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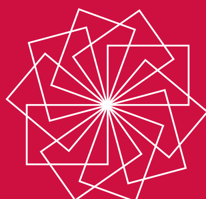

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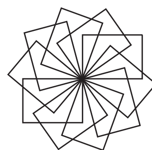

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Editorial Note

This edition of *International Studies in Educational Administration* focuses on some of the central concerns of educators, educational administrators and politicians across the developing states within the Commonwealth. In part the focus is a strongly geographical one, with five of the papers examining educational leadership issues in Africa and two based on studies in the Pacific region. Perhaps more important, though, is the theme of responding to the challenges faced by teachers and principals as they seek to raise the quality of education and levels of student achievement in environments characterised by limited resource availability. Such a context is deeply familiar to colleagues working in most countries within the Commonwealth. The Editors had selected the focus for this edition before receiving the sad news of the death of Zandile Mbeje, the President of CCEAM. In this context, it is especially appropriate and strongly in keeping with Zandile's deeply felt commitment to education that this edition focuses on such issues.

The first paper examines the engagement of teachers in secondary schools in Zimbabwe in decision-making within schools. Through a study of five schools in Gweru District, Newman Wadesango, Symphorosa Rembe and Owence Chabaya show that there is variation in practice between schools. Consultation by headteachers varies so that while some teachers have useful engagement in decision-making others receive decisions made unilaterally by heads or by senior management teams.

The relationship between teachers, schools and inspectors in Cameroon is the focus of the paper by Peter Fon Titanji and Nchia Mary-Judith Yuoh. The study of supervisors or inspectors of English language teachers reveals poor relationships between inspectors and teachers emanating from a lack of direct support for teachers to improve their practice.

A key issue in the connection between education administration and quality of educational experience is explored in the paper by M. Olalekan Arikewuyo in examining the funding system and its connection to quality assurance in Nigeria. Arikewuyo suggests that a key issue is the relative underfunding of education by central government, and identifies a range of potential priority areas where investment would have a direct impact on the quality of educational outcomes

Ruth Ombonya Otienoh's paper from Kenya also addresses a very familiar issue, that of operating in the context of large class sizes. Large class sizes are in part a product of financial constraints. Otienoh's concern, though, is principally with the lack of professional development to support teachers in such circumstances, and she suggests professional development strategies which would start to reduce the negative quality impacts of large classes.

Job satisfaction amongst teachers is frequently seen as an area where great improvements might be made, whether the context is schools in developed countries or schools in the developing world. Linda Evans and Fadekemi Olumide-Aluko consider the issue of job

satisfaction in Nigerian schools through the application of Herzberg's theory. As well as providing useful insights into job satisfaction amongst Nigerian teachers the study also shows the challenges of using theoretical models in developing countries that have emerged in the developed world.

The final two papers in this edition move attention from Africa to the Pacific. The paper from Carol Cardno and Enosa Auva'a looks at the challenges for those senior managers from a Pacific Island heritage who aspire to principalship in primary schools in New Zealand. A particular issue that emerges is that of the need to build the confidence of potential heads through engaging them in networks and raising their levels of formal qualification and training.

Eileen Piggot-Irvine's paper extends this attention on headship to examine the development needs of principals in Vanuatu. Her study shows that the opportunities for professional development are limited as yet, and then identifies some key priorities.

The range of papers presented here allows a number of common themes to emerge when considered together. In research terms they demonstrate that relatively small-scale, practice-focused studies can identify useful findings that are both useable in the local context and transferable to other settings in the ideas that emerge. In terms of findings, they also show the importance of identifying priorities for professional development through research, and the importance that professional development has in dealing with challenging issues and in raising student achievement. It is fitting that such a conclusion should emerge from the studies in this edition, for they reinforce the central beliefs and values of the commitment to the training and development of leaders that Zandile Mbeje epitomised.

Professor Nick Foskett and Professor Jacky Lumby
Joint Editors, *International Studies in Educational Administration*
University of Southampton, UK

Tribute to Zandile Lynette Mbeje, née Kunene, 1964–2010

Zandile Kunene held the role of President of the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration until her untimely death in February 2010. The editors here draw on tributes received from her friends and colleagues, Professor Bruce Barnett, Professor Tony Bush, Dr Barbara Vann and Mrs Arlene Walsh, to celebrate her life and achievements.

Zandile was born in Pietermaritzburg, Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa and attended primary school in the township of Edendale, and Montebello High School. At the age of twelve, she heard English spoken for the first time. Under apartheid laws she had to receive a special dispensation from the Minister of Education to attend the University of Natal rather than a 'Bantustan' university, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree, a Higher Diploma in Education and postgraduate Bachelor of Education degree from this institution. At the time of her death, she was studying for a Masters in Educational Leadership.

Zandile returned to Montebello High School as a teacher, and she also taught at Pietermaritzburg Girls High School. She became a lecturer at the Elijah Mango College of Education in Mpumalanga and later the Gauteng Department of Education. From 2000 to 2003, Zandile was the Deputy National Director of the Management of Schools training programme (MSTP), an innovative and influential NGO that worked in large-scale school and district change programmes.

In 2003, Zandile was appointed by the Gauteng Department of Education to establish the Matthew Goniwe School of Leadership and Governance (MGSLG). The aim of the MGSLG was to improve leadership and governance in Gauteng schools. Zandile realised the importance of making links with academics, institutions and practitioners across Africa and internationally. In her brief six years as the Executive Director of MGSLG she succeeded in forwarding this vision. She was instrumental in founding LeadLINK, a consortium of institutions from seven African countries. In 2004, Zandile was elected as the President of the Education Management Association of South Africa, the country's affiliate to the Commonwealth Council of Educational Administration and Management (CCEAM). In 2008, in Durban, she was elected as the first black President of CCEAM.

Her colleagues speak of her qualities: a wonderful sense of humour, great clarity of thought, friendliness, her soft-spoken presence coupled with her passion for equity and social justice, especially for those, including generations of South Africans, who had been denied these rights. Although weak from her cancer treatments, she continued work to establish reciprocal support with UCEA and CCEAM affiliate organisations to improve educational opportunities for children. Though seriously ill, she worked with the University of

Southampton to establish a project to better the position of women leaders in schools. She overcame the indignities of apartheid to become an influential woman who, despite her untimely death, leaves a strong legacy through her work and her personal contact with others. On behalf of the CCEAM membership, the editors wish to express sympathy for her family and profound regret at her passing.

Jacky Lumby and Nick Foskett
March 2010

An Analysis of the Type of Teachers that Participate in Decision-Making in Schools: A Case Study of Gweru District Secondary Schools in Zimbabwe

Newman Wadesango, Symphorosa Rembe and Owence Chabaya

Abstract: *This study examined the extent of teacher participation in decision-making in Zimbabwean schools. The study adopted an interpretive qualitative research methodology and a case-study research design. Data were collected through face-to-face interviews with 5 secondary-school heads and 20 teachers in Gweru Education District in Zimbabwe. Information was also obtained through analysis of different documents and reports from the schools and other sources. The study found that teachers were involved in decision-making in certain areas either as individuals or on a one-on-one basis depending on their expertise and experience. It was also established that heads of schools made certain decisions unilaterally, with the final decision being communicated to staff members for implementation. The study recommended that heads of schools accept and implement feasible ideas from teachers, and that those teachers with greater experience must be involved more on a one-on-one basis.*

Introduction

From the end of the 1970s, there was a move towards democracy in many developing countries, particularly on the African continent (Cheema & Rondinelli 1983; Oakley & Cleggy 1999; Bardhan 2002). Although the move was partly attributed to outside pressure, particularly from donor countries and international organisations, it was also credited to governments' own initiatives to enhance participatory democracy in their respective countries (Metcalfe & Richards 1992; Bardhan 2002). Among the main objectives of the move towards democracy was the need to ensure effective participation and involvement of citizens in decisions regarding their social, economic and political development (Cheema & Rondinelli 1983; Metcalfe & Richards 1992; Oakley & Cleggy 1999; Bardhan 2002). Towards this end emphasis was put on decentralisation and devolution of power to lower levels with the intention of empowering people to make decisions on their own development. It was assumed that the involvement of people in decisions regarding their own development would motivate them and ensure the successful implementation of programmes and policies intended to benefit them (Vroom & Yogo 1988; Naidoo 2002).

The growing interest in decentralisation is attributable not only to the disillusionment with the results of centralisation but also to the realisation that development is a complex and

uncertain process that cannot be easily planned and controlled from the centre (Cheema & Rondinelli 1983; Bardhan 2002). In its true sense, decentralisation is about the transfer of authority from higher to lower levels in order to enhance public participation in decision-making (Cheema & Rondinelli 1983; Metcalfe & Richards 1992; Bardhan 2002). It is believed that the first demand for greater popular participation in African social-welfare development processes was made in 1987 during the conference on the challenge of economic recovery in Africa, in Abuja, Nigeria (Oakley and Cleggy 1999). This conference was a precursor to the 1990 Arusha Declaration workshop on the role of popular participation in meeting the challenges of recovery and development in post-colonial Africa (Cheema & Rondinelli 1983; Metcalfe & Richards 1992; Bardhan 2002).

The 1990 Arusha Conference adopted the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Participation (Oakley and Cleggy 1999). The Charter attested to the fundamental role of popular participation in generating the necessary support to overcome the continent's developmental crisis. To this end, Adedeji (1990: 68) proclaims the ethics of popular participation as: 'where the governed and their governments are moving hand in hand in the promotion of the common good and where it is the will of the people, rather than the wishes of one person or a group of persons – however powerful that prevails'. Most developing countries have reorganised their sectors to meet the above objectives (Naidoo 2002). As a result, there have been changes in the education sectors where there have been shifts from centralised top-down management to more focus on school-based management (McGinn & Welsh 1999; Dempster 2000; Simkins 2000; Henkin & Dee 2001). Decision-making has been decentralised and power has been devolved from the central level to schools, giving more autonomy to principals, teachers and parents to manage schools (Dempster 2000; Naidoo 2002; Mukundan & Bray 2004). It is assumed that schools will be more effective if they have more autonomy and teachers are involved in decision-making. In other words, implementation of school-based management will lead to greater teacher participatory decision-making (Dempster 2000; Mukundan & Bray 2004).

