Studies in Educational Leadership 13

Robert E. White
Karyn Cooper *Editors*

Principals in Succession

Transfer and Rotation in Educational Administration

Springer

Principals in Succession

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Contents

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Principals in Succession: Transfer and Rotation in Educational Administration

Robert E. White and Karyn Cooper

"Succession" is the process in any organization that marks the departure of one administrative leader and the entry of his or her successor. As part of this process, transfer and rotation procedures refer to any official policy or institutional mechanism for regulating leadership succession. In the field of educational administration, planned or incidental succession of principals or vice-principals generally relies on experiential and anecdotal evidence. Through the pages of this volume the following question is repeatedly engaged in a variety of ways, "What current policies, procedures and practices for principal or vice-principal succession in schools and school districts are considered to be successful?"

However (s)he has been affected by administrator succession, the new or succeeding educational leader must negotiate varying degrees, types and intensities of incoming, outgoing or insider knowledge. To further our understanding of sound practices under such circumstances as principal or vice-principal succession, this volume investigates and researches a multitude of strategies that relate to leadership succession in school districts located across Canada. The primary focus of this volume is at the school system level as it attempts to connect with and build on current research relating to the experiences of administrators pertaining to the process of principal or vice-principal succession and to the twin notions of leadership transfer and rotation. Furthermore, the school and system context within which succession policies are shaped is critical for the successful implementation of the planned transfer or rotation policies.

Contributors to this volume examine structures and processes that school boards have in place, which directly relate to the process of principal or vice-principal succession, as well as consider the effect that these structures and processes have upon the staff and upon the administrators themselves. These contributors investigate policies, procedures and practices that school boards employ in terms of leadership succession, and explore implications of these constructs for the sustainability of school improvement in leadership pools across the country. This volume presents an overview of the process of principal or vice-principal succession, descriptions

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of school district practices surrounding this process and discussions regarding how succession procedures affect individuals and groups of individuals.

This volume also highlights those board policies that incorporate practices used to develop models that support and allow administrators to succeed. It attempts to articulate how school leaders and staff members deal with change and improvement efforts in successive schools, as well as to capture those board policies and practices put in place to support principals and vice-principals at any stage in the succession process.

The overarching purpose of this book is to provide researchers and practitioners with opportunities for developing greater capacity for more successful administrator rotation and transfer processes within any given educational setting. The specific purposes of this volume are to:

- Examine local, national and international policies, procedures and practices relevant to principal and vice-principal succession processes in relation to the school administrator's changing role and responsibilities.
- Document policies, procedures and practices relevant to the succession process in school districts within a context of mandated educational reform and demographic change.
- Identify the impact and implications of succession on individual leaders, on institutions and on school districts within local and national contexts.
- Provide an examination of models of leadership succession and address issues and methods by which the transfer and rotation processes may be expeditiously addressed.
- Share narratives of varying degrees of effective transfers. From this it is hoped that readers will benefit from succession narratives by educators who have struggled to overcome challenges in order to facilitate successful succession events.
- Encourage future practitioners and soon-to-be administrators in greater understandings of themselves, the students they teach and are responsible for, and the broader cultural framework within which educators teach, learn and lead.

This volume will also address a more personal side of educational administration through identifying, characterizing and examining a variety of educational stories, methods and plans. As previously noted, the primary frame of this volume focuses on the school system itself in order to connect with and build on examined structures and processes that school boards utilize, which directly influence principal succession. This volume describes not only case studies, but also points to strategies that may prove helpful in supporting and "allowing" principals, vice-principals and, indeed, all school leaders to succeed.

This volume has been specifically designed and developed for Canadian administrative succession processes. Furthermore, this book is of particular importance as it looks at educational administration in terms of the process of leadership succession. There is no other book that has been written for and by Canadian scholars for a primarily, but not exclusively, Canadian market.

This book is valuable for both novice and experienced educators, in Canada or internationally, who are administrators already or who are interested in becoming administrators within this pluralistic milieu of the twenty-first century. What

has been missing in other texts about succession processes is a candid, "up-front and personal" approach to educational administration, one that includes personal perspectives as well as descriptions of transfer and rotation methods that examine plans, policies and procedures. There is an irony in this, given that research in educational administration is either often de-contextualized from the practical application of that research, or uses models of succession and transfer processes from corporate policy books. This volume attempts to bridge the gap between the theory and the practice of succession processes, specifically as it relates to succession, transfer and rotation events in educational administration across Canada.

There is a need for such a text, particularly at the system level of educational administration, which attempts to unite theory with practice in an attempt to better inform practitioners of current plans, perspectives and policies relating to administrative leadership transfer and rotation. Furthermore, this book includes descriptions of recruitment plans, professional development programs and models that, while important in their own right, are becoming increasingly essential to discussions of the leadership succession process itself.

This is a uniquely Canadian text. It is significant in that it provides profiles of succession, transfer and rotation events, and illustrates relevance to local and national contexts. While this volume is Canadian in context, it also draws from the American experience of transfer processes. Policy makers and system administrators can make use of a wide variety of information and experience when evaluating, revising and improving principal succession strategies. Further to this, the volume develops and documents a variety of school administrators' and staff members' experiences of their own transfer and rotation processes. Thus, the volume explores different forms of knowledge from various perspectives and determines how they are relevant to and valued by administrators, schools and school systems in a variety of contexts during times of succession. As a result, this volume deepens understanding relating to both intended and unintended consequences of existing policies of principal succession for school improvement efforts at all levels of endeavour.

This book proposes a more holistic approach to the process of principal and vice-principal succession than has been typical in the past. As such, it is a mosaic composed of various research genres and the intersections of people and events, which influence the process of administrative succession. This book asks the reader to assess the succession process alongside the policy maker, the practitioner, the administrator and the researchers. This reciprocal process allows established methods and processes to inform incoming knowledge structures. It allows, reciprocally, incoming knowledge to inform established ways of knowing. In essence, this is a process of encouraging reflection to deepen the understanding and appreciation for the details and structure of a variety of processes and procedures in educational administration.

In keeping with the values of both the form and the purpose of this endeavour, this book attempts to replace a typically "category" style of framework, common to many books on this topic, with a more post-modern interpretation that values the non-linear nature of educational administration. Based on the concept that inquiry fosters understanding, the contributors highlight the role of ongoing research re-

garding the administrative succession process as it pertains to educational administration in general and to transfer and rotation procedures in particular.

Few books attempt to put principal rotation and succession policies, practices and procedures into a context for beginning administrators or for practitioners wishing to learn more about the field of educational research as it pertains to leadership succession. Some texts provide a comprehensive view of a few cases, while others develop a somewhat cursory look at a number of policies and practices. Furthermore, many discussions germane to leadership succession, where they appear in textbooks, are constituted as subsections of a larger family of policy processes, generally described as leadership issues.

While there are a number of general leadership books on the market that provide substantial coverage of various aspects of leadership and administrative theory, none are specifically Canadian in nature and none deal with the nature of the process of leadership succession specifically. While many books offer glimpses of the process and problems surrounding leadership succession, there is something missing that prevents their use as primary textbooks or reference manuals on the topic of principal rotation and succession.

What's missing? The volume, *Principals in Succession: Transfer and Rotation in Educational Administration,* is the first book of its kind to link a variety of perspectives on educational administration with the succession process that captures and integrates surrounding issues relating to leadership transfer and rotation from personal points of view, thereby helping practicing administrators, newly minted school leaders and educational researchers in greater understandings of themselves and the larger post-modern context within which we teach, learn and lead.

One area that remains outside of the focus of this volume and which may benefit from further discussion is that of the role of the senior staff, such as superintendents and other school board personnel, in assisting with principal transition in terms of entry and exit interviews and criteria, and other specific information about the superintendent's vision for the new principal's tenure. For example, what goals are to be met, or are there changes envisioned related to the district mission that impact upon succession planning? How can the superintendent assist in the transfer of knowledge between the exiting principal and the arriving principal? Further to this, one area that could be added as an additional topic for consideration would be that of sharing some successful approaches to building leadership capacity. There are examples of building trust, building positive relationships and excellent research on distributed leadership, currently outside the focus of this text, that provide some excellent examples of ways in which districts are approaching capacity building as a proactive strategy.

This text is designed to not only foster novice and experienced educators' thinking about their own leadership practice, it is also written for those exploring issues of educational research from educative perspectives. Because of this broader focus, this volume goes further than the above-mentioned books in combining research with personal contexts that allows seasoned and student researchers as well as novice and practicing educational administrators to interact with the text. This volume

attempts to move beyond concepts presented in the aforementioned books by making connections within and among scholars, their work in educational research and their practice as well as among students of leadership and those who are experienced practitioners who may learn from these experiences. This kind of text, one which encourages reflection on the process of administrative succession in education, is not currently available in any market.

This volume has wide audience appeal since it will be directed at experienced and novice educators, and for others seeking to better understand how education and schooling is affected and effected through processes in educational administration. Based on personal experiences, qualitative research and policy analysis, there is a strong need for a text that is in keeping with the post-modern context in terms of perspectives and processes of the succession process in general and the administration transfer and rotation process in particular. This text proposes to meet the needs of practicing administrators, those who are considering a career in administration and those who wish to study the process.

The volume begins with a discussion on Institutional Ethnography and its relationship to the process of principal succession and rotation by Alison Griffith, past Dean of Education at York University. In the third chapter of this volume, Andy Hargreaves and Dean Fink then delve deeply into the crisis of leadership success, succession and capacity development by viewing it as a question of supply and demand. Drawing on research in the United States, Canada, England, and Finland, this chapter identifies challenges of leadership success and succession as issues that increasingly involve the supply of capable leaders. In Chap. 4, Robert MacMillan and his research colleagues build on findings concerning the establishment of trust in a new principal's administration. In this chapter, they focus on the role that school districts play in creating a policy and procedural environment that affects the development of trust between teachers and principals, particularly in schools that have experienced rapid turnover in principals.

Following this discussion, the fifth chapter, written by myself and Karyn Cooper, views Administrative Succession at the school system level. Data are drawn from senior administrators, principals and vice-principals in secondary schools in three separate and dissimilar locations to identify the impact and implications of succession on individual leaders, on institutions and on school districts within a local, national and international context. Matthew Meyer and colleagues, in Chap. 6, focus on the impact of rapid principal succession on teachers in 12 schools in 6 Nova Scotian school boards. Meyer et al. reveal that negotiation and elucidation of values constructs between the new principal and the teachers influences trust, morale and teachers' sense of efficacy.

In Chap. 7, Blair Mascall and co-authors describe and discuss the topic of principal succession from a process point of view with respect to concerns regarding the changing nature of leadership itself. School leaders, as transformational *and* instructional leaders, must also ensure that schools are both safe and supportive. This chapter focuses on the degree to which leaders influence the culture of the organization and seeks to illuminate the relationship between principal turnover and student achievement.

Shawn Northfield et al. follow the issue of trust and principal succession in Chap. 8, through examination of the implied sense of deliberation about the process. However, as noted by Alison Griffith in the Prologue, and Mascall and colleagues in the previous chapter, for many schools, changing principals is seldom an intentional process, simply because circumstances triggering a principal's move are often diverse and unplanned.

Cecilia Reynolds et al., in Chap. 9, study succession from a decision-maker's perspective and explore trends related to cultural contexts in k-12, college and university settings. The authors identify recurring themes about gender as well as cultural backgrounds and concluded that specific "rules of control" are used by decision-makers. While this chapter is placed towards the end of the volume, it is an important chapter in that it raises the topic of the participation of women and people of "difference" in educational administration and benefits from further analysis by Izhar Oplatka who provides an epilogue that assists in contextualizing principal succession and rotation, particularly as it pertains to women in educational administration, in western countries.

This book would be suitable for graduate work as it has several applications at the graduate level. Graduate students, seeking to better understand how their experiences and the experiences of other educators have helped to influence their approaches to research in educational administration, would also benefit from this volume, thus serving to inform professional practice. To this end, A Guide for Further Study, at the end of each chapter, contains questions for consideration and discussion.

Finally, this volume would be useful to researchers as a reference guide to processes of administrative succession, and to policy relating to transfer and rotation procedures in school systems across the nation.

Chapter 2
Prologue

The Construction of the Principalship: Institutional Ethnography and Principal Selection and Succession

Alison Griffith

When I agreed to write the prologue to this edited volume, I agreed without quite understanding what a prologue is or does. Of course, many books have prologues. Plays often have prologues. And prologues always come at the beginning. But what does a prologue do? The following Oxford Concise English Dictionary definition gives us two ways to think about prologue—as an introduction to, and as an action:

> **Prologue:** noun
> 1. An introductory section or scene in a literary, dramatic, or musical work
> 2. An event or action leading to another
> ORIGIN Greek prologos, from pro- 'before' + logos 'saying'

In keeping with the orientation of my work as an institutional ethnographer, I am going to emphasize both aspects of the word—an introduction *to* something; an action *leading* to another.

Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People (Smith 2005), has a particular take on introductions and actions. What is occurring? Where did it come from and what happens next? How does it occur? Where does it occur? Who does it? How does it work? These are questions that begin in people's experience—becoming a principal of a new school or being assigned to another school. That is where institutional ethnographers start. However, our research interest does not remain in individual experience. One action follows another—actions go from someone somewhere, to someone somewhere, often some-when else. What is introduced into one setting may be the final action in the previous setting—whether epilogue or prologue, actions lead to other actions taken up by other people.

But often we do not know much about how the products of actions come to us. Often, to understand what's going on, we have to go beyond the actions that can be seen and ask where and how those actions came to be? For example, when one principal succeeds another, what are the actions that organize that change? As we know, principals do not simply decide to take up the principalship in a different school. Decisions may be made individually ('I think I'll retire'). Institutional routines are

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then activated so that a new principal can be assigned to that school. Administrative decisions are made based on decisions by principal selection panels, on school demographics, and on who is available. All of these actions are coordinated in order to decide who will be the next principal of that school. These are ruling relations—coordinated sets of actions involving many different people, based on institutional interests and resulting in a new principal succeeding the previous principal. The institutional ethnography project is to find out *for people* what the ruling relations are that are organizing their experience.

Staying with our example above, we often miss the essentially textual character of the work people do in institutions. Particularly in bureaucratic–administrative institutions like Education, texts are everywhere, all the time. Texts link people's actions across time and space. For example, in the Canadian province of Ontario, in order to apply to become a principal, the candidate must typically have an undergraduate degree, five years of teaching experience, certification in three divisions (primary, junior, intermediate, senior), two Specialist or Honour Specialist additional qualifications or a master's degree, and you are required to complete a Principal's Qualification Program. These multiple texts are from different times and from different places in a candidate's life—undergraduate and graduate transcripts from universities, a teaching certificate from the Ontario College of Teachers, a personnel record from a Board of Education, a record of professional development programs taken at institutions certified by the Ontario College of Teachers or provincial Ministry, and, at least in Ontario, a professional development certification called the Principal's Qualification Program (PQP).

We can begin to see that, in order to be considered for the position of principal, there are a series of actions, involving the principal-to-be *and* many other people, which culminate in a text. These texts then stand in for—become the textual record of the previous action(s). They become the prologue as the individual moves into the next action to be taken. They are taken up by other people who are in a position to evaluate and judge the textual record as 'evidence' of a candidate meeting the criteria. Becoming a principal is through and through a textually mediated process in which the individual engages their experience, ambition, interest, capacities, time, energy—their lives—with educational institutions. Being seriously considered for a principalship requires a textual record that represents the individual institutionally—courses taken, teaching experience, degrees, professional development, and so on. Without the correct textual prologue, a teacher cannot be considered for the principalship. This is not an individual matter but rather an institutional construct in which texts are central. A university transcript may be read as 'good enough' or not, but the text does not change. Texts are made to be the same text regardless of who reads it or where it is read.

Yet, the definition of a principal is fluid, not static. How, then, given the textual prologue described above, can the definition of a principal fluctuate? This has to do, in part, with how and when texts are *used* as part of a bureaucratic–administrative process. The processes described above are integral to the processes through which an individual is selected, or not, for the principalship, or for a transfer to another school. These texts enter the realm of interviewing, selection, decision making based on school demographics—the ruling relations in which the individual is

not present but the texts that represent her or him are. And these texts are 'read' in that local context. As questions are raised about principal selection and succession as they are in this volume; as questions are raised about social identities and education; and as the demographics of the city change: then the texts are read for different criteria. The ability of the textual record to represent the individual is sophisticated and intricate. Within its textual boundaries the textual record *shapes, but does not determine,* the textually mediated selection processes that frame appointment and succession decisions.

Once the selection process is complete, other texts come into play. Currently, and in continuance with the previous example, the Ontario Ministry of Education's definition of a principal emphasizes the concept of an 'effective leader' and their effectiveness is tied to student achievement. Ontario has adopted a particular orientation to education called 'school effectiveness and school improvement'. For example: "Leadership is second only to teaching in its influence on student achievement." This construction of the principalship is relatively new and subordinates other characteristics that, historically, would have been prominent. For example, 'curriculum leader' was historically one of the definitions of the principal. Now, it has been reframed as 'instructional leader' and is secondary to effectiveness and student achievement.

Until recently, it was assumed that those selected to be principals had all the necessary skills and competences to do the job. Ontario Ministry of Education documents note that leadership is not an innate character trait, it is a learned process. Thus, the new definition relies on extensive charts available to principals listing competencies, skills, knowledge, and attitudes. The charts are for self-governance. A principal can work through the charts to ensure that he or she is doing the job of principal as it is currently conceived. As the principal checks their actions against those prescribed by the texts, they coordinate the 'fit' between the standard texts and their own action—they become, without losing their individuality, more like the textually framed principal. In other words, the textual representation of a principal is historically organized—grounded in current governing conceptions of what constitutes a 'good' principal.

Currently, specific websites are being used as active texts (texts linked to other texts; texts that shape action) that are coordinated across organizational boundaries and organizational strategies—with mentoring programs for principals as well as performance appraisals. In order to teach the skills and competencies required for the principalship of today, the Ministry of Education in Ontario has developed a mentoring process for new principals. In concert with the Ministry, the Ontario Principals' Council has developed a mentoring and coaching model that is available to more senior principals who are interested in professional development.

Concurrently, the Ministry is introducing a performance appraisal process for principals that provides principals and vice-principals with processes and procedures that will support improvement in their leadership and in turn, student achievement. Mentoring or coaching for leadership and student achievement is not required by the Ministry, but the performance appraisal is. Performance appraisals are texts that bring particular actions into view while subsuming others. It is not clear what the consequences are for individual principals if they do not 'score' highly on their

appraisal. What is clear is that the texts of appraisal construct and maintain a normative understanding of what a 'good principal' is. Appraisal texts are not built for individuality; they are built for accountability and standardization across different places, times and individual personalities.

> **Succession:** noun
> 1. A number of people or things following one after the other
> 2. The action, process, or right of inheriting an office, title, etc.…
> PHRASES in quick succession following one another at short intervals in succession following one after the other without interruption (Oxford Concise Dictionary)

Succession is also an action. The chapters that follow show a complex process of change at many levels from the institutional to the subjective. The authors in this collection tease out the theoretical and inter-personal subtleties that weave through the shifts that occur when one school principal is succeeded by another.

Interestingly, outside of this volume, there is little written on what happens when one principal succeeds another. The new principal may have never been responsible for a school prior to their assignment, or he or she may be an experienced principal who has been at their previous school 'too long'. There may be an opening in the middle of the year, or as happened at C. W. Jeffries Collegiate in North York, Ontario, a traumatic incident resulted in a change of principals. The incumbent principal was suspended; to be replaced by a new principal who was quickly promoted and another new principal was assigned to the school.

Since the new principal was promoted to a position of additional responsibility as superintendent of schools, the question for decision-makers is how to balance what's good for the school and what's fair for the incumbent principal. In this case, the Toronto District School Board decided in favour of the principal since most would argue that the school would have been better off with that principal remaining in place for a longer period of time. Much of the succession literature appears to focus on *planning* for succession (identifying possible leaders, encouraging potential leaders, and so on), not for the actions of succession itself. This volume begins to address the gap in this educational conversation.

In this prologue, I have pointed to textually mediated relations as an invisible yet essential aspect of the principalship and matters of succession. Briefly, I have showed how these two concepts are textually coordinated; yet refer to different times in an educator's career. One textual relation acts as a prologue for the other: The other succeeds the first. The following chapters focus on different aspects of principal succession. Throughout these articles, you may be able to see how texts organize the actions of those involved in becoming a principal, and changing schools. These almost-invisible textual threads can be empirically researched, adding a dimension to the study of the principalship and of succession.

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Chapter 3
Succeeding Leaders: Supply and Demand

Andy Hargreaves and Dean Fink

Throughout the western world, there is a generational crisis of educational leadership succession. A 'perfect storm' of demographic and generational issues has occurred where the Boomer generation of leaders is retiring, a demanding and sometimes demeaning reform climate is pushing many leaders out early while making the job less attractive to their successors, and the following generations are, from their distinct generational perspective, more questioning and critical about the kind of job they are prepared to take on (Howe and Straus 2000).

The talent pool of Generation 'X' from which future leaders can be drawn is much smaller than its Boomer generation predecessor. So, waiting in the wings is the demographically larger Generation 'Y'. Sometimes referred to as the 'Millennials' or the 'Baby-Boom Echo', this generation is "more interesting, more confident, less hidebound and uptight, better educated, more creative, in some essential fashion, unafraid" (Martin and Tulgan 2001, p. 3). It includes more women, is more assertive about its own needs, and is more concerned about work–life balance (Howe and Straus 2000; Lancaster and Stillman 2002).

The leadership succession crisis is not a storm in a teacup. With qualified candidates proving hesitant and positions in the poorest communities going unfilled, it is forcing fundamental rethinking about how to recruit and develop new leaders, and about the very nature and demands of educational leadership itself (Hargreaves and Fink 2006).

This chapter examines the crisis of leadership success, succession and capacity development by viewing it as a question of supply and demand. Drawing on our own research in the United States, Canada, England, and high-performing Finland, as well as on other literature in the field, it identifies challenges of leadership success and succession as ones that involve increasingly the supply of capable leaders, and reducing the unnecessary demands that deter them from seeking or staying in leadership roles. It looks at the trajectory of leadership success and succession over three ages of educational change culminating in an age of post-standardization. It

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then describes an alternative path to success and succession in high-performing Finland, which differs starkly from the dominant Anglo-Saxon models of leadership and change that are energetically advocated and even advertised by their creators. Conclusions are drawn about how to reconfigure the supply and demand aspects of highly capable leadership, and how to redesign educational change and reform processes in order to make this possible.

3.1 Supply and Demand

The main problem of generational leadership succession in education is not finding enough candidates who are technically qualified, but ones who are interested, suitable, and properly prepared for the job in hand. This supply-side question (Harris and Townsend 2007) has precipitated an array of policy initiatives such as the creation of a national leadership college and the fast tracking of potential leaders in the United Kingdom (see <http://www.ncsl.org.uk/aboutus/index.cfm>), leadership development programs for accelerated and aspiring leaders in the US states and Canadian provinces (Duke 2007); systems of coaching, mentoring, and internship for emerging leaders (Robertson 2007); and the creation of systemic leadership so that high-performing executive principals can take on additional lower-performing schools which promotes improvement, provides career structures for them, and creates opportunities for more leadership development behind them (Hopkins 2007; OECD 2008).

These supply-side initiatives seek to build leadership capacity by developing larger pools of qualified and prepared leaders for the vacancies that become available (Hargreaves and Fink 2006). Most of them set out to identify emerging leaders early who demonstrate signs of leadership talent, then provide programs of accelerated training along with early leadership development opportunities on-the-job. This is essentially a strategy of select-and-develop (Fink 2005). Though understandable as a development strategy, it is also somewhat limiting and perhaps even exclusionary. The select-and-develop strategy rests on the assumption that like gymnastic ability, leadership is a given capacity or gift that can and should be identified early and then cultivated with intensity. Leaders, in this view, are born and then made. Lambert (1998), however, argues that leadership is a form of learning. All can learn; all can lead. It is as foolish and exclusionary, in this perspective, to select-and-develop leaders early among adults as it is to select-and-develop readers or mathematicians early among young children. Surely, the real challenge of mentoring and coaching emerging leaders is not only to do this among those who look like they already have leadership potential, but to develop leadership among the shy, gauche, klutzy, competitive, arrogant, self-absorbed, and insufferably enthusiastic. We can seriously improve leadership supply, then, if we expend our energies on building distributed leadership throughout the school so that leadership capacity develops among everyone. From that increased supply, higher-level leaders will eventually emerge. This strategy of develop-and-select characterizes leadership

development in high-performing Finland, for example, and also in strong professional learning communities elsewhere that cultivate leadership development in all ways and at all levels. This includes student leadership, from the ranks of which future adult educational leaders come—something that is absolutely essential in the poorest communities.

The less obvious response to the generational crisis of leadership succession is on the demand side of the equation. How can leadership be restructured so that the unnecessary demands on individuals and schools can be reduced while enabling leaders to provide the kind of leadership necessary to respond to the high expectations of a knowledge society?

In recent years, a worldwide wave of standardized and high-stakes educational reform with strict timelines for implementation and severe consequences for failure has placed leaders under intense pressure to implement multiple, often conflicting and shifting reform policies—some supported by resources, others requiring 'more for less'. An influential review of the state of educational leadership in the context of British educational reform finds that while reform demands have brought forth important initiatives to relieve the workload of teachers, no such parallels exist in the case of leadership where the job has become overwhelming (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007). In the United States, it is the job itself and the stakes surrounding it that comprise the greatest disincentives to aspiring leaders (Cusick 2003). Today's reform initiatives require schools and districts to weigh possible benefits against costs in people's time, energy, and commitment—including the leader's own. In the words of one of the principals in a study by Hatch (2002, p. 628) "It reaches a point where it doesn't make any difference how much money there is. You don't have the time and energy" (p. 628).

Hatch's work adds an important dimension to understanding capacity building in leadership. Many systemic change theorists in education stress that sustainable improvement needs to invest not only in exerting pressure on educators but also in providing support or capacity building for them (Fullan 2007; Elmore 2002; Lambert 1998), in terms of money, materials, training, and time to think and plan. For Hatch, though, human capacity has some parallels with water capacity. You can increase capacity by increasing supply—providing more water in the first case, or resources and training in the second. But you can and should also increase capacity by reducing unnecessary demand—washing the car or watering the lawn less often, or, in educational terms, limiting the number and pace of external initiatives. This is the demand side of leadership capacity. When leadership turns into management of innumerable imposed initiatives, exposure to endless and unwanted interventions, and being evaluated according to unfair and inappropriate forms of accountability, the demands on leaders become unreasonable and few people are called to lead anymore.

The generational renewal of leadership must address both its supply sides (develop-and-select as well as vice versa) and also its demand aspects. Clues as to how to go about this can be gleaned from examining leadership and change over time, in retrospect, as well as across space, in high-performing settings away from the flawed Anglo-Saxon models of high-stakes testing and standardization that are most trumpeted by contemporary change consultants.

3.2 Leading over Time

We have been able to study success and succession in leadership by investigating the nature and effects of leadership on schools over long periods of time—beyond the snapshots that characterize most leadership efforts and leadership studies. Our research has examined the experiences of educational change of eight secondary schools in two countries over three decades through the eyes of leaders and teachers who worked there in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s (Fink and Brayman 2006; Hargreaves and Goodson 2006). It casts significant light on the relationship between leadership capacity and demand.

Until the mid-to-late 1970s, leaders were remembered as larger-than-life characters (in a good or a bad way), who knew people in the school, were closely identified with it, made their mark on it, and stayed around for many years to see things through.

In the early to mid 80s, the most creative leaders in the project's most innovative schools motivated and assisted their staffs to work through the reform paradoxes that defined the period (more market choice versus greater special education integration; more interdisciplinary curriculum outcomes alongside subject-based report cards; the rise of portfolio and performance assessments, but also of increased standardized testing) by building cultures of collaboration and by twisting and channelling the reforms to advance their schools' own purposes. By comparison, less effective leaders tried to shield their teachers from the intensifying reform demands and, as a result, left their schools to drift and fall into decline. In the words of one of them:

> One of the difficulties I found for my personal approach to leadership was that I didn't have a particular direction or goal for my school. I simply wanted to facilitate the relationship between teachers and students, and I thought my job was to take as much of the administrivia, and annoyance and pressure from outside sources off the teachers so that they could work effectively with kids.

From the mid 1990s into the new Millennium, governments ratcheted up the standardized reform agenda. Teachers now started to see their leaders as being more like anonymous managers, who had less visibility in the school, seemed to be more attached to the system or their own careers than the long-term interests of the school, and, because of accelerating succession, rarely remained long enough to ensure their initiatives would last. For example, when the full impact of the massive reform agenda of the then conservative government of Ontario, descended on one of the most innovative schools in our sample, the staff began to notice a change in the principal's leadership style.

> It 's because so much has to be done in so little time. We (used to) meet to decide as a group how best to go about a process. Well there's been no meeting. We've just been told these classes are closed…. And never in my whole career has that ever happened…. There isn't that opportunity to share information…. And now it's just sort of 'top down' because there's only time for top down.

As a result of increasing demands for quick and measurable results, the principal had become more of a manager of the external agenda than a leader of the

school's values and ideas. Some staff-members perceived the way she tried to 'talk up' change as being somewhat forced and not fully sincere—the effect of having to manufacture optimism in a policy environment that repeatedly seemed to defeat it. They recognized her dilemma but also saw its effects,

> I think we've gone from an organization that was kind of a shared responsibility, at least in appearance, to a very linear one now based on, because of time. And [the principal] is fairly directive, and likes to be in control of lots of things but she's also a humanist with you on that. But I think we've lost some of that shared responsibility because of outside direction.

One harried principal in this era of 'more-for-less' observed how she felt 'responsible for the whole world'. "Every year I say I cannot work any harder and every year I have to work harder. The support systems to make things happen are just not there anymore."

In Australia, during this same period, Blackmore (1996) discovered that women principals found themselves turning into emotional middle-managers of unwanted and imposed educational reforms—motivating their staffs to implement the impractical and unpalatable policies of government, and losing something of themselves and their health in the process. Similarly, in the United States, *No Child Left Behind* legislation specified removal of the principal as one option for responding to repeated annual failure (US Congress 2002).

The excessive demand and diminished support of this third period of standardization created many kinds of collateral damage in terms of narrowing the curriculum to tested basics, teaching for the test, neglect of knowledge economy skills, increased dropout among growing numbers of disaffected students, problems of teacher recruitment and retention, and difficulties of recruitment into the principalship. As a result of these combined pressures, reform directions in the Anglo-Saxon countries have undergone a recent shift.

3.3 Leadership in an Age of Post-standardization

The emerging reform context of leadership is one of post-standardization (Hargreaves and Shirley 2008b). The demands of knowledge economies call for more innovation and creativity (Hargreaves 2003). The European Union has designated 2009 as the Year of Innovation and Creativity, which it sees as essential to economic competitiveness. At the same time, the mounting crisis of professional recruitment and retention makes it hard to maintain the emphasis on prescription and compliance. In addition to top-down pressure and bottom-up support, the system has therefore been infused with more lateral professional energy by engaging teachers and leaders in increased opportunities for professional development and in quests to raise standards by schools working with schools in networks of mutual assistance (Ontario Ministry of Education 2008). But in recent decades, many governments have become accustomed to the feeling of being in control. Therefore, while the paths emerging from the dark thicket of standardization point towards many new destinations of innovation, creativity, and professional engagement, their routes are

nonetheless defined by the old imposed coordinates of targets and testing in literacy and mathematics. Now there is just more collective effervescence or light and bubbly professional energy to lighten the process and heighten enthusiasm a little (Hartley 2007; Hargreaves and Shirley 2008a).

Increasing evidence is mounting that in its harder or softer forms, the change strategy based on standardized tests, short-term targets, and teaching aligned to tests is not working. Peter Tymms (2004) and his colleagues at Durham University have concluded:

> Evidence from the UK, US and elsewhere suggests that within educational systems, hugely expensive policy initiatives have often failed to lead to significant positive improvements (see for example Tymms 2004; Haney 2000). For instance the National Literacy Strategy in England cost £500 million but appears to have had almost no impact on literacy levels of 11-year olds in English primary schools (Tymms and Merrell 2007) despite widespread claims to the contrary. Indeed it has been questioned whether it has ever been shown that educational standards have in fact risen by any significant amount over any time period anywhere as a result of policy. (Coalition for Evidence Based Policy 2002; Hattie 2005).

England's government has even raised target setting in public services to still greater degrees of astonishing complexity. In one complex directive on target setting to education authorities and schools, it arbitrarily declared: "We have announced an aspiration that 85% of young people will achieve level 2 at 19 by 2013" (D of E 2007, p. 4). With growing concerns about England's poor international performance in child well-being (ranked 21 out of 21 in a UNESCO 2007 survey), the response has been still more targets in social outcomes such as school-age pregnancy for which the schools are held solely responsible. And in the area of law enforcement, at least one jurisdiction tried to meet political targets for a reduced crime rate by downgrading some crimes to misdemeanours—thus reducing crime by simply redefining it (BBC News 2008a, b).

The Canadian province of Ontario has also hitched its policy 'horse' to the 'wagon' of short-term political targets in literacy and numeracy (Ontario Ministry of Education 2008) despite the fact that the province's students are already among the highest achievers in Canada and the world (Council of Ministers of Canada 2008; Mullis et al. 2007; OECD 2004). These post-standardized approaches to teaching and learning that actually reinforce standardization even further, but with the addition of stronger support and greater lateral improvement energy keep leaders under unrelenting pressure for short-term results while now adding even further and contradictory pressure through the innovation agenda for more personalized approaches to teaching and learning, development of professional learning communities (Stoll and Louis 2007), networking with school partners, and collaborating with other social services to promote child well-being (Hopkins 2007).

In a project in England that one of us co-evaluated, more than 300 underperforming secondary schools were networked with each other, provided with technical assistance in interpreting achievement results, given access to support from mentor schools, and offered a modest discretionary budget (Hargreaves et al. 2006). Participating schools were also provided with a practitioner-generated menu of proven strategies that bring about short, medium, and long-term improvement. More than

two-thirds of these energized schools improved at double the rate of the national average over 1–2 years through positive peer networks.

Yet the very success and attractiveness of the short-term strategies put teachers and schools at risk of being not merely attracted but almost addicted to them. The strategies were "so gimmicky and great", as one headteacher put it, they could be used right away, and did not challenge or encourage teachers to question and revise their existing approaches to teaching and learning. The rush to raise achievement injected teachers and leaders with repeated 'highs' of short-term success. The result was a somewhat hyperactive culture of change that could be exhilarating but also draining and distracting.

Successful as it was, the project remained embedded within a wider policy culture of short-term funding and proposal cycles, pressure for quick turnarounds and instant results, proliferation of multiple initiatives and a performance-saturated language of standard-raising where teachers and leaders referred not to engagement with learning but to the movement of students into the right achievement cells by 'targeting' the right groups, 'pushing' students harder, 'moving' them up, 'raising aspirations', 'holding people down' and 'getting a grip' on where youngsters were. Post-standardization is even more forceful target-driven standardization in what is just a seductively more comfortable bed. It's got a soft quilt rather than an army blanket, but leaders are still confined to barracks.

Today's paradox of leadership success and sustainability, even in an age of post-standardization, is that leaders must now be seen to be forward looking and innovative while also meeting traditional goals and targets. They are given other people's cake and forced to eat it. Little wonder the job no longer appeals to so many of them. For more successful and sustainable examples of how to develop educational leaders, we must turn elsewhere.

3.4 An Exemplary Outlier of Leadership

In 2007, one of us took a team for OECD to Finland to investigate the relationship between leadership and school improvement (Hargreaves et al. 2007). In OECD's 2003 PISA results (OECD 2004), Finland's 15-year-olds ranked top in the world in reading, mathematics, and science, while in equity terms the country displayed the lowest variance between schools—just one-tenth of the OECD average (OECD 2004). In the next PISA cycle, the results were almost identical. In the few short years of the twenty-first century, Finland has also been ranked as one of the world's most competitive economies by the World Economic Forum (Porter et al. 2004). While Finland's approach to educational change and leadership would be difficult to replicate in other contexts, it provides a useful model of stellar success from which others may learn and that they can also adapt.

From being a rural backwater economy, Finland has transformed itself into a high-performing economic powerhouse. At the core of this country's success and sustainability is its capacity to reconcile, harmonize, and integrate those elements

that have divided other developed economies and societies—a prosperous, high-performing knowledge economy and a socially just society. It has also done this in an inclusive and inspirational way that connects the country's sense of its creative craft-like history to the struggle for its future technological and creative knowledge-based destiny. While the Finns invest heavily in scientific and technological development, they also have the highest number of musical composers per capita of any developed country, and ensure that all young people engage in creative and performing arts to the end of their secondary education.

Although the knowledge economy has weakened the welfare state in many other societies, in Finland, a strong welfare state is a vital part of the national narrative that supports and sustains a strong economy. This economic regeneration has been fuelled by educational decentralization. At the centre of this successful integration of purpose and decentralization of effort is Finland's educational system (Aho et al. 2006) that provides education free of charge as a universal right all the way through school and higher education—including all necessary resources, equipment, musical instruments, and free school meals for everyone.

Through consultation and discussion, the National Board develops guidelines that provide the support and strategic thinking. With the support of educational research, the National Board provides a 'steering system' for educational policies in an evidence-based way, through funding, legislation, evaluation, and curriculum content. The government sets the parameters that are designed to allow complexity and responsiveness to evolve without this degenerating into chaos. It places no emphasis on, nor does it give any particular place to individual testing or measurement-driven high-stakes accountability. Testing is by confidential sampling for government-monitoring purposes, not by public disclosure to strengthen political control.

Since public education is seen as vital to the country's growth and identity and given the high status accorded to educators who are seen as central to this generational mission, the teaching profession is made up of highly qualified candidates. Learning and teaching are valued throughout schools and society, learning starts early but is unhurried and untested, and learning is broad and lifelong rather than concentrated on test preparation. Teacher quality and performance are addressed at the point of entry through working conditions, missions, status, autonomy, and reward. All teachers require Masters degrees.

Principals in Finland are required by law to have been teachers themselves and most continue to be engaged in classroom teaching for at least 2–3 hours, and many up to 20 lessons per week. They can do this as one leader explained, "Because, unlike the Anglo-Saxon countries, we do not have to spend our time responding to long lists of government initiatives that come from the top." Indeed, principals and national government officials actively moderate the number, pace, and range of reforms so that schools do not spend excessive time reacting to initiatives from the outside. Improvement of schools that employ these highly capable and trusted professionals is achieved by processes of self-evaluation within learning organizations that are allocated national and local government resources so they can solve problems for themselves. Sustainable leadership, in this sense, is leadership for learning,

leadership by learning, and leadership as learning—not leadership for performance and testing.

