.82%)	58 (28.29%)	38 (18.53%)	79 (38.53%)	13 (6.34%)	3 (1.46%)
9	seek opportunities for dialog and cooperation.	15 (7.31%)	50 (24.39%)	47 (22.92%)	78 (38.04%)	10 (4.87%)	5 (2.43%)
10*	are reluctant to share ideas and materials.	29 (14.14%)	83 (40.48%)	32 (15.60%)	46 (22.43%)	11 (5.36%)	4 (1.95%)
11	develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement.	16 (7.80%)	55 (26.82%)	58 (28.29%)	62 (30.24%)	9 (4.39%)	5 (2.43%)
12*	undermine each others' ideas.	34 (16.58%)	96 (46.82%)	36 (17.56%)	24 (11.70%)	13 (6.34%)	2 (0.97%)
13*	refuse to cooperate on scheduling, student distribution, and use of resources.	21 (10.24%)	83 (40.48%)	34 (16.58%)	42 (20.48%)	20 (9.75%)	5 (2.43%)
14	coordinate to foster students' social and intellectual growth across subjects.	15 (7.31%)	33 (16.09%)	39 (19.02%)	98 (47.80%)	14 (6.82%)	6 (2.92%)
15*	have trouble getting along with each other.	33 (16.09%)	82 (40%)	32 (15.60%)	39 (19.02%)	14 (6.82%)	5 (2.43%)

strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, undecided = 3, agree = 4, and strongly agree = 5. The asterisked items are negatively worded and scored in the reverse direction. The raw results for the whole scale are presented in table 7.18.

The data in this section are based on teachers' perceptions and therefore provide a cross-check for those premised on principals' point of view in the previous chapter. This strategy allows for comparing and contrasting information from two different sources and ultimately increases the overall reliability and validity of the findings

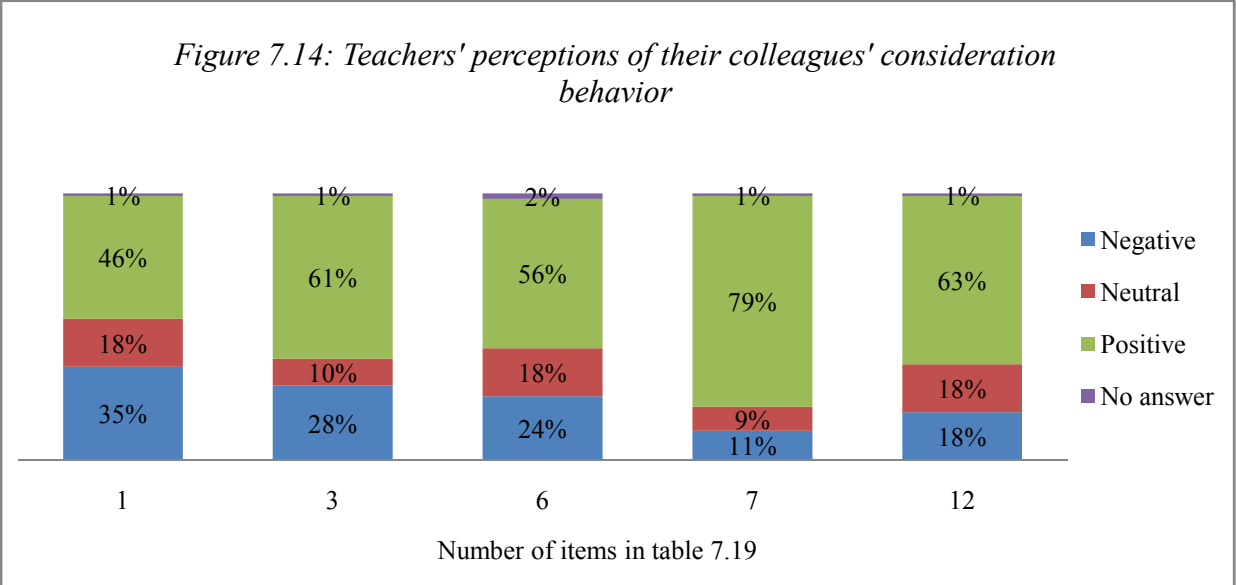
VII.7.1. Consideration

The consideration behavior epitomizes the importance of relationships in the change process. For leadership to be viable within schools, it is crucial that teachers trust, care for, praise, and respect each other. Embodying such behaviors for the good of all does make teachers leaders. According to the data in table 7.19, teachers do generally exhibit the consideration behavior. All items in the scale obtained a mean score of 3.0 or above. The scale as a whole achieved an average mean score of 3.40. The results are particularly clearer when combining the negative (1 & 2) and positive (4 & 5) values into two different positions as illustrated in figure 7.14. Compared to those obtained by the negative positions, the

Table 7.19: Teachers' perceptions of their colleagues' consideration behavior

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I work with at school...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
1	trust and care for each other.	72 (35.12%)	37 (18.04%)	94 (45.85%)	2 (0.97%)	3.07
3	praise and appreciate the work of each other.	58 (28.29%)	21 (10.24%)	124 (60.48%)	2 (0.97%)	3.27
6	are fun to work with.	50 (24.39%)	36 (17.56%)	114 (55.60%)	5 (2.43%)	3.27
7	treat each other with dignity and respect.	22 (10.73%)	19 (9.26%)	161 (78.53%)	3 (1.46%)	3.84
12*	undermine each others' ideas.	130 (63.41%)	36 (17.56%)	37 (18.04%)	2 (0.97%)	3.56
Average mean score						3.40

percentages recorded by the positive positions for almost all items are much higher. For example, 79% of participants cite that their colleagues do treat each other with dignity and respect while 61% confirm that colleagues praise and appreciate the work of one another. However, only 46% of participants mention that their colleagues trust and care for each other, and no more than 56% indicate that colleagues are fun to work with. The results therefore are mixed. While teachers across public schools tend to respect and praise each other, there are no



strong trust, caring, and friendliness among them. In other words, teachers across schools tend to be cordial in the sense that they show no visible disrespect for one another, but beneath the surface they largely remain untrusting, cautious, distant, and unenthusiastic about working together. Participants' colleagues therefore cannot be said to demonstrate the consideration behavior because no leadership can really take place across schools unless teachers trust each other and like working together.

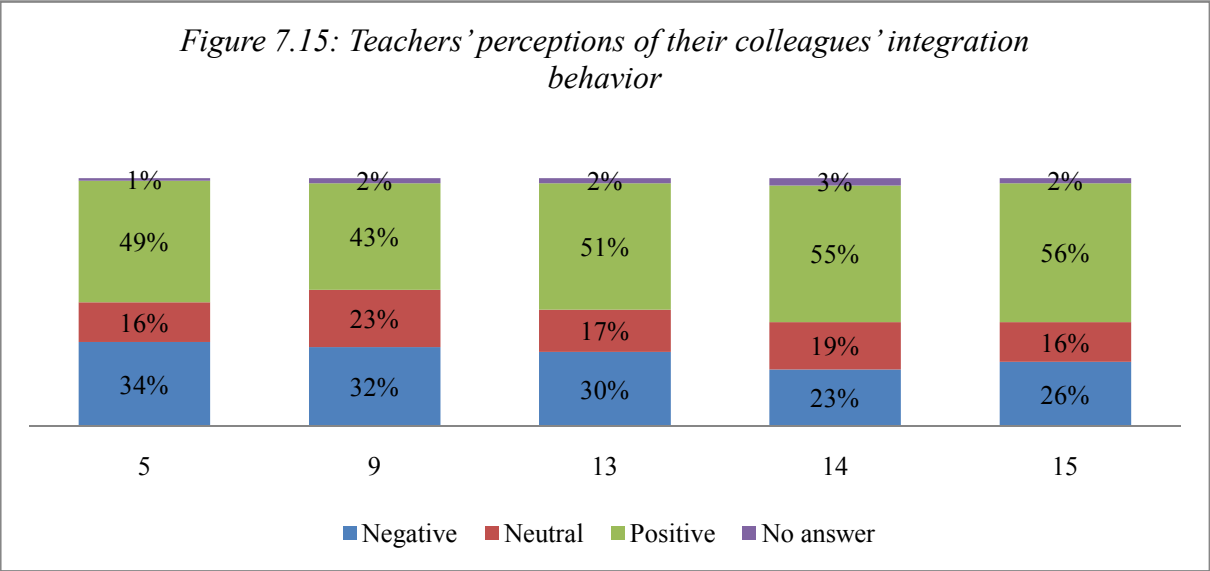
VII.7.2. Integration

Integration and consideration as leadership behaviors are closely interconnected. Teachers who demonstrate consideration are also likely to exhibit integration and vice versa. The integration behavior, as shown in table 7.20, comprises several aspects which mainly

concern the extent to which teachers cooperate at all different levels to lead their schools forward. Based on the mean scores in table 7.20, teachers do exhibit the integration behavior. All items in the scale achieved a mean score of 3.0 or higher. The average mean score for the whole scale is 3.26, which is lower than that for the consideration behavior. The percentages in figure 7.15 provide a clearer picture about the extent to which teachers across public

Table 7.20: Teachers’ perceptions of their colleagues’ integration behavior

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I work with at school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
5*	have a tendency to take sides and feud among each other.	101 (49.26%)	32 (15.60%)	70 (34.14%)	2 (0.97%)	3.15
9	seek opportunities for dialog and cooperation.	65 (31.70%)	47 (22.92%)	88 (42.92%)	5 (2.43%)	3.09
13*	refuse to cooperate on scheduling, student distribution, and use of resources.	104 (50.73%)	34 (16.58%)	62 (30.24%)	5 (2.43%)	3.21
14	coordinate to foster students’ social and intellectual growth across subjects.	48 (23.41%)	39 (19.02%)	112 (54.63%)	6 (2.92%)	3.31
15*	have trouble getting along with each other.	115 (56.09%)	32 (15.60%)	53 (25.85%)	5 (2.43%)	3.40
Average mean score						3.23



schools demonstrate the integration behavior. The positive positions regarding all five items received a little more or less than 50%, suggesting no strong integration among teachers across public schools. For instance, only about a half of participants (49%) observe no

feuding and polarization among colleagues while no more than 43% affirm that colleagues seek opportunities for dialog and cooperation. Those indicating cooperation among colleagues regarding other matters, such as scheduling, student distribution, use of resources, and student learning in general are also about a half ranging between 51% and 56%. Based on these results, teachers across public schools in the country do not exhibit the integration behavior, at least not to a large extent. Teachers not only invest little or no effort in cooperation with others but more importantly lack interest in the process altogether (item 9) and engage in unnecessary, destructive behavior such as feuding among each other (item 5), which, as the data in section VII.5 support, is widespread across public schools. In such conditions, it is very unlikely that any leadership could emerge among teachers, who are not to blame alone given that the problem is systemic.

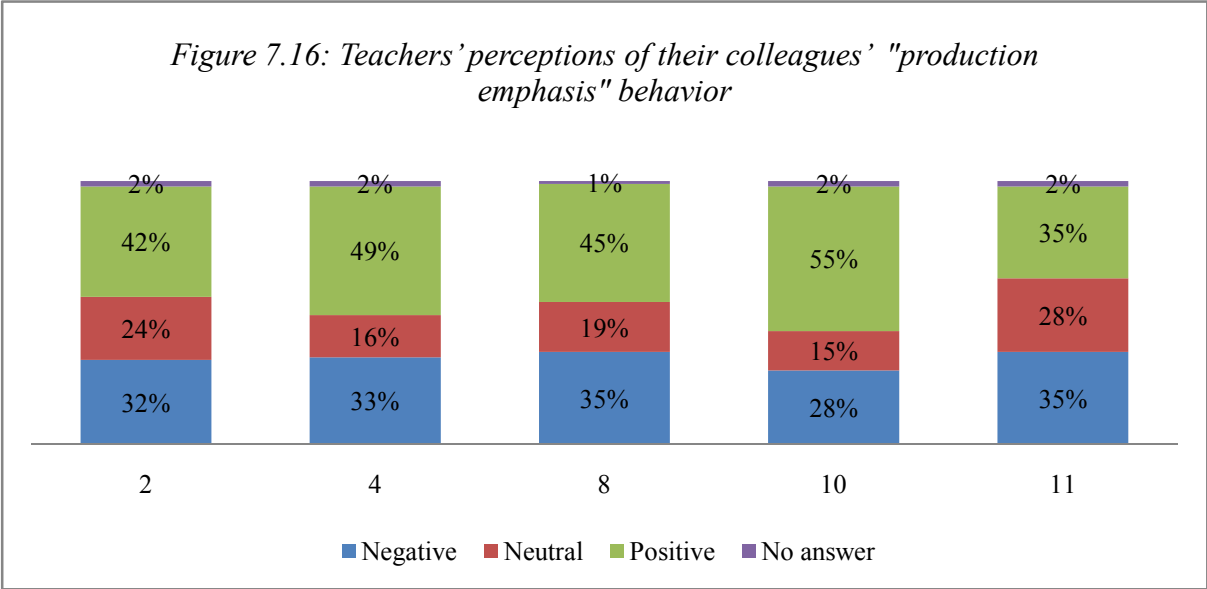
VII.7.3. Production Emphasis

The production emphasis behavior represents the most rigorous and practical form of leadership. The behavior includes several forms such as evaluating practice and exploring ways for improvement, peer coaching, sharing ideas and materials, developing shared goals and defining procedures for their achievement, and developing appropriate measures for student assessment. Generally, the results in table 7.21 show that teachers do exhibit the production emphasis behavior. Except item 11, which received a negative mean score of 2.96, all other items achieved a positive score of 3.0 or above. The average mean score for the whole scale is 3.15, which is positive but provides no strong evidence that teachers across public schools do demonstrate the production emphasis behavior. As illustrated in figure 7.16, the positive positions regarding four of the five items all received percentages below 50%. For example, only 35% of participants reveal that their colleagues engage in developing shared goals and defining procedures for their achievement; similarly, those indicating that colleagues work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement are no more

than 42%. Even a more basic but crucial form of leadership, which consists in working together to develop appropriate measures for student assessment, is not commonly practiced across public schools; only 45% of participants cite that colleagues exhibit the behavior in question. Based on these results, there is little if any emphasis on production among teachers; coordinated and purposeful action aimed at schoolwide improvement is not yet a common

Table 7.21: Teachers’ perceptions of their colleagues’ “production emphasis” behavior

Item N°	Generally, the teachers I work with at school ...	Negative	Neutral	Positive	No answer	Mean score
2*	fail to work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement.	87 (42.43%)	49 (23.90%)	65 (31.70%)	4 (1.95%)	3.18
4*	make no effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies.	101 (49.26%)	32 (15.60%)	67 (32.68%)	5 (2.43%)	3.17
8	work together to develop appropriate measures for student assessment.	72 (35.12%)	38 (18.53%)	92 (44.87%)	3 (1.46%)	3.09
10*	are reluctant to share ideas and materials.	112 (54.63%)	32 (15.60%)	57 (27.80%)	4 (1.95%)	3.36
11	develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement.	71 (34.63%)	58 (28.29%)	71 (34.63%)	5 (2.43%)	2.96
Average mean score						3.15



practice across public schools. Most teachers operate individually with no clear direction, which renders their work devoid of any meaning or innovation. As long they abide by the official guidelines and commands, teachers are deemed at least by the education authorities to

have honored their responsibilities and achieved the goals. As for leadership, the view among many government officials is that there can and should be only one to lead. Leadership by many can be source of trouble of all kind and instability at all levels and may therefore result in decline rather than progress, a possibility that cannot be ruled out at least for the time being.