Zimbabwe, like other African and developing countries, implemented some of the above changes in education when it gained independence in 1980. In order to redress past imbalances and inequities, the government declared education a basic human right and committed itself to universal and equal educational opportunities for all, as proclaimed by UNESCO (2001). It was within this broad framework that the government, buttressed by the progressive Bill of Rights in the Independence Constitution of Zimbabwe, reorganised, democratised and expanded its education system (UNESCO 2001).

As a result of the decentralisation process, the Ministry of Education has devolved some functions to the regions, districts and schools. These functions include standards control, staffing, human resource development, supervision, counselling, budgeting and liaison with the internal and external clients of the ministry. In terms of hierarchy, the regional office is the linch-pin of the head office and the district offices, while the district offices link clusters and individual schools with their regional office (Juru 2002).

Statement of the Problem

Although the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe has devolved power and authority to schools, the extent of teacher participation in decision-making is not properly known and the latter seem to have mixed views on their involvement in the process. The problem of non-participation of teachers in decision-making discourages initiative and genuine commitment

to their work. The above concerns coupled with complaints from some of the teachers generated interest for undertaking this study. The aim was to establish the type of teachers that participate in decision-making in schools.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative interpretive methodology because it allowed the researcher to get the data directly from the subjects themselves by sitting with the respondents and hearing their views, voices, perceptions and expectations in detail. This strategy contends that knowledge is subjective and ideographic, and truth is context-dependent and can only be obtained after entry into participants' reality. The researchers recognised several nuances of attitude and behaviour that could not have been noticed if other methods had been used. This study adopted a case-study research design. A case study is described as a form of descriptor research that gathers a large amount of information about one or a few participants and thus investigates a few cases in considerable depth (Thomas & Nelson 2001).

Purposive convenience sampling was adopted in the selection of participants for this study. This type of non-probability sampling method seeks information-rich cases which can be studied in depth (Patton 1990). A sample of 25 secondary school teachers and 5 substantive school heads from 5 secondary schools constituted the study. Since school teachers were scattered all over the district, convenience purposive sampling was employed in order to come up with the actual participants for this study.

Table 1: Gender distribution of the respondents (N=25)

Gender	N	%
Male	15	60
Female	10	40
Total	25	100

Table 1 shows that there were more males who took part in this study than females. Since this was a purposive sampling, this may not necessarily mean that the schools in question have more males than females. It only suggests that these were the people who were considered to have a substantial amount of knowledge on the subject of decision-making in schools.

Data Collection Instruments and Procedure

Interviews were held with all the 30 respondents/participants at their respective schools. An audio recorder was used to ensure accuracy and trustworthiness of data. Documents related to shared decision-making processes such as minutes of staff meetings, heads' files, circulars and so forth were examined. Researchers observed the proceedings of two staff meetings per school by sitting in their meetings and recording information on a specially constructed data sheet. This allowed for triangulation of data by providing a variety of perspectives on the issue at hand.

Data Analysis

In this study data analysis was approached by treating each case on its own at first, and then cross-case analysis followed. The researchers gathered together the number of answers on

each research question answered. The raw data from interviews was coded to create data sets. Responses were treated according to the research questions they were responding to and, in the process, made up data sets X and Y. The researchers then came up with inductive themes related to each research question.

Results

Heads of Schools as Decision-Makers

All teachers from the five schools under study indicated that their participation in decision-making varied from issue to issue. It emerged that heads of schools made certain strategic decisions on their own without consulting anyone, and then communicated such decisions to staff:

> It depends on what is being discussed. Some things are dictated by the Head, whilst others are discussed by the staff. But generally we are not involved in all significant issues even if the outcomes concern us. The head of school has a tendency of dictating to teachers what he wants to be done. In certain issues our involvement is normally required at the implementation stage. At this stage we are actively involved. (R8 – teacher)

The study found out that teachers considered participation as the process whereby school heads engage them in all areas of the school administration where they command high expertise or where they have a personal stake in the outcome of the decision. For example, this may relate to school-based promotion, choice of curriculum, ordering of textbooks, organisation of fund-raising activities, selection of prefects, formulation of school-discipline policies and so on. In fact, they consider that school heads should be freed to make decisions in areas in which their teachers do not have a personal stake or expertise. In some cases, they were only asked to implement decisions that would have been made by their school heads.

As for decisions from higher levels, teachers indicated that these were policy issues and they did not mind being consulted. The interviews held with school heads confirmed that teachers' assertions were correct:

> I do involve my teachers but not in all the decisions that I make. There are certain policy issues which I can not discuss with them. There are also certain decisions which I make unilaterally as the eye of the Ministry. Often there is no time to meet and discuss so I just send a circular with the instructions to be followed. (H1 – head teacher)

It is clear from the above sentiments that school heads in this study make certain strategic decisions on their own without consulting other members of the teaching staff. This was also consolidated by what emerged from the staff meetings that were attended by the researcher. One of the school heads in the staff meeting actually instructed his teachers to postpone athletics competitions scheduled for Friday to Saturday despite the fact that it was month end and that teachers wanted to do their shopping on that day. The reason given by the head was that he was going to be away on that particular day but he was keen to attend the competitions.

After the meeting most of the teachers expressed the view that they remained quiet because they feared victimisation. In one school, teachers were asked if they had questions after the head's submissions. Many of them asked questions that attempted to seek clarity rather than how certain decisions were arrived at. Discussions held with some of the teachers after the meeting revealed that most of them were scared of asking fundamental questions because they feared victimisation by their school heads. They cited cases where certain teachers were transferred to the most remote schools for challenging some of the decisions made by their school heads. Heads of schools can influence the District Staffing Officer to transfer problem teachers from their schools to any other school in the interest of the Ministry. Thus, teachers preferred to play it safe by not fully participating in the meetings.

A perusal of the minutes of staff meetings indicated that, in most cases, heads of schools were just telling teachers what to do. For example, in one school, the minutes read: 'mid year examinations have been cancelled due to circumstances beyond our control.' These sentiments were echoed by the school head. When teachers asked for an explanation, it was discovered that the deputy head had not yet covered his science form-four syllabus and his paper was among the first to be written. Initially the mid-year dates had been agreed upon by the whole staff. There was a need to consult again before changing what was collectively agreed upon.

New or Junior Teachers

In all the five participating schools teachers asserted that everyone was consulted in the making of certain decisions, although the extent of participation differed from individual to individual depending on the nature of the problem. Junior teachers were also involved in decision-making in areas in which they have expertise:

> That depends on the subject in question. There are times when everyone is consulted and also situations when our head consults experienced teachers. So once again it depends on the type of the problem. (R18 – teacher)

All the school heads concurred with the view that all school practitioners were consulted before any decision could be reached, but this depended on the nature of the decision to be made.

The idea that every teacher in the school participates in certain decisions implies that junior teachers are also involved in making certain decisions. This was also confirmed by what was observed during the staff meetings. The school heads used a consensus decision-making style on issues such as dates for sports, fund-raising activities and the selection of a committee to spearhead those activities. In most organisations, one expects junior personnel to be acquainting themselves with the operational environment. Therefore, they are considered as less versatile in many aspects of running the school and not able to make substantive inputs into the running of the organisation. They are normally not consulted in decision-making as individuals on a one-on-one basis in organisations. The fact that in this study new/junior teachers from colleges are consulted on certain issues leads to a very striking conclusion. These personnel are involved in order to tap into new developments, and technological trends and achievements being offered at colleges und Universities. These sentiments were echoed by some of the school heads in the study.

Level of Participation in Decision-Making by Female Teachers

It is interesting to note that the majority of the respondents held the opinion that female teachers participate more in decision-making in their respective schools:

> The composition of the staff in this school is such that the bulk of the teachers are female, so if there are any contributions you would find that there are more female teachers who are involved. (R2 – teacher)

The fact that the majority of the respondents asserted that female teachers participate more than male teachers could stem from the realisation that 3 school heads out of 5 were male. It is generally believed that most males tend to give a sympathetic ear to females and this possibly explains why the majority of the responding teachers felt that, where there was consultation, male school heads involved female teachers more. However, in one school responding teachers stated that there was a perfect balance in participation between male and female teachers:

> Teachers in this school are treated as equals and the head does not show any favouritism at all. There is a perfect balance in participation between male and female teachers. (R17 – teacher)

During the interviews with heads of schools, it emerged that there was a balance in participation between male and female teachers as reflected by the following response from one of the school heads:

> The school is predominantly female. We have 40 female teachers to 26 male teachers. So naturally the bigger number tends to be more visible and vocal. However, it depends on what decision is to be made; normally our decisions are unanimous and the decision comes after debating and discussion. (H1 – head teacher)

In our view it may not be the numbers which matter in terms of the individuals' level of participation in a discussion. Therefore the sentiments expressed by the responding school teachers may not be valid. Agreeably, in terms of staffing statistics, female teachers outnumbered their male counterparts in the schools in question. Because of this reason, it appears that female teachers tend to be more vocal; it is not that they are consulted more often than their male counterparts, and being vocal is not synonymous with having a case to present. There are cases when people become vocal but without making any valid contributions, or they may be vocal and a nuisance. Our view is that the matter is not one of being vocal but a question of what teachers say about their involvement in the practice of decision-making. The fact that they are more vocal does not necessarily mean that heads of school are compelled to consult them.

In the meetings that were attended during the course of this study, it was observed that female teachers outnumbered their male counterparts in the schools under study. The assertion that female teachers were vocal in staff meetings was also observed. However, there was no evidence to indicate that their contributions were considered as valid by the school administrators or that their views carried the day. In fact, it was observed that although female teachers tended to be vocal in most cases, there was no preferential

treatment by the school heads. There is no evidence that heads consult or involve specifically female teachers in making decisions on certain issues.