At the heart of the human relationships that comprise Finland's educational system and society is a strong and positive culture of trust, cooperation and responsibility. Finnish school leaders share resources and support each other across schools, through a sense of common responsibility for all the young people in their town or city. If principals become sick or ineffective, the community of teachers takes over because it sees that the school belongs to all of them. Yet trust is not blind or indifferent. It is built through deliberately created structures and processes. This is evident in:

- *Networks:* National projects always have 'very strong and big networks' for cooperating with national authorities, in forums where people 'learn and work from each other'. Municipalities stress the importance of all teachers participating in local and school-based processes as well as in curriculum development—not to implement government strategies and initiatives but to spread ideas interactively through non-linear processes of learning and experimentation.
- *Shared Targets:* which are produced at the local level through action plans rather than imposed by political or administrative means.
- *Self-Evaluation:* as the key to continuous improvement, compared to imposed inspection or test-based accountability that ranks schools competitively on the basis of their test scores.
- *Local principal cooperation:* where principals share financial and other resources when needed, and feel genuinely responsible together for all the children and young people in their town and city rather than competing only for the advantage of children in their particular schools.

While Finland experiences generational and demographic supply problems of leadership recruitment that are common to most developed countries, its approach to leadership on the demand side attends to the conditions, processes, and goals that produce and maintain high, sustainable performance.

3.5 Sustainable Leadership

Finland provides an example of a jurisdiction that works hard to ensure sustainable leadership. Sustainable leadership as we have defined it, is characterized by *depth* of learning and real achievement rather than superficially tested performance; *breadth* of influence, where leadership becomes a distributed and shared responsibility; *length or endurance* of impact over the long-haul, beyond individual leaders, through effectively managed succession; *justice* in ensuring that leadership actions do no harm to and actively benefit students in other schools; *diversity* that replaces standardization and alignment with networks and cohesion; *conservation* that builds on the best of the past to create an even better future, and *resourcefulness or capacity building* that conserves and renews teachers' and leaders' energy and does not burn them out (Hargreaves and Fink 2006).

The compelling social vision in Finland that strives for excellence, creativity, and equity provides the *depth* of purpose that drives the society and its educational sector forward. The role of education is to give all citizens "the best possible start in life" (Hepburn 2008). Within this overarching vision, the central government provides a focus for schools, while each school and local authority is free to develop targets that are shared, context specific, and directed at the learning of all the children in their care.

Unlike many other jurisdictions that spread leadership jobs and opportunities among staff members in transactional ways to reward or punish teacher behaviours, or to reduce the workload demands on formal leaders, Finland recognizes that leadership is always distributed rather than merely delegated. It secures *length* and *breadth* of leadership through strong municipal leadership with lots of local investment in curriculum and educational development; teachers who already are qualified and capable at the point of entry; cooperative cultures of trust and responsibility; principals who stay close to the classroom, their colleagues, and the culture of teaching; and (from the principal's standpoint) being first among a society of equals in the practical and improvisational practice of school-based improvement.

Highly effective schools in challenging circumstances are often characterized by high leadership stability (Harris et al. 2006; James et al. 2006). This is achieved by individual leaders or leadership teams often being recruited from, and also remaining in their schools for long periods in order to build trust with and develop loyalty among their communities. Finnish leaders are commonly recruited from the ranks of the schools where they have taught for many years of their careers. This norm may not be easily transposable to more mobile societies, but the lesson to be learned is to develop leadership capacity among those whom poorer communities have come to trust, wherever possible.

Social justice is an integral part of the Finnish vision. Principals and schools cooperate to enhance the system as a whole rather than looking after their school or district to the detriment of their neighbours. Finnish leaders do not steal the best teachers and superior students from adjoining schools and jurisdictions just to increase short-term performance. They are committed to their common future together.

Finnish improvement efforts value, promote, and create cohesion within organizational *diversity,* rather than developing standardized practices that do not allow cross-fertilization of learning and are neither adaptable nor resilient to change. This calls for more *lateral leadership* across schools (Fullan 2007). Top-down policy strategies that turned leaders into managers, or tried to bypass leaders and teachers altogether through tightly prescribed instruction, have largely reached their limit in raising performance results. At the same time, while the promotion of market competition has increased performance in some cases by schools having more control over student selection or staff appointments, subsequent isolation of schools has restricted their opportunities for continuous improvement and professional learning.

Attempts to reduce school isolation and move beyond the limitations of top-down reform have led to the widespread growth of school networks (Hargreaves 2004; Lieberman and Miller 2008; Veuglers and O'Hair 2005) that create improve-

ment gains by schools helping schools, through sharing best practices and 'next' practices, especially between the strong and the weak (Hargreaves 2007; Shirley and Hargreaves 2006). More and more educational leaders—principals and teachers—are therefore becoming engaged in lateral, networked leadership that promotes effective participation in networks, while ensuring that the networks remain tied to clear purposes that are connected to improved learning and achievement (Evans and Stone-Johnson 2010).

Finland builds capacity intelligently and is educationally *resourceful*. It supplies capacity by attracting and selecting highly qualified teachers then providing strong support in terms of small class sizes and working conditions that assure high teacher retention rates and minimize the costs and instability incurred by repeated waves of replacement and retraining. Distributed rather than merely delegated leadership draws many principals from among the peers in their schools and therefore avoids subjecting schools to repetitive and contradictory change agendas resulting from the serial visions of successive leaders. Finland reduces unnecessary demand on teachers and leaders by limiting the number and pace of reforms and initiatives to which they are subjected.

Finally, Finland has embraced its craft-based past as an opening to its technological future. By *conserving* the best of its past in all fields of endeavour, including the arts, and connecting it to building a better shared future, Finland is able to attract highly committed and qualified professionals to its educational system, who can see how they fit into and can contribute to the larger societal picture.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have addressed the challenge of retaining, recruiting, and sustaining high-quality leadership by examining the issue from both supply and demand perspectives. We have suggested that the many international efforts to identify and then develop leaders have limited pay-off, and have contended that schools and educational systems must focus on more distributed and other lateral forms of leadership to develop their full leadership potential.

Like water capacity, however, systems can also increase their supply by reducing demands on the time and energy of its leaders. In the past 15 years systemic, standardized, top-down efforts to improve student achievement have dramatically increased the demands on the time, energy, and commitment of school and system leaders. More recently, as governments around the world have slowly and reluctantly come to recognize the limitations of these low-trust strategies and the 'collateral damage' (Nichols and Berliner 2007) they have produced, policy makers have called upon leaders to be more creative, innovative, and personalizing, by networking with social agencies, building their organizations into professional learning communities, and adopting more lateral forms of leadership not only within schools but across systems. While these post-standardization ideas have a veneer of progressivism that has great appeal to most educators, they obscure the entrenched

reality of an even more pervasive standardization based on politically motivated targets. When one scratches below the surface, as the British example shows, the paradox of progressive methods to achieve traditional ends only adds to the demands on school leaders, undermines leadership capacity in schools and school districts, and aggravates the already serious leadership supply issue.

For a more sustainable alternative we turned to the world's most successful school system, Finland, which has many of the same supply-side issues as other countries but has produced major school reforms while considering the demands on its leaders by enrolling all its major stakeholders in a compelling moral purpose, developing supportive networks, shared targets, and above all a high-trust environment in which the government insists on well-qualified professionals in all of its schools, and then lets them get on with the job of educating their children. While, as we have stated, it would be difficult to import this model of educational change and leadership development to other contexts, other settings can learn from its example and address its issues of leadership success, succession, and capacity by:

- Developing a broad and inspiring social as well as educational mission beyond the technicalities of achievement gaps or beyond lofty yet vaguely stated advocacy for goals like 'world class education'
- Recognising that the most important point of exercising quality control in relation to leadership performance, is the point of professional entry where the motivating incentives of status, reward and professional as well as social mission should be most emphatic
- Increasing leadership capacity by reducing and rationalising unnecessary demand in terms of the pace, scope and intrusiveness of external initiatives and interventions
- Developing political and professional leadership that can build greater trust and cooperation as a basis for improvement
- Building greater lateral leadership not merely through loose and geographically dispersed professional networks but through area-based cooperation that is committed to the welfare and improvement of children and citizens within a community
- Narrowing inequalities of opportunity and achievement by integrating strong principles of social justice into systemic leadership as it becomes founded on clear practices of the strong helping the weak within and beyond schools' immediate communities
- Extending leadership teams and distributed leadership within schools to increase leadership capacity across them
- Paying diligent and detailed attention to learning (curriculum and pedagogy) as a basis for high performance, rather than giving primacy to measured performance in the hopes that this will serve as the main lever for improving teaching and learning
- Challenging the necessity for achieving improvement by employing expensive and extensive systems of high-stakes testing

American humorist Will Rogers once said that "when you find yourself in a hole, stop digging". Governments around the world, driven by the standardization and post-standardization agendas, have dug several cavernous holes that have increased the unnecessary demands on the time and energy of leaders and turned leadership roles into all-consuming 'greedy work' (Gronn 2003). Introducing new expectations for innovation and visionary leadership while ratcheting up the managerial demands for relentless increases in standardized test performances not only intensifies the overall pressure on school leaders; it also requires them to reconcile contradictory imperatives of schizophrenic governments that want to have their innovative cake and a standardized way of eating it. This has resulted in significant supply problems as existing leaders retire, and prospective leaders hold back on further advancement. To address this succession crisis, school jurisdictions have increasingly and often successfully attended to the supply side of leadership by instituting initiatives for emerging, aspiring and accelerated leaders; creating attractive options for leaders to transfer into education from other fields; and introducing further opportunities for career advancement for highly expert leaders so they can take on leadership of additional schools or across the system more generally. While these supply-driven solutions are welcome, the ultimate obstacles that impede the greater numbers of middle-level leaders from moving into top-level leadership or that discourage number twos from becoming the number ones in their schools are obstacles of expectation or demand rather than ones of supply. We must now build new edifices of hope and innovation built on a foundation of a compelling moral purpose that is based on an "unwavering commitments to enhancing deep and broad learning, not merely tested achievement, for all students" (Hargreaves and Fink 2006, p. 28). This image of the future places different and more challenging demands on leadership. It now becomes leadership for learning, leadership by learning, and leadership as learning.

As we reach the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, in a year that the European Commission has identified as The Year of Innovation and Creativity, it is important to draw a close to the age of straight standardization, and also to the more subtly spun, succeeding era of post-standardization where lateral energy and increased innovation are heaped upon rather than substituted for still greater imposition of standardized outcomes. Rather than just pressuring already stressed and stretched leaders to become leaders of learning and innovation while maintaining a reward system based on tests, targets, and inspections, it is time for policy makers to be inspired by and to imitate not the failed solutions of low-performing Anglo-Saxon models, but the world's highest performer in economic competitiveness and creative educational achievement—Finland. Its example will encourage commitment to an inspirational and inclusive educational and social vision, reduced extraneous reform demands on leaders, support for distributed and other lateral forms of leadership, help for schools to cope with managerial and administrative burdens, and most importantly, development of a professional and political culture of trust, cooperation, and shared responsibility—including shared rather than imposed targets for improvement. While the prospect of a demographically larger generation on the horizon, along with a smoother and faster pipeline of leadership preparation, which may potentially address the succession problem of leadership supply, only

a shift in the goals and means of educational and social change along with the nature and intensity of demands this places on leadership, can properly address the pressing educational needs for increased creativity and competitiveness, and for strengthened social cohesion in the twenty-first century.

3.7 A Guide for Further Study

1. Describe, in your own terms, how leadership success, succession and capacity development functions as an issue of supply and demand.
2. Compare leadership success and succession as issues involving the supply of leaders in the United States, Canada, England, and Finland.
3. Discuss the trajectory of leadership success and succession over the four ages of educational change described in this chapter.
4. How does the path to success and succession in Finland differ from the typical Anglo-Saxon models of leadership and change that are described in this chapter?
5. In your opinion, how should the supply and demand reconfigure aspects of highly capable leadership be reconfigured in order to facilitate and redesign educational change and reform processes?

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Chapter 4
The School District and the Development of Trust in New Principals: Policies and Actions that Influence Succession

Robert B. Macmillan, Matthew J. Meyer, Shawn Northfield and Michael Foley

In many respects, schools and their school districts have an uneasy relationship. Schools function independently on a day-to-day basis, but must abide by the policies and procedures set out by the school district, which may be perceived as being psychologically and or physically distant. On their part, school districts have the responsibility to develop policies and procedures for the whole system of schools in their jurisdiction, and not for just one particular school. The problem is that what may make sense for the system may not appear to be in the best interests of a particular school or to allow for differing contexts (Hargreaves et al. 2002). These differences between local and system needs are clearly evident with principal turnover and the policies and procedures that govern the selection, transfer and replacement of administrators.

Administrator turnover is an important event in the life of a school because, as the research states, principals not only provide direction for the school, but also have the potential to affect its culture (Leithwood and Reihl 2003). When a new principal enters a school, teachers wait in anticipation to determine how the new principal will administer and how the individual's decisions and actions will affect them. Starting with the announcement of the appointment of the new principal, both the principal and the teachers begin the process of trying to understand each other and to develop a working relationship. However, in a number of school systems in Canada, the frequency of principal turnover has increased, through design such as with rotation policies, or through retirements, resignations and transfers. For example, in one district in our study, one teacher told us that more than 20 administrators were needed (TM94[1]).

Over the past 3 years, we have investigated the development of the principal–teacher relationship, particularly in schools with significant principal turnover

[1] The code is as follows: T = Teacher; VP = Vice-Principal; F = Female; M = Male; and the number is the participant number. When a direct quotation is used, it ends with a paragraph number in the relevant transcript.

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(3 or more principals in 7 years). We selected these schools for two reasons. First, previous research (Macmillan 2001) suggests that due to the teachers' experience with several succession events over a relatively short period of time, new principals must often actively negotiate a working relationship instead of being able to rely heavily on the authority of the office to establish the relationship. To engage teachers actively in any initiative, principals had first to break down the walls of indifference toward administration that teachers had constructed as a result of the perceived revolving door in the principal's office. For this reason, we believed that principals and teachers in schools which had experienced a high rate of administrative turnover would be more aware of the practices different principals used to build relationships and be able to give us more insight into the process of succession.

Second, we posited that teachers would likely have insights and opinions about the patterns of succession processes, generally, as a result of their frequent experience with it. We were interested in the particular processes and practices employed by the new principals and whether some processes and practices were more successful than others in fostering trust in the new administrator.

In the 12 schools in our study, the development of trust has been a critical influence on the emerging relationship between the newly appointed principal and teachers. Built on Bottery's (2003) work, our four-stage model suggests that if uninterrupted, trust develops on a continuum. Initially, principals' and teachers' level of trust begins with assumptions about actions based on the legally mandated definition of the principal's and teacher's roles (Role Trust), and may ultimately continue through to the principal and teachers having an intuitive working relationship (Correlative Trust) (Macmillan et al. 2004, 2005). In effect, trust between teachers and principals begins as being strictly professional then may develop over time to incorporate personal trust into the relationship (Ingstrup and Crookall 1998), with gradations and variations in between. Once in position, the principal's use of the authority allotted to the role is a key factor affecting the development of teachers' trust in the principal (Hardy et al. 1998).

While we have explored how trust develops, we have come to the conclusion that this process is influenced by at least three, pre-existing factors, one internal and the other two related to school district policies and procedures. School culture, the internal factor, determines whether the principal is perceived to be an appropriate "fit" with the school and influences whether trust will develop beyond an expectation that the principal will base practices solely on the legal mandate for the role (Gordon and Rosen 1981; Hart 1993; Miskel and Cosgrove 1985; Normore 2001; Weindling and Earley 1987). If the principal and teachers appear to be compatible, the honeymoon period may be short, with the principal becoming an integral part of the school within months of entry, and trust developing beyond the Role Trust stage.

If the fit is not a good one and trust does not develop beyond the Role Trust stage, the principal's tenure can be professionally and personally painful for both parties, with teachers withdrawing from active participation in activities outside of their mandated tasks (Macmillan 1996, 2001). We have also found that trust in the new administration is not uniform across teacher groups (Macmillan et al. 2005).

The two school district factors are the focus of this chapter. The first factor affecting how a principal will be received is the school district's involvement in the succession event possibly through its initiation, and through the selection and degree of support provided to the new principal. Due to their necessarily psychological, and possibly physical, distance from their schools, school districts may not realize the potential for destabilizing school cultures by enabling rapid principal turnover (e.g. 7 principals in 10 years as happened in one of the study schools). For example, as mentioned above, some districts have policies that call for the rotation of principals (usually every 5 years), or they may use a specific school as a training ground for principals, thus transferring the principal after only a year or two in position. In any event, the district is perceived by teachers as not being sensitive to the school's needs. The central issue for teachers appears to be predictability and how trust and power are used by the school district to make decisions that will affect the individual school (Hardy et al. 1998).

Without predictability or knowledge of the succession policies and procedures (Shea 1984), teachers may develop ways to reduce the potential disruption created by each new principal's arrival. They may do so by marginalizing the principal's role by altering routines and by developing ways of handling issues that do not require the principal's involvement. In this way, teachers reduce the mental and emotional energy required to embrace each new principal's administration and his/her initiatives, especially if teachers anticipate that these initiatives will be dropped with the entrance of the next principal (Macmillan 2001). We found the same reaction among the teachers of this study.

TF31: The rules are largely channelled into the building through the boss. So every time you get a change of boss, a lot of the changes and rules are attributed to him or her, which are not really attributable to him or her, they're just the conduit. But it does change how you have to do things. And that does make it more difficult. (Paragraph 190)

The second school district factor affecting teachers' reception of the principal centres around teachers' beliefs about concerns that the school district exhibits toward the school. Teachers appear to be influenced by the degree to which they perceive that school board policies and actions enable principals to operate independently or restrict independence such that decisions become part of central office decision making. If principals are perceived to operate independently, then they may be more quickly accepted as the educational leader who has the latitude to initiate changes. However, if the school district is believed to exert control over the principal through sanctions such as transfer to a difficult school, the principal may not be viewed as anything more than as a puppet, and his/her initiatives perceived to be school district initiatives, and therefore suspect.

This chapter builds on the earlier findings concerning the establishment of trust in a new principal's administration. Here, we explore the external factors by focusing on the role that school districts play in creating a policy and procedural environment that affects the development of trust between teachers and principals, particularly in schools that have experienced rapid turnover in principals. The question

framing this chapter is: How do policies and procedures at the school district level affect teachers' acceptance and trust of the new principal?

4.1 Methodology

This chapter is part of a larger, 4-year study examining principal succession and its impact on teachers. We based our research on constructivist inquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1989) that used a mixed methods research approach (Reichardt and Cook 1979), that was influenced by Brinberg and McGrath's (1982) concept of research domains. We commenced with a survey of all junior and senior high schools in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada which generated a data set that contributed to the development of interview questions.

The participants are a sample of 12 secondary and middle schools in Nova Scotia. We focused on this level for three reasons. First, due to the often balkanized nature of the school culture in these schools (Hargreaves 1994), entry can potentially be quite difficult for a new principal. If the school is indeed Balkanized, then trust in the principal may be limited to and informed by the individual teacher's identity group (Fukuyama 1996).

Second, Fullan (1999, 2001) states that the amount of time and the degree of energy required to institute school reform at the secondary level is at least twice that of elementary schools. From the time of appointment, actions of the new principal are scrutinized as a means to understand how the individual will administer the school, and to what degree teachers can trust the principal.

Third, while single succession events have the potential to disrupt the normal flow of events in the school year, relatively little is written to determine how successive succession events within a relatively short period of time might influence how teachers do their work. Because much of what teachers do is behind closed doors (Lortie 1975), and largely done in professional solitude, they need to be able to understand and trust the administrative framework that supports their work. However, we suggest that successive turnover events can potentially create instability if the events are too close together.

To determine how teachers react to and make sense of administrators' actions, in each of the last 2 years, we interviewed a sample of 95 teachers and principals in 12 schools throughout the province of Nova Scotia. We focused on those schools which had experienced more than one principal turnover event since 1996. This date is the year in which the new Education Act came into force and required the amalgamation of school districts. The participating schools are from urban and rural settings, and vary in size [large (>1,000) and small (<1,000)].

Of the teachers selected, we had individuals who were new (<5 years), who were mid-career (>5, <15), and senior teachers (>15). The purpose here was to determine if the expectations and analysis of new principals' practices were dependent on experience. Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 minutes.

All interviews were transcribed and then coded (Miles and Huberman 1994; Strauss 1987) using the software package NVivo 2.0. Nodes for categorizing the

data were based on interview questions, and on patterns inherent in the data. Triangulation, validity (Maxwell 1996) and contextual narrative concerns were closely monitored (Holstein and Gubrium 1998; Lincoln 1997).

4.2 Findings

The interview questions attempted to have participants explain their understanding of the succession procedures and policies. When we asked teachers if they knew about the process of succession or about the selection of principals, the majority could describe all or part of the selection process from the posting through to the interview. We should note, however, that 15 of the approximately 85 teachers we interviewed had no knowledge of the process.

In one school district, teachers knew that selections were based on a series of points derived from the applicant's experience, education, school involvement and interview. Other school districts took different approaches to selection, but according to the teachers, all the districts used the interview as the final means to screen candidates. The composition of the interview team varied, and could include administrators, school council members and school board members. Rarely were teachers involved, except in supplying information about the school and the perceived administrative needs, but only if the superintendent asked for such information or if it was part of the submission about administrative needs made by the school council.

Interestingly enough, while teachers may have wanted to be consulted about the administrative needs of their schools, they did not want to be directly involved in the actual selection of the new principal. The reasons they gave are the lack of consensus among staff about the individual who should be selected and the possibility of creating rifts among the staff which would be difficult to heal. As one teacher stated,

> TM76: I think that the principals right now, their hands are tied too much as it is and they need to be able to mandate more things and have more power. Right now they can't and they are just tip-toeing a bit too much. For something that needs to be done and what needs be done, they should be able to just do it. If you give teachers too much of that power, then they will have more taken away from them, in my opinion. (Paragraph 39)

On further exploration, we came to the conclusion that the teachers were resigned to the school district making changes in which teachers had little involvement.

> VPM47: The school has to have some input because I feel that [the school district] very often overlooks the fact of what the students feel is good and what the teachers feel is good for the school. (Paragraph 45)

When we examined the policies and procedures involved with principal turnover, we found that teachers' responses could be grouped into two main categories, unpredictability and politics.

4.2.1 Unpredictability

Teachers disliked the unpredictability of some actions of the district dealing with principal succession. Teachers felt particularly concerned when they believed that the school district did not value their school, as signalled by the administrators selected for their school.

TF60: We feel like we are the dumping ground here, not that we haven't gotten good people. We don't mean that. Everyone who comes here expects to leave within three years. We don't want somebody [for the short term, which was] one of the things we asked as a staff and wrote what we thought was the criteria for hiring. (Paragraph 1129)

When we examined the issue of rotation and transfer, teachers identified two areas: Timing of the succession event; and changing policies without advanced warning.

4.2.1.1 Timing of the Event

Timing of the succession was an issue. Sometimes without much advance notice, school districts transferred a principal and appointed another, thus disrupting the flow of the school year.

TF68: I think there are different ways of doing it. I think in fact, you could have a real system in place. It all happens so helter-skelter in this system. Every year you see different principals being hired in different places at different times of the year. There are always reasons for that. Like the hiring of teachers goes from May until September and there is roll over. If I wanted to see something in place, I would want to see a process defined by the school board that they would try to make it as consistent as they can, and that they would be looking for people with certain qualities. (Paragraph 321)

Timing was also an issue in another sense. Some teachers did not see the necessity of transferring principals every few years, but did recognize that principals needed to be moved on occasion so that the school and the principal would still feel challenged and focused on improvement.

TM39: I grew up in the city system, so I saw in the city system where a teacher went from the classroom, to department head, to vice-principal to principal. All in the same school and I always saw that as really good continuity, but maybe not a lot of growth. Where in the, the county system, where I've worked professionally, we were changing principals every two to three years at one point, which I thought was too much. But I think after 8 years, things were becoming a little stagnant here. I don't think it had anything to do with the present principal that we had, it's just that you do need some new ideas and some, some change of blood. (Paragraph 37)

Teachers also made it clear, as suggested in the above quotation and more explicitly described below that school districts should consider the impact of their decisions to move principals; change for the sake of change also was not beneficial to the school.

TF201: Because we, as a staff, have to go through that whole learning bit again, starting from scratch and trying to figure out, who is this person? What is their philosophy and how are they going to handle the school and how are the kids going to be handled and what are the priorities of this administrator? And that takes up a lot of time, effort and energy. It would be best not to do that again. It's nice when you have some consistency in the school, the kids know him; we know him. (Paragraph 329)

The problem was in the lack of awareness about the timing of the succession event. In several of the schools, teachers believed the district had planned for a turnover of principals even before the elected board members had been apprised of the changes. The teachers did not have any awareness of the event until the last moment, yet they were expected to adapt to the new administrator.

TM8: My impression is the decisions are made by central office, by CEOs, by your superintendents and then they go to the Board to get it approved. That's my impression. If the board doesn't decide that this person has to move, or this person has to move, I think central office, the administrative staff, decides that first. (Paragraph 79)

4.2.1.2 Changes in Policies

In two of the school districts, rotation policies existed. However, these were subject to change when central office administrators changed. This happened in one of the districts with the hiring of a new superintendent who scrapped the rotation policy as part of the prerogative of the position. This did, however, create some confusion among teachers.

TM33: The principal, vice-principal pool with our board now and people applying go through a series of interviews to get into the pool. How is one selected out of that pool or transferred from school to school? There was a, a five-year decree, for lack of a better word, from the board but now with the new CEO, apparently that's not in effect. (Paragraph 41)

Such actions were part of a larger issue about the implementation of policies and procedures. Lack of clarification for actions created unease with the teachers.

TF1: There seems to be a real boys club, that's involved a very good friend of mine. He's very highly qualified, was passed over for a principalship that went to another teacher who did not have the qualifications that she had and it was interesting to see that. (Paragraph 49)

This quotation leads into the next section dealing with the politics of appointments.

4.2.2 Politics

In many respects, teachers identified politics as lying at the heart of their suspicion about the selection process and the decisions made by the school district. Teachers from all the districts gave us instances where they interpreted the actions of the school district as contravening the process and policies in place for the selection of administrators. The common theme was that the selection of administrators had likely been done prior to the process ever having been begun.

TF91: I think I know more than I want to know frankly, because what I know, I am not crazy about. On paper it looks really good, but they have a lot of back room politicking going on around the whole issue. I can honestly say that with very few exceptions, the board knows who it wants. The board gets that person. As long as the board has the best intentions for the school in mind, you are okay. [Describing a difficult situation within the school district] I frankly saw what happened as people have the power to exercise personal grudges. A lot of people fell because of that. Within two to three years in this area, there was not a principal left standing. (Paragraph 60)

TM9: The education and experience of the principal plays into it. With all that said, I think that the school board knows exactly who they want to put in and that the interview can help them justify their answer.

Int: So in other words, you think there's a little political process that goes on.

TM9: I think it's entirely political. I'm not an idiot. (Paragraph 33–35)

Some teachers were less sceptical about the process than others, giving the district the benefit of the doubt.

TM89: If [central office] really wants somebody to do the job, then they can interpret it [the interview] any way they want. I guess every process in my opinion is fair because no matter what, there is going to be someone interpreting the answers and making a decision. There's no way around it, the human factor will always be there and it needs to be there, I'm not suggesting they made the right decision in my mind but…. (Paragraph 21)

They gave specific instances from their own experience with applying for administrative positions or from the experiences of colleagues.

TF25: I went for an interview one time for vice-principal and the interview was worth points, the interview was worth points with your degree, or your years of experience were worth more points. The way it's set up, I think that they can make the outcome be who they want it to be, other than going strictly by points. Usually, they have a certain person in mind, and they can manipulate the numbers so that that person gets the job. (Paragraph 37)

Int: Do you think politics ever comes into play when it comes to the appointments of administrators?

TF23: Definitely. I know of good friends of mine, who've applied for jobs and have been overlooked although they had more credentials, more years, who've had a lot of success in their career. Have never ever ruffled anyone's feathers, but for some reason or another did not get the jobs that they deserved. I know there are politics involved definitely. (Paragraphs 27–29)

4.3 Discussion

We wanted to know the degree to which teachers were aware of the succession process and the degree to which they believed that the school district was aware of the contexts of each school. What became clear was the disconnect between the teachers and the school district, such that the teachers acted as if they were bystanders to decisions made at the district level. In effect, the teachers may have had relational trust at the school level (Bryk and Schnieder 2002), but they lacked knowledge of the central office personnel which would have enabled them to develop the same degree of relational trust with the district level. Instead, teachers looked on the school district as institutions with little intimate knowledge of the school's context and needs, spoke of the school district in depersonalized terms, and did not necessarily trust the district to any great extent. As Hardy et al. (1998, p. 69) note, "Trust can be said to exist between partners when relations involve a high degree of predictability, on all sides, that the others will not engage in opportunistic behaviour". For teachers, the school district was not highly predictable, and as we heard, appeared to teachers to engage in opportunistic behaviour. Further, teachers' lack of involvement was construed as the school district's lack of trust in them.

> When an organization is secretive, tightly controlled, does not, delegate authority, and sharply separates management and management decisions from employees and lower level managers, it doesn't take much intelligence to recognize that management does not trust its "underlings" to behave as reasonable, responsible people. (Shea 1984, p. 55)

In their public documents, the school districts in our study stated their responsibility for the management of an entire system of schools and the services and resources to support those schools. While doing this, these districts stated that they must also serve the needs of the schools and their communities and attend to often competing stakeholder interests. In order to create the appropriate management structure and processes, and as one would expect, they instituted policies that were focused on the needs of the system, and not necessarily on the needs of individual schools. Our research suggests that by instituting policies and actions that make apparent sense for the system, but not for individual schools, these school districts may have inadvertently hindered the development of trust in new principals. Specifically, the policies and procedures created a sense of instability at the time when teachers craved stability.

TM101: I think it's a concern for any staff where you have your main support changed. It could be for the better, it could be for worse.

When asked if the succession of the new principal had created any issues, most people stated that not many changes had been instituted. What they added was that they had found ways to function without necessarily involving the principal in their day-to-day lives, except peripherally. At a time when school districts were attempting to introduce initiatives, they were solidifying structures and practices that reduced the likelihood of teacher involvement. These policies and procedures also had the effect of reducing the ability of principals to connect quickly with their schools and to be able to institute the changes the district desired.

Three of the school district policies and procedures concerning principal succession are listed below:

- The Development of a Cadre of Administrators: While two of the six districts had rotation policies, all had formal and informal processes to maintain an active cadre of administrators who could be transferred from school to school. Seven of the study schools had experienced three or more principals since 1996, partially as a result of rotation policies and partially as means to address principal departures due to retirement or transfer. In these schools, principals rarely saw the institution of initiatives that they had begun. As for the teachers, the next principal may have had a different vision and thus decided not to continue with these initiatives. Due to the uncertainty about the principal's position and about the life of any of the initiatives introduced in these schools, teachers developed scepticism toward initiatives proposed by each new principal, and assumed that each initiative was designed to enable the principal to be promoted to a better school.
- Principal Selection Policies: School districts are increasingly considering principals as the managers of the district's responsibility for the standardization of the curriculum (Fink and Brayman 2004). As managers, principals may not have the time or the inclination to take on the leadership role, especially if the school district directives focus the principal's attention on the management function. Districts reinforce this behaviour by considering each candidate in the overall vision for and needs of the system. Evidence of this view in our study surfaced when teachers were asked about principal selection policies. Teachers had little or no direct input into the selection process, even though the decision had direct impact on teachers and their daily work lives. For this reason, teachers' commitment to the new principal in some schools appeared to be based on a "wait-and-see" attitude until the new principal could prove at length that he/she was worthy of the position and teachers' trust. Until the new principal reassured the teachers about his/her motives for accepting the position and demonstrated his/her ability to address the needs of the school, teachers did not automatically grant the principal the trust that he/she needed to administer well. Teachers told us that they felt slighted when their knowledge of the school and its needs were not considered in the selection of the principal. This translated into teachers viewing the new principal more as an extension of the district policy direction and less as the educational leader for the school.
- Perpetuation of Hierarchical Structures and Established Procedures: The policies and procedures led to the perpetuation of the top-down, hierarchical structures,

that could even be described as paternalistic in their approach. Because teachers were not part of the selection process to any great extent, school districts selected people whom they thought fit the school and the system goals. In a few cases, the school's interests lay in the opposite direction to the school district's, particularly when the district used the school as a training ground for a new principal, or the principal was told by the school board that they would be in a school for only a short period of time.

4.4 Significance

This chapter points out that the policies and actions of school districts may be seriously hampering the ability of new principals to assume their roles, particularly in hampering their ability to build trust in their administrations. This suggests that school districts may need to develop a balance between the needs of the system and the needs of individual schools. Above all, they need to communicate these procedures clearly and to those who will be affected by the decisions. As one teacher noted,

TF54: Communication is my big thing. I think it would alleviate a lot of tensions and stress when teachers know what's going on. (Paragraph 297)

This article is not meant to be an indictment of school districts, but it is meant to point out how actions at the district level can have unanticipated, potentially negative reactions at the school level. Without consideration of the impact of policies and procedures on schools, districts may be sabotaging the very initiatives they wish to implement.

4.5 A Guide for Further Study

1. Discuss ways in which administrators provide direction for their schools and the effect that these directions may have on the school, its culture and its ethos.
2. With respect to a beginning administrator moving into a new administrative position, identify external factors that influence the establishment of trust between principals and teachers. Suggest reasons why these are important considerations.
3. Discuss the role that school districts play in creating an environment that affects, either positively or negatively, the development of trust between teachers and principals.
4. Compare and contrast practices used by different principals that may assist in the process of building trust, particularly in times of succession.
5. In your opinion, what are some of the processes and practices that you consider to be most successful in fostering trust in the new administrator?

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Chapter 5
Planning for Succession: Considerations and Implications for Educational Policy

Robert E. White and Karyn Cooper

This study investigated plans, policies and procedures that three school boards, located in Central and Eastern Canada, and in the USA, employ in terms of secondary principal rotation/succession[1] strategies. The objectives of this study include:

- Examination and documentation of local, national and international plans, policies and procedures relevant to principal rotation/succession processes.
- Identification of the impact and implications of rotation and succession on individual leaders, on institutions and on school districts.
- Provision of policy recommendations relating to the process of principal rotation and succession.

A purposive sampling of data sets from large urban or suburban school districts were undertaken in order to identify one central Canadian school district, a school district in Eastern Canada and a school district from the United States. Selection of interviewees considered length of service in the board and elsewhere, knowledge of policy and participation in procedures relating to principal rotation and succession. Data, generated through semi-structured interviews with senior school administrators, principals and vice-principals were collected and examined.

5.1 A Review of the Literature

Research literature is relatively sparse in terms of principal rotation/succession. Several studies that look at principal succession from individual and institutional perspectives include *Sustainable Leadership* (Hargreaves and Fink 2006) and *Suc-*

[1] "Rotation" refers to an official policy or institutional mechanism for regulating leadership succession, while "Succession" is the process in any organization that marks the departure of one leader and the entry of his or her successor.

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ceeding Leaders? A Study of Principal Succession and Sustainability (Hargreaves et al. 2003), which examine initiation of principal change, principals involved in the change process, and teachers who experience changes in leadership. Few studies on this or closely related topics are Canadian and even fewer deal with succession in specific Canadian provinces. Few studies address rotation/succession issues from a secondary school perspective.

Macmillan (1993) acknowledges that, while routine rotations of principals may help their professional development, these same rotations may impede improvement efforts in the school. Fink (2000) and Hargreaves and Fink (2000) found leadership succession to be a critical disincentive in model secondary schools when initial charismatic leaders are followed by less extraordinary successors. These findings support an earlier study by Miskel and Cosgrove (1984), which found no evidence that planned principal rotation increases organizational effectiveness.

Conversely, Aquila (1989), investigating systematic rotation of principals from a theoretical perspective as well as from the perspective of a district or board, advocates a rotation policy as a way to encourage principals to tackle new challenges. Boesse (1991), in a similar study in Manitoba, suggests that rotation rejuvenates principals. Similarly, a few US studies support the efficiency of principal rotation as a means to promote school improvement (Hart 1993; Stine 1998). For the most part, however, support for the regular rotation of principals relies on experiential and anecdotal evidence.

Other studies such as Fauske and Ogawa (1983) and Davidson and Taylor (1999) contest these views. These researchers suggest that school reform and principal succession are not necessarily incompatible when the new principal's orientation to change is similar to the previous principal's perspectives and when there are strong teacher leaders committed to the change. Changes in leadership have been identified as transforming school cultures for the better (Leithwood 1992), leading to their demise (Hargreaves et al. 2001), or being absorbed by the culture altogether (Macmillan 2000). Since effective leadership is highly correlated with strong professional cultures (Fullan and Hargreaves 1991; Leithwood and Jantzi 1990; Talbert and MacLaughlin 1994) and successful school improvement (Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Stoll and Fink 1994), it is for these reasons that successful school districts form the basis of this investigation.

A second area of concern relates to planning strategies used by educators. Researchers such as Huberman (1993) examined educators' lives and careers and determined that variables such as how leaders and their effectiveness are influenced by career stage and seniority, as well as by the number of schools they have led, were clearly related. Also, the work of Wenger (1998) on learning communities examines relevant knowledge valued by principals during times of succession and how school systems prioritize some forms of knowledge over others.

A third area of interest is the theoretical knowledge proposed by such researchers as Gabarro (1987) and Hart (1993). Gabarro puts forth a stage theory suggesting there are specific phases that new leaders may wish to consider. The first is the beginning phase where a leader must be seen to be competent but not alienate staff by making sweeping, but uninformed changes. The second phase is the deep learn-

ing phase in which the leader learns the culture of the new school or business. This phase may take anywhere from two to 5 years to develop. The final phase occurs when the leader is well informed and accepted by the staff. In this phase the leader is no longer new and his power is accepted as legitimate. Hart (1993) also promotes a stage theory of leadership, but develops her theory in terms of sociological perspectives. She suggests that there are many things that new leaders can do to ensure that the change in leaders be as smooth as possible.