Based on the quantitative results in this section, teachers across public schools generally do not exhibit the leadership behaviors investigated: consideration, integration, and production emphasis. The scales used all yielded barely positive average mean scores between 3.15 for production emphasis and 3.40 for consideration. The integration behavior achieved an average mean score of 3.23. The percentages obtained after combining the negative (1 & 2) and positive (4 & 5) values into two distinct positions provide even clearer and more compelling evidence indicating that the behaviors in large part are not common across public schools. The positive positions regarding most items in all three scales obtained percentages ranging from 40% to 55%; very few received more than 55%. These results imply that teachers across public schools in the country may be visibly cordial but not trusting, close, or enthusiastic about collaboration with each other. There is weak integration among teachers marked by a tendency towards feuding with one another over trivial matters. As a result, little if any progress is achieved; coordinated and focused action aimed at school-wide improvement, i.e. production emphasis, seldom takes place within schools and is not yet a target for the education authorities. Leadership from within schools remains not only lacking but also undesired.

VII.8. Conclusion

The data in this chapter reveal that the structural and cultural characteristics of public schools across the country constrain rather than enable the work of leadership. First of all, there is a lack of basic infrastructure and resources, human and material, producing difficult

working conditions (e.g. overcrowding and work overload) that often result in exhaustion, stress, and low morale and render involvement in leadership extremely difficult if not impractical. Exacerbating the situation even further is the reward system in place which most teachers describe as unfair and are deeply dissatisfied with. Receiving mediocre salaries, both principals and teachers are placed at a socioeconomic disadvantage; they not only work but also live in difficult conditions leading to helplessness and low self-worth. Other important factors in the leadership work, namely incentives and decision making authority, are in their turn lacking. Principals and teachers are neither encouraged nor empowered in any manner to lead their schools forward. Efforts are instead made to depower teachers in all possible ways and keep them from achieving unity and challenging the status quo. The data, both quantitative and qualitative, show that favoritism is rampant among principals who often seek to silence honest and dedicated teachers and sabotage their efforts at change. Among teachers, there are a lack of trust and a tendency towards feuding. After all, teacher-principal and teacher-teacher interaction is very limited and is rarely focused on leadership. That is, principals and teachers exhibit little agency, which is evident in the mixed results yielded by the scales pertinent to all leadership behaviors. No single scale achieved an average mean score of 4.0 or above. In fact, most scales barely achieved a positive average mean score of 3.0 or a little higher, indicating that the behaviors studied are not common across public schools. Yet, the qualitative data are unambiguous and leave no room for speculation, revealing poor work ethics manifest in principals and teachers' failure to even follow and implement the change introduced by the education authorities, let alone lead a change of their own making. Principals and teachers are neither following nor leading; they are failing at both but they are not only to blame. Due to the volatile political, economic, and social situation in the country, it seems as though the state resists handing over any actual power to schools whose autonomy might results in developing or advancing incongruous educational agendas

that could threaten national unity and political stability. Leadership from within schools is in many ways perceived as a huge political risk that may lead to the disintegration of the country. The reasoning among state officials might be as follows: “schools need to be kept under control to keep the country together.” However, no change can ever take place in an organization or society without positive relationships among members based on respect, equality, and freedom. Behaviors such as favoritism, sowing divisions, gossip, and feuding are unnecessary and inexcusable, and there is no imaginable interest for schools or the nation as a whole in their promotion or condonation.

Chapter Eight:
Discussion of Findings

VIII.1. Introduction

For the research findings to be meaningful, they have to be negotiated from different perspectives, social, political, economic, etc., corresponding to the national and international context so as to clarify what underlies a given situation. This study examines principals and teachers' behaviors across public schools; therefore, the aim of this chapter is discussing all relevant phenomena that could explain why principals and teachers behave the way they do. There are several layers of systems under which actors within schools function that must be figured into the discussion for an adequate understanding of the current condition of leadership in public education. As a result, a meta-analysis that goes beyond schools is necessary for making sense of the findings. The arguments made in this chapter follow the evidence wherever it leads, and this line of reasoning applies to the implications and recommendations of the study. Efforts are made to pinpoint what change and further research are needed not only within schools but also the country and the entire globe. No institutions or intentions are taken for granted as inherently benign or otherwise. Research starts with questioning in order to inform, not misinform. Self-censorship regarding where the problems and solutions lie and where further investigation is needed is somehow a type of misinformation that would render this research worse than no research. To give meaning to this research, no boundaries of any sort are knowingly adopted.

VIII.2. Key Findings in Perspective

The aim of this study is identifying the extent to which principals and teachers exhibit specific leadership behaviors across public schools in Morocco based on their own and each other's views. The emphasis is not only on behaviors but also the situation where they take place. With regard to principals, the behaviors studied are modeling, persuasiveness, consideration, tolerance of freedom, intellectual Stimulation, and integration. For teachers, the behaviors examined include consideration, integration, and production emphasis. The results,

both quantitative and qualitative, show that principals and teachers exhibit the behaviors in question to noticeably *weak* extent for several reasons summarized as follows:

First, the structural characteristics of public schools in Morocco severely constrain the leadership work by principals and teachers. The Likert scales measuring principals and teachers' satisfaction with different structural features of their schools yielded starkly negative average mean scores (see table 6.3 & 7.3). Schools suffer a severe lack of basic infrastructure and resources of all types, leading to conditions such as overcrowding, burnout, and hopelessness which all constrain leadership among principals and teachers across public schools. There is also a weak presence of and participation in collaborative structures, namely school-wide meetings and committees for specific purposes. School meetings are often held for telling teachers what and how to do, indicating an emphasis on obedience rather than initiative or risk taking. During interviews, participants insist that meetings are often held for complying with the MNE's mandates, practically making no difference across schools at all. The result is that the structural characteristics of public schools in Morocco constrain rather than enable leadership by principals and teachers.

Second, there is a lack of training and incentives for involvement in leadership. A large majority of teachers (84%) report receiving no training relevant to the leadership practice. While (87%) of principals cite receiving training on leadership, which they might confuse with administrative aspects of their jobs, generally the results provide no strong evidence of rigorous training programs aimed at promoting leadership across public schools. Besides poor training, there is a lack of incentives, both moral and material. The quantitative results show that a majority of principals (61%) and teachers (89%) mention having no incentives of any kind for involvement in the leadership practice. The qualitative results reveal even a more alarming reality where there is a systematic policy by the education authorities to thwart attempts at leadership among teachers and principals at all costs (see

section VII.5). The problem, therefore, is not only a lack of training and incentives, moral and material, but more gravely an official policy to prevent the practice mindless of the repercussions on public education.

Third, there are weak and unproductive relationships between principals and teachers and among teachers themselves. While the quantitative results (see table 6.9) show that principals hold highly favorable attitudes about their teachers, the qualitative data indicate the opposite; the principals interviewed expressed deep disappointment with their teachers both as persons and professionals, reporting rampant conflict among them. Similarly, the results from the JDIS scale (see table 7.7) reveal that teachers have favorable attitudes about their principals, but the qualitative data indicate the contrary; almost all interviewed teachers hold strongly unfavorable attitudes about their principals, who lack cordiality, decisiveness, and communication, and have instead a tendency towards favoritism, dishonesty, gossip, and sowing divisions among teachers. As a result, principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco hold largely unfavorable attitudes about one another. Among teachers themselves, attitudes are also unfavorable. Based on the qualitative results (see section VII.5.2), there is a strong tendency among teachers towards feuding, forming into cliques along political and ideological lines, cynicism, and inertia. The conclusion is that there are weak and unproductive relationships across the board within public schools, rendering the chances for the emergence of leadership from within public schools very slim.

Fourth, principal-teacher and teacher-teacher interaction across public schools is extremely limited, impertinent to student learning, and unproductive. These conclusions are supported by the data from both the questionnaires and interviews. The quantitative results show that principals (64%) generally spend no more than about half an hour per day talking to all their teachers, a period of time that is too small to allow for any kind of leadership to take hold within schools. Likewise, teachers (see table 7.8) spend a small amount of time (about

half an hour per week for 46% and no time at all for 24%) interacting with their principals. The time teachers spend interacting with their colleagues is also limited (about half an hour per day for 40% and no time at all for 10%). Furthermore, the little interaction that ever takes place between principals and teachers or teachers themselves concerns topics mostly irrelevant to the leadership practice (see tables 7.9 & 7.11) and generally does more harm than good since its foci are gossip, negativity, and triviality. This reported level of principal-teacher and teacher-teacher interaction is too weak and provides strong evidence that little if any collaboration and therefore leadership is taking place across public schools in the country. These findings about interaction are consistent with those regarding collaborative structures which according to the data, both quantitative and qualitative, are either absent altogether, inactivated, or unproductive. Frequent, purposeful, and positive interaction, whether through formal or informal channels, is the driving force of leadership; its absence or limited occurrence to the extent reported by participants makes the process whereby principals and teachers work together to lead change from within schools impractical.

Fifth, principals and teachers' perceptions of each other's leadership behaviors are largely negative. To start with, principals' perceptions of their teachers' leadership behaviors are generally unfavorable. While the quantitative results provide no clear answers as to how principals perceive the leadership behaviors of their teachers, indicating at best elusive, inconsistent, and doubtful views, the qualitative results reveal a clear discontent with their teachers' leadership behaviors. During interviews, principals cite endemic apathy, cynicism, and irresponsibility among their teachers. In their turn, teachers have negative perceptions of their principals' leadership behaviors and those of their colleagues. While the quantitative results give no clear answers as to what teachers really think of their principals and colleagues' leadership behaviors, the qualitative data provide ample evidence indicating negative perceptions of principals and colleagues' leadership behaviors. In fact, teachers

perceive the leadership behaviors of their principals and colleagues much less favorably than principals do regarding their own leadership behaviors or those of their teachers. This finding is supported by both the quantitative and qualitative data. The Likert scales measuring the behaviors under investigation obtained average mean scores much lower in the case of teachers than in the case of principals. The qualitative results indicate ruthless unprofessional behaviors widespread among both principals and teachers across public schools. According to the teachers interviewed, principals are generally distrustful of their teachers, lack genuine interest in the development of their schools, exercise power rather than influence, emphasize compliance with official policies and disapprove of initiative and experimentation, and actively use all means possible, including those most detrimental to education, to reinforce followship and dependency and thwart leadership of any kind among teachers. This state of affairs, undoubtedly, has a dire impact on teachers and particularly relationships among them. As reported by the interviewed teachers, there is a strong tendency among colleagues towards forming into cliques, feuding, gossiping, spreading rumors, and negativity. The data therefore provide strong evidence that principals and teachers exhibit little if any leadership across public schools.

In sum, the structural characteristics of public schools in Morocco do not support the practice of leadership while the cultural features, particularly those relating to principals and teachers' behaviors and attitudes, are counterproductive and serve only to exacerbate the situation further across public schools. As Spillane et al. (op. cit.), structures and cultures mutually influence each other. The structures of public schools in the country are severely constraining of the leadership work while the prevailing cultures are marked by schisms and withdrawal, failing to help reverse the situation in any small measure. In other words, principals and teachers exhibit little if any human agency in the face of the adversity characterizing the different aspects of their work. Human agency can prove particularly

helpful at the level of relationships, over which principals and teachers have much control. Both sides can start by viewing each other as partners rather than foes; a change in attitudes incurs no costs but can achieve wonders particularly by generating positive emotions across the board at schools.