Participation on the Basis of Experience and Expertise

According to responding teachers, in four of the five schools under study, teachers' teaching experience was considered as an important factor influencing their involvement in the decision-making process on certain issues. To consolidate the above statement, one of the participating teachers commented:

> Those in administration i.e. the deputy, senior woman and senior master are the ones who are normally consulted most of the time. The school head also consults the senior teachers, or those who are senior in their field of expertise. (R12 – teacher)

On a similar note, four of the participating school heads asserted that although they involved all their teachers in making certain decisions, there were times when they would approach the more experienced members of staff. It appears that it is only in one of the five schools that the head does not consider teachers' teaching experience as a basis for participation. Teachers in this particular school do not believe that their head consults the more experienced teachers in certain areas. At one time they were told not to interfere with administrative issues, as cited by one respondent:

> Sometimes the head would even say, you teachers, you should know the business of teaching, leave the administration business to me. (R3 – teacher)

In this particular situation, teachers had seen police officers moving around the school as if they were looking for something, and were therefore curious to know what the police officers were doing at their school. The head of this particular school where teachers believe that experience is not a factor to be considered for participation in decision-making confirmed his teachers' views by expressing the following sentiments:

> normally everybody is involved here, as long as it's a teacher. A teacher is a teacher, everybody contributes. (H1 – head teacher)

In the staff meetings that were observed, it was confirmed that, in one of the schools, major agenda items were dominated by the school head and dictated to the teachers. There was nothing to indicate that teaching experience was valued as an input into decision-making. To the contrary, teachers who appeared mature did not contribute overtly to the discussions but were merely attentive.

School Management Teams

All responding teachers asserted that participation in certain issues depended on the level that one occupied in the school hierarchy. It is evident from the teachers' responses that, in dealing with certain critical issues, all school heads preferred consulting the deputy head, senior master, senior woman and, to some extent, heads of departments. The following are some of the views expressed by one of the respondents:

> The deputy head, senior master and the senior woman and HODs, those are the very people involved in decision-making. We are involved only in a few instances like choosing of prefects; anything else is the preserve of the top four. (R5 – teacher)

If the above group of individuals is responsible for making institutional decisions, then one is compelled to find out how such decisions are received by their subordinates. In addition, respondents from all the participating schools stated that at times the school heads get views on how to deal with a particular problem from their management teams without consulting the rest of the staff. The senior management team consists of the head, the deputy head, the senior woman and the senior master. This group is normally appointed by the school head in consultation with his or her deputy. Some of the teachers reiterated the need to be involved in decisions that affect their interests. These interests include those that directly impact on their professional life, such as teaching, working conditions and remuneration. Thus, allowing school heads and their management teams to make such decisions without the participation of the teachers assumes that the administrators know what is best for the school and that they will always make sound decisions.

In short, the response by R5 shows that the locus of control and of decision-making on certain major issues lies mainly in the hands of a few individuals: namely, the heads, deputy heads, senior masters and senior women.

In the school heads' views, administrators are there to make decisions in the interest of the entire school. In their views teachers are hired to do more teaching than participating in the decision-making process. The same school heads indicated that over-involvement of teachers in decision-making can be a sign of the heads' inability to run and manage a school. For this reason, they mostly involved those who are in administration: that is, the deputy, the senior master and the senior woman.

On a similar note, observations made during staff meetings confirmed that school heads, their deputies, senior women and senior masters participated more in certain strategic issues than other members of staff. The school heads–cum-chairpersons of the meetings would call upon the views of their management teams when it came to matters of concern. This was exhibited in one school, when the head of school proposed dates for mid-year examinations and immediately the deputy head agreed with the school head's proposal. The issue was then laid to rest without other members of staff making a contribution. In most cases, the ideas from other members of the management team would always concur with those of their heads.

One of the heads asserted that, in certain cases, the school management teams meet and finalise everything before they take the issue to the meeting, especially if the issues are of a complex nature. This is shown in the response given by that particular school head:

> Right, those in posts of responsibility hold a caucus meeting before the staff meeting. It is in this caucus meeting that the game plan is drafted. Taking the matter to the teachers would then be a matter of formality. Thus decisions concerning complex issues are made before the meeting, and the meeting is used as a forum for the endorsement of the decisions that will have been reached before the meeting. To put it differently, real meetings are held before the formal meeting. (H1 – head teacher)

The results of the study show that there were areas where heads made decisions without consulting any member of staff, such as ministry issues, which are handed down from

central office to schools. Results also demonstrate that all members of staff were to a certain extent involved in decision-making depending on their experiences, expertise and positions in the school hierarchy.

Discussion

Every teacher, despite the rank or designation, makes decisions about a myriad of events in the school. Such decisions may be pedagogical or administrative. The art of teaching is therefore all about decision-making. Effective teachers and school heads are judged on their ability to make well-informed decisions on how pupils can make the best of their experiences in a formal learning institution called a school. Thus, the best schools are also judged by their ability to make and commit decisions towards the attainment of high academic standards, skills and values.

The research findings indicate that all teachers in schools where the study was conducted are involved in decision-making, but the degree of involvement varies according to position, seniority and expertise, from issue to issue and from school to school. It was also noted that teacher participation is greatly influenced by the importance of the matter at hand: for example, school finances or policy issues. The significance of the decision is conceived by the school head. Therefore, there is no clear-cut measure or a universal standard for categorising critical and non-critical decisions. Right from the outset, this fluid working environment presents challenges. A teacher who transfers from one school to another may find out that the level of involvement in decision-making varies between schools.

School Heads

The study established that all heads of schools where the study was conducted make unilateral decisions in certain issues, such as policy directives. School heads also often make decisions on their own, especially when there is no time for consultation. This implies that heads of schools are at times forced to make unilateral decisions. Some school heads tend to view their job as that of making decisions on the general running of the school. Teachers' decisions on certain issues, such as Ministry of Education policies, are viewed as subordinate to the roles of the school heads. In support, Everand and Morris (1996) point out that decision-making can be a painful process as it usually involves change, conflict, the risk of being wrong and being called to account. The research confirms that the supreme decision-maker in all the participating schools is the school head, and all decisions made by anyone in the school are made on behalf of the head. This is normal in any organisation. In their study in UK, Jacobson and Berne (1993: 48) comment that teachers in some settings report that they have insufficient 'wiggle room' to make major changes at the school site; curricular changes are largely central office dictates rather than school-initiated efforts. The findings of this study reflect Marx Weber's principles of bureaucracy, where the leader is considered as the 'Supreme Being' in the organisation (Crous 1990: 56).

Given this mindset, one may conclude that in the schools where the study was conducted school heads engage their teachers in decision-making as they deem fit. Therefore, school heads may be justified for centralising decision-making only in situations that they consider to be highly critical. The shared opinion is that these leaders are experts in their decision-making processes. However, this view can be seriously questioned if one considers that school heads are just human. Therefore, their decision-making power can also be flawed, and

the consequences that may ensue can be devastating not only to the decision-maker but to their entire school. Thus, there is great need to involve other professionals in decisions that are considered to be critical, such as school-based promotions and teaching load allocation, in order to maximise the input of fellow teachers. The maximisation of input may translate into a better managed institution. A better managed school is likely to yield better results in the national examinations and also position the institution in the public eye. Apart from this, such schools are likely to inculcate in pupils the fundamental building blocks of life, which are participation, commitment and development.

These analogies tend to reveal the idea that schools are miniatures of institutions such as governments, parliaments and families. However, Richardson's study in Bush (1986) concluded that the school heads tend to underestimate the extent to which their staff want to be involved in the decision-making process. The same conclusion was reached by Daun (2002), whose research showed that there were differences between actual and expected patterns of decision-making in schools where school heads were found to make more decisions than teachers expected. Even if the school heads were to delegate the decision-making faculty into the hands of the teachers, school heads would still remain accountable and answerable. Therefore, school heads are the custodians of all decisions made. They represent the employer who, in this case, is the Public Service Commission. School heads therefore can make unilateral decisions depending on the issue at hand: policy matters, for example. Sergiovanni and Starrat (1983), point out that this style is acceptable for routine matters which do not deeply concern teachers. Thus, subordinates may not be happy but will accept that decisions taken at a higher level must be accepted as a matter of practice.

However, the need to involve stakeholders in decision-making processes even in the conceptualisation of policies is still necessary. In a democratic society, policies must come from the people. The 'bottom up' approach is a considerably fairer way of doing business. The 'top-down' approach has several limitations, among them failure to be informed by the needs and expectations of the stakeholders (Bell 1992). An ideal situation is where the decision-making process begins with the people and is designed for the people (Harris 1998). Such an arrangement may call for greater participation and involvement of teachers. Decision-making should therefore be people centred, and it can only be so if every stakeholder is involved in the decision-making process. The inclusion of appropriate parties in decision-making is an ethical issue that administrators cannot ignore (Dimmock 1993). This view is also supported by Hopkins (1994), when he states that if one does too much alone, nothing gets done properly, and one may quickly get exhausted and then what was going on well may gradually deteriorate.

While a high level of consultation and involvement in decision-making is the ideal situation, there are times when that is easier said than done. Therefore, on rare occasions it may be imperative for the leader not to consult but to make unilateral decisions. The key to effective collaboration is knowing when and how to involve other people in decision-making (Hoy and Miskel 2005).

Junior or Newly Appointed Teachers

The study further revealed that newly appointed teachers in four of the five schools under study were involved in certain areas in which they possessed the required expertise. Heads of these four schools engaged these new teachers in order to blend new ideas with old ideas

from seasoned teachers. They were consulted on a one-on-one basis depending on the issue at hand. These teachers are assumed to have acquired new skills or recent methodologies from institutions of higher learning. The world we live in is not static; technology and science are changing day by day. There is therefore need to incorporate these newly appointed teachers in the decision-making process so that they share with others any new knowledge that they would have acquired from colleges of higher learning. Newly appointed teachers are consulted on the basis of what they have learnt: new ideas, methodologies and concepts.