5.2 The Case Studies

Cartier School District[2], in Central Canada, is a large urban board that has developed written policies for principal rotation and succession. This board has attempted to create and maintain integration of its succession planning through concomitant policies of long-term leadership recruitment, development and mentoring. Strategic planning, which addresses rotation and succession issues over time, continues to be seen as a challenge for the future by this board. In addition to this, while the board pays attention to incoming, insider and outgoing knowledge (Wenger 1998) at the school level in rotation/succession decisions, it also recognizes that there are varying degrees of centralization and consultation within and alongside the board's rotation and succession decision-making practices. Cartier School District nurtures relationships with universities and professional associations, as well as maintaining contact with other outside expertise in informing leadership policy and practice.

In contrast to Cartier School District, Harbourside School District in Eastern Canada reveals a distinctive, relaxed and consultative nature in its principal rotation/succession process. Although attention to incoming, insider and outgoing knowledge at the school level in rotation/succession decisions is not considered an issue in this district, there is a quality and depth of board relationships in informing leadership policy and practice. This is complemented by outside expertise as well, through partnerships with universities.

The third case study creates a view of public school principal rotation and succession in a United States school district, known as Thomas Jefferson School District. The role of House Principal in this district is roughly similar to the vice-principal's role in a typical Canadian school system.

The following framework was developed to conceptualize the data from the various interviews. Information was categorized in three phases and broken into subsets within each category (Table 5.1).

This framework represents a standard policy analysis model that has been adjusted to capture various components of the rotation/succession process. As such, it is a useful organizer with which to frame the following study.

[2] All school district names and the names of school district personnel are pseudonyms.

Table 5.1 Phases of principal placement

Pre-placement phase	Placement phase	Post-placement phase
Demographic	Policy process	Induction
Philosophy	Succession process	Professional development
Affecting criteria	District factors	Review
	School factors	
	Individual factors	

5.3 Pre-placement Phase

There are three components included in this section that relate to the planning relating to administrative succession; demographics, philosophy and affecting criteria.

5.3.1 Demographics

Geographical features and cultural proclivities influence principal rotation/succession processes. Cartier School District is a large urban school district that comprises three distinct geographical areas within a large Canadian city, each with its own area office to maintain and manage overlays of complexity. This school district enrols over 125,000 students and contains numerous secondary schools of over 1,000 students each. These schools have administration teams of a principal and two to three vice-principals. Cartier School District expects to add at least 20 additional schools over the next several years.

As well as the school community being in a growth phase, it is socio-economically diverse and, while the school population is generally stable, issues of transience occur as people move in or out of district boundaries. This results in large pockets of high urban density as well as areas of the school district that are arguably rural in nature.

Harbourside School District represents several diverse areas in Eastern Canada, serving approximately 25,000 students over a large rural geographical area. The economy varies from manufacturing and industry to farming and fishing. Schools in this district have both the largest and the smallest student population in the province simultaneously, demonstrating an urban/rural make-up that poses unique challenges. William MacEvoy, School District Co-ordinator of Human Resources for Harbourside School District states:

> It's approximately ninety schools or so, give or take one or two. We're trying to close some of them. It's over a geographical area of approximately the same size, if you think of the province of PEI or the state of Connecticut. The geography of it is quite huge…. It's broken into four different, what we call families, with a number of principals who report to a family of schools….

With 15 secondary schools, this is one of the fastest growing areas in the province. The school district represents a variety of cultures including African-Canadian and First Nations communities, although smaller areas of the district appear quite homo-

geneous. School Board members link communities and school boards, ensuring that public schools meet the diverse needs of students in their communities. Harbourside employs 3,000 individuals, approximately half of whom are teachers. Over the past several years, in one area, six small high schools were closed down and two new large schools were built, enrolling 900 and 1,200 students, respectively, representing a significant shift in school district population.

Thomas Jefferson School District, a relatively large public school district by US standards, with over 5,000 students, is approximately 20 miles south of a large American city in the north-eastern part of the country. The district contains one high school of 1,800 students, a middle school from grades 6–8 with 1,400 students and six elementary schools with enrolment ranging from 400 to 700 students in each. This is a "bedroom" community where many individuals commute to the city for work.

Thomas Jefferson School District ranks in the top percentage of schools in the area, offering rich programs in Music, Arts and Athletics. The district employs 600 teachers and 400 support staff, including bus drivers, nurses, secretarial and clerical positions. Administrative staff includes six people in the district office and 18 principals and house principals. Principal Brian Farley describes the House System at his high school, the largest single high school in the area:

> There are three stories, three floors in this high school. And on each floor there's a house office, and within that house office there's a house principal, a house secretary, a house attendance aid, and two guidance counsellors or school counsellors, if you will. Some offices might also have a social worker or a psychologist located within that office. And they function pretty independently. From a student standpoint, a student comes to us as a freshman and is assigned to a counsellor and a house, and that student keeps that same counsellor and that same house for four years…. It has to do with connections and relationships with adults. We believe in it, and we believe this takes a larger school and shrinks it. So in that house office, that house principal really runs the show. Each house principal has one third of the teachers assigned to his or her house, and certain departments are by floor also.

David Willis, House Principal, notes that staffing and budgets come under the aegis of the house principal, a significant difference compared to the role of the vice-principal in more traditional school district configurations:

> But we do have responsibilities, for example, for budget, staffing and so forth. And our responsibilities are split up, for example, I chair the high school Committee on Special Education, I handle the Special Education Department. So there's a great deal more, within a certain framework, power and responsibility that goes with being a house principal here than for, say, an assistant principal at most institutions.

While there is not a lot of obvious diversity in the school district in terms of ethnic origin or subscription to alternate life-styles, there is a spectrum of socially related economic issues.

5.3.2 Philosophy

Cartier School District has a complex process by which principals are identified and moved within district schools. Some movement does occur from outside, but rotation/succession policies reflect the desire of the board to promote from within the

district. Consultation with stakeholders is considered important both from the point of view of the candidate, as well as in regards to the position the candidate may be vacating or filling. This process is constantly in motion.

By contrast, in Harbourside School District, Superintendent Gerald Morton, notes few requests for transfers:

> I could count on one hand where I have heard of those requests…. There would have to be some pretty outstanding circumstances.

While a high degree of centralization and consultation exists in this board's practices relating to transfers, a rotation/succession process is seldom used. In this district, principal rotation is considered only in the wake of retirement or resulting from an incumbent's transfer to a position of greater status within the school district, Ministry of Education or similar change of position.

Principal rotation is generally viewed as professional advancement in Thomas Jefferson School District. Not occurring at regular intervals, it is only occasionally focused upon, as new positions become available due to attrition. In fact, Thomas Jefferson School District Principal, Brian Farley, comments that "We don't rotate like some districts". In concurrence with this, the superintendent notes:

> Rotation is probably a word that is used certainly more in Canada than it is in the United States. (Thomas Jefferson School District Superintendent Carla Hadden)

The rationale for non-rotation, as House Principal David Willis suggests, is the notion that individuals, over time, in specific positions become expert in particular issues associated with that position:

> We operate pretty much under the idea that a person in a position becomes something of a specialist at it…. [W]e lose perhaps some of the understanding of other levels which might accrue if we were to rotate through other positions, say, moving from the high school to the middle school or something like that.

This is not to suggest that cross training or additional leadership experiences are ignored, but that such experiences exist within a smaller arena.

> [W]e do rotate those responsibilities. For example, I might serve on the Curriculum Council and the District Staff Development Council for say, three years. Then I might take over responsibilities for another District thing, the District Committee on Special Education… the District Facilities Committee…. So in that sense, we rotate. But we don't rotate our primary responsibilities. (Thomas Jefferson House Principal David Willis)

Although there is a recognition of some advantage to rotation policies, there is little perceived need for generalizing one's experience beyond the existing position until such time as it becomes necessary.

5.3.3 Affecting Criteria

Affecting Criteria refers to issues originating from outside the school district itself. An example of this could be government-mandated standardized testing, which occurs at selected grades throughout students' school careers. Although administrators

and educators are becoming more comfortable with this form of testing, trust remains an issue as standardized testing has contributed to polarizing public opinion. Cartier School District policy-makers are sensitive to the requirement for continuity in trust relationships—if not in terms of individuals, at least in terms of policy, practices and procedures.

Mandated School Advisory Councils (SACs), serving as a vehicle for parental voice, represent additional affecting criteria. These SACs are viewed positively by most administrators. Also, the government-mandated removal of administrators from teacher federations, eyed with suspicion at first, has resulted in a stronger principals' association, which has allowed administrators freedom to ally themselves with provincial administrators' councils.

In Harbourside School District, as in many districts, the principalship has become a challenging, stressful and demanding position, partly due to the impact of policies and procedures downloaded from the provincial government or from the board itself. This often influences people to pass up opportunities for available positions:

> And the…support [is being] taken away from them…. Because of the budget restrictions and reductions over the past number of years, we are doing more with less. (Harbourside School District Co-ordinator of Human Resources William MacEvoy)

Although opportunity for both males and females exists, recruitment levels have been disappointing. Interviewees speculate that candidates may realize how difficult the role of the administrator is and the pay factor is not high enough to compensate for the job they are doing:

> We have a long way to go…with regard to recognizing what administrators have to go through…. I mean, people say, "You're crazy". The difference in pay that you are getting for all that stress. You have to enjoy it. We are not in it for the money. There is no doubt about that. (Harbourside School District Principal Edna Eklund)

Thomas Jefferson School District also has external issues affecting the internal running of the district.

> [W]e've had a number of budgetary issues and political issues going on, but I won't get into those right now. But they do impact the administration; they do impact administrative succession. (Thomas Jefferson School District Principal Brian Farley)

While there is no evidence that mandates such as the "No Child Left Behind" legislation have influenced principal rotation and succession policies at the secondary school level, the Thomas Jefferson School District's concern with budgetary issues is paramount. Such issues indicate that funding formulae in general do not encourage teachers to take on administrative roles, as there is not a significant enough pay differential between administrators and classroom teachers.

5.4 Placement Phase

Five components make up this phase of the study. They are the policy process as it stands, the succession process as distinct from the general policy, and district, school and individual or personal factors.

5.4.1 Policy and Succession Processes

When a principal is transferred to a different school, officials must consider the "Domino Effect" that creates subsequent voids each time an administrator is moved. One way to minimize this is to call upon vice-principals from within the school who are ready for promotion or to hire news administrators coming in from outside the district.

In Cartier School District, rotation/succession used to be a fairly predictable 5-year event, but has become somewhat unpredictable and occasionally happens more than annually. Principal rotation is occurring more rapidly than in the past because of retirement and resignations of graying baby-boomers. Personnel are administrators of the board, rather than of a school, in order to facilitate rapid rotation requirements. This has implications, in the light of Gabarro's (1987) findings that it takes 2 to 5 years to learn the deep structure of an organization and its culture in order to bring about successful, enduring change.

Consultation with designated SAC members takes place before any transfer is initiated. Although there is no specific policy relating to rotation and currently no database available for this purpose, surveys, demographic analysis and questionnaires have been identified as being important. Research studies are not yet a part of the transfer process and there is no apparent "scoring process" by which an administrator is gauged and, for the most part, principal succession and rotation is viewed strictly on a "needs" basis.

To this end, Cartier School District identifies a list of leadership characteristics, identifies candidates and allows for self-identification while keeping system needs in mind. Recommendations passed on to the board have the support of the trustee or trustees under whose jurisdiction the transfer is made. The board gives final approval.

Harbourside School District principals must indicate a willingness to move by applying for advertised positions. Exceptions occur if an incumbent were to retire or be removed from the school because of an untenable situation. Edna Eklund explains:

> It was advertised…. A new school opening…and anybody within all of our schools from [name of town] through to here could apply. So quite a few of us applied, and then we were short-listed and we went for the interview and I got the job. Now, on that interview team, there was Head of Human Resources, there was a parent, a school board member, a teacher and a teacher from the school. So there were four or five…. It was very fair. That was what they really attempted and they did an excellent job….

As in other Canadian School Districts, SACs are provincially legislated. However, schools may choose instead to have parent–teacher associations, which, contrary to the SACs, do not participate in succession planning or principal rotation decisions. Although not involved in the evaluation process, SACs are involved in the hiring process. This means that hiring criteria is individual to each school.

However, Harbourside School District currently has no formal policy in place for principal rotation. In the words of one interviewee, "Principal rotation doesn't

happen quite so much here". There is, however, an informal transfer process where administrators can express interest in moving from one school to another. In this event, a list of candidates is given to the SAC committee member, the teacher representative and the designated board member. Then, groups of committee members establish "must-haves" and supplementary talents or traits the candidates may exhibit. The committee then comes to consensus with the understanding that nobody will "have it all" but there will probably be a "Best Fit". As William MacEvoy attests:

> Our process of selecting principals is quite detailed. The first thing we do is a transfer process where they can apply through an expression of interest that they want to move from one school to another. And then their immediate supervisor, in consultation with a school board member and an SAC member, decides on moving what particular school…. All other positions would be posted after positions were filled that way so that anybody could apply…. But once they apply there is a very detailed two-day process that we go through in selection.

The district does not hire from either business corporations or other districts, but promotes teachers from within. Having a teacher on the hiring committee is considered a progressive practice and, to date, the district has encountered no grievances. Although, rotation/succession planning begins with recruitment, the identification process for recruiting is not yet fully developed. This process is at various stages of practice among the district areas. Superintendent Gerald Morton explains:

> There are two strands to the leadership program—There's one for the practicing and another for aspiring…. It tries to identify if you are interested in becoming involved in the program as a practicing leader, what do you see as your needs? And we try to tailor the offerings of the courses to needs as best we can. For the aspiring, there tends to be a more generic kind of process…you know, this is what we think you need. But with experience comes the teasing out of more specific things.

Considerable obstacles such as distance and location of schools are factors, as is reciprocal rotation, the "Domino Effect". Money is also an issue as it is difficult to motivate people to move unless the remuneration is sufficient.

The transition phase of the succession process is dedicated to "learning on the job". Regardless of transfer issues, lateral moves or when a principal applies for a move to a specific school, if the incoming principal has been accepted there, both principals sit down and talk and, for most situations, that communication is sufficient and effective. Without this in place, transition for principals new to a school can be awkward, as Principal Edna Eklund explains:

> When I arrived, there wasn't a slip of paper to tell me anything. He had taken everything. It was unbelievable. It was like he had never been there. So I didn't have a lot of help. … I had no instructional budget because he had sent the students, in June, away on a trip… little things like that.

The rotation/succession of principals occurs in this district within a context that is both historical and traditional. As smaller boards have amalgamated into larger boards, some traditions have been lost and others gained in a general re-culturing of existing structures within each of the once-smaller boards. Amalgamation has been

a factor in developing a relaxed but relatively effective process of principal rotation and succession.

In Thomas Jefferson School District, the superintendent designs and implements board policies. Although there is a strong centralized governance model in place at the school board office, site-based shared decision-making is emphasized at the school level. There is strong participation at the high school level in the form of "STAPCOMM", comparable to the SAC. The site-based plan, which includes the Faculty Association (teachers) and Non-Teaching Association (support staff), parents and students, has been in effect for over fifteen years. The building principal, however, can override any decisions felt to not be in the students' best interests:

> As principal, I don't even get to vote, although I'm smart enough to have veto power. But I'm very proud to say I've never had to use that in eleven years. So, but as an administrator you have to be prepared, in this building, in public, to be able to talk to all groups together. (Thomas Jefferson School District Principal Brian Farley)

Projections of school district needs, such as openings resulting from enrolment growth, are developed by directors in consultation with area and district superintendents. Consultations with trustees and SACs follow. Wider community representation, such as representation from teachers, students or community members may occur occasionally, at the behest of individual SACs. Students typically have no voice, although, in the secondary schools, a student may sit on the SAC.

In Thomas Jefferson School District, the issue of principal rotation was not considered to be a major factor in the governance process:

> Traditionally…there would be site-based decision making where you would get all the stakeholders, a business person, a community person [together]. (Thomas Jefferson School District Principal Brian Farley)

Concurring with this, House Principal David Willis emphasizes that stakeholders' voices are represented when it comes to the hiring process, especially where it concerns the hiring of a new principal to the school:

> You might have a committee of eight people, the school related personnel, which means custodial, secretary, bus driving, those folks…. Yes, they all have a representative, especially when it concerns a principal. And so yes, all stakeholders are represented and we usually have two rounds. In the second round, more of the district office personnel will get involved but you'll still have stakeholders from the lower levels involved. And then the recommendation is made to the Superintendent, who makes the final decision.

Student representation in this process was dealt with as an issue in diplomacy:

> We've had students on the interview committees…. If we get the right students, they do very well. And we tend to get our student leaders who can handle that level of responsibility…. We've had them in at an earlier stage and they've been involved in screening the applications and in the initial interviews. But the kind of discussions that take place after that, I think, would put them in a very awkward position. (Thomas Jefferson School District Principal Brian Farley)

The final decision, with advice from others, rests with the superintendent. A less informal process—that of "mixed representation"—is appreciated over a more formal process of school board selection:

> We have parents involved in the initial screening of the applications. Teachers are involved in the interview process…. Although I do get autocratic when I say the final decision, at least at this level, I mean…. The Board of Education. Obviously they approve any appointment, but from my standpoint, if I'm hiring an administrator, I have to feel that this is the best candidate. (Thomas Jefferson School District Principal Brian Farley)

Principal rotation is very much the exception rather than the rule in Thomas Jefferson School District. There is no formal policy regarding promotion from within the ranks of teachers to the position of house principal, or from the ranks of house principal to principal.

> There is an unwritten practice in the district of attempting to promote from within, because… that would be commensurate with the idea that we keep people in certain places so that they become expert at it…because you serve on these different committees. (Thomas Jefferson School District House Principal David Willis)

Although policy remains unwritten, it is couched within a traditional and historical context. When rotation happens, it occurs out of necessity, but is…

> …not really the way that the administrative unions want to operate. But, over the years we've been able to say to them, "For the good of the order, and for the good of you, this rotation or this change would be beneficial for all", and "all" meaning capital C-H-I-L-D-R-E-N. And so that does happen, but definitely not in writing or in policy of any sort. (Thomas Jefferson School District Superintendent Carla Hadden)

Consequently, there is a relaxed and informal approach to the governance of the entire school district, resulting perhaps from the particular strategies currently being practiced.

5.4.2 District, School and Individual Factors

Provincial mandates in Canadian school districts have made rotation/succession processes more complex in terms of increasing numbers of new reforms in schooling, requiring a greater capacity for being up-to-date than previously. The school facility and physical plant are considerations that are important in placing a principal in a school. Is the school a magnet school, a vocational school or some other type of school with a particular focus? Demographics and the ethno-cultural character of school must also be considered.

It is for these reasons that Cartier School District endorses a systems view of the rotation/succession process. Area offices, supported by central departments, are responsible for professional learning programs and for programs of principal selection and promotion. Various in-service programs endorsed by Cartier School District include Administrative Planning, Systems Planning, Program Planning, Special Education, Operative Procedures and Budgets. This process also includes identification and promotion of principals, professional development programs as well as the development of an administration pool through an induction process.

Cartier School District tries to maintain an ethno-cultural balance of its administrative team, although it does not endorse affirmative action as a specific facet of succession. The school population, school size and the wider community, as well as the existing administrative team profile and existing school programs are important decision-making elements in the principal rotation/succession process. For example, an inexperienced principal may be placed in a school that has fewer demands, whereas a more experienced principal is placed in a more complex situation.

In Cartier School District, a rotation cycle is frequently triggered by a request for transfer from an incumbent principal. This can often be connected to the career stage of the particular principal requesting the transfer and to his or her own career aspirations. Factors assuring his/her successful transfer include the individual's composite strengths, a satisfactory summative evaluation in the third year as a principal, the individual's experience, his/her time with the board as well as time at the current location. Other individual factors may include the number of requests for transfer from other principals and the leadership style wanted for the new school.

Interestingly enough, when requirements for the new school are tabled, these requirements are often very similar from one school to the next. Curriculum leaders with instructional leadership capabilities with a collaborative approach and who value community involvement are in demand. A background in professional development is also high on the list. As a result, most committees request similar qualities and leadership styles. All districts in the study reported that balance, in terms of career stage, career aspirations, experience and energy, is needed on the administration team. Professional background and training are significant factors, as are leadership style and length of time in the school system.

In the Cartier School District, performance as a principal is not usually an official criterion for rotation and, as such, is not officially recorded. When performance must be considered, it is presented as anecdotal at best. Occasionally, mismatches between principal and school do occur. Principals are moved for specific reasons, such as to gain further experience in preparation for promotion or to fill a specific school need in keeping with the school board policy of not mandating moves unnecessarily.

Currently, administrators in Harbourside School District are part of the collective agreement including administrators and teachers. This is the only district in this study that maintains this feature. Assistance (formal or informal) is provided to incoming or outgoing principals through the SAC, school plans, or through discussion with one's replacement. While there may be no formal transition process, area supervisors maintain responsibility for evaluation of principals and are very much part of the induction of incoming principals. This informal process, in place for the incoming principal, is not used as an exiting strategy for the outgoing principal even though his or her exit directly impacts the school.

Size or type of schools is also not a factor that governs placements. A significant minority population is a factor in terms of hiring policy, as equity is considered to be an important issue. This has not been at issue to date, but may become a factor in attracting future candidates interested in positions in economically challenged regions with high unemployment or a large immigrant population. Through the in-

terview process, factors such as these get mentioned because of the representation of educational and community interests on the hiring committee. The collaborative environment on the board, although highly desirable, cannot be mandated. Succession policy directives could prove beneficial, in this case, to prevent a "crest and trough" effect pertaining to incoming, insider and outgoing knowledge.

Harbourside School District area supervisors are credited with knowing what should be happening in the schools. School performance decisions relating to literacy tests and performance assessment of students or provincial testing have not become an issue to date. From the district perspective, school size and type is not a factor as academic and occupational preparation programs exist side by side within regular high schools, although type and size of school could be a factor for applicants. With only a few secondary schools, it is sometimes necessary to move elementary-trained administrators into new positions in which they do not have a lot of experience.

While gender balance was not perceived to be an issue in any of the school districts under study, expectations are growing regarding gender and ethnic balance in administration teams. Although inroads are being made and there are attempts to gain balance within the Harbourside School District through a district-specific "threshold clause" for gender, minorities or individuals with disabilities, some individuals feel that this exists on paper only. However, it is believed that times are changing for women and minority applicants, as more apply successfully for administrative positions than in the past and as new guidelines are developed.

Family situation is not considered an impediment to Harbourside School District's recruitment, reflecting the large geographic size of the district and the relatively small school population of some areas. Long drives under poor weather conditions and day care cease to be issues that require as much attention as in districts with a set rotational policy.

On the issue of forced transfers of administrators, Harbourside School District feels that if an individual were incompetent, the answer is *not* to transfer him or her, but to deal with the individual or situation through the personal performance process or through buy-out. As another factor, if the talents, expertise, understanding and/or empathy of an individual in a minority culture were needed in a different setting, then this would be justification to approach the individual to consider a move. In any case, and in all districts, the needs of the current school and the receiving school are considered.

Other factors, such as good communication and interpersonal skills, enhance one's ability to do the job. While there may or may not be observable differences in leadership style, it has been commented that females often have to work harder to prove themselves even though they have the same ability to do the job. As observed by one interviewee, a male taking a certain stance may not have the same impact as a female doing the same thing and vice versa depending on the issue. Simply put, according to this interviewee, females have the ability but have to prove themselves. It is a matter of time, acceptance and culture shifts, but certainly for female and for minority applicants, a "threshold clause", such as the one in place in the Harbourside School District, may help:

> When we negotiated the contract we put what's called the "threshold" clause in there. I don't know if you are familiar with thresholds, but I can explain what it is…. When we end up doing the scoring and the ranking at the end, if we had a female within the top, or had reached, for example as a principalship, had reached a score of 80 and she was the only female applicant that had received that score of 80 in the group that applied, she would be given the position no matter if people scored higher than her…. This is basically contractual again…. (Harbourside School District Co-ordinator of Human Resources William MacEvoy)

In the Thomas Jefferson School District, mandated change and the rapid pace of change has become a great concern. Legal reform, especially in terms of amendments to the Education Act and the Freedom of Information, Protection of Privacy as well as human rights, health and safety legislation, rank high in terms of impact on existing procedures. Special Education and the *No Child Left Behind* legislation have implications for the rotation/succession process:

> If I were interviewing to be a building level administrator, I would make certain that I had trained myself to some extent in the provisions of the *No Child Left Behind Act* which seem to impact administrators. And they certainly impact administrators, and they certainly impact Special Education in this day and age too, because now those two pieces of federal legislation have…been joined at the hip. (Thomas Jefferson School District House Principal David Willis)

A major factor influencing the life of this school district is the fact that the administrators' union is separate from the teachers' union. Principals do not see this as a weakness, but as a strength, in that there are not the same conditions constraining administrative decision-making as those constraining teaching staff.

In Thomas Jefferson School District, women in secondary school administration are seen to be closing the gap in relation to the number of men in leadership positions:

> Certainly we are getting to a balance with regards to—slowly, but we are getting there—to a balance with regards to females, particularly at the high school level in administration…. I think the readiness is there and I think…those opportunities I mentioned are certainly there for a female. (Harbourside School District Co-ordinator of Human Resources William MacEvoy)

Although the secondary level is believed to be in a relatively healthy state of gender balance, this by no means represents parity, as gender balance is looked for but is not always found. As with many school districts, while there may be a gender balance, the gender distribution may not be equitable. For instance, many school districts have a preponderance of male teachers at the secondary school levels while the elementary schools have the reverse distribution. While this is changing slowly, in the Thomas Jefferson School District there are fewer men in education in general:

> We're finding that there are fewer men generally all over the place…. We were making great strides up until about ten years ago when the men dropped off the face of the earth in elementary and the women dropped off the face of the earth in the secondary. (Superintendent Carla Hadden)

Carla Hadden of the Thomas Jefferson School District suggests that such demographics play an important role in principal rotation/succession in the school dis-

trict. David Willis notes that demographics are not as obvious in terms of ethnicity as in socio-economic background:

> We have a large, interesting disparity between kids who have just everything. They just have everything. They want for nothing. And kids who literally live in apartments and when they come to this school, how are they going to dress? How are they going to relate? And so we have different schools and then at the high school you have the melting pot of the whole thing where we really work, and our students are great at this, they really work on taking those walls down, taking those barriers down if we possibly can.

Performance of the school academically is also a key factor in terms of administrative selection and placement. While community involvement in the school continues to be an important factor in the placement of an administrator, the school's involvement in the community is also considered when a new principal comes in to a specific school.

Interviewees expressed concern that whoever replaces the current principal in a school should be a vice-principal within that school and have access to a mentorship program:

> If the person who is leaving…there should be a close liaison for that last five months with the incoming principal because the outgoing principal could leave you quite a mess. (Harbourside School District Principal Edna Eklund)

In this way, the succeeding principal will better understand the school culture, as well as have access to other important insider and outgoing knowledge.

Leadership style also comes under scrutiny, as Thomas Jefferson School District Superintendent Carla Hadden suggests, leadership style "needs to be more universal than parochial". David Willis notes that, while there may be differences in personalities and these differences may be genderized, training is the same for both men and women. Carla Hadden agrees there has been no gendered notion of leadership style:

> Leadership style by individuals, not by any kind of gender or ethnicity, we've not noticed anything different there. I know some of the readings and some of the research indicates that men in that trench will probably look for a more methodical way of doing things and a woman may be more sensitive to the needs of others. I can't say that I have seen that to be a truism at all.

The role of principal or vice-principal is anything but straightforward. In tandem with this is the difficulty in recruiting suitable candidates. While there may be ample opportunity, there are also high standards that must be met. As a result, David Willis suggests that meritocracy may be a consideration:

> Well, there's a feeling in the District, if you have an area of interest, that will be encouraged, it may even be encouraged to the extent that some day, there will be an opening even at the District level where your skills will be appreciated and you will have the leg up a little bit on the competition because you know the District and you have developed a skill, a set of skills, or an area of expertise which will be useful.

Carla Hadden, Thomas Jefferson School District Superintendent agrees:

> So it would be not unusual…and it's happened a number of times, for me to look at an assistant principal of our middle school and let that person know that, "I believe it will be totally appropriate for you to be the next principal of one of the elementary buildings or to

> move into one of the House Principal positions at the high school". … I've always looked at it as the district need, a building need, a child need, a curricular need and an advancement for the individual that I would suggest move to a different place. Now does the person have the right to refuse my move of their positions? No, they don't. (Thomas Jefferson School District Superintendent Carla Hadden)

School District Principal Brian Farley identifies individual factors in three distinct areas—experience, expertise and suitability. He states that he takes "a look at their track records and their skills, and I'll go back to maturity". One of the main reasons why there is not a specific rotation policy in this district is the belief that leaving people in place allows them to contribute more to their community. Of course, this is viewed reciprocally:

> Well I do feel that leaving people in place is good, if they're good in the place where we're leaving them. Certainly their experience plays a great deal in the picture. There are a couple of people that have been in their buildings for so long that they are part of a community or a part of a culture that you wouldn't want to upset too much. (Thomas Jefferson School District Superintendent Carla Hadden)

Another area of intent includes the hiring of minorities to the position of administrator. Again, this has not always been possible, given the relative homogeneity of candidates applying for administrative positions. However, affirmative action initiatives, such as those present in Harbourside School District, have not been entertained in the Thomas Jefferson School District:

> One of the things that we have always been encouraged to do…is to also look toward minorities and look toward a balance, if you would, in terms of diversity…. Now one of the things that we don't do is to directly look for a person of colour…. (Superintendent Carla Hadden)

While there is interest in developing a more diverse culture within the principalship, suitable candidates may not necessarily always be available. Such individual factors are also reflected within demographic trends that tend to influence school factors. However, within the school culture itself, socio-economic issues rather than ethnic minorities or gender issues are more prominent and prevalent.

5.5 Post-placement Phase

The post-placement phase is comprised of three elements, the induction, high-quality professional development and a review component that allows examination of the new incumbent as well as of the policy process itself.

5.5.1 Induction

In terms of rotation/succession, principals in Cartier School District, until the past few years, generally knew what to expect well ahead of time. With the rapid-

ity of retirements and promotions, this has changed. To facilitate the induction process, ongoing professional development has become a school district norm. There is, as much as time allows, an induction process for new principals, which includes seeking out teachers who may be ready for leadership responsibilities in 3 to 5 years' time. This process serves as a renewal of staff development for potential leaders who are either waiting for promotion or on the verge of applying. In addition to this, specific in-service training for all administrators is provided and includes workshops as well as mentoring and coaching for both teachers and administrators.

Induction is treated differently within the Harbourside School District. The hiring team is considered to be a major resource in identifying strengths and weaknesses of any particular school. Tools, such as leadership research studies, questionnaires and surveys, are gaining in importance within the Human Resources department. For the most part, however, demographic data is used more extensively. No policy directives relating to school entry or exit are in place to help incoming principals with little previous experience. For example, money from a closing school should have come with arriving students, but did not:

> Well, half of those kids were going…, as you know in a school, money builds up in the process…. Well part of that money should have come with those kids. It didn't and nobody forced it to. I kept saying this isn't right…. So there were several plans that should have been in place that weren't…. And I'm sure I'm not the only school that this has ever happened to and unless they have it written down and have a policy in place and force these people to do it, of course they're not going to give it. (Harbourside School District Principal Edna Eklund)

A major challenge facing the policy implementation relating to principal succession and rotation, in all the districts under study, is the apparent crisis in leadership. This relates to the growing complexity of the position, the relatively low rate of remuneration, and growing suspicion surrounding the efficacy of the teaching profession in general. Brian Farley comments:

> And they're looking at their families, and the time spent and they're saying, "This is more important". And I think that's, in general, a wise decision.

David Willis suggests that growing job complexity coupled with greater responsibility is one reason why new candidates are becoming more difficult to recruit. He states, "I have never seen that kind of attrition in fifteen years in this district". He also notes that these conditions recur in a cyclical pattern. The shrinking applicant pool is one area that school districts can begin to develop. Positions of leadership may need re-envisioning as being potentially promising. In short, leaders need to believe that what they are doing is worthwhile, not just to those they serve, but to themselves as well and this must mesh with potential leaders' personal needs and goals. As Brian Farley concludes:

> I think, just in general, the lack of people in the applicant pool is going to be challenged. I think they need to make a better effort to motivate people internally to seek degrees…. So I think they need to reach out and do more of that. I think they need to treat administrators with respect….

As these factors become more critical, implementation of a concerted, cohesive and coherent program of professional development may assist in ameliorating some of the stress now facing administrators and the process of principal rotation/succession.

5.5.2 Professional Development

Part of the ongoing recruitment program in Cartier School District includes attracting qualified staff from the teaching ranks. District programs administered through area offices foster and identify leadership opportunities through engaging speakers on a variety of leadership topics, and through leadership groups in area offices. Formal and informal mentors are available upon request and networking occurs throughout the district through superintendent meetings with principals and vice-principals. Programs external to the school district are also in place to assist and advise administrators, including provincial administrators' councils, board/university partnerships and external consultants.

Within the Harbourside School District, an internal leadership program similar to the one operating in the Cartier School District is provided that, according to one school district principal:

> …is excellent…. We were allowed to apply and the board is covering our cost…. Every year there's about two or three or different seminars in two-day sessions that we can sign up for and they will send us…. It's fabulous…. We have a program for aspiring leaders within our school system that people can apply for and then they take them through a two-year program, which is really good. (Harbourside School District Principal Edna Eklund)

Gerald Morton, Superintendent of Schools, concurs:

> In terms of opportunity for PD or for support in that area, my God, all anyone would have to do is ask and then we provide ongoing support…. We have the practicing administrative side of that program and there's the aspiring side…. I think that program is good.

Although it has apparent weaknesses, this program provides opportunities for practicing administrators and for aspiring teachers. The district provides a supportive professional development program, resulting in a local certificate, and a dinner celebration and public ceremony upon successful completion of this 2-year program. University support in terms of memoranda of understanding, partnerships with professional organizations and networking with district administrators is also very positive. Better screening processes are felt to be useful in order to address some of the internal weaknesses, particularly in the selection process. However, the process identifies school needs from a variety of perspectives and tailors program offerings to meet those needs insofar as possible.

While no formal mentoring program is available, this has not been a major issue in the Harbourside School District. An informal program, using principals as instructional experts, as mentors, and for job shadowing, supports new or experienced principals and is considered by practicing administrators to be excellent.

Research tools used include a database and data verification forms when people are thinking of retirement, but from the point of who is moving in to or out of positions, database records are not kept and no demographic data are currently being used for long-term planning.

In Thomas Jefferson School District, surveys and questionnaires are a normal part of the information gathering in order to meet professional development needs. As a result, the school district maintains a speakers' bureau which provides in-service for teachers and administrators. Professional Development workshops are a feature of the commitment to professionalism in this school district. Additionally, school board/university partnerships ensure that high professional standards remain current. The financial burden for university and college courses is borne by the individual. While there may be some financial commitment from the board, including release time, Principal Brian Farley notes, "Money has been an issue. I just work hard to do it on my own".

5.5.3 Review

Effective policy analysis models frequently feature a built-in review phase. Cartier School District uses a cycle of school improvement planning and professional development to observe how well the process is proceeding. This is an important concern due to growth in enrolment in various parts of this large district.

In lieu of a policy model, both Harbourside School District and Thomas Jefferson School District award positions from within the school district before those from outside are considered. Also, there is no expectation relating to experience or length of time a vice-principal must have in a school before becoming a principal or transferring from one position to another. With few expectations and little movement within these districts, it is felt that there is little reason to consider more formal rotation/succession policies for the time being.

Challenges for all schools districts in this study continue in the form of early retirement, increasing demands such as positive performance statistics, an insufficient candidate pool and rapid demographic change, particularly pertaining to outgoing knowledge as older administrators retire and newer candidates find their way into administration.

5.6 Findings and Recommendations

Rotation and succession issues are part of a much larger set of circumstances that encompass the entire process of principal recruitment, induction, interviewing and ongoing support. While school districts are searching for a "sustainable resource" in the form of principal rotation/succession and related policies, with bits and pieces of policy programs in place that appear to be working well, there seems to be no

single plan that encompasses every eventuality. Creating a sustainable resource has its own set of issues, including attempting to recruit teachers to leadership positions and ensuring that those who are recruited or who self-identify have values appropriate to the position. Furthermore, trying to provide a significant interview process that honours the voices of all interested parties, while at the same time trying to develop a sustainable pool of talent remains a significant challenge. In addition to this, induction programs, mentoring programs and professional development programs require further development.

The rotation/succession cycle is commonly initiated because of retirement or attrition. Because of the age at which many people become administrators, they generally experience only one or two schools; however, with many retirements, individuals are being promoted earlier in their careers. In short, there is a general and concomitant need among administrators for greater depth and length of service. Concerns with the average age of the principals and the complexity of the task combine to create a "crest and trough" culture around rotation and succession issues, compounded by the somewhat justified apprehension of younger potential candidates about the complexities of the task and the dubious benefits accruing from it.

To even out the crests and fill in the troughs, it may become necessary to attract, not just younger candidates to the job, but also candidates, in suitable quantities, of a variety of ages. Student population drives school systems and, in a position of declining enrolment, a sustainable administrative resource may simply become an ideal to work toward. However, encouraging, supporting and promoting capable, competent people, be they women, minority representatives or individuals with disabilities to administration is a goal identified by all districts represented in this study. As a caveat to the development of a sustainable resource, it is important to not change all members of the administrative team at one time, in order to benefit from insider knowledge, incoming knowledge and outgoing knowledge at the same time.

In all districts, plans that could have been in place were not. Unless a plan and policy is in place, there is little confidence on the part of administrators that any professional responsibility or protocol around entry and exit of principals into the system will be effective. Clear and transparent communications, which all school districts in this study regard highly, are extremely important. In this way succession management can be communicated so that people are encouraged to apply for positions, creating a re-culturing of negative attitudes into more positive ones.

Mentoring is an integral part of the entire process of succession and rotation. There is a need for those making decisions regarding principal rotation and succession to be responsive to skills that aspiring candidates bring with them into administration, to on-going professional development and support, and finally to those skills and insights that retiring administrators will leave with. While each school maintains a unique ethos, emanating from different contexts, if the selection cycle can be enacted soon enough, it may be feasible for the incoming and the out-going administrators to work together for the latter part of the school year in a kind of mentorship program.

A policy model or flow chart that captures the essential components required for a comprehensive policy surrounding principal rotation and succession issues may useful in clarifying, not only rotation and succession policies, practices and procedures, but the entire scope of issues relating to the principalship. Such a policy initiative may contain a pre-policy phase, a policy phase and a post-policy phase. Each phase can be rendered into smaller components.