Apart from structures whose effects are salient and relatively difficult to control by principals and teachers, the cultures dominant across public schools in Morocco are those of what researchers (e.g. Deal & Peterson, op. cit.; Fullan, op. cit.; Seashore Louis & Wahlstrom, op. cit.; Saphier & King, op. cit.) call failing schools. These latter are dominated by negative networks of social actors such as saboteurs, negaholics, rumor mongers, etc. (Deal & Peterson, op. cit.). These types of actors, as the results show, are predominant across schools, whereas those who are positive and pro-change are rare. Collaboration, shared decision making, communication, innovation, shared vision, and traditions, which researchers (e.g. Fullan, op. cit.; Negis-Isik & Gursel, op. cit.; Goldring, op. cit.) consider key features of successful schools, are uncommon at Moroccan public schools. These are unlikely to achieve any progress without reculturing. Seashore Louis and Wahlstrom (op.cit.) affirm that the success of schools depends primarily on the presence of strong cultures built on (a) wide involvement by teachers and administrators in the improvement of education schoolwide, (b) productive professional networks of teachers working collaboratively to develop and implement ideas for change, and (c) strong and trustful relationships driven by common interest. Given the absence of such cultural characteristics across public schools, it is not surprising that they continue to provide poor quality education to the children they house for long hours and invest in huge amounts of public funds but all in vain. The logistics of education are important, but alone they cannot make change happen. Tondeur, Devos, Van Houtte, van Braak, and Valcke (2009) affirm that both the structural (e.g. infrastructure, planning and support) and cultural (e.g. leadership, goal orientedness and innovativeness)

characteristics of schools affect educational change. The latter type, however, drives the former, not the contrary; it all comes down to what people do on the ground. Saphier and King (op. cit.) emphasize that the success of schools rests on the presence of several important norms such as collegiality, experimentation, high expectations, trust and confidence, tangible support, reaching out to the knowledge bases, appreciation and recognition, caring, celebration and humor, involvement in decision making, traditions, and honest and open communication. These features, as evident in the data, are generally absent across public schools in Morocco, and therefore there can be but failure as long as the norms constituting the epitome of leadership are overlooked or more precisely undermined. As maintained by Fullan (op. cit.), successful schools are those that have a moral purpose, understand change, develop relationships, build knowledge, and make coherence, which are all features rarely found within Moroccan schools. Instead, there exist toxic cultures, which Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) identify as including negativity, fragmentation, isolation, destructive relationships, apathy, opposition to change, etc. (see section III.4.2). Reynolds (op. cit.) concurs that where there are unproductive relationships involving clashes, feuds, and cliques there is failure to achieve tangible improvement schoolwide. In brief, the types of behaviors prevalent among principals and teachers across public schools are major reasons for the persistent failure to educate the nation's youth in any useful manner, but it is important to approach the existing behaviors in context, whether at the national or international level, to adequately understand where the problems and solutions lie.

At the national level, the most striking finding emerging from the data is the official antagonism to leadership by principals or teachers, and the coercive methods used to enforce obedience and preserve the status quo. Almost all interviewed principals and teachers consistently mentioned that public officials at the DPEs and the MNE actively oppose leadership from within schools using notorious tactics such as sowing divisions among

teachers and sabotaging their efforts for school-wide improvement (see section VII.5). The teachers noted that it is was common for principals to divide rather than bring together their teachers in order keep control over all and implement the MNE's directives which are often controversial as teachers rarely know about them until they are released. The overt destructive tactics of divide and control, carried out by principals and induced and embraced by officials, cast doubt on the state's declared intentions of improving education nationwide. Given the dire and unnecessary consequences of such tactics, it is hard to make the case that the state has benign intentions for the education and wellbeing of the public. The relentless official opposition to leadership within schools cannot be explained in any reasonable manner and is best explored from the perspective of the struggle for power that has characterized human relations for centuries. It is no conspiracy theory to argue that states are founded upon their ability to exercise control. The reality is that leadership from within schools is bound to undermine the state's ability to impose its will because the practice empowers teachers and whole communities. For rational statesmen, leadership by which principals and teachers decide what and how to educate is a direct threat to the state, or at least to its privileged old guards, and therefore should not be pursued or allowed at any cost. In real life and from the perspective of Realpolitik, leadership shall remain at "the top of the pyramid" in the hands of a few for the public's own good just as has been the case throughout history. Leadership, in all sorts of domains, from the bottom up where presumably "the weak" dictate the terms to "the powerful" is a utopia that has never existed and shall not be desired for it could bring anarchy, at least in the view of those at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy.

Additionally, the lack of leadership across public schools has to be framed within the international context dominated by a capitalist economic system driven by consumption, profit, and monopoly. Big, transnational corporations use their vast resources and all other possible means to influence policies, educational or otherwise, in impoverished countries. Just

as it is perceived within state, leadership by principals and teachers is viewed as a threat by the global capitalist powers because the process gives local communities ownership over ideas and ultimately goods and services, culminating in independence of what is produced by intercontinental monopolies and subsequently inflicting huge losses in their wealth and power. In the view of overarching monopolies, the world is better off with the means of production concentrated in the hands of a few powerful corporations that produce in mass and at a cheap cost. Proponents of capitalism as known today would argue that the interests of people, particularly across developing nations, are in consumption rather than production, which might prove too costly for them or even unattainable. In their view, the idea of a distributed form of leadership, whether at the level of schools, communities, nations, or the whole world, is alluring but it only serves to worsen the living conditions throughout the world. From a strictly material point of view, such arguments in support of capitalism might deserve a thought, but from a moral standpoint they do not. Human beings are born with an innate quest for self-actualization, discovery, curiosity, which are all stripped of people under the capitalist system. Fundamentally, people long for meaning first and foremost, whereas “things” such as food, housing, transportation, etc., which are often celebrated as the beacon of civilization by the corporate class, are only means to an end. People derive meaning from what they do, not merely what they have. Given that in today’s world wealth and power are concentrated to an extent that humanity may have never witnessed, the work of leadership by principals and teachers across schools may be the most challenging it has ever been despite the rhetoric on decentralization pervading academia and media for decades. The fact is that the official discourse on deconcentration of decision making is no more than a sham since political and economic elites within and across borders have shown no willingness to share the slightest bit of power in their hands. Their interests are surely sustained by schools that follow, not lead, and so has been the case across time and space. Human beings throughout

history have demonstrated a relentless drive towards concentrating and projecting power. Ruling over others, regardless of its professed underpinning ideals, has long been premised on control by all means possible. The lack of leadership within schools points to problems not only with principals, teachers, or public officials but with humankind at large which lost its moral compass.

The contentions made about the antagonism of state and capitalist enterprise against distributed leadership are not queer thinking by any means; they have been highlighted by several prominent philosophers and thinkers (e.g. Kant, 1803; Giddens, 1985; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Gatto, 2005; Westwood, 2002). Albert (2012), the author of *Parecon: Life after Capitalism*, declared that the power elites usually work diligently to guard against the masses getting stronger by blocking improvements in public education, health care, and general living conditions. He (op. cit.) notes that enhanced social services give common people confidence, strength, and courage to demand more change, thus posing a serious threat to the interests of dominant groups. These work aggressively to maintain the status quo and use their vast resources to lobby for public policies and programs in their favor. Also in relation to capitalism, Ritzer (2004) indicates that the division of labor has had a devastating impact on human ingenuity, particularly in education where teachers are made to perform only a small part of the task, leading to de-skilling and de-professionalization. Teachers' work is designed in such a way that they neither need nor have the ability to communicate, collaborate, and create; they are made to execute a job repetitively, the same way as factory workers do on assembly lines, which leads to boredom, mindlessness, and low self-esteem. Divided and repeated work, Ritzer (op. cit.) insists, serves only to weaken staff, turn them into robot-like creatures controlled however seen fit, and prevent them from mounting any challenges to those at the top of the hierarchy. The author (op. cit.) uses McDonald's, a transnational fast-food restaurant, to illustrate how the soulless drive for efficiency, speed,

rationality, and standardization has undermined creativity, relationships, sense of community, and variety of choice not only in the catering service but ultimately in all walks of life. For Ritzer (op. cit.), people have to be free in order for them to be creative and lead change whether at schools or any other organizations. Similarly, Gatto (op. cit.) maintains that compulsory schooling as known today, particularly in the U.S., cannot be possibly aimed at education but rather at control, teaching obedience, and advancing the meshed interests of political and economic elites. The process of education, he (op. cit.) argues, is compartmentalized and broken into different parts just as all other types of work are. Teachers' work is fragmented; content, space, and time of learning are fractured, making it very difficult for all those involved, most notably students and teachers, to develop any interest in or make any sense of what they are doing. In Gatto's (op. cit.) view, public schooling as experienced today reinforces subordination evident in imposed dependency, both intellectual and socioemotional, on others, a select few outside schools, not on oneself. Thus, the way the education system is built and run, even in presumably democratic countries, is inherently anti-leadership among those inside the schoolhouse. Kant (op. cit.) explains that rulers work to educate their subjects only to the extent the education provided serves the wellbeing of their rule which tends to grow stronger as people turn more miserable. Kant (op. cit.) observes that education is largely used for disciplining, training, and culture, but not so much for moralization and enlightenment as should be the case; both parents and princes view education as an instrument for their own ends rather than for the good of humanity. Similar to Kant (op. cit.), Bourdieu and Passeron (op. cit.) assert that the system of education serves to reproduce the existing social structure or more clearly the prevailing political and socioeconomic order within a society, i.e. to perpetuate the hierarchy and distribution of forces between the dominant and dominated social classes. Rose (2004) and Boom (2015) elaborate that schooling is often employed for political and security reasons rather than

educative ones. School design and content together with dominant discourses on education function to discipline, regulate, normalize, govern, and police youth and public life. Westwood (op. cit.) and Giddens (op. cit.) affirm that the means of violence of all kinds, symbolic and material, are concentrated in the hands of government, a situation that deprives ordinary people of reflexivity, i.e. the ability to exercise choice and secure outcomes. Educators, systematically kept at the bottom of the hierarchy across nations, are denied reflexivity and therefore leadership; they function only as instruments rather than bearers of power (Kestere, Rubene, Stonkuvienė, 2015). As mentioned by Giddens (op. cit.), economic power within industrialized states is sustained and expanded through homogenizing culture, monolithic educational systems, and literate but not enlightened workforce, a condition that restricts freedom of choice which is at the heart of leadership by principals and teachers. For professionalism or leadership to take hold within schools, Smaller (2014) emphasizes that teachers need to be free of outside influences, but state actions involving close surveillance and controls over teachers produce the opposite conditions. Teachers' freedom, he (op. cit.) notes, is severely limited; their roles are confined to implementation of official policies of education, and subsequently their impact on the process cannot be but too small. Citing examples of control over education, Abens (2015) mentions politicizing the curriculum, marginalizing certain groups, limiting textbook authorship and choice, and turning teachers into transmitters of the regime's agenda. Wojdon (2015) focuses on the system of textbook approval and how it could be used by existing political regimes to exercise censorship and control over education and minds. Abens (op. cit.) and Wojdon's (op. cit.) highlight how a regime's desire for propagating a certain ideology and maintaining particular interests of an elitist nature renders the education provided destructive rather than constructive to its recipients. States, as indicated by Kencis (2012), can resort to extremely violent measures to maintain control over education and thought, among which are imprisonment, exile, or

assassination of intellectuals who happen to think in ways contradictory to official ideology. There are other means of state control over knowledge production, mainly intimidation and corruption of academia to ensure its loyalty to the existing social and political order (op. cit.). In his turn, Kohn (1992, 2006) mentions another but subtle and more effective means of control over knowledge, which is grading. He (op. cit.) maintains that the education system, specifically in the U.S. and Canada, induces an interest in grades per se rather than learning; both students and teachers worry about the extent to which they meet the achievement standards, bringing forth a shift away from understanding of life and what makes it worthwhile. The result is that no meaningful education takes place since the process is mechanized and manipulated by the state. Another mechanism of control, highlighted by Kohn (op. cit.), is the system's emphasis on competition, rooted in a capitalist world economy, which reinforces a negative view of others as opponents to defeat, fear, and distrust rather than as partners to work with and help, leading to individualism and weakening relationships which are the backbone of school leadership. There are therefore limitless controls over education, whether in so-called democratic or authoritarian countries, in subtle or observable ways, inherent in the system or outside, which all constrain freedom and creativity and dehumanize people, making the exercise of "leadership" a strictly elitist business in the service of the powerful, a state of affairs that has persisted throughout history. The world, at least in modern times, is one where power rather than reason rules. For instance, drawing on the data by the Center for Defense Information indicating that the U.S. has spent \$21 trillion on defense since WWII and the estimates by the Campaign Against Arms Trade revealing that adequate food, water, education, health care, and housing to everyone in the world would cost \$17 billion per year, Filter (2006) concludes that "war costs twenty times more than caring for the world's population, just using US military spending" (para. 4). This is one among countless examples of human beings' drive towards obtaining and using power

rather than reason irrespective of the consequences. Leadership by principals and teachers is ideally the embodiment of reason, but this latter is undermined, suppressed, and attacked in a world overtaken by instincts. Rare are those who have more leverage than others but choose to compromise their will.

VIII.3. Implications

The findings of this study reveal a lack of leadership across public schools in Morocco originating from failures on the part of principals and teachers and mostly importantly constraints inherent in systems and policies across the country and the entire globe. To align implications with findings, the focus in this section is not only on principals and teachers but also on government and parents. No attempts are made to give technical prescriptions because there are no quick fixes, contexts vary, and the problem is not so much a lack of skill but one of will, particularly on the part of the state. The implications therefore capitalize on the need for change in attitudes and behaviors among those in power, principals and teachers, and parents.

A Change in Government Attitude and Behavior

Decision makers in the country surely recognize that freedom is elemental to creativity. The state cannot keep tight control over education and at the same time hope to improve schools. The official rhetoric on decentralization and shared decision making helps only to exacerbate the situation since it contradicts action on the ground and is sheer hypocrisy, which results in further cynicism, resentment, and helplessness among actors in all different domains. There is need for action rather than only words or at least for aligning the latter with the former. Top authorities in the country have always said to be serious about change but have done little to make it happen. Teachers and communities at large have little if any decision making authority regarding the *what* and *how* of education; instead, teachers are overworked, underpaid, ridiculed, and blamed for the poor quality of education across public

schools. To build trust and regain legitimacy, a change in officials' behaviors and attitudes towards teachers is necessary. This change can be initiated by increasing deliberations with teachers before decisions are made, showing appreciation and respect for teachers and their work, giving teachers greater freedom in deciding how to do their work, developing collaborative relationships across schools, and improving the working and living conditions of teachers. Acting in accordance with these suggestions would effectively indicate a change in attitude among those in charge towards the work of leadership, which must be seen less of a threat and more of an asset. Leadership from within schools somehow depends on the extent to which those at top of the hierarchy view the practice favorably. However, the incessant waves of large-scale reform plans that repeatedly fail to achieve the projected results are strong proof of unfavorable attitudes among the power elite towards school-based leadership. Sweeping, hierarchical school reform, whether through the NCET, Emergency Program, or most recently Vision 2015-2030, attests to the authorities' unwillingness to loosen control over education and let teachers and communities take part in shaping education across public schools.