However, heads of schools should not overuse new teachers in decision-making at the expense of their pedagogical duties, as they are still in a learning process. Teachers are hired on the basis of their competence and it is only logical that they spend much of their time making decisions on methodology, scheming and marking. Too much involvement of the newly appointed teachers in critical decision-making will mean that the teacher will be left with less time to do the job for which he/she was hired (Smylie, Lazarus and Brownlee-Conveyers 1992). Teachers may then turn around and complain about doing someone else's job. In the end, instruction may then suffer and this will not augur well for the expectations of the government, students and the community. This is confirmed in research conducted by Riley in Chicago (1984), which found that about half the teachers, by their own estimation, were under extreme stress; about 40 per cent felt bogged down rather than empowered; and approximately 60 per cent tended to agree that it is more essential to use their time out of class to plan for the forthcoming classes than to participate in decision-making.

School Management Teams

The study further demonstrated that, in all the schools that were included in the research, heads tend to engage their deputies, senior women/masters and heads of department more when dealing with certain crucial and complex decisions. The findings above resonate well with Covey's (1992) assertion that managers sometimes see decision-making as their central job because they must constantly choose what is to be done, who is to do it, and how it will be done. Deputy heads and senior masters/women are part of the schools' decision-making inner core. Our assumption is that senior women/masters and deputy heads, just like their heads, are promoted to these posts on the basis of their competence in decision-making. This, however, may not be true in certain schools, where heads appoint their friends or relatives to these positions.

Viewed from this perspective, their involvement in reaching certain complex decisions is found to be appropriate. Apart from this, these individuals are being trained to run schools. Members of the school management teams are nearer promotion to the level of school heads and so they need to be socialised in complex decision-making scenarios. The team must be positioned to run the school in the absence of the school head. For example, when the school head goes on vacation leave, the school should not experience an administrative shock. It must run as if nothing has happened.

Issue of Gender in Participation

The study established that female teachers in all five participating schools tended to be more vocal in staff meetings. This is a sharp contrast with what normally takes place in other institutions. Bray (1999: 42) says 'because of societal expectations women are more passive and less inclined to participate in organisational decision-making'. However, the study

refutes the notion that gender determines the level of participation in decision-making processes in schools. Through history, women have been marginalised.

However, the study fails to attribute the dominance of women to gender inclusivity only. This is so because the study found out that in the schools under study female teachers outnumbered males. Their high numbers could be attributed to the fact that the study was carried out in urban schools and in schools that are located in the periphery of cities. These schools are commonly regarded as buffer zones for those women whose spouses or interests are located in the nearest city. Such female teachers find themselves settling in these buffer zones because they will have failed to secure teaching posts in the city. This is one reason why they are so many female teachers in the participating schools. The view is that it may not be the numbers which really matter in terms of the individuals' level of participation in a discussion, but other factors including the institutional environment for participatory decision-making, capacity and expertise, interest and commitment, and so on.

In terms of staffing statistics, female teachers outnumbered their male counterparts in the participating schools. It appears that although female teachers tend to be more vocal, their views do not dominate the decision-making process. There is no evidence to suggest that their views received first priority or that they were given preferential treatment over their male counterparts. Most of the teachers feel that the matter is not one of being vocal but a question of what teachers say about the practice of decision-making. Research conducted by Chapman (1990) suggested that principals consulted teachers of the same gender, in that case men. Perhaps this is one area that calls for further research. Studies conducted by Riley (1984) showed that women participated less than men and desired lower levels of participation.

Aspect of Experience in Participation

The study also established that teaching experience and expertise in four schools are major factors for participation in decision-making processes on certain issues. These findings concur with the views of Hoy and Miskel (2005), who say that expertise and experience must be considered in deciding who should be involved in reaching a decision. Teaching experience and expertise were identified in this study as accurate indicators of participation. Heads of four out of five schools stated that, while they consider the above-mentioned aspects when making certain decisions, this is not always the case. Such teachers are consulted on a one-on-one basis in certain areas in which they command the required expertise.

This confirms Dimmock's (1993) findings that teachers with the most experience were more active in the existing avenues of participation than their colleagues. In his study, Dimmock foundthat heads preferred consulting experienced members of staff to those who have just graduated. His findings also indicated that teaching experience was an accurate indicator of participation in decision-making in schools. However, in one school there was no indication that experienced teachers were consulted more than their colleagues.

Summary and Conclusions

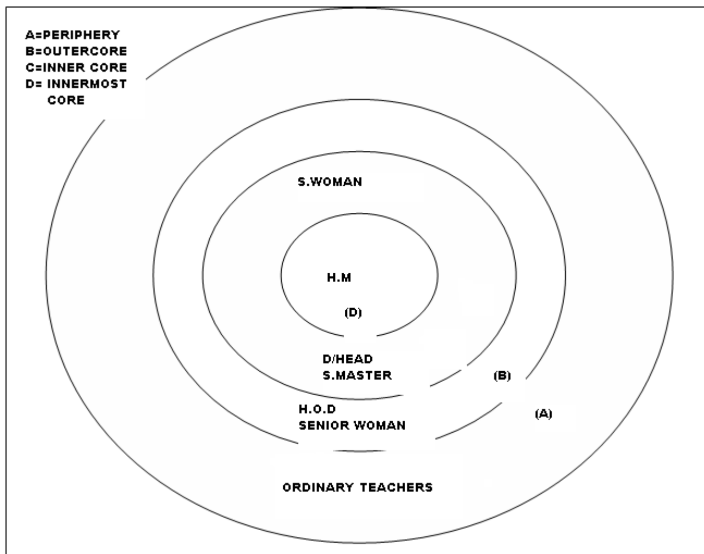
While shared decision-making enhances teachers' opportunities to influence decisions in the school, it emerged in this study that a number of teachers in the participating schools were active in the process in certain strategic issues such as selection of prefects, streaming of students, fundraising activities, sports organisation and so forth. Responding teachers also

indicated that in major areas such as formulation of a school budget, raising of levies and school discipline policies they were not involved at all. It also emerged that, in certain critical issues, school heads made unilateral decisions depending on how urgent and complex the issues at hand were.

All participating school heads also acknowledged that certain decisions such as policy issues were reached unilaterally for various reasons. They granted that the very nature of their appointments entitled them to be the principal decision-makers in their schools. They further argued that some of the suggestions from teachers could deviate radically to the government's or ministry's regulations. Therefore, the school heads in the participating schools argued that they were responsible for the school decisions overall as well as being accountable to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The study established that most teachers wanted to be consulted in critical issues. They further wanted their views to be heard and acknowledged by the school system. It was also noted that there was a negligible number of teachers who did not want to be involved in certain high-level school decision-making processes. Such teachers believed that administrators know how to make decisions. They reasoned that school heads have more information about the school and are paid to make decisions and they have the time to do so. Some teachers believed that it was one thing being involved in decision-making and yet another to get their decision taken seriously. Sometimes they suspected that they were being manipulated by school heads.

Figure 1: Model illustrating level of teacher involvement in decision-making



Source: Wadesango 2009.

Figure 1 is an illustration of the bureaucratic structure operating in the schools under investigation. It shows that, in all five participating schools, at the innermost core of the

decision-making process is the school head, who in certain cases makes critical decisions unilaterally. In the inner core are the school heads' management teams, which include the deputy head, the senior master and the senior woman. Depending upon the gravity and implications of the decision required, these people are invited to contribute in the decision-making exercise in certain areas. The third sphere is occupied by heads of departments (HOD), who may be called upon together with the deputy head, the senior master and the senior woman to make certain decisions. The study found out that this inner core is called upon to participate in issues that are of relative gravity.

The study established that the higher the complexity of the issue, the more the decisions are concentrated in the hands of the innermost core, while the lesser the significance of the decision the more it is likely to be thrown into the hands of the majority of the staff members in all the schools under study. However, this depended on the issue at hand.

It can therefore be concluded that all teachers in the participating schools take part in decision-making in certain areas, although some of the teachers do not consider some of those areas critical. There are also times when the school heads are forced by circumstances beyond their control to make unilateral decisions. School heads also rely on their deputies, senior women and senior masters for decision-making in certain areas. Heads also consider the educational qualifications, personal stake, experience and expertise of their teachers when making certain decisions. Newly appointed teachers were also consulted in areas in which they had the required expertise. There was equal participation in decision-making between male and female teachers in the participating schools.

Recommendations

The study recommends that school heads involve all their teachers as much as possible in decision-making. Therefore, school heads should refrain from centralising the decision-making processes, otherwise they run the risk of compromising the chances of getting the best decisions for every situation at hand in the school. In the main, the study recommends decentralisation of the decision-making to all through the HODs. Thus, departments should be semi-autonomous. The greater the magnitude of decentralisation and devolution of power the greater the chances of all teachers being involved in the decision-making process. This would foster a participatory decision-making environment at the school level and create space for democracy. This in turn would position the school in the academic and public sphere.

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Supervision of Instruction in Cameroon: Are Pedagogic Inspectors Doing their Work?

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Abstract: *This study sought to examine the adequacy with which instruction is being supervised, the quality of interpersonal relationships between supervisors and teachers and teachers' suggestions for improving the supervision of English language teachers. The sample consisted of 306 English language teachers. Measures of central tendency were used to compute and analyse collected data. The findings revealed overwhelmingly that pedagogic inspectors are not carrying out assigned functions, and that very poor interpersonal relations exist between supervisors and teachers. The findings reflect a familiar theme in research on the conditions of service of teachers, particularly the lack of adequate support from those charged with instructional supervisory responsibilities. Based on the findings, recommendations for policy and practice have been suggested.*

Introduction

Secondary education in Cameroon has witnessed increased attention since the mid-1990s, evidenced by the 1995 National Education Forum and the February 2005 technical committee meeting in Yaoundé, involving all the ministries of education (basic, secondary and higher education), with technical assistance from the ministries of economy and finance, planning and regional development, labour and professional training and UNESCO to reflect on a sector-wide approach to education in the country. A key theme running through the reports of both the National Education Forum (MINEDUC 1995) and the Draft Document of the Sector-Wide Approach to Education (Republic of Cameroon 2005a) is the need to strengthen teacher quality as part of a comprehensive strategy towards efforts aimed at improving the quality of educational services. Law No. 98/004 of 14 April 1998 (based on the recommendations of the National Forum) in its Chapter III, Section 2:1, refers to teachers as the guarantors of quality education (Republic of Cameroon 1998).