5.6.1 Pre-policy Phase

This phase concerns preparation or collection of policy statements around *mega-policy* and *meta-policy*. Mega-policy typically consists of a *statement of philosophy* relating to principal selection, rotation/succession and exiting criteria, *goals* such as the establishment of a pool of recruits and *values* relating to this process as well as *historical perspectives* that may need identification and definition.

A meta-policy orientation can help develop resources used throughout the entire process, including literature reviews, research studies, surveys, questionnaires, databases and other information bearing on rotation/succession and the principal experience. Here, the policy-making system is designed, redesigned and evaluated. The screening committee is formed at this point. Problem identification and allocation of resources also occur at this stage of the process. The final step is to determine the exact nature of the policy-making strategy itself.

5.6.2 Policy-Making Phase

There are seven discreet steps in this phase of the policy analysis model. The first is to recognize a need to enact the process, to recognize that principals may be transferred due to the construction of a new school, retirement or other catalysts. Secondly, the priority decision is made. This is an opportunity to discuss who is available, under what circumstances as well as implications of the transfer process. Thirdly, alternatives are entertained through development of a short-list of suitable candidates. In the fourth step, testing of alternatives takes place. How would each candidate respond in each available scenario? What are their strengths, weaknesses? What is the climate of the school to which each candidate could be assigned? In short, are there economic, traditional or political considerations that render it unfeasible to place certain candidates in certain positions? This testing may be conducted before, during and after the interview process. Fifthly, a decision in principle is arrived at. This could be the point at which suitable candidates are selected for specific positions. This represents the “Best Fit”. As offers go out and are accepted or rejected, there may be some opportunity for refinement. The final step is the adoption of the policy. This would comprise acceptance of the offer and the formalization of the process by the signing of the contract.

5.6.3 Post-policy Phase

The adoption of the contract triggers the post-policy phase, made up of three stages. The first is the *implementation* of the policy manifested by the induction of the incoming individual to the place held by the out-going individual. This may comprise various elements already present through professional development initiatives seeking to develop rules of conduct, regulations, available programs and transparent procedures. The second stage is the *motivation* stage where communication takes place between in-going and out-going principals. This may include other interested parties, but is primarily an apprenticeship process. The final stage is the *review,* which can be summed up in the evaluation of the new principal's work. It is also an opportunity to review the entire policy-making process and to modify this process as necessary.

An important aspect of any cohesive, coherent and integrated policy relates to timing. This policy analysis process relating to principal succession and rotation could become a year-round process, rather than being triggered by a transfer request. Thus, the process might be in progress at any given point of the school year, and in this way, school districts may develop a sustainable resource through developing a pool of suitable recruits representing the "Best Fit" for the school district, the school and the individual, and a supportive district-wide environment in which those individuals and the district may flourish. In this way, school districts may benefit from fitting the leadership role to the candidate rather than fitting the candidate to the leadership role.

5.7 A Guide for Further Study

1. Compare and contrast the policy decisions made by each of the three school districts in this chapter. In your opinion, how do the policies relate to the demographics that exist within each district?
2. How do succession events impact on individual leaders, on institutions and on school districts within a local, national and international context? What patterns, if any, are discernable?
3. Identify some of the exemplary practices in principal rotation and succession events as orchestrated by each of these three school districts. Compare these practices to those within your own school district.
4. What are some of the plans, policies and procedures that support and encourage principals to succeed and flourish that exist within your own school district?
5. Using data drawn from the above question, develop a potential policy model that may be applicable to your school district with respect to future succession events, inclusive of transfer or rotation events.

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Chapter 6
Principal Turnover and the Impact on Teacher–Principal Relationships: Mitigating Emerging Values Issues

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Many researchers have acknowledged that school leaders are challenged both personally and professionally during a succession into new schools as they work to bridge "old with the new" leadership styles (e.g. Macmillan et al. 2005). Conflict often occurs not with the procedural governance protocols, but with the school's cultural values. Over the past 3 years, we have examined the impact of rapid succession on over 100 teachers and administrators in 12 schools in the Province of Nova Scotia with the specific purpose of investigating the conflicts that occur during the succession process. Through our interviews, we have begun to unpack the role that values play during succession.

School reform and the democratization of schooling have created very challenging situations for schools through such initiatives as high stakes testing, centralization through school board amalgamations and newly mandated, often nebulous, curricula. Through much of this period of change, policy makers and politicians seem to have not considered what we have learned about change over the past 25 years, nor of the need to address the issue of shifting values at the individual level and of ethics at the level of the institution. Research has demonstrated that we must consider three critical factors when embarking on a change initiative for school improvement. First, changes require time for an initiative to become an integral part of the institution. Fullan (1999, 2001) cautions us, however, that the type and size of the institution where the initiative is to be implemented must be considered, and different implementation schedules used. For an initiative to become institutionalized at the elementary level, we require 3 years, at secondary level 6 years and at the system level 8 years. Fullan's key point is that time is required for the integration of the initiative into the lives and value systems of teachers and the cultural ethos of the school, especially if these initiatives have the potential to affect teachers' work and their personal and professional relationships.

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The second critical factor is that to be meaningful, an initiative must address change at the structural level. Such initiatives are influenced by and will affect the school's culture, and may require people to reconstruct their ideas about the organization and their place in it. For example, the implementation of strategies to create learning communities through the use of such concepts as organizational learning requires a re-examination of teachers' concepts of professional self as they shift practice. While teachers learn about and internalize the initiative, school culture is affected through the alteration of norms and beliefs about instructional practice, professional collaboration, and even conceptions of teaching as a profession.

Third, leadership has been identified as a critical factor affecting implementation of change. Successful leaders encourage and provide the energy and vision that make such shifts in practice possible, either through their individual effort or through their facilitation of distributive leadership. In either case, we know from the school improvement literature that the principal is an essential factor in the implementation process (e.g. Blase and Blase 2001; Leithwood and Reihl 2003).

6.1 Project Objectives

While the school improvement literature focuses on the crucial elements of time and school culture, little has been written on the impact of how frequent principal turnover affects various elements of teacher values. Part of our research, then, is an attempt to understand what effect, if any, that frequent principal turnover has on the interplay of time, school culture and the principalship, on such phenomena as trust, teacher morale, leadership, and individual values and institutional ethics. In the first year of our project, we discovered that teachers and administrators appear to develop trust in each other on a continuum (Macmillan et al. 2004b, 2005). Teachers usually go through four stages of trust (Table 6.1).

We also discovered that while teachers and administrators identified morale as important, it was difficult to define, let alone categorize. In our second year of inter-

Table 6.1 Four stages of trust

Stages of trust	Description of level
Role trust	Teachers trust the principal to function within the legal mandate of the position. That is, the principal will follow the laws, policies and regulations that govern schools and the position
Practice trust	After observing the principal's practice, teachers trust the principal will respond to similar situations similarly
Integrative trust	After observation of the principal in a multitude of situations, teachers' trust is based on their identification of underlying principles on which the principal makes decisions
Correlative trust	Teachers' trust is based on a deep understanding of the principal's beliefs and philosophy such that the principal and teachers function as a well choreographed, mutually supportive team

views, we asked our interviewees specific questions about the status and development of morale during succession (Macmillan et al. 2004a). We found that:

- Teachers use various means to limit the effects of turnover on their school's and their personal morale.
- Informal leaders take on more prominence during periods of frequent principal turnover; these informal leaders can affect individual and collective morale.
- The effect of principal turnover on teacher morale decreases with teachers' years of experience.
- As the frequency of principal turnover increases, the principal position becomes more marginalized and its influence on school events and improvement is reduced and this can affect individual and collective teacher morale (Macmillan et al. 2004b).

In the third year, we developed a working definition of morale and a list of indicators, which then formed the basis for interview questions. Our working definition was as follows:

> Morale, whether individual or collective (as in a school staff), is a psychological construct, viewed as an end product—contextually created—in terms of the relative mental/emotional levels (low → high) of positive energy one has as a result of experienced actions and perceptions (real or imagined) within the school environment (Meyer et al. 2005).

In our initial year one survey that asked teachers about the impact of principal turnover on their work, teachers' responses indicated that experience with rapid principal turnover (more than one event in 6 years) does affect how they perceived the principal (Macmillan and Meyer 2003). From the analysis of year three interview data, this chapter specifically begins to examine phenomena that indicate or describe teachers' and principals' personal and professional values. Over the last 3 years of studying and listening to our respondent teachers reflect on their direct, indirect and at times conflicted experiences with school administrators, we began to see that values are strongly influenced by the consequences of the new principal's decision making.

Research into values in schools has been going on for many years. Even though the current literature has challenged much of what has been discussed, it tends to be more from a philosophical perspective than rooted in practice. Taking this into account, we used a combination of Hodgkinson's value types theory (1999, 1978) and his explanation of values within the morphogenetic field to help frame our interview questions. He states that:

> Values themselves are not unitary or homogenous but exist hierarchically as concepts of the desirable, with motivating force at different levels: the levels of culture (I), subculture (SC), organization (O), group (G), and individual (S), in a downward impress from, respectively, V_5 to V_1. (1999, p. 143)

Hodgkinson provides a sense of the interplay of values, how these values relate to each other, and how individuals may interpret them. These values are in a hierarchical typology. We do not use this hierarchy, only the categories. We feel that the interaction of values emerge from the interaction of the categories' constituents. As a starting point, however, we found his ideas a useful place to begin.

Leithwood's (1999) three sets of values analysis further helped us to think about how to analyze what people said and to determine what the operational set of values that they were using may be in their given context:

- *Carefulness and a constructively critical perspective:* this set of values is evident in an incremental approach to change, an orientation that acknowledges the improbability of radical change no matter how much we may wish for it….
- *Respect for the capacities and commitments of past and current educators:* this value manifests itself in a willingness to build on insights about how to educate large numbers of children embedded in the collective memories and structures of existing school organizations and educational practices.
- *Continuous improvement:* this is an anecdote for the sense of being overwhelmed and confused that is fuelled by excessively turbulent environments (p. 29).

Finally, we used Willower and Licata's (1997) orientations towards values and valuation, in which:

> Values are attained by implementing specific courses of actions having specific consequences…. Enhancing values in actual situations involves both a sensitivity to appropriate values and ethical principles and an ability to see values as part of real-life contexts that affect the likelihood of their realization…values are attained by implementing specific courses of action having specific consequences…. That is why moral choice in administration is really a matter of *valuation,* a term we use to the process of choosing from and implementing conceptions of the desirable with an awareness of and sensitivity to their potential consequences for a variety of individuals and groups, as well as the multiplicity of values typically affected by implementation. An emphasis on valuation rather than on values alone gives life and meaning to values that are so often honoured in a ritualistic manner that separates them from concrete situations. An emphasis on valuation also underscores the importance of praxis or thoughtful practice in administration…. (p. 26)

The key element here is the *valuation* parameter. Constituents choose the selection of the courses of their actions in a causal act. Their individual, or collective, responses to another constituent's actions are flavoured, so to speak, by the collective history of past decisions. Regardless of the perceived or actual impact of those decisions' valuation, constituents act and react to such consequences. Hence the combination of theory (valuation) and praxis (actions) will constitute positive or negative value creation. The contextual reality between teachers and their administrators makes these statements applicable to our use. Through the analysis of our data, we have found that teachers' sense of trust, morale and perceptions of their work is closely tied both to their personal sets of beliefs and values and to their administrator's valuation of them, as evidenced through the administrator's practice. We believe that the valuation construct most clearly and realistically exemplifies the daily life in the schools of this study. We use the term "mitigating" (to make less harsh, more understandable, but not necessarily more desirable) in our title because we see values as dynamic, and as integral to every aspect of decision-making in schools.

In the spring of 2005, we began to look critically at values. As stated earlier, the literature on this subject is mostly philosophical and tends to fall into two general categories. The first category can be typified by the positivistic approach to values

analysis, in which administrators base decisions on deeply rational approaches in which values have little place. The second category typified by Deweyesque thinking looks at values as integral to learning. The focus of this chapter is not to enter into this debate; it has been widely detailed and documented elsewhere (e.g. Begley 1999; Begley and Johansson 2003; Samier 2003). The purpose of this article is to examine the role of values and valuation during succession.

6.2 Questions on Values

As a result of the 2003 and 2004 interview responses and our adaptation of Willower and Licata's ideas on valuation, we specifically asked questions in the 2005 interviews that focused on the context, content and protocols of administrator decision making. The previous years' teacher responses indicated to us that most questions about values and conflicts over values arose during decision making by the new principal. In keeping with our phenomenological grounded theory approach to interview data analysis, we did not use any specific values-based, philosophical approach as a foundation. Instead, we began to study the interview responses using a constant comparative approach to analyze and to develop a sense of the patterns in the data.

The following interview questions were asked in an open-ended format and, depending on the interviewer, may have been slightly reworded for the sake of the interviewee or the interviewee's status as administrator or teacher:

- How are decisions made in this school? In what areas does
  - the principal make the decisions?
  - the principal ask for input and use this advice?
  - the staff make the decisions?
- Have there been any changes in the way these decisions are made? Has the principal altered his/her way of making decisions? Explain.
- Do you know the basis upon which the principal makes his/her decisions? Is there an underlying philosophy? Can you describe that philosophy? Has it changed over time?
- Can you refresh me on the vision for the school that the principal shared with you when he/she came here? Has this vision for the school changed over the past year? If so, how has it changed?

Through the analysis of the responses, we hoped to be able to determine which values constructs were being used by the teachers and administrators, and to identify the underlying values that served as the basis for action. This chapter represents a preliminary analysis of the data in that we are using data from 2 of the 12 schools in the study because, in the 2004–2005 academic year, both schools had principal succession events.

6.3 Methodology

This chapter condenses part of a larger, 4-year study examining principal succession and its impact on teachers. We based our research on constructivist inquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1989) that used a mixed methods research approach (Reichardt and Cook 1979) influenced by Brinberg and McGrath's (1982) concept of research domains. We commenced with a survey of all junior and senior high schools in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada, which generated a data set that contributed to the development of interview questions. This chapter focuses on specific data from the third year of interviews.

The interviewed subjects were experiencing the first year of their current principal's tenure, a period usually considered as the "honeymoon" period in which education about and then negotiation of roles are the focus of the relationship between principals and teachers (Macmillan 2001). During this period, principals and teachers explore the possibility of instituting initiatives and the fit between the principal's practices and the school culture (Gordon and Rosen 1981; Hart 1993; Miskel and Cosgrove 1985; Normore 2001; Weindling and Earley 1987).

The participants are from this sample of secondary and middle schools in Nova Scotia. We focused on this level for three reasons. First, due to the often balkanized nature of the school culture in these schools (Hargreaves 1994), entry can potentially be quite difficult for a new principal. If the school is indeed Balkanized, then trust in the principal may be limited to and informed by the individual teacher's group (Fukuyama 1996).

Second, (Fullan 1999, 2001) states that the amount of time and the degree of energy required to institute school reform at the secondary level is greater than at the elementary school level. While time is an important factor in every school, secondary teachers and principals do not have the luxury of being able to discuss at length their respective roles and their expectations of each other. From the outset, actions of the new principal are scrutinized as a means to understand how the individual will administer the school, and to what degree teachers can trust the principal.

Third, while single succession events have the potential to disrupt the normal flow of events in the school year, relatively little is written to determine how successive succession events within a relatively short period of time, such as 7 years, might influence how teachers do their work. Because much of what teachers do is behind closed doors, and largely done in professional solitude, they need to be able to understand and trust the administrative framework that supports their work. However, we suggest that successive turnover events can potentially create instability if the events are too close together. For example, one school in the study exemplified the extreme case where the school had seven principals in 7 years, a situation which created a sense of teacher uncertainty about the principalship.

Through our survey of all junior and senior high schools in the province, we identified those schools which had experienced more than one principal turnover event since 1996. We selected this date because it was the institution of the new Education Act, which amalgamated and realigned schools in the province. The

12 schools we eventually selected were from urban and rural settings and ranged in size from large > 1,000 to small < 1,000 institutions.

Of the female and male teachers selected, we had individuals who were new < 5 years experience, who were mid career > 5, < 15, and senior teachers > 15. The purpose here was to determine if the expectations and analysis of new principals' practices were dependent on experience. Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. All interviews were transcribed and then coded (Miles and Huberman 1994; Strauss 1987). Triangulation, validity (Maxwell 1996) and contextual narrative concerns were closely monitored (Holstein and Gubrium 1998; Lincoln 1997).

6.4 Analysis

The two schools we have selected to discuss here are Charring Cross High School and Bluenose High School. Both had experienced two or more succession events since 1996, with the latest event having occurred in 2004–2005. Both are of similar size, yet have different demographic backgrounds. Each presents insights into the decision-making process and the valuation that informed it.

6.4.1 Charring Cross High School

Charring Cross' recent administrator history is as follows. In this junior–senior school (grades 7–12), the school has had six principal succession events since 1996. The current female principal (appointed in the fall, 2004) was one of the school's two vice principals, and had been responsible for the junior high school. Her co-vice-principal, a career vice-principal with 2 years to his retirement in June, 2006, was responsible for the high school. The school of approximately 1,400 students is in a rural setting and is currently going through an extensive physical plant renovation and expansion. With no central staff room or other meeting area, the staff is divided both physically and professionally along the junior-senior divide. As a result, teachers tend to go to their division heads for direct daily operations and to rely on individuals within their divisions for professional and personal support. With the principal's promotion, a new vice principal has been appointed for the junior school division. The incoming principal described her work ethic and value system this way:

PF152: I have been accused of doing too much. I like to be involved in all the decisions which are made. I don't have to make them all but I like to know that a decision is being made. I've been told that I'm a micro-manager and don't delegate enough. I like to take ownership of the school and be a presence in the school.

This administrator saw herself as the centre of the decision making process and placed her authority as the central factor influencing that process. She rationalized

her approach by suggesting that she needed to change the current system of operation which valued independence over the common good of the school.

PF152: Well…I'm in a new role I have made it clear that I want to be involved in all decisions and I feel I've done a good job. I keep my hands on the pulse of everything that goes on here. The [superintendent] told me that I'm running a small town here. He agreed with me that I have to know everything that's going on. I do the scheduling here which typically was not done by previous principals. I think scheduling is so important as to how the whole school runs that it is not something that I want to abdicate. I've taken some heat for that. I've had to push to have myself and the two vice principals meet each week and it is working well now. When I first started doing that there were always excuses as to why the three of us couldn't meet. I had to be a little bitchy about that. I come with the agenda and I've told them that they can come with things, too. It's not just my list and my things.

She indicated that the senior male vice-principal at first appeared to accept her as the leader; but time proved that in actual fact, this was not the case. He was upset at having certain changes in his responsibilities and felt that he was undermined by the new principal. The principal now feels that she is being undermined. In this case, we suggest the view that these three values: political game playing, jealousy, and a sense of responsibility are the values that present themselves.

This is further exemplified when she relates her leadership responsibility and the conflict that followed:

PF152: These are little things, but [the superintendent] told me it will be 3 to 5 years before I'm going to make any significant changes in this building. I thought I just can't keep running into walls with people resenting me and what I was trying to do, getting comments like, "You've got to delegate", and I totally disagree with that. I feel I was hired to show strong leadership in the school. I had to build trust. Most of the male teachers will still go to [the vice-principal] and I feel that if there is an issue it should be discussed with me because I'm the principal. Staff meetings are now mandatory and if they can't attend they need a valid excuse. I am trying to break down the power structures amongst the staff.

In response to the question on her personal values, she responded:

PF152: My overriding [belief], and I know this is a cliché, is that we are here for the kids. I think we need to be reminded of that. If a decision has to be made between teachers and students I'm going to fight for the students. The needs of the kids have to come first. I feel we are all here for the students. You don't do this at the expense of the staff because you need a happy staff, but you must always remember that the needs of the kids come first. I want the students to succeed. Some of the personality issues, power issues get in the way sometimes and I see it as my role to say, "OK, let's think about this in a different way. How is what we are talking about now going to make it better for the kids?" That is what I'm trying to frame.

This was a very common value statement from many respondents. At issue is a definitional and ownership value. If an administrator puts the needs of the students ahead of the needs of any other constituency, does that act create a values dilemma within the institution? Does this value belief subjugate or reduce, or abandon any constituency's input into the decision-making process?

The following teacher, in response to the questions, shows a different perspective to school values. This grade 9 math teacher is in her eighth year of teaching:

Int: What are the values or the mission statement for the school, or is that explicit?

TF4803: Well, we have a school improvement plan that we are working on. The three goals are that we are trying to make a more cohesive group in the school, parent contact and literacy. It is a province-wide initiative.

Int: What do you see as the values or beliefs in any decisions made by administration?

TF4803: I think the key factor with initiatives and things is time constraints on things. They need to get it done. An example would be scheduling. I find they are very into that. It is behind closed doors and trying to get stuff done.

Here we see values described as functional constructs such as scheduling, parent contact and literacy. There is also a hint that values take on a "frequency parameter". It is not so much emotional values as "items" and how often they may be addressed. However it seems to evolve in the next statement in regards to staff relationships. Again it is not so much an emotional political state of mind as it is a stand alone phenomenon:

TF4803: I think she wants to better the school and focus on trying to build back staff relationships. I think there is animosity between the junior high and senior high staff. She wants to work on that.

Int: What do you mean by animosity?

TF4803: Just the fact that feeling that the school schedule is driven on the fact that the middle school has to function on the specialties and class size and grade 7. Senior high teachers do not think that is right.

Her last comment, "Senior high teachers do not think that is right", does indicate a moral value belief of "right or wrong".

As a grade 7–9 junior high resource teacher, who has been teaching for 11 years and has been through many of this school's principal succession events, Teacher TF5003 is not totally clear on decision-making values constructs:

Int: What are the guiding values or beliefs that guide decisions made in this school?

TF5003: Hard to answer.

Int: People often say kids first. When you look at what you do to meet the needs of students. That would be a value. What would be the values in the school?

TF5003: Certainly the needs and climate of the school for the students. It is academics and character support. It is morale amongst the students. [The Principal] believes we are in it for the students. She doesn't put ideas in the staff's heads. We had that happen before with [a former female principal] and that is all part of the inconsistency of that. I want to do all of these things for the kids, but what about supporting the teachers? I guess that is how I felt—that everything was in support of the kids and there are times when it shouldn't be.

For whom is value for? For this teacher even though the adage "kids first" may seem the battle cry, there exists a plea for a needed value construct towards teachers. Her last comment implies a perceived competition between student and teacher constituencies for acknowledgment and value intent.

TF348 is a second-year grades 1–9 French teacher. Being new to the school, she was not immersed in the previous succession events. Her response indicates more of an impression that the principal is concerned with political diplomacy as a value:

Int: Do you have a sense as to what the underlying basis or philosophy for decisions are made here? Or is there a set of values the principal uses?

TF348: Uh, I don't think they're stated everywhere officially, that I'm aware of, but I think that every decision she makes for the school, she hopes is the best decision for the staff and for the students and that everyone is respected and she's, she wants to be as diplomatic as possible. Like, I think she makes sound decisions and tries to be as unbiased as possible.

TF354 has been a physical education teacher for 19 years in the school. She indicated that morale, as a result of both the many succession events and the current building construction and expansion project, has declined. She also sees the student benefit as the driving force for administrative valuation. This is also echoed by TM351, a long-time substitute science teacher, now in his second full time year at the school:

Int: What are the values and beliefs that drive the decision-making process here?

TF354: Ultimately we are here for the kids.

TM351: Uh, other than I think, I really do think she does what's best for the students.

Int: Okay, so you think it's student based.

TM351: Uh, I think so.

TM55 is a male 31-year-veteran teacher of the school. He indicates that decision making is more a stylistic value of the principal:

Int: Can you describe to me what her beliefs and values are?

TM55: She is uh, probably, uh, quite conservative. Um, she likes to see things run properly and on time. She would say, she grew up on a military base… she's very much into that mode…"that if it's going to be done, it's going to be done. I want it done properly. If you say you're going to do it, then

you're going to do it. And make a decision, and move on". …she wants things to run as smoothly as possible and be prepared for the future, she doesn't like to react.

TM153 is another very long-time teacher in the school. His perspective takes on an historical insight into the principal's value systems:

Int: Do you have a sense as to what the underlying basis or philosophy for her decisions are? Or what her style is? Do you think there is a methodology to her decision-making process or a set of beliefs or values that she uses?

TM153: Having been a junior high vice principal and then moving up to a full school principal, I think she's tried to bring a lot of those elements of her; the school setting from the junior high up into the senior high, which sometimes is resented by senior high staff because there—they don't feel they're getting enough—how do I say this? Enough um, given enough responsibility to run things the way they feel like—principals interfere.

He goes on to indicate that the staff is in transition as well between retirements, middle-aged faculty and new faculty. He indicates that values (theoretical and operational) are a constantly changing dynamic phenomenon. Clearly, there are real and imaginary boundaries where a principal's value systems can either be accepted or ignored among teachers:

Int: Do you think all staff on the senior high have that belief?

TM153: No. This is an interesting staff right now, because we have probably 7 or 8 staff like myself that are within 1 to 3 years of retirement. And then we have another group which is much younger, that is coming on or just starting out and uh, the 2 groups are, the interesting dynamics between the 2 groups is such that the younger ones are interested in being led and having support from the principal. The older teachers have kind of done it their own way for so many years that any, uh, attempt to make suggestion or changes are seen as kind of an interference in their own programs and they're looking for the principal, administrators to stay out of their world and let them do things the way they want, the way they want to do it.

TM153 does look at his perception of the Principal's value constructs as "for the students". However, his perspective also brings in the community perspective which would indicate that this community value would also influence the principal's value constructs:

Int: Can you describe what you think her beliefs and values are?

TM153: I think, hard to, hard to say, I don't, she doesn't spend a lot of time focusing on her direction, other than saying, first and foremost is the students. What we're doing here is for the kids and that has to be a priority. We spend a lot of time dealing with the setting school goals—through the program with the board here. Establishing what is, where, what are our weaknesses? What are our strengths? Where we're trying to make a dif-

ference in the students depending on the kind of clientele, based on the sort of social-economic community that we live in and seeing that in many cases, we're from kind of a blue-collar worker environment and these kids are going to need, in many cases, extra support. So we're seeing that in terms of trying to [find] many hours for resource and support along that line. So that's what I see her goals as sort of focusing on, making sure all the kids have a chance to be successful.

VPM49 has been the high school vice principal for over 13 years. He has been an educator for over 30 years. He is a career vice principal with 2 years before retirement. His views of the school tend to be quietly paternalistic. He and the principal were colleagues for a number of years. Prior to her appointment, she was the vice principal for the junior high division of the school. He has both professional and collegial experience with her. His historical knowledge of the school is a factor in his understanding of decision-making values. He comments on how some informal groups had input into the decision-making protocols and implies that possibly some of those group(s) values may have seeped into the decision-making process. Through his comments, it would appear that this vice principal is making value judgements:

Int: Do you have a sense that there is an underlying basis or philosophy for decisions made around here?

VPM49: In the past under, even before I got here, it appeared that staff had more input than they should have. And so a previous administrator would call in certain individuals and ask for their input and it became the belief of some staff here that they should have a say in what, in the direction and the ultimate decision that's made.

Int: Are you suggesting there was an in-group and an out-group?

VPM49: Oh yes, yes.

Int: Would you say from that, this has altered?

VPM49: Um, the in-group still wants to be the in-group, but…they're realizing that they don't have as much say as they used to have, nor sometimes do we value [it] because they're looking at it from only a personal perspective….

Int: Does the whole staff realize this, do you think?

VPM49: Yes and no. The old guard, the ones who have been here a long time, some say, "It's about time, about time that these people were told they don't have as much say and as much influence as they think they do".

Int: Do you think overall that has more benefit to the school positively than negatively?

VPM49: I think it's caused a lot of friction…. Because among the staff, and I can only look at what we have currently here…a lot of our friends are colleagues as well, and so, myself as an example. I've got some of my best friends [on the] teaching staff. [The Principal] the same thing. Her best friends are current teaching staff. And so, it has caused a lot of problems in terms of making a decision—if it goes against the friendship of what they want.

The following excerpt once again uses an issue, in this case the time table, as a contextual value that represents a behavioural reaction. It is not so much that the timetable is good or bad—it is more how the timetable's employment psychologically affects some staff members' sense (or lack thereof) of power:

Int: Does the administrative staff have a set of beliefs and values that they're trying to present to the school? And what would you call them or how would you describe them?

VPM49: The beliefs that we're trying to present? …I guess, it sounds philosophical but given the current circumstances, we try to provide the best education possible given the parameters and the staffing and all the other things that are given to us. We have to think globally, we have to think about you know, what this decision will have on all aspects…if it has a negative impact on one part of the building. We're running a school within a school here, so the grade 7 and 8's are on a different schedule than the grade 9 through 12.

This vice principal, now speaking as the high school leader, adds:

> A group of senior high teachers will come and say [to the principal], "Well, what about this situation? Would we be able to do this, whatever decision was made?" They, they don't see that that decision would negatively impact on another segment of the population here…. Trying to bring in a school within a school concept has caused a lot of problems in terms of [its] impact on the scheduling that goes on at the senior high level. It's caused a lack of cohesiveness among all staff members.

The vice principal goes on to exclaim that, due to the new integrative schedule to expedite the school within a school construct, his role has changed causing isolation value to arise for both himself and for some teachers:

> It's hard to get school morale, school unity going on. We've had a grade 9 group of teachers that, when you look at the former geography of our building, we had the grade 8 and 9 teachers on one floor, under one administrator…. Every one of their needs was met because the administrator was right there and it was [the current principal]. There was constant contact between the teachers, the students and the administrator. In our present structure, now that we've moved to a school within a school, the grade 9's don't have [the principal] as the contact person. They have me. They don't have me on the same floor—they feel lost. They feel like they're isolated—they're out in no man's land.

The vice principal laments that this isolation value has demeaned the school culture and life for what he considers a disenfranchised teacher group. However, he still proclaims his ownership value of the more senior grade teachers:

VPM49: Well it, it really is, I mean, they're still going through, and [the Principal] and I have both discussed it, a grieving period. They're mourning the loss of what they had—the contact, now they're not on one floor, they're on different floors—they don't have the interaction they used to have. And it's caused a little bit of lack of unity or just isolation. Now my grade 10 through 12 teachers, and I've been always looking after grade 10 through 12, I've just left them alone. They're professionals, they know I treat them as professionals, and they're, they're not as dependent sometimes upon me as the, the middle school used to be.

6.4.2 Bluenose High School

Bluenose High School is an urban school that geographically borders a high socio-economic community. There are 1,050 students from grades 9 to 12. There are two vice principals that share duties. One is a career vice principal and male. The other is a female with only a handful of administrative years' experience. There are 54 teachers in the school, many who have been in the school for over 20 years. There have been over eight principal succession events since 1979 and three in the last 8 years. The current principal PM340 is in his second year as principal, his first year at Bluenose. His predecessor was an experienced principal who is now at another high school destined for a position at Central Office.

He describes his leadership as collegial and collaborative especially in curriculum matters. Being new in the school, he spends much time more "behind the scenes" learning how things are and how they get done. He explains that unlike his last principal post in a "tough inner city high school on its way to consolidation with its rival school", this school has a very involved upper mobile parent group that is highly involved in the school. The impression here is that he wants good communication and feedback. He seems to view these as values. He explains an e-mail communication plan on which he hopes to get further collective feedback:

Int: For your decision-making [methods] do you have a set of beliefs or values upon which you base your decision?

PM340: I think the first one would be that those who share in the making of decisions that impact on the delivery of the program through their own classrooms are important people to consider in that decision. So as much as possible when I'm, let's say using email, I like to use that as a mode to say, "Okay, I need your input right away, I'm sending this out as a mass email to all staff members, please let me know what you think". For example, we've had survey analysis on uh, announcements, on how they're interrupting classes. So I, I sent out an email asking for, "What's the best time? Do you want the beginning: do you want the middle; do you want the end?" Everybody says the end is an excuse to get up and go, so now, I'm getting the feedback from staff members immediately, they know that that's, that's how we do business, it's all over email, I'm getting all the feedback and the consensus, middle of the class. Well that's informed me, it affects, directly, the work they're doing. If I just unilaterally made a decision, well I'm just going to do announcements when I feel like doing them.

TF35 has been a teacher for 22 years. This is her eighth year at Bluenose. She teaches English language arts and Canadian history. She feels that decisions have the students at heart and the values that ensue are for their best interests:

Int: Do you have a sense as to what the underlying basis or philosophy is for how decisions are made here? For example, is there a set of beliefs or values that the principal uses? What do you think these are based on?

TF42: I think the principal of our school focuses on the fact that every child can be successful and it is ultimately our responsibility to assure that we provide them with the, the tools in an academic environment to insure that they can be successful. And his decisions are made based on the fact that every student can be successful.

Int: Do you think these are based on the school board mission statement? The school's culture or do you think there's a separate uh, series of values that the principal has?

TF42: I think it's a combination of both, I think the principal has been teaching and has been an administrator long enough to recognize how things can work and how students can be successful and so, it's almost a merging of his philosophy with that of the Board's.

This next excerpt colours the principal as an "honourable person" which implies that this teacher believes that this principal has high moral values. She also indicates that he demonstrates caring and thoughtful values:

Int: Well, can you describe what you think his values and beliefs are?

TF42: The principal at this school is without a doubt, probably one of the most honourable people I've ever worked with. He is an individual of high integrity…willing to sit down, to listen, to I guess decide, after having had some time to think about the situation or incident or issue. And will then take that information and then make his decision, nothing is done without thought and care.

Int: So thought and care are very critical elements [in leadership/decision making].

TF42: Absolutely fundamental to who you are.

The following is from a mid-career female physical education teacher who views the principal's decision-making values within the perceived view of his integrity. However, the principal is viewed as a "Board-policy" driven individual who works towards high expectations of accountability. The two values of veracity and accountable are evident here:

Int: Do you have a sense as to, on what basis [the principal] makes his decisions or…does he have a particular set of beliefs or values?

TF43: He's a very ethical type of guy. He is very Board-directed; he's a new younger principal. He's into pedagogy and [likes] things being done very appropriately and task-oriented—which is…a bit of a new approach for us at the school. The atmosphere this year is different from the past in that, he's very driven to do things the way they're supposed to be done. And so bookkeeping and accountability and areas where, especially an older staff may have slipped a little bit, were brought back on task as far as, you know, or attendance. There's no excuse, get it done, that's a requirement of the teacher, Board policy and the Department of Education. So he's very efficient that way.

In this next excerpt, TF43 further emphasizes the principal's value of conscientiousness:

Int: Do you get a sense that he has a set of values or beliefs about education that are different from the board's view?

TF43: No, I wouldn't say they were different, I would just say the he understands the importance of getting the things done that, we should be doing, as educators, [things] to enhance the program and to move forward, instead of staying stuck. I see there are times that he's frustrated by them not following up…he tries to do what he's supposed to do. And then perhaps, they may not support him, i.e., student discipline and things like that, he's very conscientious, I mean…all our principals have been hard workers. But he is really driven to get the bookkeeping and that kind of stuff done, which, in a way, changes the culture a bit.

TF344 is a 28-year teaching veteran who teaches social studies and drama. She has also served as a vice principal. She indicates that the principal shows values of pragmatism and hard work:

Int: Do you have a sense as to what the underlying basis or philosophy is for decisions here? Is there a set of beliefs or values that the principal uses? If so, would they be based on a school board mission or a school culture mission or, on his own sets of beliefs?

TF344: I would think that, that our current principal is probably more informed and more pragmatic in trying to meet the whole community's needs. Looking at students, looking at the community, looking at what the school board is requiring of him, what expectations of staff are. I really think that he works very hard at looking at all avenues to see reactions before he makes a decision.

She goes on to indicate that the principal is more aware of staff member's needs and inputs when compared to previous administrators. This is manifested in both actions and character:

Int: Is this different than previous administrators?

TF344: [Yes] In our 2 previous administrators, they would do what might be most expedient, not all the time; but that might be more acceptable to staff—that might be better at the time, like a quick decision and ask for forgiveness from the school board…that maybe it wouldn't be really acceptable by the school board but it'd take.

Int: Can you describe in your perspective what the current principal's beliefs and values are?

TF344: Students first.

Int: Is this different than previous administrators?

TF344: Um, I would say not different, but maybe more visible as an individual.

Int: When you say visible, do you mean visible in terms of his actions or?

TF344: Personality? Yes, his personality.

TM41 is a mid-career music teacher. He again sees the principal as a highly motivated individual with a high-ranking sense of moral efficacy. He also indicates that the principal has values of optimism, pragmatism, as well as a need to be able to "read the landscape":

Int: Do you have any, any sense as to what the basis is upon which [the principal] makes decisions?

TM41: [The Principal] makes decisions based on what he thinks. [The Principal] has very strong moral approaches to life I think. I don't think he would, in any way, be unhappy if he was recognized as somebody who is very involved in his church and his family. The primary motivation in his decision-making, I think, is where it fits into his whole outlook—view on life. [He is] very much tied into how it's going to affect the staff and ultimately the students. He's an outward-looking kind of person, he looks around on many, he wants to know what ripples he's going to cause with the stone that he throws.

TM 45 is a 33-year-veteran biology teacher who has been in the school since it opened. He has been through every principal succession event. Clearly, he bases his responses on a wealth of school history and lore. He believes that the Principal's values lie in the outcomes area. It is not clear, in the eyes of this teacher, whether or not this is a curriculum value perspective or an accountability parameter:

Int: Do you have a sense as to, one what basis [the Principal] makes his decisions? Does he have an underlying set of values or beliefs, have you seen that?

TM45: I think [the principal] is very much outcome oriented, and he wants to make sure we understand exactly we've been doing this curriculum alignment thing, get everybody in shape…sure there was some room for improvement. You know, you don't want to have a wide degree of variety amongst teachers teaching the same thing…. I've gone through it all. I've gone through the stages where basically "here's your course, you assign it, you teach it and" so on. Along came provincial exams and things and it forced everybody into the same category. I'm just not sure we haven't gone too far the other way. I feel sometimes that I can't even be creative anymore…. I perceive it as a Board thing. I could be wrong. I've perceived [the Principal] as very conscious of the Board's requiring such and such and as, from top down. Because he's really pushing this curriculum alignment and I know that is coming from the Board.

The following male vice principal will be retiring within the next few years. He is a career vice principal and has served under several principals in this school. His perspectives are political as well as pedagogical. He sees the current principal as being well aware of these values as well as the value of seeking consensus:

Int: As far as the decisions [the principal] makes are concerned, do you have any sense as to what the underlying basis is upon which he makes decisions?