The answers to the many problems plaguing public schools are certainly in less top-down reform schemes and more school-based initiatives. Precisely, the answers lie in devolving power, less surveillance, less standardization, and generally less interference of all sorts. Top-down change is the problem, not the solution, because it is unilateral, frantic, ad hoc, imposed, and impersonal, culminating only in intoxicated relationships at all levels, both vertically and horizontally. It is time for focusing on the soft factors (views and feelings) in the change process. The ruling class needs to start exercising less power and more influence and shift attention away from the technical to socioemotional dynamics of change. Technique serves no particular purpose, no matter how sophisticated it might be, without positive relationships based on trust, respect, collaboration, support, etc. Those in power need to worry

less about the technology of education and direct attention instead to mending relationships not only with teachers but also the public at large by exhibiting integrity, enforcing the law against corrupt officials, increasing transparency, protecting freedoms and rights, and demonstrating greater commitment to serving the public good. If policymakers in the country can work towards these ends, the quality and reach of education will dramatically improve at a much less cost. If they fail to do so, little if any improvement will ever take place not only in education but all other walks of life regardless of what technology is used and what budgets are allocated. Autocratic decision making chiefly based on coercion is in need of change rather than in a position to make one. Indisputably, a laissez-faire educational policy where principals and teachers do as they wish across public schools is just as problematic as an autocratic one. The argument is for a freer education and a more distributed, deliberated form of decision making which, as Pring (2009) recommends, truly enables teachers to be creators rather than merely implementers of external dictates. As noted by Abowitz (op. cit.), there is and will never be a utopian society where equality, freedom, and justice are achieved to the fullest extent. Conflict and inequalities have always characterized human societies, even those claimed to be the most civilized and democratic. Focusing on affect rather than technique in the change efforts or re-culturing instead of merely restructuring, as Fullan (op. cit.) argues, will help minimize-but not eliminate-the range and effects of the problems faced. After all, schools have been incessantly inundated with various types of teaching and learning technology which have persistently failed to achieve any actual improvement in public education. It is therefore worth considering a different approach in which the lifeworld of schools, the values domain, drives the systemworld, the technical-instrumental domain, not vice versa (Sergiovanni, 2003). Pursuing the same policies while expecting different results is not only unreasonable but immoral.

A Change in Teachers' Behaviors and Attitudes

Teachers, as the results show, work in extremely difficult conditions that do constrain leadership across public schools. Yet, such conditions are no excuse for fatalism. As argued by Spillane (op. cit.), the situation where people operate may constrain or enable-but not determine-human action. That is, teachers are not doomed even under the circumstances discussed throughout this study. If the ruling elites possess means of power, teachers possess means of influence, some of which are innate while others are acquired, with which they can lead their schools to serve as places of conscientization (Freire, op. cit.), enlightenment, and moralization (Kant, op. cit.). Examples of these means are mentioned by Deal and Peterson (op. cit.), Boler (1999), and Westwood (op. cit.). Deal and Peterson (op. cit.) highlight several important roles (e.g. anthropological sleuths, visionaries, poets, healers, icons, potters, etc.) which are all important in the building of strong cultures and successful schools (see section III.3.6). Boler (op. cit.) underscores the role of emotions as agents of power that can be used to influence others either in negative or positive ways. In other words, teachers can utilize the power of emotions in their everyday interactions to benefit their students and elevate the moral and socioeconomic value of education within their schools. There is also the power of ideas, emphasized by Westwood (op. cit.), which teachers can use to exercise influence across schools. In doing their work or during conversations with colleagues and students, teachers can mobilize for change by raising awareness about issues affecting their schools and communities and negotiating feasible plans for action. Teachers might have little control over systems, procedures, and structures of public schooling, but they have great control over their behaviors and attitudes towards each other. By choosing not to engage in destructive behaviors such as forming into rival cliques, feuding, gossiping, spreading rumors, undermining each other's ideas, and cynicism, educators can fulfil one of the most important factors in the change process, which is healthy relationships schoolwide. Constructive

behaviors, on the other hand, including viewing each other as partners to work with rather than foes to defeat, providing socioemotional support for each other, and recognizing each other's efforts can all create positive environments delivering an education that enlightens, moralizes, and conscientizes, leading to peaceful, supportive, prosperous, and strong communities across the country. The agency of people at all levels of a hierarchy, organizational or socioeconomic, is emphasized by Foucault (1978), Rose (op. cit.), Kestere et al. (op. cit.), and Slaten Frasier (2015). Foucault (op. cit.) makes it clear that power is everywhere; it is not a static property owned exclusively by specific individuals or groups. Power is rather dynamic and materializes in the interactions among players who may choose to project or resist power depending on their interests. In line with this conception of power, teachers can influence the course of events around them by choosing proactivism over fatalism and standing up against destructive forces, human and material, using their ideas, emotions, and all other constructive means to serve an enlightening education for the country's youth. Teachers, as indicated by Kestere et al. (op. cit.), can act as subjects or bearers of power; they may work to implement or oppose official power (Slaten Frasier, 2015). Shner (2015) explains that education can serve as an effective means of sociopolitical change and resistance against authoritarian regimes; Rose (op. cit.) concurs that schools can function as tools of control or liberation. In sum, many are the scholars stressing the primordial role of human agency through which people can influence the situation where they operate just as they can be influenced by it. Undeniably, teachers across the country work in adverse conditions placing several constraints on what they can do, but it is a grave mistake to take these conditions as excuses for doing nothing. Defeatism is no virtue; it is only destined to exacerbate the situation further.

Greater Parents' Involvement in Education

Parents probably have the greatest impact on their children's education since what is learned in homes, particularly at young age, often sticks with people for the rest of their lives. As a result, parents' leadership is just as important as that by principals and teachers for the improvement of education across the country. Parents can exercise leadership through their relationships with children, other parents, and teachers at schools. To begin with, parents must be actively involved in the moralization of their children, especially in a world that is overly mechanized even within schools. In Morocco, there is need for a focus on the values domain rather than the instrumental one where success is wrongly defined as the acquisition of material means. The wellbeing of nations depends on the extent to which their youth attach value to meanings and beliefs because these are what drive success, not the other way around. There are of course countless ways of moralization, the most important of which include (a) teaching children to treat others with respect, particularly their teachers and classmates, (b) instilling in children a love for education and knowledge, and (a) emphasizing ethics of hard work and proactivism. Moralization by parents is bound to facilitate the work of teachers and improve their job satisfaction, motivation, commitment, and status in society. Considering that disruption, violence, cheating, and addiction are rampant across schools, an active involvement by parents is likely to lessen the occurrence of such behaviors and lead to more positivity, the driving force of excellence among teachers and students. Second, parents need to work closely together for an education that is meaningful for all students. There is need for strong relationships among students' parents based on solidarity, trust, and respect. Strong relationships among parents give rise to strong communities capable of making their voice heard and influencing decision making regarding all aspects of their lives, not only their children's education. Fragmentation within communities is just as damaging as it is inside schools. Parents need to discuss and reach an agreement concerning what education is desired

in the community and what can be done to make it happen. Third, parents' coordination with teachers is essential since both are educators and both need to have a shared understanding about what and how to educate those under their responsibility. It is important for parents to meet regularly with teachers and discuss ways to best nurture children's growth and solve the problems faced. There is also the possibility of coordinating with teachers to pressure respective government bodies to provide the support necessary for schools in terms of funds and policies. Parents have a responsibility to rally against state control over education and demand a stake in deciding what and how their children learn. They are in a better position to press for changes than teachers who might hesitate to challenge the status quo for fear of losing their jobs. If parents want quality education across schools, they have to be proactive, overcome inertia, indifference, and defeatism, and forge strong relationships with their own children, with the parents of other students, and with teachers at schools.

To sum up, education is a complex process that is not confined to any particular place or time and that is shaped by an infinite number of factors, human and material, known and unknown. This research study is concerned with what principals and teachers do across public schools, but these actors cannot escape the influence of many other stakeholders, particularly those with the most visible and direct impact on education, policymakers and parents. The implications therefore concern not only teachers but also parents and the ruling class in the country. Some of these stakeholders wield more power than others, but they all have an important role to play. None can be excused for inaction. While those in power, whether at the national or global level, may use public education to serve their own interests, teachers and parents do have ways to counter control, particularly through strong relationships between and among each other. Self-empowerment comes with innate human characteristics such as sacrifice and patience, which teachers and parents can capitalize on to exert positive influence across schools and the nation as a whole even in the face of controlling socioeconomic elites

exercising power through unjustly acquired means. Proactivism and alliances among teachers and parents are bound to make a difference that matters a great deal to their communities.

VIII.4. Implications for Further Research

This study explores the extent to which principals and teachers demonstrate leadership across public schools. The focus is mainly on those inside schools, namely principals and teachers, what they think and do, the nature of relationships among them, and why. Since there are other stakeholders influencing what happens at schools, there is need for further research concerning other players outside schools, such as local authorities, businesses, and civil society organizations. Investigating what these do in support of education communitywide and the type of relationships they have with each other and with schools would reveal the extent of influence they exert to improve education for the benefit of all in the community.

Further investigation into the systems of control, whether those inherent in the system of education in Morocco or others employed to manipulate knowledge production, is much needed to determine the extent to which these systems constrain action across schools and communities. Control through policy, curricula, instruction, assessment, organization of work, etc. often goes unnoticed even by teachers themselves or is perceived as bias and sheer conspiracy theory. Focused research into the different ways those in charge exploit public schooling to maintain the existing sociopolitical order in the country is particularly helpful in demystifying the mechanisms and impact of control on education inside and outside schools.

Also, examining the ways in which the global capitalist system influences educational policies across so-called developing countries is crucial for an adequate understanding of why education is the way it is in Morocco. It is paramount to study how a predominantly capitalist world economy driven by privatism, division of labor, cheap unskilled or semi-skilled labor, and consumerism gives rise to educational policies that support the system. There is often an

emphasis on literacy to supply the demand for cheap mindless labor rather than education promoting critical thinking, freedom, justice, and other values observably undermined under the capitalist system. Investigating school leadership, i.e. principals and teachers deciding what and how students learn, in the context of a global capitalist world is bound to illuminate how and to what extent the prevailing economic system worldwide constrains the leadership activity, and what action is need to break free of such constraints or minimize their effects.

Further research is needed into the different ways parents influence their children's education. The focus could be parent-child, parent-teacher, parent-parent, parent-authorities relationships, or a combination of these. There is also the possibility of studying the socioeconomic status of parents in terms of income, educational level, or occupation and how it affects their involvement in children's education at homes, schools, or clubs. The research could concern a single aspect of involvement, such as time spent with children and teachers, manner and content of interaction, providing material and socioemotional support, or attendance of activities, or a mixture of these.

A study comparing the leadership behaviors of principals, teachers, or both at public and private schools is particularly helpful in determining the extent to which actors exhibit specific leadership behaviors, e.g. consideration, integration, and intellectual stimulation, under both systems. This type of study would provide invaluable information regarding whether principals and teachers working under a less bureaucratic, private school system demonstrate any more leadership compared to their counterparts under a typically bureaucratic system of public education.

This research concerns the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools. Future research could focus on one specific population (principals or teachers), educational stage (e.g. primary, lower secondary, or upper secondary), region of the country, or setting (rural or urban). Another path is comparing involvement in leadership

across regions, settings, educational stages, etc. to determine how much influence these variables have on the practice. Also important is investigating how specific structural (e.g. scheduling, class size, or curricula) and/or cultural (e.g. motivation, collaboration, or innovativeness) school characteristics influence the leadership work across schools. A future study could also explore how principals or teachers' demographic variables such as gender, age, years of experience, level of education, etc. interrelate with their level of involvement in leadership.

To understand principals' leadership behaviors in more depth, further studies with a large number of participants in both the questionnaire and interview surveys are especially important. A questionnaire sample of at least 100 principals from the same or different regions is destined to provide more insights than one of 44 used in this study about the leadership behaviors of principals across public schools. Likewise, an interview sample of at least ten participants from the same or different regions will yield in-depth information about the work of principals and the extent of their involvement in the leadership work. The interviews could be arranged in groups, not only individually or in pairs, in order to gain richer information from participants' interaction.

This research study focuses on the leadership behaviors of both principals and teachers across public schools. The emphasis is placed on people, the nature of relationships among them, and what they do to achieve change from within schools. Also, the study emphasizes the role of context, mainly school structural characteristics, and how it interconnects with the leadership activity. The central idea underpinning this research is that decisions regarding what and how students learn across public schools need to take place from the bottom up, not the top down as is the case in Morocco. Given that this study is concerned with leadership across public schools countrywide, there is need for further research of a more specific scope, whether in terms of geography, stakeholders, demographics, structures, or cultures. The

recommendations provided in this section highlight important topics that merit further research in order to enrich the literature on school leadership in Morocco. The dearth of research on leadership in the Moroccan context affords exploring the recommended topics great value-added. After all, studying human relationships is a complex process that requires ceaseless and extensive inquiry.