Paying attention to teachers is very important against the backdrop of demographic and economic changes. According to the Draft Document of the Sector-Wide Approach to Education (Republic of Cameroon 2005a), the majority of the population is relatively young, with 45 per cent below 15 years and 64 per cent below 25 years. These demographic changes will translate to increased demand for secondary school education and increased demand for quality teachers. One of the strategies adopted by the government to improve and guarantee

teacher quality is the appointment of provincial pedagogic inspectors (PPIs) for each subject area. The responsibilities of PPIs are contained in Decree No. 2005/139, organising the Ministry of Secondary Education (Republic of Cameroon 2005b). Interest in the secondary education subsector aligns neatly with national and international education initiatives, notably The African Union's Second Decade of Education for Africa (2006–2015), Draft Plan of Action (African Union 2006).

Cameroon's educational system, more particularly at the level of secondary education, suffers from an acute shortage of teachers in both numbers and quality. As a result, there is heavy dependence on unqualified individuals. Many of the teachers possess subject-matter knowledge, but lack knowledge of the foundations of education as well as pedagogic content knowledge. This reality reinforces the importance of instructional supervision. If there is heavy dependence on unqualified teachers (Republic of Cameroon 2005a), it becomes logical not only to have structures aimed at strengthening teacher quality but to ensure that they are indeed performing at expected or superior levels.

Statement of the Problem

In spite of the recognition of the potential contributions instructional supervision can make towards strengthening teacher quality and revitalising secondary education, a literature search reveals that little has been done to investigate empirically the extent to which instructional supervisory responsibilities are being carried out. This in the contributions we strive to make through this study. We decided to focus on pedagogic inspectors of the English language for three reasons. One of the researchers is an English language teacher and, consequently, the study has a personal significance. Secondly, English language is an academic subject that cuts across the curriculum; all other subjects, except French, are taught using the English language. Executive mastery of the English language is therefore important for overall academic achievement. Consistently poor performances in English language in the General Certificate of Education examination (GCE) at the Ordinary Level constitute the third and final reason why we decided to focus our efforts on the supervision of English language teachers. For example, Table 1 is a sample of performance data for a period of five years 2003–2008 (the statistics for 2006 were unavailable).

Table 1: Performances in English language at the GCE Ordinary Level examination, 2003–2008

Year	No. examined	No. passed	No. failed	% pass
2003	23,961	10,022	13,939	41.83
2004	32,549	13,250	19,299	40.71
2005	33,363	10,308	23,055	30.90
2007	43,063	10,323	32,740	23.97
2008	48,265	22,469	25,796	46.55

Source: Cameroon General Certificate of Education Examination Board Records

Of a total of 181,201 candidates examined from 2003 to 2008, only 66,372 (33.63 per cent) passed the English language examination.

There is evidence suggesting that PPIs may not be adequately carrying out their responsibilities. According to the Draft Document of the Sector-Wide Approach to education

(Republic of Cameroon 2005a), pedagogic inspectors are not trained and consequently do not possess appropriate supervisory competence. For the most part, the only training some have received is in teaching. In the absence of research that captures the reality of instructional supervision in Cameroon from the perspective of teachers, this study will add to the body of knowledge of instructional supervision in general and the supervision of English language teachers from a cross-cultural perspective. It is hoped that the findings will be used by appropriate authorities in actions aimed at enhancing the practice of instructional supervision. The legislative framework makes provision for regular monitoring of various components of the educational system (Republic of Cameroon 1998). The purpose of periodic monitoring and evaluation of the educational system are twofold:

a. to create and nurture a culture of performance appraisal (which is presently grossly lacking), and
b. to provide information that can be used to improve the performance of the system.

Giving pedagogic inspectors instructional supervisory responsibilities is a commendable acknowledgement of their potential contributions to strengthening teacher quality. However, it is important to regularly ensure that they are performing as expected.

Purpose of the Study

This study has three purposes. The first is to investigate, from the perspective of English language teachers, the adequacy with which pedagogic inspectors of English language are carrying out their responsibilities. Secondly, it seeks to investigate the quality of interpersonal relationships between English language teachers and pedagogic inspectors. Lastly, an attempt is made to capture opinions of teachers on ways of improving the performance of pedagogic inspectors.

Specific Objectives

The following specific objectives guided this study:

a. to investigate the performance of pedagogic inspectors from the perspective of teachers,
b. to investigate the quality of interpersonal relationship between teachers and pedagogic inspectors, and
c. to capture teachers' opinions of strategies that can be adopted to improve the performance of pedagogic inspectors.

Significance

From a general perspective, this study is important because the provision of quality education is a priority of the nation, and teachers acknowledged as the guarantors of quality education (Republic of Cameroon 1998). By providing findings that could be used to improve supervisory practices, this study could contribute to the world of knowledge and practice, especially within the context of Cameroon. Furthermore, having teachers appraise supervisory practices, and other components of their work, is not, for the most part, a regular practice in Cameroon. In this light, the study seeks to create awareness of the need for regular monitoring of the work of education personnel in general, and pedagogic inspectors in particular. Not doing so constitutes evidence of poor management.

In addition, having teachers, the primary targets of instructional supervision, suggest strategies for improvement is a step towards encouraging greater workplace democracy and enriching the quality of the knowledge base for the improvement of supervisory practices. This way, improvement strategies are not assumed but collected from those supposed to be closest to and directly affected by supervisors. Information is important for the maintenance and growth of an educational system. For the most part, vital information in the form of indicators of the health of various components of Cameroon's educational system is hard to find (Republic of Cameroon 2005a: 53).

Theoretical Background

This work is based on the following theoretical perspectives: role theory, symbolic interactionism, change theory and theories of adult learning.

Role Theory

Role theory focuses on the work behaviour of individuals within the context of a group or organisation, formal or informal (Katz & Kahn 1978). The theory is based on the assumption that each member of a group or organisation has certain functions or responsibilities to carry out to enable the group or organisation's smooth functioning. By performing assigned roles, individuals come to be known by others (Huse 1980). Huse describes a role as 'the sum total of expectations placed on the individual by superiors, peers, subordinates … and others' (1980: 53). Furthermore, the theory suggests that successful performance in a job requires, among other things, competence (possession of relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes) and mastery of the expectations of significant others.

In this study, instructional supervisors (PPIs) have specific functions to perform aimed at strengthening the instructional capacity of teachers. On the other hand, teachers have certain expectations for pedagogic inspectors, and their perceptions are a function of subjective evaluations of the adequacy with which pedagogic inspectors are deemed to carry out assigned responsibilities.

Symbolic Interactionism

Coined by Blumer (1969), symbolic interactionism is a study of human interactions, and based on three main premises:

> The first premise is that human beings act towards things based on the meanings that the things have for them. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from or arises out of the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretation process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (Bruner 1969: 2)

Central to symbolic interactionist thinking is the idea that human beings live in the company of others whom they have the capacity to affect and by whom they can be affected in return (Prus 1996). The symbolic interactionist perspective has been used as the basis for studying subjective perceptions and meanings that people construct in interpersonal relationships with others.

With regards to this work, the theory is relevant because it deals with the perceptions of English language teachers. Their perceptions are subjective judgements that result from interactions with pedagogic inspectors. These perceptions constitute their own reality because they (the perceptions) have the potential to affect teachers' attitudes towards instructional supervision and supervisors. The theory informed the development of the questionnaire as well as the analysis of collected data.

The first object of this study is to investigate the extent to which PPIs are performing assigned functions. They have an important contribution to make towards the creation of productive teaching and learning environments. More specifically, in their interactions with teachers, they are expected to enable them enhance their instructional capacity as a prerequisite for more effective teaching within a contemporary context of great expectations for formal education at all levels. The other two objectives deal with the perceptions of teachers regarding their assessment of the quality of interpersonal relationships with PPIs and perceptions of strategies to improve the performance of PPIs. Perceptions are subjective realities that emerge as human beings interact with their environments. Against this backdrop, the perceptions of teachers about supervision will be shaped by their interactions with pedagogic inspectors, amongst other things.

Change Theory

Supervision of instruction is about changing or enhancing the capacity of teachers in the domains of knowledge, skills and attitudes. Against this backdrop, research on the change process (Haller 1968; Fullan 2001) is essential to instructional supervision. Many experts share the view that the bottom line of instructional supervision, seen from a developmental perspective, is to enhance student outcomes through bringing about desired changes in teachers' instructional practices (Glickman, Gordon & Ross-Gordon 1998; Pajak 1990; Sergiovanni & Starrat 2000). This has to do with changes in knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to teaching and learning. Literature on the change process is therefore very relevant for supervision of instruction because it brings out pertinent issues that need to be recognised and addressed.

If many teachers are apprehensive about change it is because they do not often get actively involved in the entire process (Glickman et al. 1998; Fullan 2001). Change can be disturbing to teachers because it affects familiar ways of doing things, often with little or no support and benefits. According to Sergiovanni and Starrat (2000), the readiness of teachers to change is therefore a critical point in the process of instructional supervision. The willingness of teachers to change will partly depend on their involvement in the process, and the relevance of the change to their professional lives, as well as the perceived benefits to their students, themselves and the school as an organisation.