VPM47: Well I find him very concerned that he covers all the bases, that all the stakeholders have a share in the decision. So if I'm going to compare him to [a previous principal]—that there's something that has to be done, [the previous principal] will make it just like that. Like, you know, he doesn't need [my co-vice principal] or me to [do it], this, this is the way he saw it, "I'm not wasting any time on it". It's cut and dried. Boom. [The current principal], on the other hand, takes more time, would like to meet and discuss with all players, all partners that are involved, get their opinions and then formulate a decision based on…consensus. What, what appears to me is that if the decision is going to impact on you, then you should have a say with the involvement of that decision. So he's very diplomatic and very open that way.

The vice principal sees this principal's work ethic as a highly praised value. He also comments on the principal's compassion towards students.

Int: Can you describe, what's the basic value that [the principal] has about education, about this school?

VPM47: I just think he's so genuine. He's so sincere and [it] comes across that he's very soft-spoken, very intelligent, very bright, extremely hard-working. Puts in tons of hours compared to the other two administrators that I've worked with. He's here till, I'm sure last night, when he was doing scheduling; he probably stayed [here] till 9 or 10 o'clock. There've been nights that he sent emails to me at 12 o'clock, midnight from his desk. His work ethic is tremendous, I think he's very honest and he's very sincere. He has a lot more compassion for the kids than any administrator I've ever worked with.

TM39 has been teaching science for 25 years and is presently serving as the Science Department Head. He sees accessibility to the Principal as a value. However, many of the interviewees for this school stated that an "old boys club" existed in the school. It is made up of the more established department heads and senior teachers. By both stated data and by innuendo, accessibility truly means "having the principal's ear on demand". In this excerpt, this teacher views visibility as accessibility, however, the triangulation of data would indicate that by not being accessible to this "club" was seen in terms of a high value of credibility and fairness by others:

Int: Do you have a sense as to what the underlying basis or philosophy is for decisions? Is there a set of beliefs or values of some kind that the principal uses?

TM39: Yes. [The Principal] is very much, as a new principal, as you can appreciate, he will follow [Board] policy to the tee. He would not give a school-wide decision that would go against policy. He will always know what the policy is and try to implement the board's policy… His beliefs—I see a little bit of contradiction actually occurring this year between what I believe are his beliefs and sometimes the actions that are occurring. One thing that is very different for us this year than we've had in my 25 years

is that the principal is not as accessible as we have experienced in the past. The door is open, but it's hard to get in that open door.

Int: Does that change the way decisions are made?

TM39: I believe so because we're not always aware of what decisions are being made behind closed doors unless it's at a monthly meeting or an administrative team meeting.

6.5 Conclusions

From this small sample (2 schools from our 12 schools), we created a working list of stated values focused on decision-making. Because our research project examines teacher perspectives within a principal succession event, we have identified descriptors which express the stated values, derived from both Charring Cross School and Bluenose School. A number of repeat or similar statements were made from both schools. Also, the polar opposite condition could also exist or be seen. For example where the descriptor is seen as an "ability", it could also be an inability. We placed each item into one of five generic groups in terms of how the participants described them initially (Table 6.2). These groupings were viewed, analyzed, and categorized within a contextual framework of the portrayed daily school life.

These generic categories, we believe support the contextual (local) value constructs that Hodgkinson, Leithwood, and Willower and Licata purport. For our use we can view the entire list in terms of the social context of each school. To each of the constituencies of each school, it was implied or indicated that their personal and or collective value(s) perspectives were phenomena that truly affected their immediate and short term future in terms of their working conditions and, by innuendo and projection, their happiness (or unhappiness) in the school. A decision-making outcome or procedure likely has either positive or negative consequences for an individual constituent or an identifiable constituency group. The consequence of any decision made by the principal alone or within a group (dictatorially or in concert) is a causal relationship. Whether conspicuous or inconspicuous, the causes and resulting effects of a decision will either have a principal supported or vilified. Social science constructs of community and community member interaction (positive or negative) is a constant result of decision making.

This indicates to us that all leadership decisions are moral and ethical questions or dilemmas. Within the genre of principal succession, these questions and their answers will foster or break down such community mores of morale and trust to name more general value parameters. Not surprisingly, values, as listed above, may or may not have philosophical foundations, they may be an event (such as the first day of school), eclectic phenomenon based (such as the time table), person(al) based (such as a conflict with a school policy between the principal and a staff member or members), and finally a misinterpretation of a communiqué that has different messages for differing constituent groups. From this short pilot study, context is quite

Table 6.2 Principal succession events: contextual groupings of mitigating emergent values on decision making arising

General givens
• Being dedicated to the belief that all actions are prepared and executed for the students
• Valuing students' best interests
• Creating value constructs for students
Communication
• Successful ability to clearly communicate with the parent body and contact them (collectively and individually in a professional manner)
• Being consistent in actions and communication
• Dealing with real, imagined, and implied administrator isolation; self, individual or group staff members
• Having good communication skills
• Having feedback mechanisms
• Demonstrates accessibility to all staff
Governance, politics
• Demonstrating an ownership of the school and its direction
• Providing the leadership and encouragement for the ongoing school improvement plan process
• Dealing successfully with competing school constituencies
• Having political diplomacy in dealing with internal and external school issues
• Demonstrated the successful act of decision making
• Demonstrates being accountable
• Demonstrates political savvy
• Continually attempts to gain consensus on issue
Pedagogical/curricular
• Ability to supervise school day timetable (curricular/scheduling) and school calendar
• To promote literacy and numeracy within the school itself and academic programs
• Fulfills and encourages curricula outcomes
• Demonstrates pedagogical knowledge
Morality, ethics, mores, values
• Demonstrating a sense of responsibility
• Clearly demonstrating moral "right" vs. "wrong" school community mores
• Fulfilling successfully school culture and climate needs
• Having an historical insight to the school and employing when required
• Having the ability to change beliefs (contextual and moral)
• Understanding and reacting to informal groups' values
• Demonstrates personal and community defined ethical values
• Demonstrates conscientiousness
• Demonstrates pragmatism
• Demonstrates hard work
• Demonstrates a solid work ethic
• Demonstrates fairness in accessibility to all staff

significant in defining the values of each school's constituent groups. This indicates that within principal succession events such mitigating emergent values on decision making will most likely have profound implications or influences on decision making and decision-making protocols.

Let us return for a moment to out theoretical foundations selectively construed from Hodgkinson, Leithwood, and Willower and Licata. Once again, we do not look at these mitigating values and generic groupings in a hierarchical Hodgkinson construct. Further we must remind ourselves that such issues as time tabling, promoting literacy and numeracy, for example, are not in and by themselves values or issues of values. It is the reactions from the impact of these issues that force constituents to make judgements, based on their personal moral and ethical beliefs that result in values creation.

Simultaneously, Leithwood's (1999) three principles: *carefulness and a constructively critical perspective; respect for the capacities and commitments of past and current educators; and continuous improvement* flavour and cast these real or imagined impacts and judgements into a Willower and Licata-like (1997) state of *valuation.* It is here in this rather murky and muddy psychological state, do constituents analyze and select their next series of actions. Whether it is in the realms of personal (or collective) safety, security, power, control or intellectual, or survival rationalization, constituents commit themselves to some form of a valuation-based direction. The resulting outcomes, whether peaceful, pathological within short-mid-long terms, go far in stabilizing or destabilizing the succession event, the school culture, the school climate and the interpersonal relationships between school constituents.

As mentioned earlier, schools are in constant flux. Principals in Canada (and probably in other jurisdictions) are living and working within more centralized legislative and curricular environments. As we have seen from our studies on trust and morale, within the principal succession event phenomenon, values derived from executive decision making can unify, destroy, or balkanize school constituent groups and school culture.

6.6 A Guide for Further Study

1. Given your own school district, or a district with which you are familiar, discuss the values that are in evidence as they relate to school principal succession. What implications can you draw from these values?
2. What ethical guidelines are in evidence within your school district that relate to principal succession and rotation events? How could these guidelines be improved upon?
3. This article suggests that negotiation and elucidation of the values constructs between the new principal and the teachers influences trust, morale, and teachers' sense of efficacy. Do you agree with this? Please provide an explanation for your reasons.
4. Identify personal and professional implications of the values constructs influencing trust, morale, and teachers' sense of efficacy, both positive and negative, for teachers and their work before, during, and after principal succession events.
5. Describe some of the decision-making processes by which teachers and principals may come to understand one another's values and values constructs.

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Chapter 7
Survive and Thrive: Leadership Distribution as a Strategy for Frequent Principal Turnover

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When considering the topic of principal succession, there is an implied sense of deliberation about the process. Yet in many of the schools where we work, we discover that changing principals is anything but an intentional process. Principals retire, leave to go elsewhere, take stress leave, are promoted, are fired—the circumstances that prompt a principal to move from the job are diverse, and often unplanned. This spontaneous and unpredictable nature of the change in principals prompted us to identify the topic for this chapter as "principal turnover", as we consider the effects of these unplanned and often detrimental changes in the life of the school.

To explore the impact of principal turnover on the school, an appropriate starting point focuses on questions about how one might understand the effects of the school leader on the school, and then examine the degree to which unplanned changes in leadership might alter those effects. Considerable work has been done to unpack the relationship between educational leadership and student learning (Leithwood et al. 2004; Leithwood et al. 2006). Recent research, including our own, has focused on the identification of variables that mediate the effects of leadership on student success. This work is particularly germane to understanding the impact of changes in leadership: it helps to identify the factors that might be affected when leaders are replaced in a school. This is the first part of the equation: to discover the variables that link leadership to student achievement.

There is, however, an aspect to the puzzle which complicates this equation: the changing nature of leadership itself. School leaders are being asked to be transformational leaders in order to dramatically improve school success. They are also being asked to be instructional leaders, to guide teachers in implementing new curricula and new pedagogical practices. Principals must also ensure that schools are both safe and supportive for the students. In carrying out these multiple roles, leaders are being asked to be more accountable, both to their employers and to their community, and to document the activities and accomplishments of the school.

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This process of "intensification" (Hargreaves 1994) is having an impact on the way principals lead, on the appeal of the job, and the length of tenure leaders have in their jobs. The intensity of the job is persuading many school principals to take early retirement, or look for positions in less demanding districts.

One response to this intensification process is an attempt by school and district leadership to share the load of school leadership across more people. While this distribution of leadership is often done for strong theoretical and organizational reasons (Leithwood et al. 2010), it is also true that the distribution may be simply a pragmatic response to a job that has become too demanding for one individual or even a small team. This chapter examines what research tells us about the impact leaders are having in schools, how those impacts are affected by leadership turnover, and the role of leadership distribution in mitigating negative effects of principal turnover in schools.

7.1 Framework: The Mediators Between Leadership and Student Achievement

The focus of much current work on leadership effects is the "soft pathways of leadership influence" described by Leithwood et al. (2010). While there is little evidence about the direct effects of leadership on student achievement, there is considerable research that describes these "soft pathways". Rowan's (1996) framework of these mediators (capacity, motivation and situation) has proved fruitful in recent research, describing the work that leaders do in building followers' capacity and motivation, and in creating a supportive setting in which members of the organization can work effectively. While acknowledging the importance of capacity and motivation, this chapter focuses on one aspect of this equation, the setting, exploring the degree to which leaders influence the culture of the organization.

There is considerable research which describes how the impact of school leadership on student achievement is mediated by school culture—values, norms and context (Deal 1993; Geertz 1973; Nanavati and McCulloch 2003; Senge 1990; Stoll 1999; Stolp and Smith 1994; Thacker and McInerney 1992). Healthy school cultures correlate strongly with increased student achievement and motivation (Macneil et al. 2009; Stolp 1994).

Linking this back to Rowan's model, it is the work that leaders do to build productive "cultures of change" (Patterson and Rolheiser 2004) that enhance teacher motivation, build teacher capacity, promote teacher efficacy (Tshannen-Moran et al. 1998) and create the professional unity and cohesion required for effective curriculum delivery (Stewart 2000) that contributes to student success (Erickson 1987; Sarason 1982; Schein 1993). In this regard, a substantial body of evidence indicates that principals have a strong effect on school culture, on school conditions and on classroom conditions which, in turn, have an impact on student success (Cotton 2003; Janerette and Sherretz 2007; Leithwood et al. 2004; Marzano et al. 2005; Norton 2003; Ross and Gray 2006; Sergiovanni 2000; Waters et al. 2003).

7.1.1 Principal Turnover

With this focus on school culture as central to understanding the effects of leaders on schools, then one would expect to see some effect on school culture from frequent changes in leadership. Exactly how this plays out is likely to be complex. There has been a considerable amount of research on the negative effects of frequent principal turnover. Grusky (1963) and Bruggink (2001) report that changing principals has negative consequences when it disrupts staff focus on improving student achievement. Others argue that principal turnover disrupts a school's change process under a number of circumstances:

- When a leader who supports a project leaves and is replaced by a leader with different priorities (Corbett et al. 1984)
- With the departure of "charismatic principals who 'radically transform' the school in four or five years" (Fullan 1992)
- When there is a poor "fit" between the leader and school (Davidson and Taylor 1998, 1999; Ogawa 1995)[1]

While one can appreciate circumstances in which principal turnover does have negative consequences, this is not a consistent outcome. Partlow (2004), for example, argues that student achievement operates independently from changes in school leadership. Miskel and Owens (1983) studied 89 schools in the US Midwest and found that principal succession had no significant consequences on other organizational effectiveness outcomes including staff job satisfaction, communication, instruction, school discipline and school climate. Despite these situations where changes in principal did not have adverse effects, there is considerable evidence to the contrary.

Leadership turnover does not have to occur every year or two to be problematic. Even in cases where a principal's tenure extends over a period of several years, teachers may remain alienated when principal turnover is the result of a mechanistic process of district leadership rotation. Macmillan's (2000) research has shown that when principal turnover is the result of a district policy of regular rotation, teachers become cynical about and resistant to change because of continual frustration with a principal "revolving door syndrome", the uncertainty and instability it causes and the perception of the new leader as a "servant to the system" (Reynolds et al. 2007). Teachers develop a deep distrust with regard to the new leader's loyalty, suspecting that they are more committed to their professional career advancement (often the district's rationale for principal rotation policy) rather than the long-term growth, development and welfare of the school community. Under conditions of regular principal turnover (i.e. routine, planned and predictable) the unintended consequence is that teachers learn to "wait them out" (Hargreaves et al. 2003); that is, teachers maintain barriers between themselves and new leaders in order to ensure

[1] The notion of "fit" between leader and school is central to district administrators' decision-making concerning principal placement.

that their school's professional culture becomes self-sustaining, "immunized" and impervious to change (Macmillan 2000; Macmillan et al. 2005).

All of these negative effects focus on the impact of frequent change in the principalship on the school culture. This raises the question of what is meant by "frequent" and how one would expect the impact to be shown in schools.

Research provides some insights into the optimum length of tenure of a principal. In this regard, we draw on two theoretical perspectives: The first is stage theory, used by researchers to map out leadership succession as a process with distinct phases and demands, in contrast to a singular event (Hargreaves et al. 2003). Researchers have identified patterns in the succession process, and described how each phase of the succession process shapes and influences the outcome of subsequent phases (Fauske and Ogawa 1983; Miskel and Cosgrove 1984; Miskel and Owen 1883; Ogawa 1991).

In their research with 29 headteachers in Denmark, England and Scotland, Reeves et al. (1998) developed a theory of career stages in school leadership, identifying eight stages in the succession process:

- Stages 1–3: pre-entry, entry and establishing a foundation
- Stage 4: taking action (9 months–2 years)
- Stage 5: rising above the floor level (18 months–3 years)
- Stage 6: the "crunch" making inroads into school culture, peoples' beliefs, values, assumptions (2–5 years)
- Stage 7: reaching the summit (4–10 years)
- Stage 8: time for change, completion of work, time to move on (5–10 + years)

This perspective from Reeves et al. suggests that a principal needs to be in place for about 5 years in order to have a positive impact on the organization—in particular, on the culture of the school. After 5 years, the principal's work may continue, but does not seem to be related to continued improvement.

A number of other authors have used stage theory to conceptualize the work of a new principal in improving the school. They are less specific, however, about the amount of time it takes to accomplish each stage of the process. Implicit in their frameworks is an understanding of change theory, which postulates that there is some variation on the "Triple I" model of change (Fullan 1991, 1993). This model describes change as a process of initiation (adoption), implementation and institutionalization (continuation). According to Fullan (1991), all successful schools experience an "implementation dip" (a drop in performance and confidence when people are faced with innovations that demand new knowledge, skills, strategies and relationships). People who are experiencing fear and anxiety about their capacity to manage change that is threatening require leaders who are empathetic and socially skilled. Fullan asserts, however, that there is no standard formula, "recipe or cookbook or step-by-step process" for re-culturing an organization. Evans (1996) deals with similar social–psychological issues, particularly the natural inclination to resist change that threatens comfortable patterns of behaviour.

Change theory literature and succession stage models suggest that sustainable improvement requires several years in order to work through complex cultural is-

sues such as resistance to change and acculturation of the new leader (Evans 1996; Fullan 1991; Hargreaves 2003; Hargreaves and Fink 2006). All of this takes some time to accomplish. Most stage models predict that it takes at least 5 to 7 years to build relationships of trust essential to move into the later stages of the succession process—"consolidation and refinement" in Gabarro's (1987) terms or "reaching the summit" according to Reeves et al. (1998). Principal turnover that occurs every 2 or 3 years makes it virtually impossible for the new principal to get beyond the early stages of succession: "unfreezing" (Lewin 1935, 1936, 1951), "implementation dip" (Fullan 2001), "taking hold" (Gabarro 1987) and building "trust" (Macmillan et al. 2005; Walker 2006).

This leads to a hypothesis that in order for a principal to be effective, he or she needs to remain in the position for a number of years; given the evidence reviewed here, 5 years seems reasonable. This, however, raises the question about the possibility of an upper limit of this tenure: is there a "best by" date for principals, beyond which they should not remain in the school? Does a principal become stale or stagnant if he or she remains in the position for too long? When is it "time to move on" (as suggested by Reeves et al. 1998)?

There appears to be little research to answer these questions, but the concept is postulated by a number of authors writing about principal succession. District superintendents, for example, often justify their principal rotation policies as a means to reinvigorate school administrators who seem to reach their peak effectiveness after 5 to 7 years (Boesse 1991; Mortimore et al. 1988; Rebhun 1995). But the wide range of reasons why individuals change jobs is likely to make it difficult to answer these questions with precision.

We hypothesize that there is a "pendulum effect" in the life of a principal in a school, with the optimum time being 4–6 years. Fewer years, and the principal can only initiate change/improvement—generally disrupting established routines, without having instilled new practices. After 5 years, we expect that the improvements are in place and are showing benefits for students. But after 7 or more years, the principal has done all that can be done, and starts to get stale. The longer the principal stays, the more complacent the school becomes, perhaps leading to negative effects on school success. While it has not been possible to test this hypothesis in our current work, we hope to explore it in the near future.

7.1.2 Distributed Leadership

The other piece of the puzzle is the question about the approach to leadership that is practiced in the school. In particular, we consider whether the practice of distributed leadership has the potential to make a significant difference in mitigating the effects of leadership changes.

There are a number of typologies that set out to define the nature and practice of distributed leadership (Firestone and Martinez 2007; Gronn 2002; Spillane 2006). The definition of patterns of distributed leadership around conscious planning and

alignment across sources of leadership appears particularly helpful (Leithwood et al. 2007). This approach defines four different patterns of leadership distribution, as follows:

- *Planful Alignment* (leaders' tasks and functions result from prior planful thought by organizational members and functions are rationally distributed in ways comparable to Gronn's holistic notion of "Institutionalized Practice")
- *Spontaneous Alignment* (fortuitous, positive, short-term working alliances comparable to Gronn's "Spontaneous Collaboration"; in Spontaneous Alignment leadership tasks and functions are distributed with little or no planning and tacit or intuitive decisions determine who should perform which leadership functions)
- *Spontaneous Misalignment* (disjunction between leadership functions that results in unpredictable outcomes and negative effects on short and long-term organizational effectiveness and productivity)
- *Anarchic Misalignment* (concept similar to the Hargreaves and Fink (2006), notion of "Anarchy" where members reject or compete with others' claims of leadership and influence over their decisions, priorities and activities)

In another recent empirical study, Anderson et al. (2008) analyzed distributed structures and student achievement trends in five diverse US schools. They found no correlation between distributed leadership forms and student achievement (Harris 2005; Hartley 2007; Timperley 2005) and cautioned that attempts to associate leadership with student learning and performance need to take into account different types of distributive leadership in relation to specific contexts and subject areas. The authors also point out that frequent principal succession rates may be an important factor (only one principal in their school sample had been at their school for more than 2 years). That is, a principal tenure of 3 years or less is too narrow a timeframe to reliably measure performance trends and the influence of distributed leadership structures. The authors speculate that "an effective program in the hands of competent teachers with adequate in-service training can yield acceptable student achievement results in some contexts despite the absence of a strong cohesive professional community".

Recent work on distributed leadership suggests that this style of leadership may affect the degree to which principal turnover has an impact on the school culture. Hargreaves and Fink (2006), for instance, conclude that the post succession process is best managed when the departing leader leaves a legacy of distributed leadership with shared vision, investment and capacity that ensures the sustainability of school improvement.

This leads us to further hypothesize that in times of frequent principal turnover (leader changes every 1, 2 or 3 years), involving leaders who bring different experience, priorities and leadership style, teachers are encouraged (or forced) to take leadership into their own hands and develop some stability by means of a self-sustaining professional culture that operates independent of the principal. The result of these conditions will be distributed leadership in one form or another. Where teacher leadership evolves strategically (planned and aligned with school plan) then the self-sustaining culture becomes unified, collaborative and productive. Where

the teacher leadership is neither planned nor aligned, then the self-sustaining culture drifts, gradually loses its collective sense of vision and purpose, and becomes increasingly professionally balkanized where each teacher focuses on his or her classroom, works in relative isolation from colleagues and takes responsibility for his/her own work. The result is an ineffective organization of "neglect" and "anarchy", where student achievement may remain unchanged, or perhaps even be undermined.

7.2 Methodology

This chapter reports on the results of a mixed-methods study of schools in the United States. This work was part of a larger study, *Learning from Leadership* (Leithwood et al. 2004), and used a sub-set of data collected as part of the first round of surveys for the larger study. States, districts and schools were selected for this and the larger study using stratified random sampling procedures:

- Nine states were selected to ensure variation in geography, demographics, state governance for education, curriculum standards, leadership policies and accountability systems.
- Forty-five districts within the nine states were selected to represent variation in size and student diversity (e.g. race/ethnicity, family income), as well as trends in student performance on state accountability measures.
- One hundred eighty schools within the 45 districts were selected to ensure variation in school level (elementary, middle and secondary), student diversity, and evidence of success in improving student achievement over 3 or more years. All teachers and principals in each school were asked to complete the surveys providing some of the evidence for this study.

There are two sets of data we are drawing from for this analysis. The first is the teacher survey, and the second is a set of case studies for four schools. Each of these is described in some detail in the following sections.

7.2.1 Statistical Data

Responses to 36 items from a 104-item survey administered to teachers provided data for this study. Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed with statements about each item on a 6-point scale. The achieved sample of data used for this study included responses by 2,570 teachers (78% response rate) from a total of 80 schools in which four or more teachers completed usable surveys and for which usable student achievement data were available.

This analysis explored the relationship between principal turnover and student achievement, and the variables that mediate that relationship. The principal survey

provided data on the number of principals in the school over the past 10 years. Data used to measure student achievement across schools were collected from state websites. These data were school-wide results on state-mandated tests of language and mathematics at several grade levels over 3 years (2003–2005). For purposes of this study, a school's student achievement was represented by the percentages of students meeting or exceeding the proficiency level (usually established by the state) on language and math tests. These percentages were averaged across grades and subjects in order to increase the stability of scores (Linn and Haug 2002), resulting in a single achievement score for each school for each of 3 years.

The data on student achievement for these schools covers just the most recent 3 years, yet the turnover of principals is measured over the past 10 years. The premise is that there would be a cumulative effect of principal turnover during this time, which would appear as an overall low level of achievement in the school in the most recent 3 years.

The teacher survey was designed to test the relationships among a wide variety of items. For the analysis reported here, we focused on two of those constructs that showed the potential for some insightful relationships mediating the effects of principal turnover on student achievement: one for school-wide culture, and the other for classroom focus on curriculum and instruction. School culture was an amalgamation of seven items from the teacher survey, covering such cultural norms as the involvement of teachers in school decision-making, professional development, time for collaborative planning, assessment practices, and teachers' shared values. The construct of classroom focus on curriculum and instruction included four items from the survey, covering topics such as inviting others into the teacher's classroom, sharing of curricular materials, and the conversations around school goals and the development of new curriculum.

These four variables—principal turnover, student achievement, and the two mediating variables, school culture and focus on curriculum and instruction—were the basis for the statistical analysis reported here.

7.2.2 School Case Studies

As a complement to the statistical analysis, we reviewed the qualitative data from interviews in all 40 schools, to select schools that had recently had a high level of turnover in the principalship. Four schools were identified in this way for intensive analysis of the interviews with the principal and five teachers in each school.

As it happens, all four schools are located in different states which are widely distributed geographically. Thus, the findings reflect a variety of state and district policy contexts, cultural variation and demographic characteristics. Analysis of interview transcripts, and the development of ethnographic profiles of principals' and teachers' experience of leadership succession,

Using NVIVO coding searches, the analysis provided references to and perceptions about the nature of principal turnover and its consequences for school vision,

structure and culture, teaching and learning and student achievement. Findings at this level were compared with theories of leadership succession and empirical findings of other studies on the topic. As well, trends in student achievement in state standardized tests in the last 3 to 5 years were examined for each school. This analysis formed the basis for our insights into the impact of changes in principal leadership in the school.

7.3 Analysis

The analysis starts with a review of the survey data, and draws some conclusions about the relationships described in that analysis. The case studies are then described and analyzed, providing illustrations of the phenomena found in the surveys.

7.3.1 Survey Analysis

SPSS was used to calculate the means, standard deviations and reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) for the variables in this study. Table 7.1 presents the descriptive statistics for these variables.

Among the 80 schools in this analysis, the average number of principals in the past 10 years was 2.78. This is equivalent to an average length of tenure of 3.6 years per principal. The standard deviation for this measure was 1.34, fairly high for a discrete measure such as this. The frequency of this distribution is presented in Fig. 7.1.

Correlations (Pearson's Correlation Coefficients) were calculated to assess the relationships between our meditating variables, the independent variable (the number of principals in the school in the past 10 years) and the dependent variable (student achievement). Table 7.2 provides the results of this analysis. As expected, the relationship between principal turnover and the measures of school and classroom conditions is negative. Teachers clearly associate the phenomenon of high principal turnover with a negative effect on the school.

Principal turnover is seen to be strongly correlated with school culture and with classroom curriculum and instruction. The lack of relationship between principal turnover and student achievement was surprising; one would expect to see a correlation between increases in principal turnover and decreases in student achievement. In light of this, we worked to unpack the relationship between principal turn-

Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics for variables

	Mean	SD	Reliability
Principal turnover	2.78	1.340	
School culture	4.34	0.550	0.83
Classroom curric. & instruction	4.79	0.294	0.65

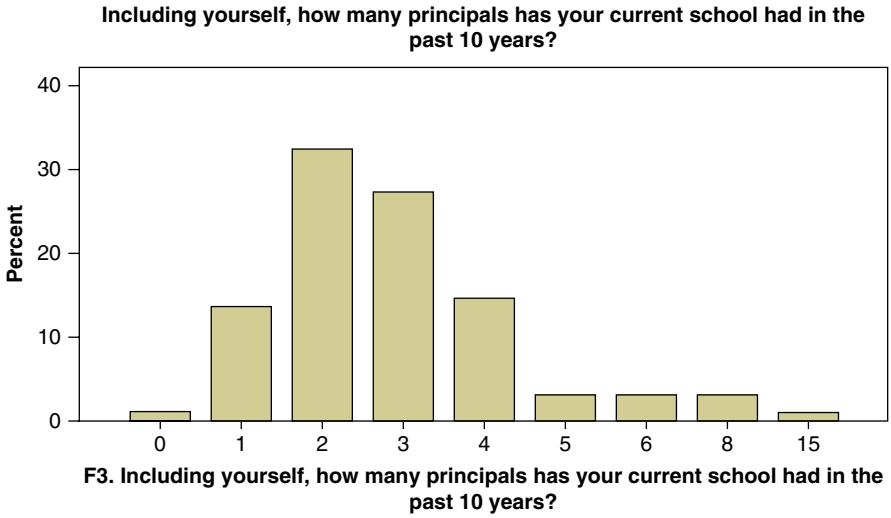

Fig. 7.1 Frequency of principal turnover in sample schools

Table 7.2 Correlations among the variables

	Sch. Cult.	Clsrm. C&I	Std. Achiev.
Principals in last 10 years	–0.373*	–0.332*	–0.170
School culture		0.775**	0.638**
Classroom curric. & instruction			0.469**

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed);
**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

over and student achievement, through the mediating variables we had been able to measure in this survey.

The second stage of the statistical analysis was to run a series of path models using LISREL to assess this relationship. Through a series of linear regressions, it became clear that school culture and the classroom focus on curriculum and instruction were the most powerful variables in accounting for changes in student achievement. Parallel regressions which described the relationship between principal turnover and these variables came up with the same results: both school culture and classroom focus on curriculum and instruction had the strongest relationships with principal turnover (for a more detailed description of this process see Mascall 2006). The result of the model run on these variables is presented in Fig. 7.2.

This model explains 41% of the variation in student achievement. While the links between principal turnover, curriculum and instruction, and student achievement are not significant over all, this model explains the highest proportion of the variation in student achievement of any of our attempts to explore this relationship. It is clear that the relationship through school culture was the strongest part of this model.

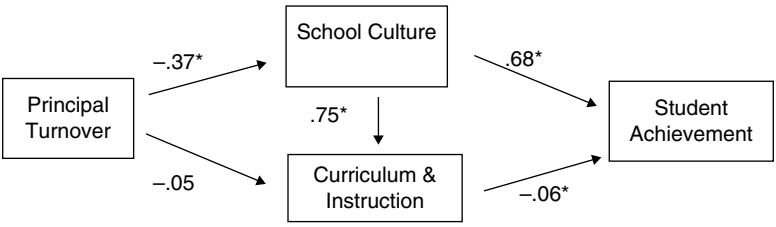

Fig. 7.2 LISREL Model 2: School culture and curriculum & instruction

In summary, this analysis provides evidence of small but significant effects of principal turnover on student achievement. The effects are felt most directly on school culture and some classroom conditions; these mediating variables in turn affect student achievement. The effects are felt at the school level more than at the classroom level.

The weaker impact of principal turnover on classroom variables suggests that teacher classroom practice is in some way buffered from direct effects of changes in principal leadership. Teachers may continue to feel secure in their classrooms, regardless of the school culture around them. While this limits the negative effects of principal turnover, it may also limit the potentially positive effects of the school leader trying to improve classroom practice. This makes a contribution to the central research question for the larger project, about the impact that leadership has on schools and students.

7.3.2 Case Studies

Given this clear relationships between principal turnover and student achievement through the school culture, the analysis focused on four schools which had reported high levels of principal turnover to see how schools dealt with this phenomenon. These four schools identified are profiled below.

7.3.2.1 Culbertson Elementary School

Culbertson is an urban elementary school with an enrolment of just over 600 students, almost all of whom meet state achievement expectations on the grade 3–5 standardized tests in reading, science and mathematics. The school has had three principals in the last 3 years; the current principal was promoted recently from

being an intern in the district. The district had been experiencing high principal turnover due to a new state retirement policy—20% of the district principals retired the year this option was announced. To deal with the challenges of principal succession, the district office has put in place a number of supports to help new principals acclimatize themselves in their new jobs, including monthly meetings and a mentor program with retired principals.

Principal turnover in this school has had no measurable impact on student performance either positively or negatively. From 2003 through 2006, the percentage of students meeting or exceeding state norms has been consistently in the high nineties across all grades and subjects.

The principal 3 years ago took a deliberate approach to leadership distribution, encouraging teachers to take on leadership, and planning to have this leadership aligned to school goals. By the time of this research, leadership had become distributed to a considerable extent, and teacher leaders were able to help introduce the incoming principals to the school culture. Since student achievement was not a source of concern in the school, there was little pressure to bring about any radical changes in teaching and learning. Consequently, new principals were at liberty to go with the flow in the school, and did not feel compelled to innovate.

This "planful alignment" has stood the staff in very good stead, through two succeeding principals. The teachers have been able to work together in shared leadership, and in so doing, sustain the learning of their students, despite changes in the principalship. There is a sense that the current principal is in tune with this approach to distributed leadership. As a result, there is congruence between what is being practiced in the school and the intentions of the school's formal leader.

7.3.2.2 Molina Elementary School

Molina is a small elementary school in an urban community. Thirty-one percent of students in this district qualify for free and reduced lunches, and the school has a population which is 35% non-white (mostly Hispanic). Student achievement scores are erratic: strong in grade 3, but weak in grade 4; strong in reading but not in writing. Overall, in the 3 years for which data exist, the levels of achievement have been improving.

State policy on principal retirement is in flux at present, encouraging some principals, facing an uncertain future, to get out "while the going is good". Hence there has been a high level of retirement over the past 5 years. Molina has had four principals in 7 years. District office staff remarked on early retirement as an ongoing problem and significant source of stress on the system's capacity to train and to replace its district and school leaders. The pressures of early retirement—as many as 20% of the total number of principals in the district changing in any 1 year—have spawned district initiatives to address the turnover problem. As a result of a District Literacy Initiative, there has been a structural shift to create teacher leaders in each school. Molina has five of these Literacy Coaches with an additional Library Coach position scheduled for next year.

Professional, cultural and emotional turmoil, however, are apparent in Molina since principal turnover has involved fundamental changes in philosophy and style of leadership. The four principals in 5 years at Molina had different personalities and insufficient time to establish trust and rapport. Long-serving support staff, familiar to teachers, parents and students, were able to take on leadership in the school in light of the annual change of principal. This case provides some evidence for our hypothesis about schools trying to distribute leadership in light of principal turnover. It is unfortunate, however, that other circumstances—particularly the high rate of teacher turnover—has undermined this effort.

Molina' professional culture fits the pattern of spontaneous misalignment. There was no planned effort to share leadership, nor was there a sense that the leadership was being aligned with school goals. Despite the best efforts of the teachers to take up the leadership of the school, and the support of the district in establishing formal teacher leadership positions, the combined effects of frequent principal turnover and frequent teacher turnover have made it impossible for this school to sustain any momentum in improving student learning.

7.3.2.3 Blake Elementary School

Blake is a small elementary school in an inner-city district. A high proportion of the population is black, and a significant proportion of the school community live below the poverty line. Student achievement is not high; achievement levels in grade 3 and 4 communication arts and grade 3 math are at or above state averages, but results for grade 4 and 5 math and grade 5 communication arts remain below state averages. The number of children achieving to the state standard in literacy has been increasing steadily over the past 3 years.

At Blake, there have been three administrators in 7 years. There have also been a significant number of new senior administrators in the district in the past 2 years: a new superintendent, and three new directors at the district level, and three new administrators at the school level across a total of seven schools.

Blake is the story of a charismatic principal whose vision of Professional Learning Community (PLC) has shaped the school's identity, structure and culture. While the current principal did not initiate the PLC concept, she has chosen to carry it on as the central feature of the school's shared vision. Thus, the PLC in this case has provided the foundation for cultural and structural continuity from the previous principal to the current principal.

This case is an example of planful alignment. Principal turnover, in this case, has not resulted in cultural chaos or teacher alienation, because there was a clear and planned focus. Blake's school-wide focus was strong enough to survive the upheaval of rapid principal turnover, partly because collaborative structures were already well established and accepted, and partly because the new principal's philosophy and practices were consistent with the existing school culture, and compatible with teachers' sense of professionalism.

This appears to be another case of planful alignment in the distribution of leadership. Teachers were able to take on a shared vision, and sustain it despite the change in leadership; indeed, the support of the new principal for the existing vision became a key element in the positive culture of this school.

7.3.2.4 Rhodes Middle School

Rhodes Middle School is located in a low-income community, in which 60% of the students qualify for free or reduced lunches. The community is diverse, with a low median income, and 13% of the population is below the poverty line. Student achievement has been consistently high over the past 3 years. Rhodes has its fourth principal in 4 years, as well as highly transient student and teacher populations. The first of the four recent principals believed strongly in site-based management, and fostered a culture in which teachers learned to rely on their own leadership to get things done. The teachers have taken on a kind of de facto leadership, taking personal responsibility for their own classroom practice, but not much else. This highly independent culture did not promote collaboration; it was every teacher for him- or herself.

While many teachers at Rhodes may have been satisfied with how they sustained their school culture despite principal turnover, the current principal saw professional entrenchment and barriers to administrator influence. Essentially, the new principal set about re-culturing the school without dismantling its existing decision-making structures. She established a calculated balance between her own authority and distributed leadership, given the unstable context of frequent principal succession. She set out to establish a collective focus on instructional practice, and on data-driven decision-making.

In linking this to the patterns of leadership distribution, this is an example of approach anarchic misalignment, where there is a highly independent way that teachers took on leadership, and no concurrent alignment in the way the leadership linked to school-wide objectives. The approach of the new principal has been more directive than collaborative, but may eventually produce a more collaborative culture, as teachers learn to work together.

7.4 Total Leadership

There is one final set of survey data we used in this analysis. Teachers were asked to evaluate the degree of influence provided by people in a wide range of roles, both within and outside the school. When summed, the total of all the levels of influence gives a rating for "total leadership" in each school. Table 7.3 offers the average ratings for each of the different roles and for total leadership as a whole for all 80 schools in our sample, and for each of the case study schools.

With a possible score for each role identified in this list of six, it is clear that district-level leaders and the principal are ranked the highest in our sample of

Table 7.3 Ratings for sources of distributed leadership in schools

Source of leadership	All schools	Culbertson	Molina	Blake	Rhodes
District-level administrators	5.30	5.17	5.05	5.50	5.41
Principal	5.33	5.72	5.33	5.86	5.69
Other building-level administrators	4.69	5.07	4.18	4.07	4.75
Teachers w/s designated leadership roles	4.46	5.34	4.89	5.43	4.27
Teachers in teams	4.37	5.07	4.74	5.31	4.19
Teachers as individuals	4.29	4.76	5.11	4.64	4.13
Some individual parents	3.98	4.66	4.05	3.92	3.25
Parent advisory groups	3.89	5.04	4.26	4.46	3.24
Students	3.50	3.90	3.21	3.64	3.61
Total leadership	*39.82*	*44.73*	*40.83*	*42.84*	*38.53*

80 schools. In the four case schools, teachers all ranked their principal as much more influential than the district leadership. In general, teachers in various roles (as individuals, in formal roles, or as members of teams) were all ranked closely behind the formal leaders in the degree of influence they showed. Yet the case schools which were taking a planful and aligned approach to leadership distribution (Culbertson and Blake) ranked teachers much higher than the other two case schools, and higher than the average for the sample as a whole. Schools in general ranked parents and students the lowest in terms of the degree of influence shown, but again in the schools following planful alignment, they ranked the parents higher.