VIII.5. Conclusion

Principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco exhibit little, if any, leadership for several reasons, some of which have to do with them while others reside in systems within the country and across the globe. There is no doubt that principals and teachers are partly responsible for the situation at schools because they demonstrate little agency. Generally speaking, principals and teachers across public schools engage in shameful and unnecessary behaviors; there is no excuse for feuds, gossip, disrespect, sabotage, etc. regardless of the circumstances. Positivity instead of cynicism, proactivism in place of fatalism, and hard work instead of lethargy in the face of adversity are what make people human, i.e. their innate ability to influence, not only be influenced by, their environment. Nevertheless, the extent of progress people can make in their lives can be constrained or enabled by the situation where they operate. The systems under which principals and teachers work severely constrain the leadership practice across schools. The existing political and socioeconomic order in the country and the entire globe is extremely centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratic. Decision making and wealth, or the intermingling between both, have probably never been concentrated to the extent witnessed today, making leadership from the bottom of the hierarchy no more than empty rhetoric meant for public consumption. Policy regarding all aspects of life, particularly education, whether nationally or internationally, is undeniably made by those at the very top of the pecking order. Interference by those in power in all different aspects of education has only intensified over the last few decades, placing

those within schools and local communities at the periphery of educational change. Public schooling is forcibly made to sustain the capitalist world economy that is extremely elitist and hierarchical. In sum, it would be misleading, to say the least, to attribute the lack of leadership solely to principals and teachers or schools in general. To solve the enigma surrounding the poor quality of education in Morocco, the larger national and global context has to be meticulously inspected.

General Conclusion

Leading public education in Morocco has long been the sole realm of those at the top level of government, whereas actors within schools, namely principals and teachers, have traditionally served as subjects who work to implement official guidelines regarding what and how students learn. Undeniably, this type of leadership has generated little improvement in education across the nation. As a result, a distributed form of leadership in which principals and teachers have a stake in deciding the *what* and *how* of education in the country has become a necessity rather than an option.

Rooted in the idea that change is most effective when originating from within schools, this research study has set out to identify the extent to which principals and teachers exhibit leadership across public schools in Morocco. The focus has been on two major variables: the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers, and the characteristics of the schools where they operate. To achieve the goal of the study, a mixed methods approach consisting of questionnaire and interview surveys has been used. The two instruments have been assigned equal weighting, a feature that has helped combine the strengths and compensate for the weaknesses of both methods. A total of 44 principals and 205 teachers participated in the questionnaire survey while seven principals and eight teachers took part in the interviews. The use of quantitative and qualitative surveys of two different groups, principals and teachers, from several regions of the country has afforded the findings of the study a great deal of credibility.

The results of the study indicate that principals and teachers exhibit leadership to a noticeably *weak* extent while the structural characteristics of public schools severely constrain the leadership practice. The data reveal several structural problems plaguing public schools in the country, most notably a lack of basic infrastructure and decision making authority, an acute shortage of staff, and a heavy workload. These conditions have given rise to cynicism, withdrawal, and inertia among principals and teachers. There is little interaction between

principals and teachers and among teachers themselves. There are weak relationships characterized by conflict and privatism, resulting in fragmentation across public schools and having dire consequences on student learning. Yet, the most striking finding of the study is state opposition to the practice of leadership within schools evident in a systematic and deliberate use of destructive tactics to undermine teachers in all ways possible, inflicting serious and gratuitous damage on education in the country. The state has always had the upper hand over all educational matters and has shown no willingness to share the slightest measure of power with actors within public schools despite the official rhetoric on decentralization and deconcentration.

There are certainly no quick fixes to the many problems facing public schools in Morocco, but there are pathways more promising than others for the development of education nationwide. The most important among these is granting schools a higher degree of autonomy in deciding what and how students learn. Instead of rigid change engineered by an exclusive few behind closed doors, there is need for fluid action plans arising organically from within schools through purposeful interaction and strong collaboration between principals and teachers, who are the closest to students and the most qualified to address their needs. The development of public education in Morocco hinges on the extent to which the ruling class genuinely supports school-based leadership or at least allows it to thrive on its own. Provided that this support exists, efforts of the government need to be directed at not only restructuring but most importantly reculturing. At the structural level, it is imperative to address the hard pressing issues such overcrowding, staff shortages, work overload, and heavy study programs. Shifting the focus away from quantity to quality in terms of school subjects and time spent studying or teaching is likely to eliminate redundancies, ease the ever increasing demand for more staff and classrooms, and deliver meaningful education to the country's youth. At the cultural front, a positive change in government's attitudes and

behaviors towards teachers is crucial. It is paramount that those in power view teachers as partners rather than foes, listen to and work to address their grievances, welcome and implement their ideas, and recognize their efforts rather than blame them for failures of a whole system. As long as conflict and distrust continue to depict the relationships between state officials and teachers, little if any improvement in student learning can ever happen. Equally importantly, promoting collegial relationships among actors within schools based on respect, trust, and collaboration coupled with effective decision making authority and protections against outside inference is vital for a better education in Morocco. A fair, distributed form of school leadership premised on strong relationships among all concerned stakeholders is the approach that is likely to lift the mediocre performance of public education and therefore merits the utmost importance in the change efforts.

By investigating the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools, this research highlights the need for drastic change at the level of policy and system of education in Morocco. Research in education across the country has long been dominated by a focus on technique as the key to improvement in student learning while factors such as values, policy, and context have received little attention from researchers. Recognizing the considerable influence of the latter factors on the quality of education, this study has sought to underscore the primordial role principals and teachers can play in the change process and the need for them to have a stake in shaping what and how students learn. In other words, the emphasis in this study has been on the lifeworld, the values domain, rather than merely the systemworld, the technical domain, of schools since the former drives the latter, not the other way around. It is people who make change, not instruments per se. The findings of the study have revealed that principals and teachers' leadership behaviors are critical to improvement and that the success of public schools across the country is contingent upon how these actors behave and what relationships exist among them rather than simply what techniques they use

in individual classrooms. The findings have also shown that a shift in government policy involving loosening control over public education while providing adequate support, both moral and material, is paramount. To enhance learning across Moroccan public schools, principals and teachers rather than government need to play the leading role in the change efforts.

While this study focuses on the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco, a topic that has not received much interest from researchers in the country, it is by no means comprehensive or exhaustive. There are certainly many other aspects of the topic that need further investigation, especially when considering that research on school leadership in Morocco is still in its infancy. For a better understanding of leadership in the Moroccan context, there is need for further research into the following topics:

- How official policy regarding curricula, instruction, assessment, and organization of work constrains or enables leadership by principals and teachers;
- How a capitalist world economy influences the leadership practice across public schools in Morocco;
- What and how decisions are best made at the school level;
- How productive relationships could be nurtured between actors within schools and officials at the DPEs or the MNE;
- How collaboration can be strengthened between principals and teachers, among teachers themselves, or between schools and other stakeholders (e.g. local authorities, civil society organization, DPEs, etc.); and
- What roles parents can play in the development of school-based leadership and education across public schools.

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Principal Questionnaire

- a) English Version
- b) Arabic Version

Appendix B: The Teacher Questionnaire

- a) English Version
- b) Arabic Version

Appendix C: The Principal Interview Schedule

- a) English Version
- b) Arabic Version

Appendix D: The Teacher Interview Schedule

- a) English Version
- b) Arabic Version

Appendix A

The Principal Questionnaire

a) English Version

Doctoral research study,
SMBA University,
Dhar Mehraz, Fez.

Topic of the research:

**The Leadership Behaviors of Principals and Teachers across
Public Schools in Morocco.**

Working definition of leadership:

In this research, “leadership” refers to any activity premised on collaboration between the principal and teachers or among teachers themselves for the purpose of improving school performance in any particular area, whether it be related to the curriculum, instruction, assessment, planning, organization, or any other educational aspect.

Dear Sir/Madam, I would like to request your cooperation for the success of this research by filling out this questionnaire completely and honestly. Thank you very much.

- Please make sure all your answers are *saved* before sending the questionnaire at the email address below.
- Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Abderrahim Amghar

Doctoral student, Department of English Studies,
Applied Language Studies and Research in Higher Education.

Thank you very much for your time!

Principal Questionnaire

This questionnaire aims at examining the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco. The questionnaire is administered within the framework of a research study conducted in a doctoral program at SMBA University, Fez. The study underlines how effective leadership behaviors among principals and teachers could help increase the quality of education served across Moroccan schools.

Responses to this survey will be kept confidential and anonymous. Under no conditions will the identity of participants and/or their institutions be revealed in this research or disclosed to any other party in any way.

Thank you for your valuable time

Section 1: Background.

1. Age: < 25 25-35 36-45 46-55 > 55
2. Sex: Male Female
3. How many years have you been a school principal?
 < 5 5-10 11-15 16-20 > 20
4. In which of the following setting(s) do you currently serve as a principal?
 Elementary school Lower secondary Upper secondary
5. Which is the highest degree you hold?
 Bac DEUG Licence MA Doctorate
6. In which of the following is your school located?
 Urban area Semi-urban Rural

Section 2: School Structural Characteristics.

7. To what extent do you (dis)agree with the following statements? Select one level of agreement for each statement to indicate how you feel.

SD: Strongly Disagree, D: Disagree, U: Undecided, A: Agree, SA: Strongly Agree

	SD	D	U	A	SA
The number of hours I work per week at my school is unreasonable.					
There are adequate classroom supplies and equipment at my school.					
The classroom facilities at my school are sufficient and suitable.					
The methods of communication across the school are well developed.					
There is really too little chance for promotion on my job.					
My schedule provides sufficient time for collaborating with teachers.					
My school has limited space for meetings and collaboration.					
The salary policies in place are fair and clear.					

8. On average, how many meetings are held per year at your school and how many do you attend?

	None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	> 8
School-wide meetings held per year.						
School-wide meetings attended per year.						

9. Which of these committees are currently present at your school and in which are you involved?

	Presence		Participation		
	Yes	No	Always	Sometimes	Never
Committees concerned with specific grade levels.					
Committees concerned with specific subject areas.					
Voluntary committees.					
Committees for teachers with common interests and concerns.					

10. What is usually the purpose of the meetings you attend at your school? Please check all that apply.

- To inform teachers about rules
- To discuss ways of working together on common interests and concerns
- To tell teachers *how* and *what* to do
- To discover common interests and concerns
- To inform teachers about or demonstrate new techniques
- To share experience

Section 3: Leader Position Power, Training, and Incentives.

11. As a school principal, to what extent can you reward or punish teachers?

- To a great extent
- To some extent
- To a small extent
- Not at all

12. To what extent can you recommend promotion or demotion of your teachers?

- To a great extent
- To some extent
- To a small extent
- Not at all

13. To what extent can you suggest or evaluate teachers' work?

- To a great extent
- To some extent
- To a small extent
- Not at all

14. To what extent can you direct teachers on what to do?

- To a great extent
- To some extent
- To a small extent
- Not at all

15. Have you ever received any training on principal leadership?

- Yes
- No

16. If yes, how would you evaluate the training received?

- Of no value
- Of slight value
- Of medium value
- Of considerable value
- Of great value

17. How often do you participate in seminars or conferences on school leadership?

- Once a year
- Twice a year
- Every three months
- Every month
- Never

18. Are there any incentives, moral or material, for principals' collaboration with teachers to implement schoolwide improvement projects?

- Yes
- No

Section 4: Principals' Attitudes towards Teachers.

19. Between each pair of opposite adjectives there are five slots. Please put a check (✓) in the one that reflects your opinion about the teachers at your school.

energetic	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	sluggish
impractical	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	practical
strong	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	weak
lazy	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	industrious
friendly	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unfriendly
deceitful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	frank
helpful	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	unhelpful

20. How much time do you spend per day talking to teachers in person about any given subject?

- None About half an hour About an hour About 2 hours More than 2 hours

Section 5: Principals' Perceptions of their Leadership Behaviors.

21. To what extent do you (dis)agree with the following statements? Select one level of agreement for each statement to indicate your answer.

SD: Strongly Disagree, D: Disagree, U: Undecided, A: Agree, SA: Strongly Agree

As a school principal, I...	SD	D	U	A	SA
talk about the values and principles that guide my actions.					
refuse to let teachers experiment when outcomes are uncertain.					
make sure that teachers work together to develop and achieve shared goals.					
develop cooperative relationships amongst teachers.					
share my beliefs about how things can be run most effectively within our school.					
praise teachers for doing a job well.					
prefer not to challenge teachers to be innovative in doing their work.					
treat teachers and students with dignity and respect.					
refuse to give teachers a lot of freedom in deciding how to do their work.					
insist on following exact procedures in doing work.					
prefer not to maintain close relationships with teachers.					
refrain from enabling teachers to act like leaders.					
excite teachers with visions of what can be done if we work together as a team.					
make decisions without consulting teachers.					
encourage teachers to evaluate progress towards the achievement of school goals.					
accept and implement suggestions made by teachers.					
stimulate teachers to think about what they are doing for the school's students.					
urge teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work.					

Section 6: Principals' Perceptions of their Teachers' Leadership Behaviors.

22. Please select one level of (dis)agreement for each statement to indicate your opinion.

SD: Strongly Disagree, D: Disagree, U: Undecided, A: Agree, SA: Strongly Agree

Generally, the teachers I supervise at school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA
trust and care for each other.					
fail to work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement.					
praise and appreciate the work of each other.					
make no effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies.					
have a tendency to take sides and feud among each other.					
treat each other with dignity and respect.					
show no interest in working together to achieve common goals.					
undermine each others' ideas.					
develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement.					
have trouble getting along with each other.					
are fun to work with.					
are reluctant to share ideas and materials.					
work to improve learning schoolwide, not only in their classrooms.					

23. As a school principal, what challenges do you encounter in trying to bring teachers together for whole-school improvement?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

24. Please use this space if you have any comments about this questionnaire or the topic under investigation.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire

Appendix A

The Principal Questionnaire

b) Arabic Version

بحث لنيل الدكتوراه من جامعة سيدي محمد بن عبد الله

بظهر المهرارز بفاس

موضوع البحث:

السلوكيات القيادية للمدراء والأساتذة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب

تعريف إجرائي للقيادة:

يُقصد بالقيادة في هذا البحث كل عمل يرتكز على التعاون بين المدير و الأساتذة أو بين الأساتذة أنفسهم بغرض تطوير أداء المدرسة في جميع المناحي سواء تعلق الأمر بالمقررات أو المناهج أو التقييم أو التخطيط أو التنظيم أو أي من الجوانب التربوية الأخرى.