Theories of Adult Learning

Ensuring the continuous professional development of teachers is the primary goal of supervision of instruction, not as an end in itself but as a means to enhanced teaching and student outcomes. Supervision of instruction is based on the premise that the knowledge, skills and attitudes educational personnel begin their careers with cannot serve them till they retire. They need to keep abreast with new knowledge, skills and changing attitudes in order to provide quality educational environments for students. To do this will require a comprehensive human development strategy which will be grounded on research on adult learning.

The review of literature dealing with adult learning will not be exhaustively examined because this is better done in textbooks on psychology. Rather, key concerns and ideas emerging from knowledge of adult learning and the characteristics of adult learners will constitute the focus of this review as well as the implications of these ideas and concerns for supervision of instruction. According to research on adult learning (e.g., Loevinger 1976; Levinson 1977; Neugarten 1977; Havighurst 1980), adults are capable of learning new content as long as the conditions are enabling. They learn best when they see the benefits to themselves, their students and the school as an organisation (Fullan 2001). Besides teaching, adults have other responsibilities that need to be considered during the planning and delivery of training. Furthermore, they are characterised by great diversity: they come from different backgrounds, and have different professional experiences, developmental concerns and other responsibilities (Glickman et al. 1998). Recognition of this diversity constitutes a challenge for those who work with adults and particularly those, such as pedagogic inspectors, charged with the responsibility for ensuring the continuing professional development of teachers.

Knowledge of adult learners is essential to the design and implementation of instructional supervisory activities. This is because of the need to match instructional support to the concerns of teachers and thereby increase the relevance of supervision of instruction. The message here is that teachers need to be treated differently based on their level of experience and associated concerns. Adults do not come to learning situations as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge, skills and attitudes by supervisors. Over the years, they have accumulated valuable experience (knowledge, skills and attitudes) which is related to educational issues, and they cherish the opportunity to share this with others, especially supervisors.

In addition to bringing out the above characteristics of adult learners, Glickman (Glickman et al. 1998: 43) advises that:

> Knowledge of how teachers can grow as competent adults is the guiding principle for supervisors in finding ways to return wisdom, power, and control to both the individual and the collective staff in order for them to be true professionals.

To reinforce this point, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) in its 1992 yearbook asserts that adult learning theories are instructive because they provide guidelines to supervisors on how to relate with adults (teachers) in the process of instructional supervision. Though there is great diversity among teachers as adult learners, Sergiovanni (1987) argues that very little attention gets paid to applying to adults what we know about theories of adult learning. Adult learning theories have profound implications for designing and implementing instructional supervisory activities, from the determination of needs to the evaluation of outcomes and outputs (Knowles 1980; Baiyin 2004).

Literature Review

Purposes of Supervision

Instructional supervision is widely recognised as an important component of a comprehensive strategy for the continuing professional development of teachers (MINEDUC 1996). The primary goal is to provide support to teachers so that, in turn, they

can provide more enabling learning environments for students (MINEDUC 1996). In their overview of the literature on supervision and staff development, Wanzare and da Costa (2000) identified nine inter-related purposes of supervision of instruction. These include:

a. improving instruction (Beach & Reinhartz 1989; Glickman et al. 1998; Sergiovanni & Starrat 2000);
b. enhancing the professional development of teachers as individuals and groups (Wiles & Bondi 1996);
c. creating awareness among teachers about the potential consequences of their teaching behaviours (Glickman et al. 1998);
d. creating a supportive environment within which teachers, as individuals and groups, can experiment with new instructional approaches (Nolan & Francis 1992);
e. enhancing curriculum development (Glickman et al. 1998);
f. strengthening norms of collegiality among teachers and supervisors (Glickman et al. 1998; Wiles & Bondi 1996);
g. increasing the motivation and commitment of teachers (Glickman et al. 1998); and
h. creating and nurturing norms of collective inquiry among teachers and supervisors (Glickman et al. 1998; Nolan & Francis 1992).

Sergiovanni (1992: 204) vividly summarises the reasons why instruction should be regularly supervised:

> We supervise for good reasons. We want schools to be better, teachers to grow, and students to have academically and developmentally sound learning experiences; and we believe that supervision serves these and other worthy ends. But all the benefits that we seek can be obtained more easily and in enhanced ways in the natural course of events as teachers and students live and learn together in schools. Supervision, in other words, can just as easily come from the inside as the outside.

Supervision of instruction is a process that must be embedded within a comprehensive staff development and school improvement effort.

Supervision/Evaluation

Knowledge of the related concepts of supervision and evaluation is important for this study. Both concepts are said to vary in their intents (Glatthorn 1990; Glickman et al. 1998; Sergiovanni & Starrat 2000; Glanz 2000), though many people treat them as though they are synonymous. Acheson and Gall (1997: 209), bring out the difference between supervision and evaluation:

> One of the most persistent problems in supervision is the dilemma between (1) evaluating a teacher in order to make decisions about retention, promotion, and tenure, and (2) working with the teacher as a friendly critic or colleague to help develop skills the teacher wants to use and to expand the repertoire of strategies that can be employed.

The distinction between the two concepts is very important because teachers' perceptions of instructional supervision will depend on how it is conceptualised and practised. It is widely

recognised that teachers are apprehensive about supervision because it is often viewed as an evaluative stance (Sullivan and Glanz 2000). Pedagogic inspectors, by the nature of their positions (they have higher hierarchical positions relative to teachers) can be caught in the middle between supervision from a formative process and supervision from a summative stance (Glickman et al. 1998; Zepeda & Ponticell 1998; Zepeda 2003). This partly explains why Glickman emphasises what is done is to enable teachers to acquire greater competence rather than an official position.

Research on supervision of instruction has come up with reasons why teachers may be apprehensive about supervision. This is likely to be the case when it is approached from a top-down perspective with the supervisor assumed to know everything and the teacher as recipient (Glatthorn 1990; Blasé and Blasé 1998). Many experts caution that supervision should not be approached from a 'one size fits all' perspective. Rather, it must be differentiated and approached from a developmental perspective because teachers vary in many ways (Glatthorn 1990; Glickman et al. 1998; Blasé & Blasé 1998; Zepeda 2003). As Glatthorn (1990: 179) puts it, it should be 'a process approach, in which each school develops its own home-grown model, one responsive to its special needs and resources'.

Differentiated supervision allows supervisors to focus on teachers with greatest needs as perceived by the teachers themselves, 'rather than performing perfunctory classroom observations of all teachers merely to satisfy district policies' (Glatthorn, 1990: 179). This is very pertinent to the Cameroon context within which pedagogic inspectors for the most part surprise teachers as if their role is to satisfy Ministry of Education officials rather than strengthening teacher instructional capacity. To be successful, supervision needs to be based on norms of collaboration and mutual respect.

The intent of instructional supervision is to enhance the instructional capacity of teachers by enhancing their existing repertoire of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Glickman et al. 1998; Sergiovanni & Starrat 2000; Zepeda 2003). In order to be effective, the supervisor must be perceived by the teacher as a colleague who can be trusted, someone who is ready to be open to a different perspective. Developmental and differentiated supervision (Glickman et al. 1998; Glatthorn 1997), is sensitive to the needs of teachers. Only when the needs of individual teachers are known can supervisors approach supervision from a meaningful perspective.

Interpersonal Relationships between Teachers and Supervisors

Good interpersonal relationships between teachers and pedagogic inspectors are essential for effective supervisory activities. The relationship between teachers and supervisors is supposed to be a very cordial one, characterised by norms of trust, openness and mutual respect (Blumberg 1980; Sergiovanni 1987; Hoerr 1996; Huffman & Jacobson 2003; Hord 2005). However, relevant literature reveals that the word supervision conjures up negative images among many teachers (Sergiovanni 1987). When this is the case, the intended benefits accruing to teachers, schools as organisations, students and society as a whole are likely to be compromised. The interpersonal skills needed by a supervisor of instruction include those of communication, motivation, decision-making, problem-solving, conflict management (Goldhammer 1969; Glickman et al. 1998; Chell 2000) and culture building (Hoerr 1996; Hord 2005). Poor interpersonal relationships between teachers and supervisors are likely to result when supervisors approach supervision from a judgemental, top-down perspective, rather than seeing it as a learning process during which teachers are supposed to be active participants (Sergiovanni 1987; Blumberg 1980; Jackson 2000; Lezotte 2005).

As Glickman (Glickman et al. 1998) puts it, supervision of instruction is not an official position but what is done to help teachers to reflect on their instructional practices in order to grow as individuals, and as a group. According to Sergiovanni (1987) supervisors should practise the principle of power investment because teachers need to be empowered to act – that is, to be given the necessary responsibility that releases their potentials and make their actions and decisions count. Teachers desire input into supervisory decisions that affect their professional growth and development rather than have others make the decisions for them. Sergiovanni & Starrat (1988, 2000), further add that teachers learn by taking risks and trying out new ideas within an enabling environment.

Methodology

Data for this study were collected from a random sample of 306 English language teachers from the southwest and northwest regions of the country using a questionnaire with open- and closed-ended items. Items were derived from the review of related literature and the functions of pedagogic inspectors of English language. Items designed to address the first two research objectives were closed-ended. In addition to items related to each research objective, subjects were also required to provide demographic information dealing with gender, highest academic qualification, and length of secondary-school teaching experience.

The questionnaire was pilot tested using graduate students enrolled in the masters' programme in the Faculty of Education and also some secondary-school English language teachers. They were required to peer review the questionnaire for clarity and relevance to the research objectives. Their feedback was used to revise the instrument. Data collection was facilitated because one of the researchers is a secondary-school English language teacher and her peers, spread out in the various schools, facilitated data collection.

Data Analysis and Findings

The statistical package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 12.0 for Windows was used to analyse data from closed Likert-type items. The results of the analysis are presented using measures of central tendency – more specifically, percentages, means, frequencies and standard deviations. Open-ended responses were subjected to the technique of content analysis whereby the researchers used recurrent themes to organise the analysis.