Finally, the rankings for total leadership give a similar insight: schools which are seen to be distributing leadership have a higher rating for total leadership than those that do not. These schools see more influence—in effect, more "leadership"—than schools that do not distribute leadership in a planfully and aligned way. It is also interesting to see that these schools distributing leadership still rank their principals as highly influential. The distribution of leadership is not undermining the influence of the principal, but is adding to the amount of total leadership being practiced in the school.

7.5 Discussion of Cases

In all four of these cases, there has been a high level of principal turnover in recent years, from a new principal every year for 3 or 4 years, to one every 2 years for 7 years. In all four of these schools, there has also been some attempt at distributing leadership, but the approaches each school has taken have been significantly different. The culture in each school has also been very different. In this analysis, we describe some of the common elements, and some of the differences.

These four case study schools seem to have little in common except the fact that their leaders change frequently. Yet two of these schools seem to have found ways to deal productively with changing leadership, while the other two have not.

Culbertson took a deliberate approach to the distribution of leadership, and created a culture with a strong shared vision and a commitment to collaboration. Blake built a strong professional community which survived changes in leadership. In both these cases, leadership became distributed among a number of teachers in the school. Despite changes in principals, the supportive culture in these schools was sustained, and continued to thrive.

In the other two cases, there was less success with leadership distribution; while there was some attempt by the district to promote teacher leadership, this did not appear to influence the culture of the school. Teachers remained independent, in a culture that supported their isolation.

There seems to be an important element in the degree to which an incoming principal feels the need to change the culture of the school. Where a productive culture with a focus on instruction and improved student learning exists, then new principals who are able to support this culture will find a more sustained improvement in the school. However, principals who feel the need to change the school culture will contribute to a less supportive culture, at least in the short term, with less likelihood of sustained improvement in the long term. It appears that the shared vision, in particular, is a key element in sustaining good practice and improvement.

It is worth noting that it is not possible to link the principal turnover in these schools to their student test results. All four schools are either doing well on such tests, or their performance is improving. There is, however, a relationship between the principal turnover and the culture in the school, but the turnover in principals is not linked directly to student achievement, nor is the approach to leadership distribution affecting how students succeed. This presents a conundrum in our work: if the negative effects of principal turnover, and the effects of an unsupportive culture are not seen in student success, to what extent are these considered to be influential variables in the lives of schools?

While this result does not support the primary finding from our statistical analysis, the two results are not incompatible. With the indirect effect charted in the path model (Fig. 7.2), it is the mediating effect of the school culture that is determining the cumulative effects of principal turnover on student achievement. These effects are not expected to be seen explicitly in a case study. Applying the conclusions from the statistical analysis to these cases, it would be expected that the schools would do even better if they were following the pattern of planful alignment.

7.6 Conclusions

The conclusions from this analysis can be summarized in the following five statements:

- Frequent principal turnover has a small but significant effect on student achievement.
- Frequent principal turnover has an impact on school culture.

- Incoming principals can minimize the disruption of leadership change if they are able to provide support for an existing culture, rather than trying to establish a new culture.
- Leadership distribution can be a productive response to high principal turnover.
- Taking a planned and aligned approach to leadership distribution ensures that the school culture will remain positive and productive.

This analysis points to a clearly negative impact on students as a result of frequent changes in principals over an extended period of time. High principal turnover is therefore associated negatively with ratings of school culture. Principal turnover was found to have a significant effect on the school as a whole, but a weaker effect on classrooms. From the case studies, minimizing disruption due to leadership succession supports the work of change theorists who look for changes which sustain practice rather than constantly starting afresh with new approaches. Leadership distribution may be seen as either a coping mechanism from teachers feeling lack of leadership in the school, or a deliberate strategy by leaders to handle a situation. In either case, the distribution of leadership can create a culture in which teachers can sustain their good work. Leadership distribution leads to not just different leadership but more leadership in the school.

7.7 A Guide for Further Study

1. Although there is often an implied sense of deliberation about the process of principal succession, in many schools changing principals is anything but an intentional process. Discuss why this statement may or may not be valid.
2. What are some of the conditions that relate to the changing nature of the role of the leader? What is the origin of some of these conditions?
3. How has the leadership role changed from times past? What are some of the societal impacts on leaders, on the society in general and on teachers and students that have conspired to create such changes?
4. Do you believe that principal turnover is strongly correlated with school culture, classroom curriculum and instruction? To what degree do you believe that school leaders influence the culture of their schools? Justify why you believe this to be so.
5. Given your response to the previous question, would you agree that there is little correlation between principal turnover and student achievement? Can you identify mediating variables that would help to validate or refute this finding? What variables would you suggest that may influence this?

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Chapter 8
Trust During Transition: Strategic Leadership and Trust Development During Principal Succession

Shawn Northfield, Robert Macmillan and Matthew J. Meyer

The dominance of economic rationales for change combined with a climate of criticism of educational institutions and the general absence of additional funding to secure improvement pervades current political agendas and administrative exchange in western democratic education systems (Bottery 2007). Although educational reform is not unique to the twenty-first century, the type of reform including a focus on learning for all students with increased visibility and accountability combined with an increased delegation of responsibilities to site management without devolution of power has created a different and more complex environment in which school leaders play a pivotal role (Crow 2007). Essentially, the current context of educational reform places greater responsibility on principals to positively impact student achievement via direct influence on the teaching and learning process while, at the same time, requiring them to perform increased bureaucratic and management tasks that ultimately limit and reduce their ability to do so.

The ever-present reality of mass centralization of educational governance in Canadian and international public education systems (Levin 2004), multi-million dollar budgetary cutbacks, the amalgamation of school boards, the consolidation of schools and the replacement of deteriorating physical plants (MacKinnon 2001) all contribute to a difficult, and often uncertain, working environment in schools. While attempting to adapt to a changing and complex educational reality, principals and teachers are also expected to introduce school improvement initiatives. However, in many schools, they often do not have the luxury of Fullan's (1999, 2001a) 3- to 6-year time span to institutionalize these initiatives. School districts, for various reasons, also contribute to the problem by transferring administrators, either by design (e.g. systematic rotation policies) or necessity (e.g. retirements). As a result, many school systems throughout Canada now face the challenges of chronic succession brought about by accelerated rates of principal turn over.

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8.1 Principal Succession

Principal succession can be described as the complex social process characterized by interactions among a school's faculty and their new principal, and among the principal and others from the time of his/her appointment until such a time that he/she has been inducted into the school's culture and is perceived to have taken charge as leader, usually within 2 years of the new appointment (Greenfield 1993). The precise beginning or end of the succession process or transition period may be influenced by a number of factors including: (1) the local school environment; (2) the external environment; (3) and pre-succession events (Hart 1993). Leadership succession involves five major stages: (1) taking hold, (2) immersion, (3) reshaping, (4) consolidation, and (5) refinement (Gabarro 1987). The degree to which a succession event is successful depends in part on the principal's ability to participate effectively in (1) assessing the organization and diagnosing its problems; (2) building a team focused on a set of shared expectations; and (3) bringing about timely changes that address organizational challenges.

The process of succession as experienced by teachers is largely influenced by those who lead during the transition. Although leadership can be derived from many people and groups in a school (Leithwood and Louis 1998), the principal continues to be regarded as having the highest legitimate authority and can exert a great deal of influence (Blase and Blase 2001; Leithwood and Reihl 2003). A principal succession event provides an opportunity for a re-examination of a school's culture and leadership protocol. It also reveals the potential vulnerability of all constituents and illustrates the critical importance of the role of the principal.

8.1.1 The Role of Principal

At present, the moral and legal responsibility for instituting and overseeing school reform continues to reside with the school principal. However, the role of the principal has swelled to include a staggering array of professional tasks and competencies in order to meet the learning needs of all students while at the same time attend to the often conflicting needs and interests of a multitude of educational stakeholders. At any one time, and often at the same time, principals are expected to be educational visionaries, instruction and curriculum leaders, assessment experts, budget analysts, facility managers, special program administrators as well as guardians of various legal, contractual, and policy mandates and initiatives (Davis et al. 2005).

A successful principal must be able to utilize a combination of two distinguishable skill sets: leadership and management. Management is concerned with efficient operations, doing things right and attending to questions of how and when, whereas, leadership involves dealing with people and emotions for purposes of doing the right thing and answering questions of what and why (Bennis 2003). For principals new to a school/position, who must work to accommodate individual stakeholder

concerns while attending to a big picture reality, there is a need to be 'strategic' in their leadership focus.

8.1.2 Strategic Leadership

The basic concept of leadership involves two essential components: the process of influencing other's behaviour and, in doing so, procuring for the purposes of goal development and goal achievement. To frame the leadership practices that can be used by a principal, we refer to Davies' (2004) concept of strategic leadership. Davies suggests that strategic leadership builds on Mintzberg's (1994) rejection of strategic planning. Strategic leadership does not focus solely on a fixed definable, quantifiable goal and attendant pathways to achieve the goal, but does focus on an overall intent that shapes the practices, approaches and processes that a leader uses to achieve the desired direction for the organization. Strategic leaders have a vision for the organization embedded in a set of moral purposes and values that shape the strategies used (Davies and Davies 2005). The idea is to connect moral purpose and values to organizational processes and behavioural norms such that they become so strongly embedded in the school's professional culture that the teaching and learning community sustains them. This, however, requires a certain degree of trust between participants.

8.1.3 Trust and Succession

For principals, leadership legitimacy begins with trust (Greenleaf 1977) and can be developed over time as relationships mature and individuals are able to gather and evaluate increasing amounts of trust-relevant information (Lewicki et al. 1998). To ease the potentially tumultuous nature of succession and implement any necessary school reforms, principals new to a school must find ways to establish and develop trust as quickly as possible. Research indicates that teachers' trust in their principal as well as their colleagues has been linked to the effectiveness of schools (Bryk and Schnieder 2002; Hoy et al. 1992; Tarter et al. 1995; Tschannen-Moran and Garesis 2004).

Trust is a complex, multidimensional and dynamic construct (Cufaude 1999; Joseph and Winston 2005; Sparks 2000; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2000) and is largely a function of the nature of the relationship that exists between participants. In situations of interdependence, trust functions as a way of reducing uncertainty (Holmes and Rempel 1989; Luhmann 1979) and safeguarding one's sense of vulnerability when relying on another (Gambetta 1988; Mishra 1996). Since interpersonal relationships within organizations are not devoid of power differentiation (Baier 1986), and operate within varying contexts, constraints and influences, the nature of vulnerability may change as the level of interdependence and stage of relationship changes (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2000).

We believe that the conceptual definition of trust in its most basic sense is the "belief in the capabilities of others to care for something important to the trustor" (Tschannen-Moran and Garesis 2004, p. 4). A more comprehensive analysis of the term sees it as an individual's or group's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the confidence that the latter party is benevolent, reliable, competent, open and honest (Hoy and Tschannen-Moran 1999). Trust is a reciprocal relationship in that to trust someone requires tacit as well as explicit agreement to rely on another. This may include the sharing of knowledge (Davenport and Prusack 1998), protection from risk (Harmon and Toomey 1999), and an expectation for appropriate action (Kanter 2004).

From an organizational standpoint, trust between individuals and groups of individuals is known as 'relational trust' and deemed necessary for the attainment of institutional objectives as people and groups rely on each other to perform and carry out expected tasks (Bryk and Schneider 2002). In recognizing that principals and teachers are ultimately responsible for the follow through of educational reform and school improvement initiatives, the notion of trust among constituents becomes essential and can be regarded as the "bridge that reform must be carried over" (Louis 2003, p. 31).

8.2 Objectives

To develop insights into the process and results of principal succession, we need to examine how the people who participate in the succession event are affected by it and how they understand and make sense of it (Gephart 1978). The focus of this chapter is to show how one principal purposefully developed trust and utilized strategic leadership to create and to foster the development of a positive and cohesive school culture aimed at increasing teacher effectiveness and student achievement. School culture is defined as the complex of behavioural norms, assumptions and beliefs of a school or learning organization (Owens 2001), and may be typified by the way things are done in an organization (Carlson 1996).

Unlike research into typical succession events where there exists an established school population and teaching staff, this case study is unique in that three rural schools (two elementary and one high school) became one under the administration of a new principal. The population catchment area consists of a region with three identifiable multicultural groups that were previously educated within their home communities. We looked to identify and explore the principal's trust building and strategic leadership focus to determine the source of the teachers' overwhelmingly positive perceptions of this succession event. The investigation is based on the perceptions of a sample of the teachers involved as well as those of the principal over a 2-year period.

The underlying purposes of this chapter are to determine the degree of influence that a principal has, either positively or negatively, on a school's culture (Evans 1968; Fullan 2001b; Schneider 1983); second, to examine the influence that a prin-

cipal has on establishing and expediting trust along the trust continuum (Macmillan et al. 2005, 2004); and third, to determine successful goals and practices associated with strategic leadership during succession (Davies and Davies 2004).

Aspects of how a principal can attend to and influence the 'strategic architecture' including relationships, culture, learning and resources (Davies 2004) are used as an analytical framework. Components of trust criteria focused on ability and interpersonal relations along with the nature and congruence of the principal's actions, policies and values (APV) (Northfield et al. 2006) are used to help analyze the principal's practices and teachers' perceptions of trust development. In addition, the work of Bascia and Hargreaves (2000) highlighting the four dimensions of teachers' work (technical, intellectual, socio-emotional and socio-political) is used to frame the principal's successful implementation of specific goals and strategies.

8.3 Methodology

Our examination of the development of trust and use of strategic leadership during principal succession is part of a larger 4-year study examining principal succession and its impact on teachers' work. We based our research on constructivist inquiry (Lincoln and Guba 1989) that used a mixed methods research approach (Reichardt and Cook 1979), that was influenced by Brinberg and McGrath's (1982) concept of research domains. We commenced with a survey of all junior and senior high schools in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada which generated a data set that contributed to the development of interview questions. From this initial foray we were able to locate a unique succession event.

For the purposes of this aspect of the study we commenced with a phenomenological case study focused on one school, which is a bounded system, both in time and place (Creswell 1998). This rural school, comprised of classes from Kindergarten to grade 12 had undergone two succession events in 2 years after combining the students and staffs of one high school and two elementary schools into one building. The school was built under a government initiative to partner public requirements with private companies in order to replace ageing school facilities (Public–Private Partnership or P3 School).

Twelve teachers and the principal were invited to participate in this study. The teacher participants were selected so as to have representation from a cross section of years of experience and of gender. Many of the teachers were nearing retirement and only a few had less than 5 years experience. Interviews with the teachers and principal took place in the fall of 2002 and the spring/summer of 2004 with each interview lasting between 60 and 75 minutes. The interviews took place in a location of the participants' choosing that encouraged the level of comfort needed for the interviews to feel conversation-like (Marshall and Rossman 1989). All interviews were transcribed and then coded (Miles and Huberman 1994; Strauss 1987). Triangulation, validity (Maxwell 1996) and contextual narrative concerns were closely monitored (Holstein and Gubrium 1998; Lincoln 1997). During the analysis of the

interviews, participants' perceptions were categorized by emerging patterns and themes and analyzed for meaning (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

In preparation for the study, a document analysis was conducted on school district memoranda and policies to ensure that the account included an accurate comparison among policies, procedures and guidelines regarding principal succession, and the principal's and teachers' perceptions of the practices around principal succession within the board.

8.4 Analysis

The case school in this study was built under a government initiative to partner public requirements with private companies in order to replace ageing school facilities (Public–Private Partnership or P3 School). The previous structure was in such a state of disrepair that it was not considered worthy of renovation, repair or even resale. It was razed, and the site redeveloped to accommodate the new building which featured, among other things, a bright, open meeting space, modern drama facilities, and state-of-the-art technology.

8.4.1 Amalgamation of Schools (Prior to New Principal's Arrival)

The plan for the new school did create at least one significant issue. It called for the closure of two elementary schools and the consolidation of the student and teaching population from these schools along with the students and teachers from the secondary school into the new facility. Initially, the school district decided that the new building would accommodate the elementary and secondary populations by creating separate schools with separate administrations.

The elementary principal faced not only the difficulty of coordinating the use of the building with the secondary principal, but also had to deal with the complexities of helping the teachers from the two former elementary schools from two separate and distinct communities to build new relationships in the new school. At the same time, the newly appointed secondary principal had to develop a working relationship with his elementary colleague, as well as demonstrate to the secondary teachers how he would administer the secondary school.

The bringing together of three staffs for the first year in the new building was a difficult task because some teachers were very resistant to the amalgamation of schools. As in any case where structural changes and personnel re-assignments occur, the staff dynamics were strongly influenced by many factors. Megan described this coming together as follows:

> Some of these people haven't worked together, and a lot of them had feelings of resistance for this whole new school opening in the first place because they're from two smaller

> schools. Not on the high school side, because on the high school side they were the same, the same students, the same staff. But the two smaller elementary schools that had both closed, a lot of the teachers felt resistance and for them this was the school they taught in for their whole teaching careers. You know they only have a few years left [of teaching] and all of a sudden they feel forced.

According to the participants, notable successes did occur in the first year of amalgamation, particularly in the high school where the former high school staff remained virtually intact. However, some teachers and parents were dissatisfied and voiced their concerns with the school board. In response to this dissatisfaction with the administrative structure, the school board announced in the spring of that year that restructuring would occur with only one principal in charge.

8.4.2 The Consolidation of Administrative Structures

The coordination of the use of the facilities to address the different needs of the student populations and the separate cultural identities of both staffs became so difficult that 1 year after opening, this arrangement was changed: the schools came under one principal and one new name. To facilitate this process, both administrators were replaced by a principal who was noted for his no-nonsense approach to education. At this point, this new principal's task became focused on helping the teachers to function as one staff under the aegis of one administration, a task which was difficult due to fragmentation and competing visions of what the school ought to be.

The new principal had taught in various schools in the area and had previous administrative responsibilities in at least two other schools. He was charged with the task of helping the elementary, junior high and secondary teachers to see themselves as part of one school, while both preserving and further developing the organization and structures necessary to accommodate the curriculum at the elementary, junior high and senior high levels. This required building a common school culture and developing or improving the working relationships among teachers from the various grade levels. The succession event was seen as welcome relief, not because it represented substantial educational reform, but rather, because the change in principal represented a perceived step towards a more orderly and respectful teaching and learning environment. The disequilibrium of the previous year had been notably apparent to participants:

> The kids were out of control and there was a lack of discipline. Teachers were treated disrespectfully by the students. (Megan)
> We were having so much difficulty that first year with so many issues that some kind of change had to ensue. (Joe)

The participants stated that upon the announcement by the school board that the administrative structures would be consolidated, for the most part, they were not only expecting a change, but were hopeful that a principal succession would take place. Megan explained further.

> Last year none of us felt comfortable to take risks. None of us felt secure, none of us felt that this was a comfortable place. And I think if you feel that way in your work environment you can't help but show it in your classroom. So I think that once people knew that we were going to have a change, and that we'd be part of something where we would be able to feel comfortable and secure, they were supportive. I think it showed even at the end of the year once we knew the change would happen.

The stage was set for the arrival of a new principal who was known among the educators of the area. When the school district announced the appointment, reaction among the teachers was immediate.

> I heard about the change in May or whenever they announced, because I had made my decision to reapply for a job at that school based on the fact that I knew who the new principal was. (Megan)

Others talked about the change in morale due to the anticipation of having this particular incoming principal. Bob, an elementary teacher, reflected that the anticipated change was positive.

> *Interviewer:* Now how did hearing the news impact how you interacted with your colleagues?
> *Bob:* I would say…once we found out this gentleman was coming,…because morale was pretty low,…it immediately changed the atmosphere in the school.
> *Interviewer:* Okay, give me some examples.
> *Bob:* Well, basically, a lot of people were just in their classrooms doing their own thing. We had major difficulties with discipline, in the halls, in the cafeteria and whatnot. And I guess managing your own classroom was your island. So as a result of that, morale was kind of low. Now this gentleman who was coming in had a reputation of being not strictly a disciplinarian, but also an effective manager of people and students. So when we heard he was coming in, people got kind of excited. It was like they let a breath out. Immediately the attitude became a little bit more positive. What I thought interesting was that this new guy didn't even set foot in the building. All this was based on his reputation.

The anticipation of the new principal's arrival by the teachers along with the School Board's decision to replace existing administrative leadership with an outsider was likely based on the belief and expectation that bringing in a new administrator into an organization experiencing performance difficulties will be more likely to solve the problems (Carlson 1972; Davidson and Taylor 1999). Perhaps most significant was the teachers' initial confidence or 'trust' in the new principal to induce positive change.

The development of trust for administrators, including beginning and experienced principals new to a particular position/school, occurs along a fluid four-stage continuum (Macmillan et al. 2005, 2004; see Fig. 8.1).

Initially, discernment begins with [role] and [practice] trust, where actions of the principal can be anticipated and judged according to legally ascribed expectations of the principal's 'role' and predicted over time as a result of accumulated observations and experiences with the principal's 'practice'. Trust then becomes [integrative] where the intentions of the principal's actions can be accurately interpreted, understood and associated with corresponding values and beliefs. At this point, trust can stagnate, diminish or deepen. If the principal's actions, policies and values are perceived by participants as acceptable, appropriate and congruent, then the [cor-

Stages of Trust	Description of the Level
Role Trust	Teachers and vice-principals trust the principal to function within the legal mandate of the position, that is, the principal will follow the laws, policies and regulations that govern schools and the position.
Practice Trust	After observing the principal's practice, teachers and vice-principals can predict how a principal will respond in a given situation.
Integrative Trust	After observation of the principal in a multitude of situations, teachers' and vice-principals' trust is based on their identification of underlying principles/values on which the principal makes decisions.
Correlative Trust	Teachers' and vice-principals' trust is based on a deep understanding and sharing of the principal's beliefs and philosophy such that they are able to function as part of a mutually supportive team.

Fig. 8.1 Continuum of trust. (Adapted from Macmillan et al. 2005)

relative] construct of trust can be realized. Here, there is a 'thickening' of trust (Bottery 2005) or an increased 'degree' of cognitive 'confidence' (Kee and Knox 1970; Rousseau et al. 1998; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2000) where shared values and mutual respect serve as the foundation for an intuitive working relationship.

In effect, trust between constituents begins as being strictly professional and may then develop over time to incorporate personal trust into the relationship (Ingstrup and Crookall 1998; Lewicki and Bunker 1996) with gradations and variations in between. During a succession event, once in position, the new principal's use of the authority allotted to the role is a key factor affecting the development of subordinate constituents' trust in the principal (Hardy et al. 1998).

In this case, teachers had a conception of the new principal such that they expected him to act in a particular way. The principal was aware of the positive reputation that he had among the teachers of the area and looked to capitalize on this 'role trust' by acting to make changes that he believed were necessary to create a common school culture and to develop and to improve working relationships. Although many teachers appeared to be ready for the changes which they anticipated from the outset of the new principal's tenure, the new principal's ability to progress to 'practice trust' and beyond with his staff would be dependent on both what changes would be made and how he would lead during the initiation and follow through of these changes.

8.4.3 Building a New Culture

The newly appointed principal began to collect information about the school in which he would lead next fall, and to formulate a plan that included not only his entry into the school, but also a vision towards which he thought the school should head. One of his first tasks centred on trying to identify the issues and concerns

about the school from the various factions and stakeholders. To do this, he talked with students, teachers, board members as well as the incumbent administrative staff of the school.

> Before I started the next year, I met with both principals in June to talk about teacher placements. When I could I made some school visits at lunch hour to get a feel for how teachers and students worked and interacted. I would have informal chats with students and teachers in the hallways and watch to see how things were done. I was able to see what could be done and what had to be done for next year. (Principal)

By attending to the many participant voices, the principal was better able to develop a composite understanding of the many contextual issues, and as a result, devise strategic thinking in light of his own prevailing philosophy around schooling.

> From day one, when you set up a school, you do not set it up for teachers. As much as they might not like it, you set it up for the students because they are first priority. (Principal)

He hoped that this vision served as the basis for the creation of a common identity for the new school. His main thrust for action was to concentrate on student needs for the whole school as a way to focus teachers' attention away from their individual classroom or grade-level concerns, thus building a common sense of purpose, regardless of grade level.

Prior to the beginning of his tenure, over the summer, the principal invited teachers to come to the school at their convenience to discuss their thoughts and suggestions for next year. This action recognized the importance of learning about pre-succession events and expectations influenced by teachers' perceptions (Hart 1993). The teachers recognized his efforts.

> He addressed what we were all thinking and feeling. I found him very open and very direct. He talked about the perceptions of the school the year before and he talked about meeting teachers and finding out what they felt needed to be worked on for the school year. He asked what are the biggest things we wanted to work on and he said "I'm not going to come in here and say we're going to change everything right away, but let's talk about the things we can do and the most important issues that have to be addressed." And as a staff we felt this was the chance to say what we couldn't say before. And not only that, we knew that it was actually going to be followed through on. (Phil)

The new principal's credibility and reputation had people believing in him almost immediately, and as a result, the school morale rose quickly (Gabarro 1987). Part of the success of this strategy was the staff's willingness to share their thoughts and feelings about their school, about the way things were done, and about what they felt needed to be changed. The principal acknowledged and gave credence to the staff's concerns and challenges, and also did not try to change some of the previously successful established procedures and routines. Most teachers believed he made a real attempt to understand what existed already before he constructed and implemented a new, or different, approach to solving pre-existing challenges.

Although principals are important and their visions key in focusing attention on change and in successfully implementing the process of change, what counts in the end is the bringing together of the ideas and commitments of all stakeholders (Sergiovanni 1995). This principal was able to find a balance between providing choice

and soliciting input, with providing clear guidance and a vision of their version of the change to be implemented.

In the process of 'direction setting' and the development of organizational intent (Davies 2004) the principal identified specific action areas in which to implement strategies and ways to achieve his goals. By carefully listening to the ideas, perceptions and concerns of his staff, as well as attending to the inputs of community and board-level participants, the principal singled out the following areas for immediate and concurrent action: organizational structure; a safe secure, and predictable teaching and learning environment; healing rifts; curricular initiatives; and identifiable cultural symbols.

8.4.3.1 Organizational Structure

To support his ideas, the school district granted the new principal's request to be able to select the members of his administrative team. He opted to keep one vice-principal and to replace another with a person of his own choosing, and to appoint a new guidance counsellor. He selected individuals based on their demonstrated skills and abilities, which he thought he could meld into a solid administrative team. This team also shared a similar focus.

When asked about the decision to change the structure, the new principal stated, "You can't have two kitchens in one house." By this he meant that having one school with two administrative structures impeded, instead of facilitated, the continuity of programs which had been the goal of the school district. He recognized the difficulties which had been created and selected his administrative team to address specific problem areas: one person had strong ties to the community; one provided continuity; and the other gave support to the principal's efforts. His selection seemed to be designed to appoint administrators who could help build the overall capacity and capability of the school including the bolstering of school and community resources as well as develop the skills and competencies of staff (Harris 2002).

8.4.3.2 A Safe, Secure and Predictable Teaching and Learning Environment

Another area identified by the principal early on, which was a serious concern for teachers, had to do with the perceived poor discipline in the school. Teachers suggested that prior to the new principal's arrival, the students were increasingly less respectful in their interactions with teachers and among themselves, both inside and outside of the classroom. This seemed to have been the result of a lack of consistency in the application of the discipline policy between the two schools.

> Okay, it was a big job that he had in this school, and that was bringing the two staffs together. I mean the K-8 staff and the 9–12 staff. The year before was so different. We each had our own supervision and handled things differently and the social events among the school were done differently. And all of a sudden, he has to try to bring his staff together so that they feel like part of the same staff. It is a huge job. We still have some different schedules and things like that and we are continuing to work on this but it is really improving. (James)

A lack of appropriate and consistent supervision of students seemed to be part of the source of the problem. Under the previous system with two schools under the same roof, a lack of coordination and a delineation of responsibilities left teachers confused and unsure if they had the right or the responsibility to supervise students from the other section of the school. The new principal ensured that a clear supervision schedule was created, that the teachers' duties were clear and that the discipline policy was consistently applied. These actions went a long way to rectifying the problem of student misbehaviour, and to creating a safe, secure teaching and learning environment.

> I think the general discipline of the school has improved and there is not as much unrest. There are certain indications, indicators, you walk into a room and people are relaxed and things like that. You just see the way the children handled themselves in the hall, or whether they're at least following along with the school rules. And I think we noticed that right away. The students knew that this new principal was going to be out and about, be around and that they were not going to have free reign. And I think the atmosphere of the school is a lot more positive. (James)

But coordinating schedules was only part of what the new principal did. He also expected all teachers to be responsible for reinforcing the expectations for appropriate behaviour for all students, not just those in the teachers' own level.

> Teachers were informed they were responsible for every child in the building. If a child was doing something when you came along, then you are responsible. If something looks out of place, then you deal with it. (Principal)

> He also had the same expectations of himself as he had for teachers. For example, "he does this by being out in the hallway, being visible all the time so that the kids are seeing [him] and the teachers are seeing [him] and you can tell he's on the right track" (Carol).

The principal made real visible attempts to actively follow through on his own sense of responsibility and modelled the behaviours expected of his staff.

8.4.3.3 Healing Rifts

The task of building a single school culture was not without its challenges and pitfalls. The main source of difficulty centred on groups of teachers who had considerable power and influence on the decisions of the administrations of the two previous principals. These individuals had the potential to derail the new principal's efforts, especially if he had not been able to identify these centres of dissension and discontent, and then isolate these teachers by removing their audience. He did this by supporting staff-initiated projects that fostered collegiality and collaboration. By so doing, participating teachers felt that they had more impact on the life of the school, whereas the dissenters who chose not to participate were disregarded in their absence.

> I had teachers work with each other across grade groupings and content areas on school-wide projects for parents and the community. (Principal)

> We did have this group of seasoned teachers who were unhappy and who had the effect of dragging you down. Just with the negativity. So now we have a new administrator, a new administrative team, a vision, people by and large who are very positive about the change, very happy with the change and the new attitude. And now what we have is this negative group on the margin…on the fringe still trying to have an influence. But as small successes build with these different projects, and good things are happening, the negative group gets increasingly marginalized. (Bob)

The successes of school projects and initiatives supported by the new principal greatly diminished the force of the negativity of the few seasoned teachers because other teachers, who had a positive attitude, increasingly gained influence and developed collaborative connections. The small group of negative teachers became disenfranchised, with the result that a more positive culture and climate began to permeate the school, and the rifts which had existed between the staffs began to heal. This shift affected the dissenters such that even they gradually became active participants in various initiatives and their level of discontent abated significantly.

The principal also provided opportunities for staff to come together in social settings both inside and outside of the school and encouraged peoples' participation in some measure either through support for extracurricular events or helping to organize or participate in more informal social gatherings around special occasions.

> There have been a lot more social gatherings. There has been a lot more interaction with one part of the school and the other part of the school. Now we are all together and we feel more…there's more of a connection with everyone. (Carol)

8.4.3.4 Curricular Initiatives

With the diminishing focus on discipline, the new principal could spend more time to redirect teachers' efforts onto instructional practice, to shift the culture of the staffroom and to change the nature of the working relationships. In the staffroom, student behavioural issues became less and less the topic of conversation, whereas curriculum initiatives and the implementation of new courses increasingly became the centre of discussion. Teachers had time to talk about maximizing student learning and how they could support students through curriculum and instructional strategies.

> There is more emphasis on curriculum and classroom planning. In the previous year, people spent time talking about what a miserable place this was to work and how bad the kids were, and now they are talking about the math consultant explaining the math curriculum and how we have to support our kids so they can do the appropriate grade-level test. We're also talking about the new reading initiatives in the staffroom. What a difference. (Phil)

The teachers faced increasing demands with new curricula and standard assessments handed down from the Provincial Department of Education. However, prior to the new principal's arrival, little attention was given to these provincial priorities. The new principal realized that the curricula had to be implemented to meet government timelines, thus he encouraged and emphasized the necessity of teaching the new course content.

> Program planning had to occur within three diverging views, so I encouraged 'in house' professional development and consultation for initiatives and projects between transitional grade groupings. We had senior high math people that could help junior and elementary teachers with curriculum and developing a smooth scope and sequence for students. (Principal)

This tended to increase teachers' workload, but with the decline in focus on security and discipline issues at the school, they were able to spend more time on the work of teaching and learning. Some teachers suggested that the increase in workload may have had another source: teachers were willing to work on more activities due to the enjoyment they had in their work. As a result of this enjoyment, they increased their level of participation in teaching and extra-curricular activities.

> *Bob:* Did my workload change? Yes it did. I was still doing the classroom curriculum stuff and now I was getting a heavier load because I got more challenging children but I had that support from the office. Plus I was doing school-community based programs.
> *Interviewer:* So you're doing more but your tone of voice tells me it was more fulfilling.
> *Bob:* Absolutely. It really didn't feel like more work. Because it was just more fun.

The morale boost in the staff seemed to have resulted in some teachers taking a more thorough look at their curriculum and planning and, as such, this led to a sense that there was an increase in workload, yet an increase which they did not perceive to be onerous.

8.4.3.5 Identifiable Cultural Symbols

Immediately the principal recognized the need to construct observable professional identifiers that signified the school as a single and unified entity.

> The school did not have a crest or a letterhead. It did not have anything to symbolize itself as being a school, or a school with a new identity. (Principal)

While a common culture can be created and intrinsically understood, concrete, recognizable symbols and artefacts often serve as representations and reminders of the beliefs and values of a particular organization. The new principal realized that the hard work to create a common culture could be at risk if reminders were not present and used to help teachers to remember what the school was all about. The principal, in collaboration with the administrative team and interested members of the teaching staff, created concrete symbols to represent the change in school culture and the school's new identity. This included the design and creation of a new logo, the purchase and distribution of pins, and the development and posting of slogans and other materials. This signalled to teachers that a shift in emphasis had occurred.

> I felt people were very isolated last year and I felt like we were more of a team this year. And I think that even just the first thing when you walked in the school, the physical layout and the decorating of our hallways and having a school emblem on the wall. And things like displaying our students' work and trophies…I think that was really something the new principal worked on at the beginning of the school year, and the teachers definitely kept up on all year. (Megan)

With the sense of being part of a common effort, teamwork was built, and the establishment of common beliefs, norms and values were facilitated.

8.5 Matching Actions with Purpose

This particular case provides some degree of insight into how a principal not only has influence on school culture, but also can be instrumental in melding disparate beliefs and values from the fragments of pre-existing cultures. We suggest that the new principal used several areas of intent and related goals to frame specific strategies including harmonizing competing philosophies, combining a multiplicity of purpose, creating a common identity, and building working relationships. Table 8.1 summarizes how the principal's actions had underlying goals that were designed to address the problems identified by the principal before and just after he arrived at the school.

8.5.1 Harmonizing Competing Philosophies

At the outset, the principal acknowledged differences of opinion among the teachers and began to devise ways in which these differences could be addressed. Through informal observations and strategic conversations the principal recognized that he was embedded in a cultural crossfire. There were differences in perceptions about educational objectives, external accountability, resource allocation and organizational culture. He provided the opportunity for individuals to voice their concerns with him and worked to get teachers to work together to discuss and to build a common understanding.

> He really did have an open door policy. I knew I couldn't just go in there and complain about every little thing, but I knew if it was important he would listen. (Rachel)
> He encouraged us to solve our own problems by talking it over with people involved before we even considered going to him. (Devon)

This understanding would form the basis for teachers' working relationships with the new principal and with each other. A more cohesive and collegial approach was adopted. This approach led to increased levels of problem solving and professional efficacy as an inherent part of the school's new culture.

8.5.2 Combining a Multiplicity of Purpose

The teachers had competing views of education based on their experience in their former school and by the grade level at which they taught. Elementary teachers

Table 8.1 Matching actions with purpose

	Harmonizing competing philosophies	Combining a multiplicity of purpose	Creating a common identity	Building working relationships
Structural reorganization	*One administration* and one set of procedures created consistency of approach	*Grade levels* were grouped so that students' transitions did not experience a disjuncture; planning across groups became the norm	*Consistent views* of education *and vision* for the school were promoted and reinforced through the cohesive administrative structure	*Consistency* of administrative action to ensure that teachers understood that they would be *support*ed
A safe, secure learning environment	A *common discipline* policy was applied to all students	Teachers talked about *common issues* and concerns about discipline	*Supervision schedules* were common. All staff had responsibility for all students	Teachers had to *work together* to apply the discipline policy
Healing rifts	The administrative team was selected to address specific *contextual concerns*	Teachers were encouraged to develop and assume *collaborative initiatives*	Through scheduling, teachers were encouraged to *teach across divisions*	Collaborative initiatives and *social gatherings* provided opportunities for teachers to get to know one another
Curricular Initiatives	Elementary and secondary teachers worked on *transitional grades'* scope and sequences	Teachers worked across divisions, which gave them the opportunity to see the *continuum* of the curriculum	*Numeracy and literacy* initiatives transcended grade levels	Teachers exchanged expertise in curricular initiatives with '*in-house' PD* and consultation
Identifiable cultural symbols	Totally *new symbols* were designed to represent the new school	The symbols focused attention on *whole school values:* ethic of care, teamwork, student achievement	The staff saw the symbols as a way to *refocus attention* towards a new school vision and identity	Development of common *symbols, artefacts and protocols* helped to create a common sense of purpose and group sense of pride

focused more on the child and the various factors affecting individual learning. Secondary teachers focused on what students needed in order to graduate, a position partially affected by external examinations and by the requirements of institutions of higher education. Junior high teachers were caught in the middle of the debate, although they had shifted their focus more to helping students to make the transition from elementary to secondary school by using an elementary school approach.

The principal realized that before a common culture could be established, teachers with these differing views of education had to come to understand each other's point of view. He did this by having teachers work together across grade and division levels, thus enabling teachers to have a better understanding of other's perspectives.

> I decided to get teachers involved in things they liked or were good at even if it was not in their grade-level area…Teachers had certain levels of experience and expertise in different extra-curricular programs, courses and activities like sports, drama, computers and French that could benefit all age levels of students. (Principal)

Soon, teachers viewed themselves as contributors to the whole school and not just responsible for the ongoings of a particular division or section of the school as they had previously experienced.