سيدي اسيدتي المدير(ة)، أرجو منكم التعاون من أجل إنجاز هذا البحث بتعبئة هذه الاستمارة كاملة و بأمانة. لكم مني جزيل الشكر و عظيم الامتنان.

- المرجو التأكد أن جميع الأجوبة المعبئة محفوظة (enregistrées) كاملة عند الانتهاء من ملء هذه الاستمارة.
- بعد ذلك ، يرجى إرسال الاستمارة على العنوان الإلكتروني الآتي: aamghar6@gmail.com
- لا تترددوا في الاتصال بنا إن كانت لديكم أي استفسارات.

الباحث:

أمغار عبد الرحيم

طالب الدكتوراه بقسم الدراسات الانجليزية – دراسات اللغة التطبيقية و

البحث في مجال التعليم العالي

شكرا لكم لوقتكم الثمين

استمارة المدراء

تهدف هذه الاستمارة إلى دراسة السلوكيات القيادية للمدراء والأساتذة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب. و تندرج هذه الاستمارة في إطار الإعداد لمشروع بحث بالدكتوراه بجامعة سيدي محمد بن عبد الله بظهر المهرارز بفاس. تُبرز هذه الدراسة سبل الرفع من جودة التعليم بالمدارس المغربية عبر سلوكيات قيادية فعالة في صفوف المدراء و الأساتذة.

المعلومات المقدمة في هذه الاستمارة ستبقى في غاية السرية و مجهولة المصدر. لن يتم الكشف في هذا البحث عن هوية المشاركين أو مؤسساتهم أو إنشاء أي معلومات تخصهم لأي طرف كان بأي شكل من الأشكال.
شكرا لكم لوقتكم الثمين

الجزء 1: معلومات عامة

1. السن: أقل من 25 25~35 36~45 46~55 أكبر من 55
2. الجنس: ذكر أنثى
3. كم سنة عملت فيها كمدير مدرسة؟
 أقل من 5 5~10 11~15 16~20 أكبر من 20
4. في أي من الأسلاك التعليمية التالية تعمل كمدير حاليا؟
 الإبتدائي الإعدادي الثانوي
5. ما هي أعلى شهادة علمية حصلت عليها؟
 البكالوريا دبلوم (DEUG) الإجازة الماستر الدكتوراه
6. أين تتواجد المؤسسة التي تعمل بها؟
 مجال حضري مجال شبه حضري مجال قروي

الجزء 2: الخصائص البنوية للمدرسة.

7. إلى أي مدى تتفق أو لا تتفق مع العبارات التالية؟ حدد مستوى اتفاقك من خلال وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن رأيك.
أ: غير متفق بتاتا ب: غير متفق ج: متردد د: متفق هـ: متفق تماما

هـ	د	ج	ب	أ	
					عدد ساعات عملي الأسبوعية غير معقولة.
					تتوفر قاعات الدروس بمؤسستي على الوسائل و التجهيزات الملائمة.
					القاعات المدرسية بمؤسستي كافية و ملائمة.
					نظم التواصل بالمدرسة متطورة.
					فرص الترقية في عملي ضئيلة للغاية.
					يوفر لي جدول الزمني وقتا كافيا للتعاون مع باقي الأساتذة.
					تتوفر مؤسستي على فضاءات محدودة للتعاون و عقد الإجتماعات.
					سياسة الأجور المعتمدة عادلة و شفافة.

8. كم اجتماع، في المعدل، يعقد سنويا بمدركتكم و كم تحضر؟

منعدمة	2~1	3~4	5~6	7~8	أكثر من 8

9. أي من هذه اللجان تتواجد حالياً بمدرستك و أي منها تشارك فيها؟ المرجو وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن إجابتك.

المشاركة			موجودة		
أبداً	أحياناً	دائماً	لا	نعم	
					لجان مختصة بمستويات معينة.
					لجان مختصة بمواد معينة.
					لجان تطوعية.
					لجان تجمع أساتذة ذوي اهتمامات و مصالح مشتركة.

10. ما هو عادة الهدف من الاجتماعات التي تحضرها بمدرستك؟ المرجو اختيار كل ما ينطبق.

- لإخبار الأساتذة بقوانين معينة.
- لاستكشاف اهتمامات و مصالح مشتركة.
- لمناقشة سبل العمل جماعياً بشأن اهتمامات و مصالح مشتركة.
- لعرض وتعريف الأساتذة على تقنيات تدريس جديدة.
- لتبليغ الأساتذة بما يجب فعله و كيف ينفذونه.
- لتبادل التجارب.

الجزء 3: سلطة المدير والتكوين والتحفيز

11. إلى أي حد يمكنك كمدير معاقبة أو مكافأة الأساتذة؟

- إلى حد كبير إلى حد ما إلى حد ضعيف غير ممكن بناتنا

12. إلى أي حد يمكنك أن توصي بترقية أو تخفيض رتبة الأساتذة؟

- إلى حد كبير إلى حد ما إلى حد ضعيف غير ممكن بناتنا

13. إلى أي حد يمكنك أن تقترح أو تقيم عمل الأساتذة؟

- إلى حد كبير إلى حد ما إلى حد ضعيف غير ممكن بناتنا

14. إلى أي حد يمكنك أن توجه الأساتذة بخصوص ما يجب عمله؟

- إلى حد كبير إلى حد ما إلى حد ضعيف غير ممكن بناتنا

15. هل سبق أن تلقيت أي تكوين متعلق بقيادة المدير؟ نعم لا

16. إذا كانت إجابتك بنعم، فكيف تقيم التكوين عموماً؟

- بدون قيمة ذو قيمة ضعيفة ذو قيمة متوسطة ذو قيمة جيدة ذو قيمة عالية

17. كم مرة في السنة تشارك في ندوات أو مؤتمرات متعلقة بالقيادة المدرسية؟

- مرة في السنة مرتين في السنة كل ثلاثة أشهر كل شهر أبداً

18. هل هناك أية حوافز مادية أو معنوية للمدراء الذين يعملون مع أساتذتهم من أجل تنفيذ مشاريع للرفقي بجودة التعلم داخل المدرسة؟

- نعم لا

الجزء 4: آراء المدراء تجاه الأساتذة.

19. يوجد بين كل صفتين متضادتين خمسة فراغات، يرجى وضع علامة (✓) واحدة في الفراغ الذي يعكس إلى أي من الصفتين الأساتذة بمدركتك أقرب عموماً.

متقاعسون	_____	_____	_____	_____	نشطون
عمليون	_____	_____	_____	_____	غير عمليون
ضعفاء	_____	_____	_____	_____	أقوياء
مجدّون	_____	_____	_____	_____	كسالي
غير وديّون	_____	_____	_____	_____	وديّون
صريحون	_____	_____	_____	_____	مخادعون
لا يقدمون المساعدة	_____	_____	_____	_____	يقدمون المساعدة

20. كم من الوقت تمضي يومياً في الحديث شخصياً إلى الأساتذة بمدركتك حول أي موضوع كان؟

منعّم حوالي نصف ساعة حوالي ساعة حوالي ساعتين أكثر من ساعتين

الجزء 5: تصورات المدراء لسلوكياتهم القيادية.

21. إلى أي مدى تتفق أو لا تتفق مع العبارات التالية؟ حدد مدى اتفاقك من خلال وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن رأيك.

أ: غير متفق بتاتا ب: غير متفق ج: متردد د: متفق ه: متفق تماماً

كمديرة (ة) مدرسة، أنا...					
هـ	د	ج	ب	أ	
					أتحدث عن القيم و المبادئ التي توجّه أفعالي.
					أرفض السماح للأساتذة بالتجريب عندما تكون النتائج غير مضمونة.
					أحرص على أن الأساتذة يعملون معاً لتطوير وتحقيق أهداف مشتركة.
					أعمل على تطوير علاقات التعاون بين الأساتذة.
					أشارك الأساتذة أفكارى حول الطرق الناجعة لتسيير الأمور داخل المدرسة.
					أثني على الأساتذة عند قيامهم بعمل جيد.
					أفضل عدم تحدي الأساتذة للتجديد في عملهم.
					أعامل الأساتذة و التلاميذ بكرامة و احترام.
					أرفض أن أعطي الأساتذة قدراً كبيراً من الحرية فاخترار طرق إنجاز عملهم.
					أصر على إتباع إجراءات بعينها فإنجاز العمل داخل المؤسسة.
					أفضل عدم الاحتفاظ بعلاقات وطيدة مع الأساتذة.
					أحجم عن تمكين الأساتذة للتصرف كقادة للمدرسة.
					أحفز الأساتذة بروى حول ما يمكن تحقيقه عبر العمل جماعياً كفريق واحد.
					أخذ القرارات بدون استشارة الأساتذة.
					أشجّع الأساتذة على تقييم مدى تقدمهم في إنجاز أهداف المدرسة.
					أقبل و أعمل باقتراحات الأساتذة.
					أحث الأساتذة على التفكير فيما يقدمونه لصالح تلاميذ المدرسة.
					أحث الأساتذة على مراجعة افتراضاتهم الأساسية التي تقوم عليها طرق عملهم.

22. إلى أي مدى تتفق أو لا تتفق مع العبارات التالية؟ حدد مستوى اتفاقك من خلال وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن رأيك.
أ: غير متفق بتاتا ب: غير متفق ج: متردد د: متفق هـ: متفق تماما

عموما، الأساتذة الذين أشرف عليهم...					
هـ	د	ج	ب	أ	
					يتقنون و يهتمون ببعضهم البعض.
					يخفقون في العمل معا لتقييم الممارسة التعليمية وبحث طرق للتحسن.
					يثقون و يقدرون عمل بعضهم البعض.
					لا يبذلون أي جهد لمساعدة بعضهم البعض على اكتساب مهارات و استراتيجيات تدريس جديدة.
					لهم نزعة للانحياز و الصراع فيما بينهم.
					يعاملون بعضهم البعض بكرامة و احترام.
					لا يُبدون أي اهتمام بالعمل معا لتحقيق أهداف مشتركة.
					لا يقدرّون أفكار بعضهم البعض.
					يعملون على وضع أهداف مشتركة و يحددون الإجراءات اللازمة لتحقيقها.
					لديهم صعوبة في التفاهم بينهم.
					العمل معهم ممنوع.
					يتكئون في تبادل الأفكار و الوسائل.
					يعملون على تحسين التعلم على مستوى المدرسة ككل و ليس فقط في أقسامهم.

23. ما هي التحديات التي تواجهك كمدير في سعيك لتعبئة الأساتذة من أجل تحقيق تحسن على صعيد المؤسسة ككل؟

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24. المرجو استغلال هذا الحيز لإبداء أي تعليقات ممكنة حول هذه الاستمارة أو الموضوع قيد الدراسة.

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شكرا جزيلاً لأخذكم الوقت لملء هذه الاستمارة.

Appendix B

The Teacher Questionnaire

a) English Version

Doctoral research study,
SMBA University,
Dhar Mehraz, Fez.

Topic of the research:

**The Leadership Behaviors of Principals and Teachers across Public
Schools in Morocco.**

Working Definition of Leadership:

In this research, “leadership” refers to any activity premised on collaboration between the principal and teachers or among teachers themselves for the purpose of improving school performance in any particular area, whether it be related to the curriculum, instruction, assessment, planning, organization, or any other educational aspect.

Dear Sir/Madam, I would like to request your cooperation for the success of this research by filling out this questionnaire completely and honestly. Thank you very much.

- Please make sure all your answers are *saved* before sending the questionnaire at the email address below.
- Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Abderrahim Amghar
Doctoral student, Department of English Studies,
Applied Language Studies and Research in Higher Education.

Thank you very much for your time!

Teacher Questionnaire

This questionnaire aims at examining the leadership behaviors of principals and teachers across public schools in Morocco. The questionnaire is administered within the framework of a research study conducted in a doctoral program at SMBA University, Fez. The study underlines how effective leadership behaviors among principals and teachers could help increase the quality of education served across Moroccan schools.

Responses to this survey will be kept confidential and anonymous. Under no conditions will the identity of participants and/or their institutions be revealed in this research or disclosed to any other party in any way.

Thank you for your valuable time

Section 1: Background.

1. **Age:** < 25 25-35 36-45 46-55 > 55
2. **Gender:** Male Female
3. **How many years have you been teaching?**
 < 5 5-10 11-15 16-20 > 20
4. **In which of the following setting(s) do you currently teach?**
 Primary school Lower secondary Upper secondary
5. **How many hours per week do you currently teach at your school?**
 < 5 5-10 11-15 16-20 > 20
6. **Which is the highest degree you hold?**
 Bac DEUG Licence/BA MA Doctorate
7. **Where is the institution where you teach located?**
 Urban area Semi-urban Rural
8. **What school subject(s) do you currently teach?**

Section 2: School Structural Characteristics.

9. **To what extent do you (dis)agree with the following statements? Select ONE level of agreement for each statement to indicate your answer.**

SD: Strongly Disagree, **D:** Disagree, **U:** Undecided, **A:** Agree, **SA:** Strongly Agree

	SD	D	U	A	SA
The number of hours I teach per week at my school is unreasonable.					
There are adequate classroom supplies and equipment at my school.					
The classroom facilities at my school are sufficient and suitable.					
The methods of communication across the school are well developed.					
There is really too little chance for promotion on my job.					
My schedule provides sufficient time for collaborating with other teachers.					
My school has sufficient space for teachers to meet and collaborate.					
The salary policies in place are fair and clear.					
The size of my classes makes it difficult to do a good job.					
Many of the rules and procedures at my school make doing a good job difficult.					
The school curriculum is in need of major revisions.					

10. On average, how many meetings are held per year at your school and how many do you attend?

	None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	> 8
School-wide meetings held per year.						
School-wide meetings attended per year.						