Demographic Data

Our study sample consisted of 306 secondary-school English language teachers (male n=138; female n=168) from the south and northwest regions. Distribution of the subjects based on highest academic qualification is: DIPES I (n=115, 37.6 per cent), DIPES II (n=105, 34.3 per cent), bachelor's degree (n=55, 18 per cent), master's degree (n=15, 4.9 per cent) and Grade I (n=7, 2.3 per cent) (information not provided by 9 subjects). Length of teaching experience was: 5–10 years (n=121, 39.5 per cent), 11–15 years (n=101, 33 per cent), less than 5 years (n=43, 14.1 per cent), 16–20 years (n=29, 9.5 per cent) and above 20 years (n=12, 3.9 per cent).

Research Objective 1: To investigate if provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language perform their functions at acceptable levels

Fourteen items of the questionnaire were designed to address this objective. Analysis has been carried out for the first two items and is presented in Table 1, using frequencies and percentages.

Table 1: Frequency and percentage breakdown of responses to the statement 'Item 1: On average, I am formally supervised:'

Response option	Frequency	%
0 times per year	103	33.7
Once a year	121	39.5
2–4 times per year	72	23.5
5 or more times a year	4	1.3
Missing	6	2
Total	**306**	**100**

From Table 1 above, 103 (33.7 per cent) teachers report that they have never been supervised, 121 (39.5 per cent) were supervised once a year, 72 (23.5 per cent) supervised 2–4 times a year and only 4 (1.3 per cent) were supervised 5 or more times. Subsequently, the analysis will be based on those who were supervised at least once per year (197 of them).

Table 2: Frequency and percentage breakdown of responses to the question 'Item 2: How many times have you been supervised since you started teaching English language at the secondary-school level?

Reponses	Frequency	%
Missing	13	6.4
One time	81	39.9
Two times	52	25.6
Three times	37	18.2
Five times	11	5.4
Seven times	5	2.5
Nine times	1	0.5
Eleven times	1	0.5
Thirteen times	2	1
Total	**203**	**100**

Table 2 reveals that throughout their secondary-school teaching careers, the majority of teachers, 133 (65.5 per cent) have only been supervised one or two times.

Table 3 summarises all the responses to the questionnaire items related to the first research objective. Strongly agree and agree responses are combined into one column, while the same is done for strongly disagree and disagree responses.

Table 3: Presentation of summaries of all the responses to questionnaire items related to research question 1

Item no.	Statement	Strongly disagree / Disagree	Strongly agree / Agree
2	I am satisfied with the amount (frequency) of supervision being provided by PPIs.	186	13
3	I am satisfied with the quality of supervision being provided by PPIs.	193	7
4	The supervision I receive helps me to improve my teaching.	168	30
5	PPIs regularly ensure that teachers teach following the syllabus provided.	139	53
6	PPIs usually monitor teaching methods.	175	25
7	PPIs make regular classroom visits to observe teachers at work.	149	39
8	PPIs usually encourage teachers to share their work-related problems with them.	100	99
9	PPIs ensure that teachers continuously update their knowledge and skills by organising workshops and seminars.	64	132
10	PPIs encourage teachers to regularly come together to discuss and find solutions to problems affecting their work.	106	91
11	PPIs of English language prepare and demonstrate model lessons to teachers.	189	10
12	PPIs of English language regularly monitor and check teachers' log books (*cahiers de textes*).	196	5
13	PPIs of frequently monitor the appropriate use of teaching materials.	193	7

Judging from the frequencies and percentages it can be concluded that provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language are grossly ineffective in performing their functions. They are PPIs in name only.

Table 4 presents the same information using means and standard deviations. To interpret the analysis, a cut-off point is set at a mean of 3.00. This means that any item with a mean below 3.00 reveals inadequate or ineffective performance.

Table 4: Means and standard deviations of items for research objective no. 1

Statement	Mean	Std. dev.
PPIs ensure that teachers continuously update their knowledge and skills by organising workshops and seminars.	2.77	0.34
PPIs usually encourage teachers to share their work-related problems with them. 1.98 0.52 PPIs encourage teachers to regularly come together to discuss and find solutions to problems affecting their work.	.88	0.72
PPIs regularly ensure that teachers teach following the syllabus provided.	1.25	0.44
PPIs make regular classroom visits to observe teachers at work.	0.88	0.76
The supervision I receive helps me to improve on my teaching.	0.69	0.57
PPIs usually monitor teaching methods.	0.55	0.81
I am satisfied with the amount (frequency) of supervision being provided by PPIs.	0.33	0.67
PPIs prepare and demonstrate model lessons to teachers.	0.27	0.63
PPIs frequently monitor the appropriate use of teaching materials.	0.20	0.21
I am satisfied with the quality of supervision being provided by PPIs.	0.19	0.46
PPIs regularly monitor and check teachers' teaching records.	0.14	8.41

The means of items related to the first research objective in Table 4 once more reveal that PPIs of English are not carrying out their responsibilities. But for one item with a mean of about 2.8, the rest have means below 2, grossly below the cut-off mean of 3.00 on a scale of 1–4.

Research Objective 2: To investigate if good interpersonal relationships exist between teachers and provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language.

Seven questionnaire items were designed to address this objective. Subjects were either to choose 'Yes' or 'No' to respond to the items (some chose not to answer). Their responses are presented in Table 5 using frequencies and percentages.

Table 5: Frequencies and percentages of responses to items related to research objective 2.

Statement	Yes	%	No	%
PPIs relate with teachers not as colleagues but as bosses.	169	83.2	33	16.3
PPIs do not have respect for teachers.	182	89.7	18	8.8
PPIs often create conflicts with teachers	177	87.2	19	9.4
When teachers hear the word PPI, most of them are afraid.	167	82.3	32	15.8
PPIs do not involve teachers in joint planning before supervision.	194	95.6	9	4.4
PPIs spend more time criticising teachers rather than recognising positive things teachers do.	188	92.6	13	6.4
The relationship between PPIs and teachers is not built on mutual trust.	172	84.7	31	15.3

From the above descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages), it can be appropriately concluded that good interpersonal relationships, essential for effective supervision, do not exist between English language teachers and provincial pedagogic inspectors of the same discipline. A range of 82 per cent to 95 per cent of the subjects report poor interpersonal relationships with PPIs.

Research Objective 3: To investigate what teachers of EnglishlLanguage think can be done to improve the performance of pedagogic inspectors of English anguage

Table 6 presents strategies (in descending frequencies and percentages) suggested by teachers to improve the performance of provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language.

Table 6: Teachers' suggestions for improving the performance of PPIs

Strategy	Freq.	%
They should regularly hold seminars to improve on their performance.	143	70.4
Many experienced teachers should be appointed as PPIs . PPIs should explain the purpose of instructional supervision to teachers.	128 124	63.1 61.1
PPIs should hold meetings with teachers to agree on the aspects to be supervised. 78 38.4 PPIs should provide other supervisory options to teachers.	73	35.9
PPIs should interact with teachers as colleagues of the same profession.	61	30
They should regularly hold meetings with teachers to know their pedagogic problems and recommend solutions to them.	60	29.6
They should be provided with transportation facilities to ease their movements in the province.	60	29.6
Finances should regularly be made available to ease their work.	59	29.1
PPIs should act as a link between the teacher and the hierarchy for educational matters.	38	18.7
Adequate information should always be given to them to encourage them.	36	17.7
They should develop a calendar of activities for their work schedule and make sure they follow it.	25	12.3
They should regularly update themselves on new issues of pedagogy before going out for supervision.	25	12.3
They should master teaching methods very well and transmit same to teachers.	13	6.4
They should regularly demonstrate sample lessons and provide sample lesson notes to teachers.	3	1.5
They should regularly monitor the use of teaching materials.	1	0.5
They should regularly check the record of work books.	1	0.5

The analysis reveals 17 strategies teachers think could be used to improve the performance of provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language. The first three on the list, mentioned by above 60 per cent of teachers, are: the need for the organisation of regular seminars to improve the performance of PPIs; the appointment of PPIs based on experience, and the need for PPIs to explain the purpose of instructional supervision to teachers.

Summary of Findings, Implications and Conclusion

The section is organised to reflect the three research objectives.

Research Objective 1: To investigate if provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language are performing their duties at acceptable levels.

The findings overwhelmingly reveal that pedagogic inspectors are not doing what they are expected to do. The sample of this study was made up of 306 teachers of which 103 (33.7 per cent) reported that, on average, they do not get supervised even once per year. Of the 197 teachers who have received some supervision, 170 (86.3 per cent) have only been supervised once, twice or three times during their careers as English language teachers; 186 (94.4 per cent) are not satisfied with the frequency with which they are supervised; 193 (98 per cent), are not satisfied with the quality of supervision compared to only 7 (3.6 per cent) who are satisfied. All the items related to the first objective have means grossly below the cut-off point of 3 (the range is 0.44–2.77). The same trend of ineffectiveness is reflected for the second research objective dealing with the quality of interpersonal relations between teachers and pedagogic inspectors.

What the findings tell us is that the potential individual and organisational benefits of instructional supervision are not being enjoyed by English language teachers within the secondary school subsystem, at least from the perspective of the subjects of this study. Sergiovanni (1992: 204) vividly summarises the reasons why instruction should be regularly supervised:

> We supervise for good reasons. We want schools to be better, teachers to grow, and students to have academically and developmentally sound learning experiences; and we believe that supervision serves these and other worthy ends.

These findings reflect findings by other researchers as well as correspond with suggestions of the Draft Document of the Sector-Wide Approach to Education (Republic of Cameroon 2005a). The findings constitute a challenge. If teachers, as acknowledged by Law No. 98/004 of April, 1998 (Republic of Cameroon 1998), are going to be guarantors of quality education, they deserve better in terms of instructional supervisory support. Many reasons from the literature suggest why PPIs may be so grossly ineffective. These include a poor conception of supervision that equates it with evaluation (Sergiovanni and Starrat 2000), a lack of supervisory competence (possession of relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes) and an inadequacy of essential material inputs (Republic of Cameroon 2005a). Against this backdrop, there is urgent need to pay greater attention to the work of PPIs, to ensure that they have what it takes to be more productive.