8.5.3 Creating a Common Identity

The new principal helped teachers to develop an understanding of each other, which began to bridge the gaps between the cultures of the two separate sections of the school. However, comprehension of, and even agreement with, another's viewpoint was insufficient to develop a common culture. The new principal realized this and planned a series of strategies that would help teachers to envision the common understanding of the school and to remind teachers, through the use of symbols, artefacts and celebrations, of what they had worked hard to achieve as a group.

> It definitely felt more like one single school when we [teachers] got involved with each other for extra-curricular activities for students. (Sam)
> When I was able to work with teachers from other parts of the school it was easier to see what was really going on rather than just hearing rumours like before. (Cathy)

8.5.4 Building Working Relationships

The new principal used a variety of techniques to provide opportunities for the teachers not only to work together, but also to work in different grade levels. For example, he insisted that all teachers were responsible for the supervision of all students regardless of their specific teaching assignment. This required that teachers talk to their colleagues about students with whom they were unfamiliar and to address common issues of consistency of application of the discipline policy.

From such beginnings, teachers realized that their common interests could be better achieved if they coordinated their efforts and collaborated on curricular and other initiatives. A teacher describes how the new principal's actions impacted the working environment:

> Things have been consistent from the start with him. It was actually less work and less worry for people. It was easier to work together…. I think people were able to see that he meant what he said. Even though we had more supervision duties I think people were on the same page because we knew he would deal with things right away…. He is always out there circulating and interacting…supporting us and putting out fires with potential problems. (Sarah)

8.6 Discussion

During the initial phases of succession in which most aspects of the principal–teacher relationship are laid bare, principals and teachers explore the possibilities of instituting initiatives and the fit between the principal's practices and the school culture (Gordon and Rosen 1981; Hart 1993; Miskel and Cosgrove 1985; Normore 2001; Weindling and Earley 1987). This case helped us to understand how the leadership of a new principal in the throes of consolidation efforts can develop and foster positive working relationships in new settings and promote a productive and cohesive school culture aimed at increased teacher effectiveness and student achievement.

8.6.1 The Effects of Strategic Leadership

We describe 'strategic' leadership as the implementation of emergent planning, processes and approaches to set and achieve organizational intents. In keeping with the new principal's philosophy of 'setting up the school for the students' we can see that while he focused on the intent of building a coherent school culture, he also addressed through practices, processes and approaches, deeper concerns of the teachers in order to facilitate effective teaching and learning processes.

The School Leadership Study: Developing Successful Principals (Davis et al. 2005) points to a growing consensus in research that successful school leaders positively influence student achievement through two important pathways—the support and development of effective teachers and the implementation of effective organizational processes. Core leadership practices essential for improving student achievement and organizational performance include: developing people through active support and modelling; setting directions for the organization through shared goals, communication, and monitoring; and redesigning the organization through collaboration, building a positive culture and modifying organizational structures to facilitate performance (Leithwood et al. 2004).

Strategic leadership may be sufficient to explain why the new principal had been received so positively by the teachers: he acknowledged and valued pre-existing

positive contributions, he encouraged communication and heard their concerns; he developed strategies, both short and long term, to deal with these concerns; he identified short- and long-term goals that directly affected the culture of the school; and he consistently put into place decisions that served to support developmental and organizational pathways to consolidate teachers' efforts in promoting and increasing student achievement. In effect, he attended to the 'strategic architecture' of the school, specifically the relationships, culture, learning and resources when he prioritized the school improvement goals and action areas (Davies 2004).

8.6.2 The Development of Trust in the New Principal

To describe the criteria individuals use to discern trust we use two sets of descriptors, one focused on ability, and the other on interpersonal relations (Fig. 8.2). First, ability is not only knowledge and skills about what ought to be done (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy 2000), but also the competence to use the knowledge and skills to do the job assigned (Covey 1992) in ways that are consistent with established practice and congruent with the ethos and culture of the organization (Gabarro 1987; Morford 2002; Sarason 1996). Second, prior and ongoing social relationships are the means through which we build up a bank of knowledge about an individual such that the scope of her/his actions can be predicted with some degree of accuracy (Bottery 2003). Here, the character and integrity of an individual are measured on a personal basis. To trust an individual we must believe that person to care for our best interests and maintain confidentiality of our private information and personal perceptions.

Interviewed teachers indicated an overall confidence in the new principal's abilities to lead in transitioning the school to perform effectively as a single entity. The principal was seen as both competent and consistent in devising and following through on specific areas of action to achieve group goals. Changes in operational structures and procedures including teaching assignments, programs, discipline protocol and teaching and learning expectations were accepted and appreciated. From an interpersonal standpoint, teachers reported that although not every change may have been individually agreed upon, they felt their opinions were heard, their

	TRUST = Ability + Interpersonal Relations
Ability	- knowledge/skills - competence - consistency
Interpersonal Relations	- care for others (sacrifice self-interest) - character (moral/ethical choices) - integrity of action (congruence of APV)

Fig. 8.2 Criteria for trust. (Northfield et al. 2006)

professionalism validated and their personal dignity and confidentiality respected. Teachers were able to build an image of the new principal and accurately predict his future behaviour based on a bank of personal interactions and feedback from colleagues on what and how the principal responded in various situations. As such, teachers were able to progress to 'practice' levels of trust with the principal quite quickly during the initial stages of the succession. So how did the new principal enable his staff to develop an even greater more substantial level of trust with him?

8.6.3 Substantial Trust

Discernment of trust is predicated upon one's disposition to trust (Mayer et al. 1995) and can be viewed through a multitude of perceptual lenses brought to bear by one's unique negotiation of lived experiences which are expressed as a result of an accumulation of one's personal history and life-learnings and are fundamentally based on the assumptions and preferences associated with one's belief system (Northfield et al. 2006).

Although individuals bring their own experiences and values to judge others as being trustworthy, they must also be able to predict actions and see the intentions of others as being benevolent if not at least benign in the relationship that exists. To secure this cognitive and emotional arrangement with any degree of confidence constituents must clearly see the underlying values of each others' decisions and actions.

In this case, teachers initially used their perceptions analysis to ascertain whether or not the new principal had met their trust criteria focused on ability and interpersonal skills. From this analysis, teachers created their individual and collective perceptual lenses in determining the credibility, congruence and compatibility of the new principal's actions, policies and values (APV, see Fig. 8.3).

The APV framework is premised on the theoretical underpinnings of the work of Bryk and Schneider (2002) on 'relational trust' in school settings and, as in their case, borrows from the traditions of behavioural social scientific research and philo-

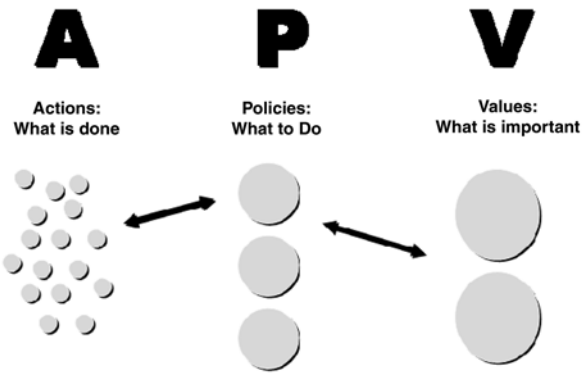

Fig. 8.3 APV for integrative level of trust

sophic argument to suggest that trust is founded both on judgements of observed behaviour and rooted in primary beliefs (Bryk and Schneider 2002, p. 184).

Although a principal's values (mandated or self-revealed) lead to decisions and subsequent actions, during a succession event, it is the actions of the new principal that teachers actually see and experience first in attempting to develop trust with the new principal. Here, the teachers reported that not only did the new principal make efforts to communicate the thinking and beliefs behind the organizational changes, policies, and programs, he also acted with integrity. Behavioural integrity, the perceived degree of congruence between espoused and enacted values, is critical for developing trust with leaders (Simons 1999).

As teachers were able to understand and consolidate links between the new principal's actions, policies and values they were more able to progress to the 'integrative' level of trust with the new principal. By clearly seeing the connections between what the new principal did on a daily basis, why it was important and what values were being exhibited, teachers were able to develop a complete and 'integrated' understanding of the new principal. As a result, teachers were able to move beyond merely observing and predicting the new principal's action within a given context to understanding the reasoned decision making and values of the new principal's actions. Whether or not there is an acceptance and sharing of these values is next to consider.

8.6.4 The Nexus of Strategic Leadership and Trust Development

By the end the second year of the new principal's leadership, teachers were sharing much more than they had previously and talked constructively and positively about professional issues that crossed grade levels and considered the school as one entity. When we identified the practices, processes and approaches of the principal and then analyzed them, we were able to identify specific areas of action and single out the four goals for his actions. We were also able to determine that teachers perceived the principal as trustworthy. However, we still needed to understand why the teachers seemed to extend the benefit of the doubt and greater levels of trust to the principal as time elapsed. Other, deeper underlying, teacher-centric factors seemed to be at work than simply those identified by teachers and the principal. We returned to other frameworks to help to explain the apparent success of the principal's action, specifically Bascia and Hargreaves's (2000) four dimensions of teachers' work.

The four dimensions are: technical, intellectual, socio-emotional, and socio-political. The technical dimension focuses on teaching as a highly rational enterprise that has a set of prescribed techniques or methods that can be learned and then practiced for proficiency. Teachers' work is focused on determining 'effective' practice, and how best to implement it. The purpose of collaborative endeavours and professional development is to share ideas and techniques that work for specific individuals and in particular contexts.

The intellectual dimension views teaching as a highly multifaceted phenomenon that necessitates a knowledge base developed from research and continuous profes-

sional inquiry. Teachers' curriculum and program planning is centred on fundamental principles and beliefs about teaching and learning, and the larger issues of school improvement. The purpose here is to develop a common perspective in light of respecting differences of opinion and methodology in meeting the challenges of providing for a fair and equitable teaching and learning environment.

The socio-political dimension views teachers, individually and collectively, as professionals and colleagues working in contexts that are inescapably political. This dimension describes the understood and negotiated rules for interaction between people, within groups and between groups. Often times, this means acknowledging the power differentiation that is present in educational organizations affecting participation, input and feedback, while also understanding how an individual's position, experience and role may formally and informally influence others.

The socio-emotional dimension involves the belief that teachers feel a responsibility for promoting an environment that encourages a healthy social and emotional environment in which students and teachers learn. Here teachers focus on ways to ensure a safe, orderly and supportive teaching and learning environment. This type of positive and supportive environment is also necessary for teachers in order that they may feel confident and productive and maintain a strong sense of efficacy in their planning, delivery of lessons and in their own professional development.

Table 8.2 is an attempt to sort the actions of the new principal as categorized by identified purposes, and place them in Bascia and Hargreaves' framework. Whether knowingly or intuitively, the new principal appeared to address Bascia and Hargreaves' four dimensions of teachers' work.

For educational leaders, and especially succeeding principals, this case provides some insight on the importance of recognizing and valuing the different dimensions of teachers' work when leading school reform. By addressing the work of teachers as important the new principal demonstrated that he valued his teachers. Values are a key means that people use to evaluate other people and organizations (Jones and George 1998) and the sharing of similar values is the basis of ultimately finding someone trustworthy. In this case, the new principal was able to connect strategic leadership and trust development by acting in a manner consistent and congruent with the beliefs and values of the teachers.

8.7 Conclusions

In Canada, contemporary principals can expect their leadership role to continue to be increasingly demanding and complex, as they have to manage far more than the administrative tasks traditionally associated with leading schools (Normore 2004). The need for succeeding principals to be both strategic and trustworthy in their leadership seems increasingly evident.

At best, leadership is subjective and takes form according to variables such as task, resources, influences, constraints and participants (Northfield 2002). In this case, the principal was able to consider these five variables to influence and moti-

Table 8.2 Matching purpose to dimensions of teachers' work

	Technical	Intellectual	Socio-political	Socio-emotional
Harmonizing competing philosophies	Elementary and secondary teachers worked on similar *curricular initiatives (numeracy and literacy).* A *common circle of discipline and follow through of policy* was applied for all grade levels	Teacher placements and curricula scope and sequences configured around common perspective of benefiting *whole child* within context	*New symbols* were designed to represent the new school bringing together previously separate schools and grade divisions as one *unified group*	Whole school staff meetings and *consistent communications* of important information provided in timely fashion helping to proactively address potential concerns
Combining a multiplicity of purpose	Increasing responsibility of *student programming* to teachers' grades *6–7, 8–9* thus infusing common purposes	Teachers were encouraged to develop collaborative initiatives designed to *consolidate new school identity*	Teachers working across divisions on *whole school projects,* productions and committees became the expected norm	The *symbols* focused attention on the *values* held and hoped to be instilled. *PD* was *collaboratively designed* to meet individual needs of staff
Creating a common identity	Supervision schedules were common. All staff had *responsibility for all* students	School improvement plans centred on integrating province and board curriculum *initiatives school-wide*	*Similar views of education* and vision for the school helped to establish consistency	The staff saw the symbols as a way to direct a *singular pride* in their school and students and *feel a part of something larger* than their classrooms
Building working relationships	*Expectations for student conduct* made the application of the discipline policy easier for all teachers enabling teachers to support each other and work collaboratively	Teachers worked to blur the boundaries between divisions by teaching across divisions and realizing the motto '*children first*' from multiple grade levels	Teachers among themselves developed a positive outlook and discussed and *shared student and program successes.* Consistency of administrative support for teachers	Collaborative initiatives enabled people to get to know one another. Informal events and *recognition of teacher contributions* and leadership of initiatives occurred frequently

vate his newly consolidated staff to work towards school-wide goals. Instead of using recommended strategies without considering context and purpose, the principal implemented practices that met the needs of the new school and the desires that he had for the creation of a cohesive whole. Overall, teachers' descriptions imply that, as they felt more empowered and confident, the general culture of the school moved in a positive direction because people were more willing to participate in changes that affected students positively.

This case illustrates the importance of considering the 'strategic architecture' of a school including learning, resources, relationships, and culture when contemplating what types of goals and strategies to implement as a new principal to the school (Davies 2004). It also reveals the importance of succeeding principals needing to realize that teachers will use a variety of criteria to determine whether or not to trust them. The short list of criteria includes two areas of consideration. First, ability, which includes knowledge and skills, where competency and consistency are used as evaluative measures. Second, interpersonal relations, which includes personal character and the ability to care for others, where integrity of action, confidentiality, and the preservation of personal dignity are used as guidelines for determining trustworthy behaviour.

As seen in this case, it is beneficial for a principal to carefully listen to his/her staff and clearly communicate and consistently demonstrate the connection between his/her actions, policies and values in order to garner support for his/her initiatives. For principals hoping to instil substantial levels of trust with their staff, it is important to actively and overtly coalesce their actions with their values and beliefs. This entails being explicit about how their underlying policies and decisions for their actions directly relate to their foundational values and beliefs.

This case helps to understand that the application of strategies in consideration of the deeper dimensions of teaching appear to help the new principal succeed. Ultimately, when configuring organizational intents around fundamental components of a school's strategic architecture (learning, resources, relationships, culture) it is useful to implement emergent planning, processes and approaches across the dimensions of teachers' work in order to establish and fortify the development of trust with staff (Northfield 2008, see Appendix 1).

We must be cautious in extrapolating from this one case, especially given the unique context of succession combined with school and administrative consolidation. Organizational and cultural change seemed necessary and was greatly received. However, this particular case may still serve to highlight the importance of coalescing trust building and purposeful strategic leadership based on intent during a succession event.

8.8 A Guide for Further Study

1. What methods are currently available to the incoming principal in order to develop and maintain organizational learning and school improvement initiatives?

2. How has the ever-increasing number of administrator turnovers and retirements influenced the need for strategic leadership and trust development on the part of succeeding principals?
3. With regards to the successful consolidation of schools, identify some of the specific leadership goals and strategies that were used to develop a positive and cohesive school culture. In your opinion, how does this increase teacher effectiveness and student achievement?
4. Define what is meant by the term 'trust continuum' and identify the various levels relating to this concept. What strategies would you recommend to help a new principal reinforce the congruence of actions, policies, and values (APV) that may assist his or her staff to progress to 'integrative' levels of trust along this continuum?
5. How does a 'strategic architecture' differ from a policy model? How can relationships, culture, learning and resources be effectively addressed by principals to improve technical, intellectual, socio-emotional and socio-political dimensions of teachers' work?

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Appendix 1

Matching Areas of Strategic Architecture with Dimensions of Teachers' Work

	Technical (craft practice, ways and means, methods)	Intellectual (underlying beliefs, philosophies, and ideas)	Socio-political (procedures, rules of interaction, protocol)	Socio-emotional (sense of responsibility and efficacy)
Learning	• Pedagogy • Lessons • Assessment • Extra-curricular • Andragogy	• Principles of learning • Learning styles • Differentiation of instruction • Outcomes Framework - Age/ Skill groupings	• Academic support and discipline • IEPs • Supervision/ feedback • Professional growth targets	• Personal and professional respect based on competence and legitimate authority
Resources	• Faculty/personnel • Curriculum • Facilities • Time and space • Technology • Financials/capital	• Multicultural • Equal access • Multiple intelligences • Distribution mechanisms	• Prioritization • Use and acquisition • Outsourcing • Fundraising	• Valued for self and contribution of skills and expertise • Perceptions of fairness and justice

	Technical (craft practice, ways and means, methods)	Intellectual (underlying beliefs, philosophies, and ideas)	Socio-political (procedures, rules of interaction, protocol)	Socio-emotional (sense of responsibility and efficacy)
Relationships	• Staff/student dynamics • PD • PLCs • Mentoring/ coaching • Counselling • Community/ parent contact/ communications	• Self esteem built upon feeling: – Capable – Connected – Contributing Or act out with power, attention, revenge, avoidance	• Students/parents • Professional/ collegial • Community/ business • School board • Government • Associations	• Personal and professional identity and acceptance • Collegial trust • Role expectations
Culture	• Autonomous vs. collaborative • Expertise vs. entitlement • Values driven/ connected • Organizational and sub-group norms	• Learner and learning centred • Capacity building • Diversity	• Formal and informal power groups • Info/expectations, communication and feedback mechanisms	• Organizational trust • Conformity vs. risk taking • Individual and group identity

Adapted from Northfield 2008

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Chapter 9
The Effects of Cultural Contexts on Leadership Succession: Participation of Women and People of "Difference" in Educational Administration

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The beliefs of decision makers about who should take on a new educational leadership role (succession) or who should be moved to or from a leadership role and when (rotation), bear strongly on who can and does become a school principal in the k-12 system, or a Dean or Department Head/Chair in a college or university system. A group of researchers set out to study the beliefs and practices of a selected sample of decision makers across four Canadian provinces. This chapter draws on qualitative interview data from that study in order to highlight some contrasts between processes used in the k-12 systems we studied and those we learned about in a related pilot for a future study of such processes in Canadian colleges and universities. This chapter outlines how it is that current processes continue to mitigate against strong formal educational leadership participation rates by women and by people of "different" cultural backgrounds than those of the decision makers we interviewed.

While a number of scholars have looked closely at leadership rotation and succession issues, few—if any—have examined questions at the system level or considered the link between rotation and succession issues and gender, or the cultural backgrounds of potential leaders. The study drawn upon in this chapter was an extension of the work by Hargreaves et al. (2003), who studied secondary school principals in Ontario, one of the Canadian provinces selected in this study. We also looked at numerous other studies that have focused on rotation and/or succession for k-12 school leaders (Aquila 1989; Boesse 1991; Fink and Brayman 2005; Macmillan 2001; Macmillan et al. 2004; Quinn 2002). It is fair to say that each of these studies concluded that:

> Sustainable improvement that benefits all students depends not only on individual leaders having the right traits and being trained in the right skills. It also depends on a process of successful succession (Hargreaves et al. 2003, p. 89).

The need for effective leadership rotation/succession strategies in Canada, as elsewhere for both k-12 systems and for colleges and universities has become more

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apparent in recent years because of the loss of experienced leaders to retirement in many school districts, colleges and universities and the growing crisis for the recruitment and training of new leaders. In this context, scholars have investigated the effects of leadership rotation/succession on educational leaders and the social, emotional and cultural implications for school improvement.

Hargreaves and Fink, in their book, *Sustainable Leadership* (2006) argue that effective leadership succession requires a coherent plan that coordinates the flow of leaders from one school to another, that emphasizes the transfer of knowledge from the outgoing leader to the incoming leader and that is sensitive to the emotional, social and cultural upheaval that leadership rotation and succession often generate. This chapter supports such claims and expands the discussion to include colleges and universities and to question leadership succession and rotation processes for such roles as a dean or a department head/chair. This chapter also advocates for the development and implementation of coherent succession plans in both k-12 systems and in colleges and universities that include considerations of gender and cultural differences.

Several studies have focused on the outcomes of rotation and/or succession policies and practices for schools and/or for individual principals (Aquila 1989; Boesse 1991; Fink and Brayman 2005; Macmillan 2001; Macmillan et al. 2004; Quinn 2002). These studies are an important part of the picture because they reveal how acceptance levels and required efforts for male and female educational leaders vary from context to context, change over time, are not always predictable, and are often not controlled by the leaders, but by their followers, clients and/or communities (Collard and Reynolds 2005). But this is not the whole picture. Schools, college and universities and individual principals, deans and department heads/chairs are also affected by district or organizational-level policies and practices. This chapter contributes to the existing literature by taking a systems-level perspective, contrasting k-12 and college and university practices and by focusing on how gender and "difference" play out today in such processes as those described by interviewees in our study across four provinces in Canada. The study investigates how "rules of control" (Clegg 1981) and other social processes operate to affect the participation rates of women and those from "different" cultural backgrounds in roles such as school principals, deans or department heads/chairs.

9.1 Useful Theoretical Frames

In this chapter, decision maker's beliefs take centre stage. While beliefs are held by individuals, looking across groups of individuals in similar roles, as has been done here, provides insight into what many theorists have named "hegemony"—the "organized assemblage of meanings and practices, the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions that are lived" (Apple 1979, p. 95). Such hegemony is sometimes referred to as "organizational culture" or "the collective mental programs of the people in the organization" (Hunt 1991). Others have identified

this phenomenon as the construction and maintenance of "ideological fames" that become normalized so that such a set of ideas become "common sense" to members of the organization and the beliefs that underpin the frames are largely rendered invisible (Ng 1995, p. 936). Following this general direction, this study views gender and cultural "difference" as socially constructed and historically located categorizations rather than traits that are solely tied to biology, physiology and/or psychology. Such categorizations are frequently employed in a somewhat invisible manner as people interact with one another or as they make decisions about who could or should become a leader.

Those who study gender are quite familiar with a number of ways in which it tends to be "invisible". Sometimes this invisibility is explained by the documented claim that in many current settings gender has become a binary social construct that posits only two categories—male and female—and that these categories are defined in opposition to one another; that is, what is male is not female and what is female is not male. This oppositional view of gender categories often rests on assumptions or overt claims that gender differences are supported by biological "facts" and that the gender relations we now know are "natural" and/or are "just the way society is organized" (Connell 1995; Davies 2003). What is particularly problematic about this view of gender as a male/female oppositional binary construct is that the construct has traditionally placed female as the less desirable or deficit category. In a similar way, a construction of cultural "difference" can position anyone who does not look, talk and/or behave like the "dominant" cultural group, as being somehow less desirable or deficient. The oppositional construct, as well as a deficit approach to cultural difference has frequently fostered a "zero-sum" view whereby any gains made by one gender and/or cultural group is seen as a loss to the other gender and/or cultural group. All of these aspects of gender and/or cultural difference can encourage people, such as decision makers, to deny complicity in any type of unfairness related to gender and/or cultural difference.

Agryis (1986, 1990) has identified that when people do not want to admit that they may have a role in unfair processes, they adopt "organizational defensive routines". One such routine is denial of practices, another is a reticence to admit to flaws in practices and related to that reticence is a denial of any personal responsibility for such flaws or of any responsibility for correcting them. He explains it this way:

> Not only does such denial blind us to what is going on, but it also makes us blind to the fact that we are designing our own blindness. Organizational denial and the delusions that make it possible to deny the denial can lead to organizations that are strangled by their own defences. And even that has to be denied (Agryis 1990, p. 9156).

The perspective that gender has never been or is no longer an issue in terms of educational leadership has been a form of "denial" repeatedly noted by researchers exploring gender in school organizations. This denial, has been expressed by numerous interview participants in studies across Canada (Reynolds and Young 1995; Wallace 2004), the United States (Dunlop and Schmuck 1995; Shakeshaft 1989; Wallin 2004), Britain (Hall 2002), Australia (Blackmore 1999) and New Zealand (Strachan 2002). What researchers in these and other countries have found, how-

ever, is that despite such denials, investigations of men and women's experiences reveal that patterns of discrimination and disadvantage persist for many women, especially those who wish to take on leadership roles in k-12 school settings (Collard and Reynolds 2005; Wallace 2006; Young 2004). One female senior administrator in a rural school district in the study used for this chapter expressed it this way:

> Gender's always a factor. Are we allowed to weight it? No. But of course it's a factor. I mean as you, I'm sure, know through practice…typical hiring policies and practices are 'masculinist' in orientation so, therefore, favour men…We would always make sure there's a woman on the interview committee…to avoid grievance…Gender would influence decision making if all other factors are equal…If you ask the men, they will tell you that women have made great gains. We have far more women in school administrative positions than in the past. If you ask the women, they'll tell you that things haven't changed much…There are more of them but the barriers are all still there…If you don't have any women doing the hiring one could argue that gender issues will continue to prevail because they're invisible to the men…One of our leaders in equity and social justice in the area is a man, so I'm not suggesting that it's as simple as being male/female—but it still is there…Are we making progress? I would say yes. Right now…, we have eight high schools and two women principals (female senior administrator in a rural school district, Nova Scotia).

Declaring that we are making "progress" with regard to women's participation in leadership roles is complex. We do know that women's participation rates vary over time and by circumstance, and their participation rates have been slow to change across Canadian contexts. We also know that race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation can be factors that often interact with gender (Collard and Reynolds 2005). This has led researchers to repeatedly conclude that, despite claims that gender is no longer an issue in school systems, there continues to be the need for extra efforts if many women and certain "other" individuals are to be found acceptable as leaders in school settings. The argument for the need for extra efforts for women, Aboriginals, and many "others" rests not only on a social justice platform, but on a practical claim that diverse student groups need to see diverse leaders. Ryan puts it this way:

> A starting point here is that the interests of groups of students who are identified as "different" or "minority" will best be served in schools that employ inclusive practices. Inclusive schools welcome, accommodate, and celebrate diversity, uniqueness, and individuality (Ryan 2003, p. 40).

There is also the pragmatic argument that schools (and for this chapter we include colleges and universities as a form of "school") need to use the entire pool of potential leaders if they hope to find those who are best able to advance the organization. Trying to find out how to ensure that policies and practices related to rotation/succession are fair to women and/or those of cultural "difference" however, is easier said than done. The study upon which this chapter is based attempted, among other things, to improve our understanding of what might be needed not at the level of the pool of individuals aspiring towards leadership but what might be needed at the process and decision making levels of organizations such as k-12 school districts, college or universities. This chapter uses the theoretical concepts just described (hegemony, oppositional gender categories, categories of cultural difference, and denial), as well as Clegg's (1981) "rules of control" to offer an explanation of why participation rates by women and those of cultural difference as k-12 school prin-

cipals and as college and university deans and department heads/chairs vary across contexts and why these rates have been relatively slow to change in Canadian contexts.

As has already been mentioned, many studies of rotation/succession practices and their outcomes have focused upon individuals. Indeed, movement into or across leadership roles in organizations is frequently seen as primarily the result of the efforts and circumstances of individuals. Carlson (1979) explains:

> Hard work, perseverance, skill, talent, creativity and similar attributes are evoked and attached to those who have successful careers… No matter what influence such attributes have on the tracing of a career, the evoking of them is comforting and confirms a belief in justice (Carlson 1979, p. 929).

A useful construct that allows us to explore forces other than those described by Carlson is the one of "organizational rules of control" put forth by Clegg (1981). Clegg looks, not at the individual, but at the complex and inter-related mechanisms that can be identified as working across an organization to define and limit outcomes of the various policies and practices within the organization. He identifies a cluster or web of rules—technical, social-regulative, extra-organizational, strategic, and state—that affect activities and outcomes within an organization.

Technical rules, according to Clegg (1981) are those that govern "how things are done around here". Some of these technical rules are formalized as policies or written regulations/requirements, while others are unwritten and largely understood by the old-timers, the insiders, or the dominant groups within the culture of the organization. Social regulative rules of control are those that govern who can be seen as "a full organizational member, as someone who fits in…" Strategic rules are those that develop when the overall good of the organization seems to demand them. These rules frequently govern who comes to be seen as the "right" person for particular jobs or roles at a given point in time. State rules are those that come from the government and these may affect how people must be dealt with in processes such as hiring or firing. The fifth type of rule of control within Clegg's framework is the extra-organizational rule. This set of rules need not be written into law, as with state rules, but contains rules that are more culturally based. Such rules may be linked to religious or societal understandings, beliefs or norms.

The set of theoretical tools just described are employed in this chapter to examine some of the major findings of a 3-year study that looked at decision makers' beliefs about rotation/succession for educational leaders.

9.2 The Study

The study was designed in four phases to investigate leadership rotation and succession patterns at a system level in four Canadian provinces. The first phase examined a criterion-based selected sample of four rural and urban/suburban school districts in Ontario. In the second phase, we collected data across a rural and an urban school district in Nova Scotia and in an urban and a rural school district in Saskatchewan. In

the third phase, a similar criterion-based selected sample of school divisions (rural and urban) was found for British Columbia. A total of ten school districts comprised our final sample of k-12 school districts and in each we interviewed the Director or Superintendent (our point of initial contact) and another district staff administrator who took part in rotation or succession decision making and who was identified by the Director/Superintendent and the Board Chair or a Board member identified by the Director/Superintendent if the Chair was unavailable. We also sought out the leaders of any province wide principals' or administrators' organization or leaders in the teachers' federations. We did not select decision makers by gender, as we were seeking to focus on ensuring a sample of rural and urban districts across the four provinces. We did however note the gender of our participants in the data.

Data were collected by means of 1 hour, one-time taped telephone interviews with our selected decision makers for each k-12 school district. Total N = 33 (24 males; 9 females):

- ten Directors/Superintendents of Education (9 males; 1 female);
- eight District staff (4 males; 4 females);
- nine School Board members (5 males; 4 females);
- five Provincial leaders (5 males);
- one Principal (male).

The particular provinces were chosen to represent variability in educational policies, demographic contexts and governance structures and they were provinces where members of the research team had some experience as educators. The specific school districts in each of the four provinces were selected from provincial maps and website information to ensure that comparisons between urban/rural and small/large districts in each province could be made. A list of school districts in each province in rural/urban and small/large categories was made and a random selection from districts by category was undertaken until enough districts willing to participate were found to complete our criterion-based sample. Our Ontario sample was larger than that for the other provinces because it was in the first phase. In the second and third phases, diminishing resources meant that we needed to scale back our original sample size in order to stay within budget.

The interview used a structured protocol that focused on: (1) individual and school factors most significant when planning for principal rotation; (2) respondent's impressions of career opportunities for male and female high school principals and senior administrators; (3) the relationship between career advancement and gender; (4) those responsible for principal rotation decisions; (5) professional development for new and experienced principals; (6) trends in the high school principal's role over time; (7) the district's succession planning process; and (8) future challenges regarding principal rotation and succession.

Interviews were transcribed and coded according to school district location and size (urban = 6 or more high schools or rural = 5 or fewer high schools, province, provincial organization, interviewee position and gender). Relevant district and provincial education policy documents, archival and statistical information as well as surveys and research reports were collected to supplement the interview data.

Our broad strategy of data analysis enabled us to identify themes and issues (hypothesized and unexpected) that emerged across interview subjects and district/provincial contexts (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The relatively small sample, however, limits generalization from the study. While we must be careful about generalizing our findings, the insights provided are helpful and increase our knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation. Further studies with different samples could further our knowledge base and provide additional insights.

Towards the end of the data collection from k-12 school districts, we began to question how policies and practices in colleges and universities might compare or contrast with those our interviewees described for us in the school districts. To investigate this with the limited funds still left in our study, we constructed a pilot study that might form the basis for a larger funded inquiry into leadership succession practices in colleges and universities. We looked to the list of colleges and universities that were in geographic proximity to each of the k-12 school districts we had selected and, drawing from websites for these organizations, we identified and contacted 25 potential interviewees who we might interview using a minimally adjusted protocol from our interviews in school districts and pertaining to policies and practices for the succession or rotation of deans and or department heads/chairs. We decided to focus on these roles, as we deemed them to be closer to that of a school principal than other possible leadership roles in colleges or universities. We received responses from five individuals from Ontario and Nova Scotia; four men and one woman. Even though this is a very small data set and is in no way imagined as being representative or matching to our larger data set on k-12 school districts, we have included some of that initial data in this chapter because these data indicate some interesting areas for further investigation.

9.3 Major Findings

Two major themes relevant to the discussion in this chapter emerged from our data. One was the agreement among our participants in the k-12 districts that the needs of the overall system should be placed above the needs of any individual school leader. Another way of putting this is to see all leaders as "servants" to the system. This ideal was repeatedly espoused in most of our interviews. The following comment is similar to many others we heard:

> …there is a profile of a person who is a natural leader, whose management skills can be developed, whose instructional leadership skills then can be supported, but the character of the individuals is very much an important part of it…we would say it is a person for whom the job is not them. The job is not about me. My job is to serve. I'm not in this job to serve my ego (male executive of a principals' association, Ontario).

The following description of a department head's role also uses the idea of service:

> …I think we are coming around to…a professionalization…recognizing this role on campus as opposed (to)…just delivering on the expectations in the collective agreement… actively taking their role seriously…so that they can serve their faculty members in the best

> possible way, whether it is assessment of infractions of integrity, or promotion, mentoring junior faculty, advice to mid-career faculty having trouble with grants, or whatever it is, that they see themselves as leaders as opposed to passively playing a role because it was their turn to do duty (male university leader, Nova Scotia).

Using Clegg's (1981) perspective on rules of control, this finding can be interpreted as revealing a technical rule in use across the systems we studied. That rule, although unwritten, specifies that those willing to serve the system's needs as a first priority are seen by decision makers as being the most worthy of receiving opportunities.

9.3.1 Extra-organizational Rules

While in and of itself such a rule does not appear to have anything to do with gender, if it is combined with what Clegg calls extra-organizational rules that spell out what society or other cultural forces say men and women or those of "different" cultural backgrounds can and should do, this rule can affect seemingly gender and/or culturally neutral assessments of an individual's merit or hard work. Views about family as priority for women or about women needing to be protected can affect decisions about their suitability as leaders. Many senior administrators in our study articulated what they perceived as distinctive female leadership traits, attitudes and behaviours. Some respondents suggested that females display a particular set of leadership traits that distinguish them from male leaders. Namely, women leaders are more socially "intuitive", "collaborative", "collegial", "consultative", as well as emotionally responsive as "nurturing" and "motherly". To illustrate how such extra-organizational rules can work, consider the following comments by one of the participants:

> …the focus of men to go on from classroom teacher to vice-principal, ultimately to principal seems to be a little more noticeable than in women. [Women are] still a little more laid back, a little more comfortable in the classroom…. You would have to be a very special female person to handle the pressures along the line of the people being critical of your decisions…. I think she [the female vice-principal] is being targeted more because there's a perception that there might be vulnerability…. I'm thinking that women are a little more vulnerable in that regard. Not to say that men are stronger emotionally but they don't seem to be targeted in quite the same way (male rural board official, Saskatchewan).

Another of our participants commented on his view of how extra-organizational rules have worked with regard to women principals in the context he knew:

> I harken back to an era when there were few female administrators. The first [women who] came on I don't know whether it was a perception that they had to prove more or whether that was a reality, but it seemed that, in the beginning, females were not particularly embraced with open arms…Something that has changed over the years, what I'll refer to as the "old boys network", "The way we're going to do things." and "This is my school"…I'm finding that more females are bringing more outside experiences…a more diverse training background…(male rural district staff, British Columbia).

In the data from colleges and universities, the following quotes illustrate observations about gender patterns:

> One of the things I noted when I worked as a Dean…young female faculty would come in and in the first two or three years there'd be a fair amount of discussion about, you know, a fast track to management…what surprised me over the years is that very few of those ever became a reality. …women tended to shift their focus to adding academic credentials or in some situations it was sort of a personal family situation and there might have been a kind of hiatus for a while…children growing up or something like that (male college administrator, Ontario).
>
> …I think we are looking for a kind of mix of people at the level of Chairs and in leadership generally in terms of gender and other factors such as well, sexual preference, ethnicity, those kinds of things. We try as much as possible to be diverse…there's a heightened awareness of the importance of having direct experience of as many different cultural contexts as possible… Twenty years ago it might have been that the most senior faculty members would have been going into Chair or Dean positions, but that's not what is the case now…I think maybe it's difficult to convince men that they could be good at it (female university administrator, Nova Scotia).

However, just as in the wider society where extra-organizational rules are formed, not everyone agrees about differences between men and women. Several participants did not see female leadership as different from that of males. The following comments are indicative of such a stance:

> Sometimes we have males [who] just are very…warm and fuzzy people. They work well at a certain school. [On the other hand], we had one [female who was] very strict and stern. She worked at one of our schools where some of the students come from a military base. She works fine there so there are no preconceived notions (female rural board official, Nova Scotia).

These findings suggest that extra-organizational rules play out in complex ways within organizations. These rules can change over time and they can be configured differently in different contexts. Whatever these rules are, however, we argue here that they affect how men and women are treated within educational organizations.

9.3.2 The Best "Fit"

A second major relevant theme in our data was the belief by our decision makers that "fit" was most important when considering rotation or succession. This finding illustrates how what Clegg calls a social-regulative rule in an organization can work. Social-regulative rules can keep men and women in their "appropriate place" unless such rules are openly challenged and changed. This comment shows how this can happen in relation to gender:

> We had some thinking years ago…[that] a male authoritarian figure in our high schools was probably necessary and desirable…I question that. We would certainly be happy to see a female, whose leadership style might be a little bit different, in the high schools…(female rural administrator, Saskatchewan).

> Our female faculty are more comfortable with some of the administrative organizational things…managing their own filing systems and things like that. In some areas it has almost always been women and in other areas it has almost always been men…there's this sort of middle level of decimal appointments that seem to be attracting women (female university administrator, Nova Scotia).