11. Which of these committees are currently present at your school and in which are you involved?

	Presence		Participation		
	Yes	No	Always	Sometimes	Never
Committees concerned with specific grade levels.					
Committees concerned with specific subject areas.					
Voluntary committees.					
Committees for teachers with common interests and concerns.					

12. What is usually the purpose of the meetings you attend at your school? Please check all that apply.

- To inform teachers about rules
- To discuss ways of working together on common interests and concerns
- To tell teachers *how* and *what* to do
- To discover common interests and concerns
- To inform teachers about or demonstrate new techniques
- To share experience

Section 3: Training and Incentives.

13. Have you ever received any training on teacher leadership? Yes No

14. If yes, how would you evaluate the training received?

- Of no value Of little value Of medium value Of considerable value Of great value

15. How often do you participate in seminars or conferences on teacher leadership?

- Once a year Twice a year Every three months Every month Never

16. Are there incentives, moral or material, for teachers who collaborate for improvement schoolwide?

- Yes No

Section 4: Attitudes and Interaction.

17. How well does each of the following words or phrases describe your school principal?

In the blank beside each word or phrase below, write **Y** for "Yes," **N** for "No," and "?" if you cannot decide.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| _____ Asks my advice | _____ Annoying |
| _____ Impolite | _____ Stubborn |
| _____ Praises good work | _____ Knows job well |
| _____ Tactful | _____ Poor planner |
| _____ Up-to-date | _____ Around when needed |
| _____ Has favorites | _____ Lazy |

18. How much time per week do you spend interacting with the principal about any given matter?

- None About half an hour About an hour About 2 hours More than 2 hours

19. When interacting with the principal, which of these topics do you usually talk about? Please check all that apply.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sociopolitical issues | <input type="checkbox"/> Permission for absence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ways to improve teaching and learning | <input type="checkbox"/> Request for materials and facilities |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gossip about people inside or outside school | <input type="checkbox"/> Discipline and rules |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Complaints about people/things inside or outside school | <input type="checkbox"/> News |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other | |

20. How much time per day do you spend interacting with colleagues about any given matter?

- None About half an hour About an hour About 2 hours More than 2 hours

21. When interacting with colleagues, which of these topics do you usually talk about? Please check all that apply.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sociopolitical issues | <input type="checkbox"/> Salary and promotion |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ways to improve teaching and learning | <input type="checkbox"/> Sports |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gossip about people inside or outside school | <input type="checkbox"/> Family |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Complaints about people/things inside or outside school | <input type="checkbox"/> News |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other | |

Section 5: Teachers' Perceptions of their Principals' Leadership Behaviors.

22. To what extent do you (dis)agree with the following statements? Select ONE level of agreement for each statement to indicate your answer.

SD: Strongly Disagree, **D:** Disagree, **U:** Undecided, **A:** Agree, **SA:** Strongly Agree

The principal at my school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA
develops cooperative relationships amongst teachers.					
praises teachers for doing a job well.					
hesitates to encourage teachers to be innovative in doing their work.					
seeks and listens to different points of view.					
fails to keep the promises and commitments that he/she makes.					
treats teachers and students with dignity and respect.					
shows favoritism in his/her relations with teachers.					
declines to give teachers a great deal of freedom in deciding how to do their work.					
coordinates with teachers to develop and implement shared goals.					
insists on following exact procedures in doing work.					
gets annoyed with teachers' criticism of administrative policies.					
provides a role model for desired behaviors at school.					
excites teachers with visions of what can be done if they work together as a team.					
makes decisions without consulting teachers.					
refrains from enabling teachers to act like leaders.					
emphasizes common interests and encourages cooperation.					

The principal at my school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA
fails to communicate regularly with teachers.					
convenes regular meetings with teachers.					
stimulates teachers to think about what they are doing for the school's students.					
is absent or difficult to reach when needed.					
urges teachers to re-examine their basic assumptions about their ways of doing work.					

Section 6: Teachers' Perceptions of their Colleagues' Leadership Behaviors.

23. Please select ONE level of (dis)agreement for each statement to indicate your opinion.

SD: Strongly Disagree, **D:** Disagree, **U:** Undecided, **A:** Agree, **SA:** Strongly Agree

Generally, the teachers I work with at school ...	SD	D	U	A	SA
trust and care for each other.					
fail to work together to evaluate practice and explore ways for improvement.					
praise and appreciate the work of each other.					
make no effort to help each other acquire new skills and strategies.					
have a tendency to take sides and feud among each other.					
are fun to work with.					
treat each other with dignity and respect.					
work together to develop appropriate measures for student assessment.					
seek opportunities for dialog and cooperation.					
are reluctant to share ideas and materials.					
develop shared goals and define procedures for their achievement.					
undermine each others' ideas.					
refuse to cooperate on scheduling, student distribution, and use of resources.					
coordinate to foster students' social and intellectual growth across subjects.					
have trouble getting along with each other.					

24. As a teacher, what challenges do you encounter in trying to collaborate with other teachers to achieve improvement across the school?

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.....

.....

25. Please use this space if you have any comments about this questionnaire or the topic under investigation.

.....

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Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire

Appendix B

The Teacher Questionnaire

b) Arabic Version

بحث لنيل الدكتوراه من جامعة سيدي محمد بن عبد الله
بظهر المهرارز بفاس

موضوع البحث:

السلوكيات القيادية للمدراء والأساتذة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب

تعريف إجرائي للقيادة:

يُقصد بالقيادة في هذا البحث كل عمل يركز على التعاون بين المدير و الأساتذة أو بين الأساتذة أنفسهم بغرض تطوير أداء المدرسة في جميع المناحي سواء تعلق الأمر بالمقررات أو المناهج أو التقييم أو التخطيط أو التنظيم أو أي من الجوانب التربوية الأخرى.

أخي أختي الأستاذة(ة)، أرجو منكم التعاون من أجل إنجاز هذا البحث بتعبئة هذه الاستمارة كاملة و بأمانة. لكم مني جزيل الشكر و عظيم الامتنان.

- المرجو التأكد أن جميع الأجوبة المعبئة محفوظة (enregistrées) كاملة عند الانتهاء من ملء الاستمارة.
- بعد ذلك ، يرجى إرسال الاستمارة على العنوان الإلكتروني الآتي: aamghar6@gmail.com
- لا تترددوا في الاتصال بنا إن كانت لديكم أي استفسارات.

الباحث:

أمغار عبد الرحيم

طالب الدكتوراه بقسم الدراسات الانجليزية – دراسات اللغة التطبيقية و البحث في مجال
التعليم العالي

شكرا لكم لوقتكم الثمين

استمارة الأساتذة

تهدف هذه الاستمارة إلى دراسة السلوكيات القيادية للمدراء والأساتذة بالمدارس العمومية بالمغرب. و تندرج هذه الاستمارة في إطار الإعداد لمشروع بحث بالدكتوراه بجامعة سيدي محمد بن عبد الله بظهر المهرارز بفاس. تُبرز هذه الدراسة سبل الرفع من جودة التعليم بالمدارس المغربية عبر سلوكيات قيادية فعالة في صفوف المدراء والأساتذة.

المعلومات المقدمة في هذه الاستمارة ستبقى في غاية السرية و مجهولة المصدر. لن يتم الكشف في هذا البحث عن هوية المشاركين أو مؤسساتهم أو إفشاء أي معلومات تخصهم لأي طرف كان بأي شكل من الأشكال.
شكرا لكم لوقتكم الثمين

الجزء 1: معلومات عامة

1. السن: أقل من 25 25-35 36-45 46-55 أزيد من 55
2. الجنس: ذكر أنثى
3. كم هي عدد سنوات عملك كأستاذ؟
 أقل من 5 5-10 11-15 16-20 أزيد من 20
4. في أي من الأسلاك التعليمية التالية تعمل حاليا؟
 الابتدائي الإعدادي الثانوي
5. كم هي عدد ساعات عملك في الأسبوع حاليا؟
 أقل من 5 5-10 11-15 16-20 أزيد من 20
6. ما هي أعلى شهادة علمية حصلت عليها؟
 البكالوريا دبلوم (DEUG) الإجازة الماستر الدكتوراه
7. أين تتواجد المؤسسة التي تعمل بها؟
 مجال حضري مجال شبه حضري مجال قروي
8. أي مادة أو مواد تربوية تدرس حاليا؟
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الجزء 2: الخصائص البنوية للمدرسة

9. إلى أي مدى تتفق أو لا تتفق مع العبارات التالية؟ حدد مستوى اتفاقك من خلال وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن رأيك.

أ: غير متفق بتاتا ب: غير متفق ج: متردد د: متفق ه: متفق تماما

ه	د	ج	ب	أ
				عدد ساعات عملي الأسبوعية بالمدرسة غير معقولة.
				تتوفر قاعات الدروس بمؤسستي على الوسائل و التجهيزات الملائمة.
				القاعات المدرسية بمؤسستي كافية و ملائمة.
				نظم التواصل في المدرسة جُد متطورة.
				فرص الترقية في عملي ضئيلة للغاية.
				يوفر لي جدول الزمني وقتا كافيا للتعاون مع باقي الأساتذة.
				بمدرستي فضاءات كافية للتعاون و اللقاء بين الأساتذة.
				سياسة الأجور المعتمدة عادلة و واضحة.
				عدد التلاميذ بالصّفوف التي أدرسها يجعل قيامي بعمل جيد أمرا صعبا.
				العديد من المساطر و الإجراءات بمؤسستي تجعل القيام بعمل جيد أمرا صعبا.
				المناهج المدرسية في حاجة إلى تعديلات جوهرية.

10. كم اجتماع، في المعدل، يعقد سنويا بمدركتكم وكم تحضر؟

منعدمة	2~1	4~3	6~5	8~7	أكثر من 8
الاجتماعات المنعدمة سنويا على صعيد المدرسة.					
الاجتماعات المنعدمة سنويا على صعيد المدرسة التي تحضرها.					

11. أي من هذه اللجان تتواجد حاليا بمدركتكم و أي منها تشارك فيها؟ المرجو وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن إجابتك.

المشاركة	موجودة	
	نعم	لا
أبدا	أحيانا	دائما
لجان مختصة بمستويات معينة.		
لجان مختصة بمواد معينة.		
لجان تطوعية.		
لجان تجمع أساتذة ذوي اهتمامات و مصالح مشتركة.		

12. ما هو عادة الهدف من الاجتماعات التي تحضرها بمدركتكم؟ المرجو اختيار كل ما ينطبق.

- لإخبار الأساتذة بقوانين معينة.
- لاستكشاف اهتمامات و مصالح مشتركة.
- لمناقشة سبل العمل جماعيا بشأن اهتمامات و مصالح مشتركة.
- لتبليغ الأساتذة بما يجب فعله و كيف ينفذونه.
- لعرض و تعريف الأساتذة على تقنيات تدريس جديدة.
- لتبادل التجارب.

الجزء 3: التكوين و التحفيز.

13. هل سبق أن تلقيت أي تكوين متعلق بقيادة الأستاذ؟ نعم لا

14. إذا كانت إجابتك بنعم، فكيف تقيم التكوين عموما؟

- بدون قيمة ذو قيمة ضعيفة ذو قيمة متوسطة ذو قيمة جيدة ذو قيمة عالية

15. كم مرة في السنة تشارك في ندوات أو مؤتمرات متعلقة بقيادة الأستاذ؟

- مرة في السنة مرتين في السنة كل ثلاثة أشهر كل شهر أبدا

16. هل هناك أي حوافز مادية أو معنوية للأساتذة الذين يعملون معا من أجل تحقيق تقدّم على صعيد المدرسة ككل؟ نعم لا

الجزء 4: الآراء و التفاعل.

17. إلى أي حد تعبر الكلمات أو العبارات الآتية عن مدير(ة) المدرسة التي تعمل بها؟

اكتب في الفراغ الموجود بجانب كل كلمة أو عبارة أدناه "نعم" عند الاتفاق أو "لا" عند عدم الاتفاق أو "؟" إذا كنت لا تستطيع أن تقرر.

يطلب رأيي	_____
غير مهذب	_____
يشيد بالعمل الجيد	_____
ليق	_____
مواكب للمستجدات	_____
يفاضل بين الأساتذة	_____
مزعج	_____
عنيد	_____
له دراية جيدة بعمله	_____
ضعيف التخطيط	_____
قريب عند الحاجة إليه	_____
كسول	_____

18. كم من الوقت تضي أسبوعيا في الحديث إلى المدير بمدركتكم حول أي موضوع كان؟

- منعدم حوالي نصف ساعة حوالي ساعة حوالي ساعتين أكثر من ساعتين

19. عند الحديث إلي مدير المدرسة، أي من هذه المواضيع تتطرقون إليها عادة؟ المرجو اختيار كل ما ينطبق.

- قضايا اجتماعية و سياسية
- طرق لتطوير التعليم و التعلم
- القيل و القال حول أشخاص بالمؤسسة أو خارجها
- شكاوى حول أشخاص أو أشياء بالمؤسسة أو خارجها
- قضايا أخرى.....
- طلب الإذن بالغياب
- طلب استعمال المعدات و المرافق التربوية
- الانضباط و المساطر الإدارية
- أخبار عامة

20. كم من الوقت تمضي يوميا في الحديث مع زملائك الأساتذة حول أي موضوع كان؟

- منعدم
- حوالي نصف ساعة
- حوالي ساعة
- حوالي ساعتين
- أكثر من ساعتين

21. عند الحديث إلي زملائك الأساتذة، أي من هذه المواضيع تتطرقون إليها عادة؟ المرجو اختيار كل ما ينطبق.

- قضايا اجتماعية و سياسية
- طرق لتطوير التعليم و التعلم
- القيل و القال حول أشخاص بالمؤسسة أو خارجها
- شكاوى حول أشخاص أو أشياء بالمؤسسة أو خارجها
- قضايا أخرى.....
- الأجور و الترقية
- أخبار رياضية
- الأسرة
- أخبار عامة

الجزء 5: تصورات الأساتذة لسلوكيات مدرائهم القيادية.