There is a link between the need for "fit" and the first theme about meeting organizational needs first. Participants from the k-12 systems commented that the individual should be able to "fit" almost anywhere within the school division. The decision makers in the k-12 sample commented that every potential principal should be trained to adapt to any school environment as a measure of their professional development over time and the accumulation of an increasing set of leadership skills that are transferable from one context to the next. These leadership goals revealed more of what might be called a "one size fits all" approach in contrast to seeking the one principal who is right for a particular school. The following comment illustrates the view relating to advocating the need for a good "fit":

> I think it all goes back to…the fit of the community or the needs of the community. That's the underlying thing. [One] school needed someone to go in and be tough and firm and clean up the attitude of the students and the lady in question has done a fabulous job…I knew her as the [Vice-Principal] in one of my schools. She's into peer mentoring, she's into conflict mediation, and when you look at what was going on there with students fighting, suspensions and expulsions, you needed somebody who could do that. She was a perfect fit (male urban board official, Ontario).

This comment reveals that the needs of the system are the prime consideration when seeking a good "fit":

> If…it comes down to people being tied or very close together, then you have to look at other criteria that can sort of help you make a choice…. In other systems I've worked in, we went to a point system based on their resumes and their experiences and professional qualifications. It was part of a total point system that determined where they were ranked…. Then, we looked at the needs of the school and tried to match that up with what the person would be able to bring…(male rural administrator, Ontario).

Data from our colleges and universities were quite different, especially for Heads/Chairs. The following quote describes a very different process than for k-12 principal selections:

> …there are two aspects to this…stage of career and expectations of service, as opposed to personal characteristics…that might drive their wish to be leader…I, as an individual or as a Dean may wish to see certain characteristics in a Chair but the process by which they are selected takes it out of my hands…. I'm the one that calls for nominations…a lot of talk goes on in hallways…they as a community work out who might be best for the community (male university administrator, Nova Scotia).
>
> …the process of choosing Dept. Heads is very political. Department will have in a way their own cultures and their own sense of what's important (male university administrator, Ontario).
>
> ..they in their own wisdom decide who to recommend…You would like to see a Department Chair coming in…who has some solid track record in research…so that they can mentor faculty…because they do have a significant role to play in annual evaluation of untenured faculty…I think it is more like who is left standing…all those in favour, step backwards. We don't get too many people wanting to serve in the position. It's not heavily rewarded and it is a lot of stress (male university administrator, Nova Scotia).

These quotes and others like them from our pilot study of colleges and universities suggest that the "fit" is more with the wishes of the smaller unit, the department, than with the larger organization as is more the case for the k-12 settings we studied. Our data on the selection of Deans, however, suggest that the needs of the overall college or university often superseded the need for a "fit" with the individual college or faculty. The process for finding new Deans included a large number of stakeholders regarding the decision. The idea of "one size fits all", however, did not show up in our small data set relating to the beliefs about the process or desirable attributes of either Heads/Chairs or Deans in the way that it was found regarding the selection of principals in k-12 school divisions.

9.3.3 Gender Balance

Repeatedly in our data, decision makers talked about the need for balance by gender on leadership teams. This view of balance seems tied to ideas about oppositional gender categories. If you have a female leader on the team, then you must balance it off with a male leader, or vice versa. This can be linked to societal understandings or Clegg's extra-organizational rules, it may also become a technical rule or just how we do things. Our data did not show that "balance" had become a strategic rule nor in any of the provinces we studied had it become a state rule, but this comment is typical of what our decision makers said about the need for gender balance:

> I've always given a pretty high priority to the balance of gender on an administrative team in a school. I believe that there should be a good balance…if there are two (school) administrators ideally one should be female. So those factors might say that a principal in a school should remain there or stay there seven or eight years…I speak against an automatic "let's move everybody every five years". I say let's look at the circumstances, let's have some criteria, let's use some factors and let's look at each individual case (male rural administrator, Nova Scotia).

We heard similar comments about the need for gender balance from those we interviewed in colleges and universities. The following quote is like other comments we heard:

> …what you are looking for is to…diversify your faculty and administration…three men in a Faculty that is predominately women would not be advisable…I would try to make sure that there is at least one woman (male university administrator, Ontario).

Some participants expressed the view that gender or even racial differences "just happen" and therefore no strategic rule is necessary for them to rise to the top if they are indeed the "best people". The following comment expresses this view and is typical of many in our data from k-12 individuals:

> When I joined the district four years ago most of the administrative positions were filled by men. Most of the hires over the past four years have been female…It wasn't that we set out to find a female administrator for a particular assignment. It just so happened that at this time the applications that we're receiving from females are superior to those that we're receiving from males. We want to find the best applicants to fill these administrative

> positions…Gender is not going to deter us from accomplishing that task…Three of the four we've just hired attached to the secondary school have been female…Gender is not an issue (and) race is not an issue…Teachers who were active in workshops, presentations, the other initiatives…have been of interest when we've been looking to fill principal positions (male rural administrator, British Columbia).

9.3.4 Affirmative Action

In our pilot data on college and universities, however, there were repeated references to "affirmative action" policies or other forms of strategic rules that had come into play to affect the diversity of those appointed to roles such as that of Dean or Head/Chair. The following quotes are typical of what we heard:

> We have, as I guess many institutions have, we have tended to accumulate a particular ethnic demographic in the management boardroom…with I guess a lot of colleges back in the 1980s, we had a very strong affirmative action program…so, we've certainly dealt with any gender bias that might have existed in the fairly distant past…we're kind of a 60/40 female…management team I would think at this point…but as far as representing our student mix, and while we recognize the importance of recruiting on that basis, I don't think we've done enough in the last five years to show much of an impact…we've made so few changes in the Dean group in particular (male college administrator, Ontario).
>
> In my university there is an underdeveloped appetite for recruiting Aboriginal students and faculty… We say that it is important but it is not a priority that I can see in the allocation of resources or direction from senior management…with the proliferation of Canada Research Chairs and investments from the federal government into universities, we see more of their expectations and dictates about gender equity…having to justify why were there not more equitable numbers of candidates in each gender, etc…we don't have institutional policies or initiatives in place to drive [Aboriginal equity] compared to…many examples across the country but it is not a priority here and we are working to try to improve that (male university administrator, Nova Scotia).
>
> …there's certainly been a push to increase the number of female administrators, including the level of President. We have an affirmative action hiring policy as well which has now broadened to include other minorities and it's somewhat contentious…because you're always struggling around quality versus category…so, you know, that's the risk you run to some degree if politics are shaping appointments (male university administrator, Ontario).

In contrast to these overt affirmative action policies and the discussion of politics and government directions, those we interviewed in the k-12 systems felt that the qualities of the "individuals" were the main drivers concerning choosing leaders in their systems. Repeatedly, senior administrators claimed that they made principal rotation decisions on the basis of a variety of individual criteria that they see as not connected to gender or race, including career stage, leadership style, performance ratings and professional background. They admitted, however that because the needs of the system are paramount, the applicant's gender or race may become a consideration under special circumstances. We heard about this being the case for single-sex female schools or in communities that are First Nations (Saskatchewan or Nova Scotia), Afro-Canadian (Nova Scotia) or ethnically diverse (British

Columbia, Ontario). In such cases, the stated ideal was to have at least one member of the school administrator leadership team reflect the social values, cultural understandings and historical traditions of the local population. The following quotes are typical of what we heard regarding the need for balanced teams by race/ethnicity:

> We probably don't see the same level of diversity that you would see in Ontario; however, we are starting to see a bit more in the lower mainland area of Vancouver, simply because of the immigration. We've got a large number of Asian and East Indian communities here now and that is starting to influence some of the selections [for school administrators]… It's also an awareness in terms of the recruitment. People are starting to take notice of the fact that in our school, if we have a large Oriental population, our leadership ought to reflect that (male urban school administrator, British Columbia).
>
> Well, I think we are very conscious of [ethnicity and race]. We do not have a criterion that indicates when we bring our hiring panel together that it needs to be addressed. I think we're very conscious of it especially regarding our Aboriginal population but I guess our statement on that would be that we really encourage people of Aboriginal origin to apply and we encourage them to get into the mix and compete. We have not consciously made any decisions to promote someone of Aboriginal heritage over someone that perhaps is more qualified…but we are looking at promoting people in terms of getting into the mix in the competitions and have tried to accomplish a more representative work force in that way (male urban school administrator, Saskatchewan).

While our participants stated that gender and to some extent ethnicity and race did not play a role in most rotation/succession decisions, they admitted that when the needs of the school warranted such a consideration, it was a factor in their decision.

9.3.5 Contradictions

We noted that our participants were trying, as well as possible, to work within the complex set of rules that affected their decisions about school leaders' rotation and succession. What was visible to us across the data, however, were two contradictions. One contradiction was related to the objectivity of the process they used. In some cases the participants described steps designed to make the process as objective as possible, but they admitted that considering subjective information about individuals and school communities was necessary in order to fulfil their goal of getting the best "fit" for the needs of the community and for getting a "balanced" administrative team in the school. A second contradiction was related to comments about whether gender, ethnicity or race played a part in their rotation/succession practices. Repeatedly, we heard that our participants believed that these were not factors in their decisions and yet we also heard about how, when they tried for the best "fit" and for balance, gender, ethnicity and race were frequently taken into consideration. In this chapter, we do not suggest that the individuals we studied were deliberately blocking or advancing women, Aboriginals or people from minority groups. We point out, however, that despite the good intentions and best efforts of those we studied, we observed and have described in this chapter the ways in which

a complex set of organizational rules of control can operate to maintain rather than alter traditional patterns.

9.4 Conclusions and Implications

In this chapter, we have illustrated how, by examining decision makers' beliefs in both k-12 and college and university settings and by employing Clegg's rules of control in organizations, we gain insights about ways that senior administrators' beliefs, conscious or unconscious, and sets of practices concerning gender, ethnicity and race affect rotation/succession decisions. Despite repeated claims by our participants that gender is not a factor in decision making, we argue that technical, social-regulative and extra-organizational rules do operate to affect the participation of men and women as principals, dean, and/or heads/chairs across Canada. The operation of these rules of control helps to explain differential participation rates by women and those of "different" cultural backgrounds in such roles in specific contexts and over different time periods. It also helps to explain why participation rates have been slow to change. In order to bring about change, it is insufficient to alter only one of the types of rules of control that are in operation within an organization. Change in only one type of rule, for example, a strategic rule such as an affirmative action policy, can be ineffective if the other rules operate to negate overall change. While a change in one set of rules may be helpful in encouraging overall change, it may be that it is simply insufficient. When two or three of the rules of control work to support each other, then it is far more likely that overall change will result.

A good example of how a change in rules can operate comes from Ontario. In 1973, the Ontario government published a Green Paper, "Women in Ontario: A Plan for Action" (Ontario Ministry of Education 2006), spelling out concerns about the percentages of women in various roles in school systems and other sectors. As we have seen in this chapter, however, such a "state" rule alone was insufficient to bring about overall dramatic change in the participation of women in secondary school principalships by the end of the 1970s. One explanation for this is that other rules of control, such as the technical rules and social-regulative rules that have been spelled out in this chapter slowed the rate of change (Reynolds 1995). Despite slow change in the 1970s, higher women's participation rates in Ontario as compared to the other provinces we studied concerning rotation/succession may be attributable in part to this 1970s legislative, even though it ceased to exist past the 1970s. Such legislation or state rules can contribute to later and longer lasting modifications in technical and social regulatory rules operating within organizations.

Our study revealed that larger school districts were more likely than smaller districts to have formal policy directives for how rotation/succession decisions were to be managed. Our pilot data on colleges and universities showed that many processes in these environments were ruled by collective agreements that dictated process and duration of terms. However, none of the rotation policy directives we examined in k-12 systems or in colleges and universities explicitly specified gender or ethnicity/

race as factors for consideration. We found only one school district with a written succession plan in place. All of those in our pilot study for colleges and universities described worries about how a lack of succession planning was going to affect the future of leadership in these settings.

Our data from k-12 systems showed that high school principal rotation worked quite differently in rural contexts than in urban districts. Rural districts with a small number of high schools (sometimes only one) did not require formal policies or procedures for principal rotation and succession. Communication between senior administrators and high school principals about rotation and succession were informal. Perhaps this was a reflection of differences between urban and rural social structures and relationships. However, in small and large, urban and rural systems in our study there was a reliance on the local knowledge and judgement of senior administrators whether practices were formal or informal. In all cases, final authority for decisions rested within a small group of people whose knowledge and judgement, as we have argued in this chapter were affected by Clegg's various rules of control. As we have shown, these rules, when combined with beliefs by this core group of decision makers, can operate, perhaps unwittingly, to diminish opportunities for the participation of women or people of certain ethnic or racial minority groups in roles such as secondary school principal.

Our data from the pilot study of colleges and universities suggest that rotation patterns are driven by collective agreements and that affirmative action policies may positively affect participation rates for women and those of cultural "difference". Our data also suggest that a broad range of stakeholders involved in decisions about appointing deans or heads/chairs means that more diverse sets of beliefs can be brought to the decision making process. However, we also heard that these roles in colleges and universities are often seen by academics as something to avoid rather than pursue. Indeed, we heard that one of the challenges ahead for colleges and universities may be convincing a sufficient pool of individuals to step forward into these roles. While some literature on school principals suggests that this role as well has become increasingly complex and some people worry about a sufficient number of applicants in the future, we heard in our interviews that this has not happened as yet and indeed many individuals are eager to take on these roles.

One of the implications of this chapter is that those in schools, colleges and universities stand to gain from considering practices, policies and trends in different sorts of settings. In all settings the data suggest that strategic and state rules help to encourage women, Aboriginal and ethnic minorities to participate in leadership roles. Existing practices without such rules cannot be relied upon to increase participation rates by women, Aboriginals or ethnic minority leaders in a timely fashion. Data from our study indicate that while rotation/succession decisions and plans appear at some level to be objective, subjective judgements about gender or ethnicity/race and leadership affect the rotation/succession process. What this chapter suggests is that both awareness and written policy, (a strategic rule) specifying gender and ethnic/race equity as desired outcomes, are required to guide rotation/succession decisions.

9.5 A Guide for Further Study

1. What trends are in evidence relating to cultural contexts in k-12 schools systems, college and university settings? In your opinion, why do these patterns exist?
2. In your opinion, why have increases in the participation rates of women and people of "different" cultural backgrounds been so slow to change?
3. Identify and discuss recurring themes about gender and cultural backgrounds. To what sociological factors can these themes be related to?
4. Do you believe that specific "rules of control" are being exercised by decision makers? If so, why do these conditions exist?
5. During the study, participants claim that equity is no longer a factor in the selection of leaders yet the data seem to refute this stance. Clarify how inequities are perpetuated today and provide justification for your opinions.

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Chapter 10
Epilogue

Contextualizing Principal Succession: Reflections on Principal Succession and Rotation in Western Countries

Izhar Oplatka

I am an outsider in some sense and an insider in a different sense as I do not live in Canada and I am not profoundly familiar with its culture, history, geography and economy. Yet, I share some theoretical background and academic knowledge with many of the Canadian scholars who contributed to this volume. Thus, even though educational administration as a field of study is contextualized, some of our knowledge is universal while some other is local and culturally embedded.

With this insight in mind, I started making my acquaintance with principal succession in North America, a complex process characterized according to Macmillan and Meyer (this volume), by interaction among a newly appointed principal and school staff as well as stakeholders to a point where the new principal becomes "part of the tribe". This tends to occur approximately 2 years after his/her nomination. Surprisingly, however, in spite of the key role of the succession process in new principal development and lives, this topic remains untouched not only in Canada but also in other countries as the editor has indicated in his introduction to this volume.

In this sense, and in conjunction with the editor's intent to encourage a variety of personal views as well as descriptions of transfer and rotation methods in this book, the chapters posed many questions regarding the succession process in the principalship on several levels, and consecutively dealt with a wide variety of issues related to this process. Firstly, the contributors to this volume probed into policies, procedures and structures of principal succession in the province, district or school board arenas, exploring the effect of this administrative regulation upon administrator succession. For example, Chap. 4 focused on the role that school districts play in creating a policy and procedural environment that affects the development of trust between teachers and principals.

Secondly, some chapters centred on the personal experiences of administrators in their succession process aimed at identifying the influence of this process upon the

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individual him/herself, that is, the newly appointed principal. Illustrative of this are attempts (Chap. 8) to explore how one principal involved in the succession process is affected by it and how he purposefully developed trust with the teachers to create a positive school culture.

Thirdly, some chapters have been devoted to tracing the implications of principal succession upon teachers, students, and stakeholders. More specifically, Chap. 6 revolved around frequent principal turnover and its effects upon teacher values, school culture and the life of the school, while another explored the new principal's ability to shape the school culture and to help teachers to function as one staff under his/her authority (Macmillan and Meyer, this volume).

In this concluding Chapter I would like, first and foremost, to share with the reader what I personally learned from the preceding chapters about principal transfer and rotation in North America, and in turn, to provide a concluding account of this volume. Then, using three standpoints—internationality, gender and career-stage—I re-read and revisit the major ideas arising in this volume to highlight the universality versus particularity in the research findings as well as to provide a holistic point of view for research on principal succession.

10.1 Major Themes About Principal Succession in North America

Living in a very small country, Israel, the same size as New Jersey, with a relatively centralized education system, what caught my eye immediately was the shortage of principal candidates in Canada—a phenomenon also characterized in the UK and in other European countries nowadays, but not my own—and regional differences between and among provinces and districts in terms of succession and rotation policies and procedures. Several themes emerge from this volume, which I believe, are worth highlighting.

10.1.1 A Severe Shortage of Principal Candidates

The introduction of many business-like reforms in many western countries during the 1990s, resulting in increasing demands for accountability and managerialism in education, have contributed to the intensification and complexity of the principal's role (Crow 2006). This, in turn, remakes the principal into a manager of the external agenda rather than a value-based leader who experiences unrelenting pressure for short-term results, as Hargreaves and Fink (Chap. 3) have noted.

Given these new circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the frequency of principal turnover and retirement in Canada has increased on one side and the degree of attractiveness of this post for young teachers has curtailed considerably on the other side. Macmillan et al. (Chap. 4) give an example of one educator who told them

that more than 20 administrators were needed in his district. In other words, many schools throughout Canada face the challenges of endless principal succession.

But what made me most surprised, especially because I work and live in a country whose State Education System is run mostly by women (in Israel, over 92% of the principals in elementary schools and around 70% of the principals in secondary schools are women), was the finding reported by Reynolds et al. (Chap. 9) about gender discrimination. Accordingly, despite the severe shortage of principal candidates, patterns of gender discrimination persist for many women who aspire to the role. Based on other countries' historical trends, I assume, Canadians need to expect the entrance of more and more women into the principalship in the next few years, simply because district officials cannot leave such important posts unoccupied.

This future trend is welcome in my view not only because it enhances equality and equity in a system that ought to be moral rather than moralistic but also because frequent principal turnover has many dire consequences. It may disrupt the staff focus on improving student achievement, decrease teachers' motivation to participate in the implementation of change and might increase teachers' distrust of their leadership and curtail their loyalty to him/her. Macmillan et al. (Chap. 4) noted that teachers might place barriers between themselves and the newly appointed principals in order to protect their school's professional culture and past ethos. Additionally, Mascall et al. (Chap. 7) found that rapid principal turnover brought about, directly and indirectly, the institutionalization of distributed leadership in schools rather than any change in student achievement.

10.1.2 Recruiting New Principals in an Era of Shortage

Very reasonably, in times of sparse human resources, organizations employ a wide variety of strategies and techniques to encourage competent and talented candidates to fill vacant positions. The situation in the Canadian educational systems, I learned from this volume, is not exceptional and, as Hargreaves and Fink indicate, there is a need to build leadership capacity by developing a pool of qualified candidates, not only from the most enthusiastic and extroverted ones, but also from "the shy, gauche, klutzy, competitive, arrogant, self-absorbed" ones (Chap. 3, p. 13). Furthermore, to make it more attractive for current teachers, it is also of high importance to re-conceptualize the principal's role in terms of instruction and education rather than in terms of administration and standardization.

Increasing the pool of principal candidates is related by White and Cooper (Chap. 5) to an interview process that honours the voices of all those aspiring to the principalship. Unfortunately, however, the recruitment process of new principals is gender biased, as Reynolds et al. (Chap. 9) shows. Many of their respondents construct the work world in terms of gender distinction, that is, they attribute different traits to men and women principals based on their sex. This leads decision makers to balance the composition of human resources in schools by gender and race. To put it differently, they recruit employees into administrative positions according to their

gender or ethnicity, admittedly an act that contradicts notions of equal opportunities in many western countries. It is needless to emphasize the high costs of this kind of recruitment process for the educational systems in Canadian provinces; qualified candidates might be succeeded by less qualified ones due to an understandable desire to balance the school by gender and race.

10.1.3 Differences Within Canada

While the first two insights are not constrained to Canada, the large distances among cities and areas in this country seem to bring about high levels of diversity in respect to principal succession. The contributors to this volume pointed, clearly and explicitly, to the differences between provinces and districts in terms of principal turnover, policies of principal recruitment and selection, and procedures for principal rotation and transfer. Furthermore, principal succession is explained by geographical features and cultural proclivities (Chap. 5), and the rotation process is different from urban areas to rural ones (Chap. 9) due to many reasons.

Thus, we are told about school districts whose teachers are entirely disconnected from their principal succession process, resulting in distrust among teachers at the district levels (Chap. 4) and sometimes in a grudging response towards the newly appointed principal. For example, In Cartier School District, as White and Cooper found, rotation/succession has become somewhat unpredictable and occasionally happens more than annually due to a high degree of retirement. This is not surprising given district officials' views in Reynolds et al.'s study (Chap. 9) that the needs of the overall system should be placed above the needs of any individual school leader. In other districts, respondents talked about the change in morale due to the anticipation of receiving an incoming principal. Bob, an elementary teacher, reflected that the anticipated change was positive (Chap. 8).

As there might be successful versus less successful districts in the implementation of principal succession structures and policies, I wonder if there is a system of information exchange in Canada in spite of the huge size of it, plains and mountains. Such a system could build formal relationships among superintendents, district officials, principals and even teachers to facilitate principal succession and enable an exchange of ideas, experiences and techniques. Otherwise, let me mull over the existence of a unified Canadian entity in terms of educational administration and policy.

10.1.4 Trust Building

The last point arising from the book chapters that I would like to highlight refers to trust building between the newly appointed principals and the school staff. We saw that frequent principal turnover might result in high levels of distrust between teachers and the district, yet it is interesting to understand the ways by which newly

appointed principals build trust with the staff, a staff that is considered sometimes to be hostile to the alien who has invaded their turf (Daresh and Male 2000). After all, the development of trust is widely recognized as a critical element in the succession process of new principals.

Macmillan et al. (Chap. 4) sheds light on the possible impact of district policies upon the new principal' s ability to build trust with his/her staff. Accordingly, policies that create instability, unpredictability and alienation inadvertently hinder the development of trust in new principals, as the teachers refrain from building strong and trustful relationships with principals when everyone knows they will not stay in their position for many years. In addition, usually teachers in this sort of circumstance develop a kind of scepticism towards new principals' initiatives and projects, as every initiative ends when the principal abruptly leaves the post.

As a matter of fact, frequent rotation and transfers coupled with the often unpredictable leave of the principal reminds me of the lives of soldiers in their initial training camp. However, the more years that the soldier remains in the army, the less unpredictability and uncertainty he experiences in terms of leadership, projects and routines. In no way, I believe, do teachers need to experience the same, as education needs time and every educational project or change takes many years of institutionalization. Besides, as I show in the next section, the consequences of intensive and unpredictable principal turnover described in the book chapters are culturally embedded; I will then debate the potential different influences of similar policies in developing countries.

10.2 Some Thoughts About What We Know Concerning Principal Succession

In the second part of this concluding chapter, I use three standpoints to analyze some of the findings illuminated in this book: internationality, gender and career stage. It is my intention here to revisit the understandings about principal succession arising in the various chapters of this book using concepts such as cultural scripts, social structures, masculinity, femininity, age, seniority and so forth.

Briefly, I feel that the principal succession processes, and the policy of rotation, recruitment and selection we were told about in this book are very westernized, masculine and lack a sufficient reference to age and years in post. Therefore, any generalization of the findings ought to be done cautiously. In this chapter, I hope to fill in some of the gaps between these issues and provide the reader with some insights concerning principal succession and rotation.

10.2.1 Universality Versus Particularity

Whereas most of the issues raised in this volume might be common to other western nations, I believe that they are not universal in that they do not necessarily

characterize, to say the least, the educational systems of many developing countries. Thus, as the book is specifically designed and developed, according to the editor, for Canadian administrative succession processes and is a uniquely Canadian text, it is my intention here to highlight the contextual and cultural relativity of some of the major findings presented in this volume.

To begin with, the basic differences between the "Canadian story" of principal succession—the focus of this book—and that in other parts of the world, principal rotation and succession policies and the shortage of principal candidates characterizing many districts in North America are simply absent in most of the developing countries, as well as in some developed countries. In many developing countries, on one hand, the position of the principalship reflects a social status and class and its role incumbent seems to be "a king in his realm" (Oplatka 2004a) who sees his school as his private mansion. This might account for, at least in part, the low level of principal turnover in many parts of the globe.

On the other hand, most of the educational systems in the developing world have not experienced such considerable processes as accountability, marketization and intensification, and are thereby likely constructing the principalship as an attractive position that is not characterized by high overload, intensiveness and frequent pressure. Besides, qualifications and achievements are not necessarily the main criterion for principal recruitment and selection but, in many cases, on the contrary. In many traditional and tribal societies, the selection is based chiefly on marital and tribal status and on power structures. Even in Israel, a country that belongs to the OECD, principal recruitment in the Bedouin sector is often influenced by tribal arrangement and status (Abu Rabia-Quader and Oplatka 2008). So, one might wonder whether policy makers in these countries or communities would fundamentally rethink how to recruit and develop qualified and talented educational leaders, as Canadian policy makers were suggested to do by Hargreaves and Fink (Chap. 3).

Many of the authors in this volume explore the determinants and effects of the succession process, that is, the process that marks the departure of one principal and the entry of his or her successor, as well as extant official policies (in North America) for regulating this succession. However, the national and the local contexts have large influences upon principal succession, including principal recruitment and selection. For example, in many developing countries, the cultural and social expectations of every person, including principals and teachers, are very taut and clear, which in turn support highly centralized organizational structures (Oplatka 2007). Therefore, the relationship between the new and the previous principals are likely to be well structured; every participant knows his/her role in the succession process and strict social norms and rules may guide it very fundamentally.

In this sense, Macmillan et al. (Chap. 4) conclude that "new principals must often actively negotiate a working relationship (with their respective staffs) instead of being able to rely heavily on the authority of the office to establish the relationship" (p. 32). Such a conclusion is also heavily contextualized, I believe. Obedience to a higher authority in the hierarchy characterizes many educational systems of developing countries worldwide; a centralized control system produces a culture of teaching that values obedience above all other behaviours (Bjork 2004). Principals

in such societies, though, may gain their authority just from their position, which in turn, makes their succession process much easier than that of many Canadian principals. Interestingly enough, while North American principals build their trust with teachers on the basis of professional expertise, trust in many traditional societies is solely based on family ties.

The different systems of authority between North America and the developing world are related also to issues of timing and involvement. Macmillan et al. (Chap. 4) told us about many districts that transfer principals from one school to another (as part of their rotation policy) without much advance notice or consultation with the teachers, thereby both disrupting the flow of the school and decreasing teachers' trust in the district. But before we conclude that distributive leadership (Chap. 7) is the right way to handle this kind of situation, one should bear in mind that teachers in many developing countries do not expect their superiors to consult with them or involve them in any decision, let alone in the selection of their new principal. The atmosphere in their staff rooms is less likely to be influenced by these sorts of policies.

Besides, the negative influence of high principal turnover upon principals' ability to initiate and implement changes and innovations in the school need to be considered under the spirit of innovation that dominates the western world. In Canada, as in many other western countries, change is glorified and educators are encouraged to facilitate school change. However, both principals and teachers in many developing countries were found to be conservative and lack a tendency to renew instructional content or teaching methods (Oplatka 2004a, 2007). Thus, principal succession is less expected to bring about considerable change but rather seems to preserve current social and organizational orders.

To sum up then, international readers may learn about succession and rotation policies and processes from the North American arena, but they can benefit by taking into consideration the great influence of national, cultural and social contexts that affect the narratives of principals in this book. They may want to ask themselves whether the "recommendations" arising from every chapter are also valid in their culture and may wish to adapt them accordingly. For example, Meyer et al. (Chap. 6) creates a list of stated values focused on decision making. Some of these values, in my view, are universal (for example, the ability to lead the decision-making process, political ability, literacy promotion) while other are particular to Canada and similar Commonwealth countries (for example, demonstrating a sense of responsibility, being committed to the students as the centre of education). This distinction helps the international reader, I believe, sort out the lessons he or she gains from this book.

10.2.2 Gender

This section is based on the feminist literature in general and female leadership in particular. Accordingly the "feminine style", which comprises caring, creativity,

intuition, awareness of individual differences, non-competitiveness, tolerance, subjectivity and informality (Gray 1993) is appropriate to educational organizations. A great deal of research has indicated that women principals are more task-focused and visionary, more democratic and participatory in their decision-making style than male principals (Coleman 1996) and are more likely to withdraw from conflict in their role. Relationships with others were more central for women than for men, resulting in a sharing of power instead of "power over", like men (Shakeshaft 1989). Caring for the staff and students was of great value in their leadership style, and the women principals constructively evaluated staff performance so as to bring out the best (Blackmore 1999) of this ethic. Female principals also tended to focus mainly on instruction, learning and student needs in the school setting (Fennell 1997).

Despite the criticism about the dichotomy of the "masculine" versus "feminine" management style, I would like to use it as means to reflect upon the various aspects of principal succession processes and rotation policies in Canada, as they appear in this book. Firstly, let us look at the severe shortage of principal candidates in Canada and other western countries which, in recent years, has been associated by many authors with high job demands and new conceptualizations of the principalship. Accordingly, principals nowadays have to face intense pressure to implement multiple and even contradictory reform policies, endless externally imposed changes, many unwanted interventions and to be susceptible to accountability systems. Add to this the shift from instructional tasks to mainly administrative ones and, in my view, it is hardly surprising that many qualified teachers choose not to apply for the principalship, let alone female teachers.

In fact, if we juxtapose "feminine" leadership styles and perspectives with current conceptualizations of the principalship, we discover a profound contradiction which, in turn, might partially account for the shortage in principal candidates. After all, many teachers in many western societies are women. Thus, unless the principalship is open to all professionals, it is very reasonable to expect a shortage when the new nature of the principalship is in sharp contrast with female teachers' views of schooling and education. There are many examples: principals have to be preoccupied with administrative tasks, while women educators often prefer to focus on instruction and pupil growth; human interaction and trust are very important to women leaders, but current rotation policies do not permit year-round social connections and attachments; standardization policies pay attention to outcomes while typically women tend to view education as a holistic process, and so forth.

So if the principalship corroborates masculine conceptions of leadership, why should women apply for this position? In Israel, currently, most of the principals in the State Education System, as I indicated above, are women. At the same time, accountability and standardization policies have only recently been introduced into the local educational system. Can this fact alone account, at least in part, for the high representation of women in the principalship?

Another point I would like to raise here refers to the dominance of "masculine" conceptions of education and schooling, including principal rotation and succession policies. "Masculine" views, for example, determine one's suitability to the

principalship, "proper" time in post, qualifications needed, "right" succession processes, selection procedures, and even the "elements" of effective aspirations. Inevitably, then, women are disadvantaged by current rotation policies, I believe. For example, 5 years in post is not enough for establishing deep relationships among the staff or for implementing fundamental changes, two things of high importance to women principals. Besides, rotation policies ignore the late entrance of many women into leadership positions, which means fewer opportunities for rotation during the career cycle.

Above all, however, succession policies are based on the conjecture that teachers aspire into leadership positions. That is to say, "promotion" is a dominant value and every teacher waits for the opportunity to climb up into the hierarchy. This assumption contradicts many feminine work perceptions according to which internal rewards constitute the main work motives, rather than the more obvious external ones. Emotional commitment to students plays a more salient role in many narratives of women educators (Oplatka and Hertz-Lazarowitz 2006). This, nonetheless, may explain the grudging responses of many teachers to frequent principal turnover that left no time for building strong connections between the principal and his/her staff.

Finally, while reading the success stories, such as those from Finland (Chap. 3) or from North America (Chap. 8), I felt that they contain many feminine aspects of leadership and organizations. These stories highlight the need to share resources and support across the school, to create a sense of supportive community, to build trust, to adopt a depth of learning and real achievement, to create a climate of conversation, to build a team focused on a set of shared expectations, to initiate timely changes and to meet the unique needs of the school. Very interestingly, these aspects coincide with major conceptualizations of feminine leadership emphasizing connectedness, emotions, listening, caring and the like.

This illustrates the need to inculcate feminine concepts and views into succession and rotation policies to make them more suitable to the majority of the human resources in our educational systems, the women. Male educators also might derive much benefit from adopting "feminine" aspects of leadership rather than alien, rational concepts borrowed from the business world. Teaching is an emotional practice and school and schooling, I believe, is also a "feminine" engagement. Therefore, much attention should be given to stability in the principalship, teacher involvement in the succession process and emotional commitment, as effective education needs time, deepening relationships and the development of strong commitment towards and identification with the school's purposes and values. We simply cannot change educational missions and directions the way we change our socks every day, an aspect unfortunately ignored by many policy makers in North America.

10.2.3 Principal Succession and Career Stage

In this last section, I would like to adopt a career-stage approach and consider the place of age and seniority in the principal succession process. This approach

postulates that one's career development is an ongoing process by which employees progress through a series of stages, each of which is characterized by a relatively unique set of issues, themes or tasks (Greenhaus and Callanan 1994). Much support is given to this approach in the research on principals and teachers (Day and Bakioglu 1996; Huberman 1993; Ribbins 1999).

Thus, I advocate here the conjecture that age and seniority are strongly related to the principal succession process and its effects, an assumption underpinned by Meyer et al. (Chap. 6) who found that the effect of principal turnover on teacher morale decreases with teachers' years of experience. In addition, it is likely that the teachers' years in post affect their perceptions towards principal succession and trust building as White and Cooper (Chap. 5) indicated. Yet, the career-stage approach raises the timing question: when is the best time to enter the principalship? What is the effect of age or years in post upon new principal succession and selection? Personally, I recommend my students in principal preparation programs to apply for principalships after the age of 40; otherwise, they will have to remain in this post for many years before retirement and may experience a sense of plateau and stagnation. The labour market has not many opportunities for retired principals.

The career-stage approach also highlights constraints in the induction stage of principals. Many of the stories of newly appointed principals in this book fit their career stage within which these principals are located, and are well known in the literature on the early career stage in the principalship. New principals have to confront many issues and difficulties such as achieving acceptance, learning the organizational culture, learning ways to overcome the insecurity of inexperience and developing a sense of confidence (Daresh and Male 2000). Thus, the issue of trust building between the newly appointed principal and his/her staff should be considered in light of the new principals' career tasks; can we expect, then, newly appointed principals to delegate authority when they have not yet developed their expertise? Can newly appointed principals develop trust a few months after their arrival when this kind of activity needs time and is strongly related to their managerial competence building?

The answers to these and related questions, in my view, are negative (Oplatka 2004b). It is widely recognized that the creation of managerial identity takes at least two years before the principal can see him/herself as the principal rather than still a member of the staffroom. Therefore, any rotation policy should take into account the key role of time in building trust and expertise in schools; consequently, it is suggested that policy makers prolong the time in post. Five years in a principalship is insufficient as principals, at this time, are usually located within the "establishment stage" in which they hold high confidence and high self-efficacy in their jobs and have the time to initiate and implement changes in their schools. Any transfer at this stage means the disruption of the principal's—not to mention—the school's growth and development. However, it is not recommended to leave principals in their post more than 8–10 years as mid-career is sometimes characterized by stagnation, deterioration, and even burnout (Hall 2002).

Of particular importance for the issue of principal succession is the concept of self-renewal. In mid-career, some principals may express high levels of self-fulfilment,

enchantment, job satisfaction and self-renewal, as well as seek new challenges in their roles and schools (Day and Bakioglu 1996; Hall 2002). Self-renewal includes self-reflection, reframing, energy-replenishing, professional up-dating and change initiation (Oplatka et al. 2001). Yet, consistent with some authors in this book, it is likely that career transition at this stage may result in some level of self-renewal because the new school climate contains new stimuli and challenges for the new principal, a link I observed among Israeli female principals (Oplatka 2001). Unfortunately, new re-conceptualizations of the principalship leaves no time for principal renewal, as the principals are preoccupied with administrative issues, accountability and political pressures. In my own study with female principals in Israel, I learned that a major part of the renewal in mid-career was curriculum development, but this is plausible in educational systems which have not yet been introduced to accountability and standardization policies.

Even so, principal succession can evoke self-renewal among senior teachers. In a study about self-renewal among mid-career women teachers I conducted several years ago in Israel, I found out that the arrival of a newly appointed principal rejuvenated some burned-out teachers who had considered early retirement in preceding years (Oplatka 2004c). The new principal expressed warmth, trust and affection towards the senior teachers and encouraged them to adopt new educational perspectives. This led the senior teachers to reframe old instructional perspectives, to feel enthusiasm and high levels of energy and even to enhance their self-concept and efficacy. Similar findings, I learned, came from Macmillan et al.'s (Chap. 4) study.

10.3 Some Lessons

In sum, what are the lessons that I, an outsider, take with me from the book chapters? What suggestions for principal succession and rotation policies in my country can I find in this book? Beyond the intellectual fertilization stemming from reading the stories of principals and schools in other countries, I hold with me two broad lessons. Firstly, the new conceptions of public education and consecutively of the principalship that glorify accountability, managerialism and standardization have many negative implications; one of them referring directly to principal shortage and turnover. If my government does not want to face a permanent shortage in principal candidates, it should consider the implementation of neo-liberal reforms into education very carefully.

Secondly, any ideas of principal rotation arising from time to time as means to cope with job burnout among senior principals should be carefully considered. If the rotation takes place every 5 years, the damage, in my view, to the school, staff and pupils is higher than the benefit, especially when the staff is composed mostly of women. While further research is required to investigate the ideal time in the principalship and the proper ways to handle the rotation process, this book has greatly assisted in understanding the complexities surrounding the twin issues

of principal succession and transfer and rotation policies in educational administration. After all, there are no panaceas.

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Index

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