22. إلى أي مدى تتفق أو لا تتفق مع العبارات التالية؟ حدد مستوى اتفاقك من خلال وضع علامة (✓) في الخانة التي تعبر عن رأيك.

- أ: غير متفق بتاتا ب: غير متفق ج: متردد د: متفق ه: متفق تماما

المديرة (ة) في المؤسسة التي أعمل بها...					
هـ	د	ج	ب	أ	
					يعمل على تطوير علاقات تعاون بين الأساتذة.
					يثني على الأساتذة عند قيامهم بعمل جيد.
					يتردد في تشجيع الأساتذة على التجديد في عملهم.
					يستقى ويستمتع إلى وجهات نظر مختلفة.
					يُحقق في الالتزام بالوعود و التعهدات التي يقدمها.
					يعامل الأساتذة و التلاميذ بكرامة و احترام.
					يُبيدي معاملات تفضيلية في علاقاته مع الأساتذة.
					يرفض أن يعطي الأساتذة قدرا كبيرا من الحرية فاختيار طرق إنجاز عملهم.
					يُنسق مع الأساتذة لتطوير و تحقيق أهداف مشتركة.
					يصرُّ على إتباع إجراءات بعينها فإنجاز العمل.
					يستاء من انتقادات الأساتذة للإجراءات الإدارية.
					يُمثل النموذج للسلوكيات المرغوب فيها بالمدرسة.
					يحفز الأساتذة برؤى حول ما يمكن تحقيقه عبر العمل جماعيا كفريق واحد.
					يتخذ القرارات دون استشارة الأساتذة.
					يَمتنع عن تمكين الأساتذة للتصرف كقادة.
					يركز الاهتمام على المصالح المشتركة ويشجع التعاون.
					يُحقق في التواصل مع الأساتذة بشكل منتظم.
					يعقد اجتماعات منتظمة مع الأساتذة.
					يحث الأساتذة على التفكير فيما يقدمونه لصالح تلاميذ المدرسة.
					يكون غائبا أو يصعب الوصول إليه عندما تحتاجه.
					يُحث الأساتذة على مراجعة افتراضاتهم الأساسية التي تقوم عليها طرق عملهم.

Appendix C

The Principal Interview Schedule

a) English Version

Principal Interview Schedule

Date:

Interview N°:

Age:

Gender:

Years of experience:

Educational stage:

DPE:

1. What are your major roles as a school principal?
2. What behaviors do you believe make a great principal?
3. How does communication between you and your teachers take place across the school? What committees or teams are there at the school to enhance communication among teachers and enable them to share ideas and feelings?
4. How are decisions made in your school? Do you believe that the principal alone should be able to decide what should be done and how it should be done? Do you delegate any of your responsibilities to the teachers at your school?
5. How would you describe your relationship with the teachers at your school? How easy or difficult is it to make teachers work in harmony and as a team? To what extent does your authority enable you to increase teachers' integration and strengthen their association? Do you like to keep close relationships with your teachers?
6. How would you describe the relationships between teachers and administrators at your school? To what extent are they working in agreement?
7. What conditions at your school help teachers undertake initiatives for improvement, and what conditions deter them from doing so?
8. How much autonomy do teachers have in initiating improvement across the school?

9. To what extent does your authority enable you to take the action necessary to improve the quality of teaching and learning at your school? Do you have the authority to address poor performance among teachers and students or any other inefficiencies within the school?
10. How would you describe your relationship with the education authorities: the DPEs, AREFs, and MNE? Do you feel you have the support of the authorities?
11. How would you describe the level of coordination between you and your teachers with regard to monitoring student performance and school effectiveness?
12. Do you provide the educational authorities with any reports about the performance of your school? Do you regularly meet with the authorities to discuss school performance? Do the authorities accept your recommendations and encourage developing strategies to increase performance?
13. Is there any training for principals to become better leaders?
14. From your experience, which of these or other reasons do you think are behind the poor performance of the educational system in Morocco?

Lack of authority and autonomy;

Curricula and study overload;

Poor pay and the low status of the teaching profession;

Attitudes among parents and the general public.

15. Are there any comments or issues you would like to raise about this interview or the topic under investigation?

Appendix C
The Principal Interview Schedule
b) Arabic Version

برنامج مقابلة المدير

تاريخ المقابلة:

رقم المقابلة:

السن:

الجنس:

سنوات الخبرة في مجال لإدارة:

السلك التعليمي:

النيابة الإقليمية للتعليم:

1. ما هي الأدوار الرئيسية التي تقوم بها كمدير مدرسة؟
2. في رأيك، ما هي السلوكيات التي تصنع مديرا رائدا؟
3. كيف تتم عملية التواصل بينك و بين الأساتذة بالمدرسة؟ ما هي اللجان أو المجموعات الموجودة بغرض تعزيز التواصل فيما بين الأساتذة وتمكينهم من تبادل الأفكار و المشاعر؟
4. كيف يتم اتخاذ القرارات بمدرستك؟ هل تعتقد أن المدير وحده يجب أن يقرر ما ينبغي فعله و كيف يتم تنفيذه؟ هل تفوض أيا من مسؤولياتك للأساتذة بالمدرسة؟
5. كيف يمكن أن تصف علاقتك بالأساتذة العاملين بالمدرسة؟ ما مدى سهولة أو صعوبة تحقيق الانسجام بين الأساتذة و جعلهم يعملون كفريق واحد؟ إلى أي حد تمكنك سلطتك من رفع مستوى الاندماج بين الأساتذة و تقوية ترابطهم؟ هل تفضل أن تكون على علاقة وطيدة بالأساتذة؟
6. كيف يمكن أن تصف العلاقة الموجودة بين الأساتذة و الإداريين بمدرستك؟ إلى أي حد يعملون في انسجام؟
7. ما هي الظروف المتوفرة بمدرستك التي تساعد الأساتذة على القيام بمبادرات من أجل التحسن و ما هي العراقيل التي تنتهيهم عن ذلك؟
8. ما حجم الاستقلالية التي يتمتع بها الأساتذة في المبادرة لتحقيق التحسن على صعيد المدرسة؟
9. إلى أي حد تمكنك سلطتك كمدير من اتخاذ الإجراءات اللازمة لتطوير جودة التعليم و التعلم داخل المدرسة؟ هل تمتلك الصلاحية لمعالجة ضعف الأداء في صفوف الأساتذة و التلاميذ أو أي نواقص أخرى بالمؤسسة؟
10. كيف يمكن أن تصف علاقتك مع السلطات التربوية: النيابة الإقليمية للتعليم و الأكاديمية الجهوية للتربية و التكوين و وزارة التربية الوطنية؟ هل تشعر أنك تحظى بدعم السلطات؟
11. كيف يمكن أن تصف مستوى التنسيق بينك و بين الأساتذة بخصوص تتبع أداء التلاميذ و فعالية التمدرس ككل؟
12. هل تزودون السلطات التربوية بأي تقارير حول مستوى أداء المدرسة؟ هل تجتمعون بشكل منتظم مع السلطات المعنية لمناقشة مستوى أداء المدرسة؟ هل تتقبل السلطات توصياتكم و تشجعكم على إعداد خطط للرفع من مستوى الأداء؟
13. هل توجد أي تكوينات تؤهل المدراء ليصبحوا قادة أفضل؟
14. بناء على تجربتك، أي من هذه العوامل أو عوامل أخرى تكمن وراء ضعف مردودية النظام التربوي بالمغرب؟
 - غياب سلطة القرار و الاستقلالية؛
 - المناهج الدراسية و ثقل البرامج المدرسة؛
 - الأجور الهزيلة و المكانة المتدنية لمهنة التدريس؛
 - مواقف الآباء و العامة ككل.
15. هل لديك أي تعليقات أو قضايا تود أن تثيرها حول هذه المقابلة أو الموضوع قيد الدراسة؟

Appendix D
The Teacher Interview Schedule
a) English Version

Teacher Interview Schedule

Date:

Interview N°:

Age:

Gender:

Years of experience:

Educational stage:

Subject(s) taught:

DPE:

1. What behaviors do you believe make a great teacher?
2. How would you describe your relationship with other teachers at your school? Do you feel you are respected and valued by colleagues? Do you like to keep close relationships with other teachers? To what extent are your interactions with other teachers useful to your teaching?
3. How would you describe the relationships existing among other teachers at your school? Do you notice any disagreements, differences, or conflicts?
4. How would you describe your relationship with the principal? Please explain the extent to which he/she:
 - available when needed;
 - treats you fairly and respectfully;
 - accommodates your needs and requests;
 - empowers you to implement innovative teaching methods;
 - allows you the freedom to express your opinions and concerns.
5. How are decisions made at your school? How often do you participate in making decisions concerning you or the school as a whole? To what extent are your suggestions welcomed and implemented by the principal?
6. How does communication between teachers and the principal, and among teachers take place at your school? What operating committees or teams are there at the school to enhance communication and foster the exchange of knowledge and expertise among teachers?

7. What conditions are there at your school to help teachers undertake initiatives for improvement or deter them from doing so?
8. How much autonomy do teachers have in initiating improvement across the school? To what extent do you feel empowered to take the necessary action to improve teaching and learning in your classroom and the school as a whole?
9. How would you describe the relationship between the teachers at your school and the education authorities: the DPEs, AREFs, and MNE? Do you feel that you have the support of the authorities?
10. How would you describe the level of coordination between you and other teachers with regard to monitoring student performance at the school level? Do you regularly meet with the principal to discuss the performance of your students? Does the principal accept your recommendations and encourage developing strategies to increase student performance?
11. Is there any training for teachers to become better leaders?
12. From your experience, which of these or other reasons do you think are behind the poor performance of the education system in Morocco?
 - Lack of authority and autonomy;
 - Curricula and study overload;
 - Poor pay and the low status of the teaching profession;
 - Attitudes among parents and the general public.
13. Are there any comments or issues you would like to raise about this interview or the topic under investigation?

Appendix D
The Teacher Interview Schedule
b) Arabic Version

برنامج مقابلة الأستاذ

تاريخ المقابلة:

رقم المقابلة:

السن:

الجنس:

سنوات الخبرة في مجال التعليم:

السلك التعليمي:

المادة أو المواد المدرسة:

النيابة الإقليمية للتعليم:

1. في رأيك، ما هي السلوكيات التي تصنع أستاذا رائدا؟
2. كيف يمكن أن تصف العلاقة الموجودة بينك وبين باقي الأساتذة بالمدرسة؟ هل تشعر أنك محترم و مقدر من طرف زملائك؟ هل تفضل أن تكون على علاقة وطيدة بالأساتذة الآخرين؟ إلى أي حد يفيدك التواصل مع باقي الأساتذة في عملك؟
3. كيف يمكنك أن تصف العلاقات الموجودة بين باقي الأساتذة بالمدرسة؟ هل تلاحظ وجود أي نزاعات أو اختلافات أو صراعات؟
4. كيف يمكنك أن تصف العلاقة التي تجمعك مع المدير(ة)؟ المرجو أن توضح إلى أي حد المدير:
 - متواجد عندما تحتاجه؛
 - يعاملك بإنصاف و احترام؛
 - يُلبّي احتياجاتك و طلباتك المرتبطة بعملك؛
 - يدعمك لتطبيق طرق تدريس مستجدة؛
 - يمنحك الحرية للتعبير عن آراءك و همومك.
5. كيف يتم اتخاذ القرارات بمدرستك؟ كم مرة تشارك في اتخاذ القرارات التي تهتمك أنت أو المدرسة ككل؟ إلى أي حد يتم قبول و اعتماد اقتراحاتك من طرف المدير(ة)؟
6. كيف تتم عملية التواصل بين الأساتذة و المدير و فيما بين الأساتذة أنفسهم داخل المدرسة؟ ما هي اللجان أو المجموعات الموجودة بالمدرسة بغرض تحسين التواصل و تعزيز تبادل المعارف و الخبرات فيما بين الأساتذة؟
7. ما هي الظروف المتوفرة بمدرستك التي تساعد الأساتذة على القيام بمبادرات من أجل التحسن و ما هي العراقيل التي تنتهيم عن ذلك؟
8. ما حجم الاستقلالية التي يتمتع بها الأساتذة في المبادرة لتحقيق التحسن على صعيد المدرسة؟ إلى أي حد تشعر أنك قادر على اتخاذ الإجراءات اللازمة لتطوير جودة التعليم و التعلم بالصفوف التي تدرسها و المدرسة ككل؟
9. كيف يمكنك وصف العلاقة بين الأساتذة بمدرستك والسلطات التربوية: النيابة الإقليمية للتعليم، الأكاديمية الجهوية للتربية و التكوين، و وزارة التربية الوطنية؟ هل تشعرون كأساتذة أنكم تتوفرون على دعم السلطات؟
10. كيف يمكنك وصف مستوى التنسيق بينك و بين باقي الأساتذة بخصوص تتبع أداء التلاميذ بالمدرسة؟ هل تجتمعون بشكل منتظم مع المدير لمناقشة مستوى أداء التلاميذ؟ هل يتقبل المدير توصياتكم و يشجع على إعداد خطط لتحسين مستوى أداء التلاميذ؟
11. هل تُوجد أي تكوينات تؤهل الأساتذة ليصبحوا قادة أفضل؟
12. بناء على تجربتك، أي من هذه العوامل أو عوامل أخرى تكمن وراء ضعف مردودية النظام التربوي بالمغرب؟
 - غياب سلطة القرار و الاستقلالية؛
 - المناهج الدراسية و ثقل البرامج المدرسة؛
 - الأجور الهزيلة و المكانة المتدنية لمهنة التدريس؛
 - مواقف الآباء و العامة ككل.
13. هل لديك أي تعليقات أو قضايا تود أن تثيرها حول هذه المقابلة أو الموضوع قيد الدراسة؟