Research Objective 2: To investigate the quality of interpersonal relationship between teachers and pedagogic inspectors.

A prerequisite for effective supervision of instruction is healthy interpersonal relations

between teachers and supervisors (Blumberg 1980; Glickman et al. 1998). Once more, an overwhelming majority of respondents were of the opinion that good interpersonal relationships do not exist between teachers and provincial pedagogic inspectors of English language. Of the 203 teachers:

- 169 (83.2 per cent) report that PPIs function more like bosses than colleagues;
- 182 (89.7 per cent) are of the opinion that PPIs do not respect teachers;
- 167 (82.3 per cent) feel the mention of the word PPIs instills fear;
- 194 (95.6 per cent) are of the opinion that PPIs do not involve teachers in collaborative planning prior to actual supervision;
- 107 (84.7 per cent) report that PPIs, when they do show up for supervision, do not trust and respect teachers, and spend more time criticising teachers for mistakes rather than recognising positive things they do.

Ineffective instructional supervision hurts teachers, students and schools as formal organisations. It deprives teachers of in-service development opportunities, especially within a context wherein many teachers have not received any professional training prior to assuming teaching responsibilities (MINEDUC 1995). To the extent that PPIs carry out assigned responsibilities as expected, the potential of achieving these outcomes is enhanced. The reverse is true when instruction is not supervised as expected.

These findings are at variance with the recommendations for effective supervisory practices emerging from the literature, and reinforce research in other contexts that concludes that poor interpersonal relations exist between supervisors and teachers (Blumberg 1980; Sergiovanni 1987; Glickman et al. 1998; Blasé & Blasé 1998). The title of Blumberg's book *Supervisors and Teachers: A Private Cold War* vividly describes the quality of interpersonal relations existing between supervisors and teachers. The practice of instructional supervision is supposed to be built on norms of collaboration, trust, openness to mistakes and mutual respect, amongst others. Sergiovanni (1987) reveals that the relationship between teachers and supervisors is characterised by fear, that it lacks trust, respect for one another and collaboration. According to him, supervisors are to be blamed for this poor relationship because they spend time criticising teachers and fail to see anything good in what teachers do. Blasé and Blasé (1998) reiterate that there is no establishment of trust and collaboration between teachers and supervisors, and that supervisors do not provide teachers with an opportunity to make professional decisions regarding their own development.

Sergiovanni (1992) further comments on the kind of supervisory relationship that causes negative stereotypes. He puts the blame on supervisors who see teachers not as colleagues but as subordinates whose professional performance is to be monitored and improved. Beach and Reinhartz (2000) also describe this type of relationship as one in which teachers are lacking and deficient while only supervisors can fix the deficiency. McGreal (1983) concludes that, when supervisors act as critics rather than partners, teachers become closed and a good relationship between them and teachers cannot be formed. The negative relationship between teachers and supervisors can be attributed to the blend of supervisory and evaluation functions. Because of this blend, supervisors find it difficult to establish effective working relationships needed to aid teachers grow in their profession.

The implication is that when teachers feel alienated – and perceive themselves not as part of a larger enterprise, complementing and working together with each other and supervisors to

educate students – negative consequences will accrue to students, teachers and schools as well as to the larger society. Strengthening interpersonal relationships between teachers and those charged with instructional supervisory responsibilities constitutes a challenge that must be addressed to create more enabling conditions for teacher capacity-building.

Research Objective 3: To capture teachers' opinions of strategies that can be adopted to improve the performance of pedagogic inspectors.

Responses to the third research objective aimed at capturing teachers' perceptions of strategies to improve the performance of PPIs provide some of the reasons for PPI ineffectiveness and the existence of poor interpersonal relationships with teachers. Seventeen strategies are suggested to enhance the performance of PPIs, with frequencies ranging from 1 to 143. Three strategies are particularly noteworthy because they are mentioned more than 100 times (range 124–143). The first is the need for seminars to strengthen the performance of PPIs, followed by the need to appoint experienced teachers to serve as PPIs and the need for PPIs and teachers to be clear about the purpose of supervision.

Glickman (Glickman et al. 1998) asserts that the number of teachers that a supervisor is supposed to supervise will influence the frequency with which he or she works with them. It is therefore difficult for a PPI who has to visit many schools to meet and observe each teacher during the school year to do so effectively. In addition to the low supervisor–teacher ratio, the time available to supervisors, amount of training provided them, and the diverse nature of the teaching act itself explains why supervisors may not be effectively carrying out their responsibilities (McGreal 1983). Furthermore, Ndongko (1989) concludes that PPIs cannot operate at acceptable levels due to limited resources, lack of knowledge and skills, and lack of incentives, among other things. This aligns with one of the main recommendations from the subjects which are that PPIs need capacity-building opportunities to strengthen their performance.

Strategies emerging from this study align with recommendations aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of pedagogic inspectors (e.g., McGreal 1983; Glickman et al. 1998; Sergiovanni & Starrat 2000). Blumberg (1980), McGreal (1983), and Sergiovanni and Starrat (2000) all stress the need to give teachers a greater voice in the supervision process. According to these researchers, when supervisors stop being critics and assume the role of co-creator of knowledge about teaching and learning, their performance will improve because teachers will be willing to grant them access to those core issues and dilemmas of teaching that they face on a daily basis. Sergiovanni and Starrat (2000) support this view by suggesting that supervisors should provide supervision that makes sense to teachers, that teachers will be part of and that will help teachers improve in their classroom practices. McGreal (1983) concludes that teachers will only change when they feel that they are part of a process that is designed to help them.

The research is full with strategies for enhancing supervision of instruction (e.g., Blumberg 1980, McGreal 1983; Popham 1988; Sergiovanni & Starrat 2000). Common to these experts' views is the need for all stakeholders to have a shared meaning or understanding of the purpose and objectives of supervisory initiatives; the need for supervisors to be less dogmatic and to acknowledge teachers as critical partners in the process, from conception to implementation, institutionalisation or continuation and evaluation of outcomes.

Blumberg (1980) and Sergiovanni and Starrat (2000) note that, no matter how capable and dedicated supervisors may be, as long as teachers conceptualise supervision as something

being done to them, its potential to improve teaching and consequently student learning will not be fully realised.

The need to provide other supervisory options to teachers also emerges from the literature. In order to improve their performance, supervisors need to devise ways in which they can foster a culture of collegiality in which teachers working together with other teachers can identify and solve their own problems (Popham 1988; Sergiovanni and Starrat 2000). While Sergiovanni and Starrat (2000) recommend the use of other supervisory options depending on their needs of teachers at a given time (e.g., collegial supervision, mentoring, peer coaching, amongst others), Popham (1988) suggests that the word 'supervision' itself is part of the problem because of its hierarchical and pejorative connotations, and could be replaced by adopting expressions such as teacher growth programmes, capacity enhancement, and personal improvement initiatives.

In addition to the above mentioned strategies is the need to separate, or make a clear distinction between, formative and summative supervision. Formative supervision is developmental in its focus. The goal is not to catch and punish incompetent teachers but to identify areas of weaknesses that need to be strengthened. On the other hand, summative supervision is carried out at the end of a school term or year with the aim of making high-stakes decisions such as firing teachers, promoting them or recommending them for other kinds of rewards. Popham recommends that this separation should be officially authorised and widely publicised so awareness is created among all stakeholders, especially teachers.

The primary long-term strategy for the professional development of teachers, from a formative stance, is to create and nurture supportive conditions that enable teachers to be what Schon (1983) describes as reflective practitioners, or to attain a level whereby teachers, with minimal support from supervisors, can assume most of the responsibility for their own professional development (Glickman et al. 1998). There are many reasons why teacher development must constitute a primary focus of supervision from a developmental perspective. Teachers at higher levels of cognitive development are likely to adopt a wider range of effective teaching behaviours and strategies; they are also more likely – as a result of their own higher levels of cognitive, moral and conceptual development – to create enabling learning environments for their students; and more likely to embrace norms of collegiality or what Glickman (Glickman et al. 1998: 19) describes as 'a cause beyond oneself'.

Implications and Conclusion

Given the fact that PPIs of English language do not perform their functions at acceptable levels, as portrayed by the results of this study, a lot of negative effects on the educational system are bound to occur. Firstly, teachers are deprived of learning opportunities, and students of quality education, and the nation is not likely to achieve the targets of quality secondary education for all by the year 2015 and the objectives set out in Law No. 98/004 of 14 April 1998 (Republic of Cameroon 1998). Secondly, another implication of the above findings is that if teachers are not well supervised they will not be able to teach well. This will not only hurt students' achievement but also the educational system because it will produce students who cannot express themselves very well in English language, a subject that cuts across the curriculum. According to Ndongko (1989), pedagogic inspectors are not performing their responsibilities as expected because they do not have the relevant competence in the domains of knowledge, skills and attitudes, as well as basic material inputs. Furthermore, the problem of instructional supervision in Cameroon is compounded

by the large geographical dispersion of its secondary schools. However, with the appropriate political will, the challenges of supervision of instruction in the country can be addressed if there is a stronger belief in teachers as the guarantors of quality secondary-school education.

Another key implication from this study is the need to devote more resources to strengthening the capacity of pedagogic inspectors. The government needs to increase its budgetary allocation for supervision of instruction and devoting more resources to monitoring and evaluating what is going on in the world of practice. In its Draft Document of the Sector-Wide Approach to Education (Republic of Cameroon 2005a), the government of Cameroon envisages accomplishing the following objectives by the year 2015:

a. increasing access to quality education for all children regardless of gender, socioeconomic background, or physical or other disabilities;

a. reducing wastage in the form of repetition and school drop-out by increasing the completion rate from 27 per cent in 2003 to 35 per cent by 2015 in the first cycle of secondary education and from 11 per cent to 13 per cent in the second cycle for the same period.

These are commendable objectives that must be accompanied by concrete actions aimed at increasing the holding power of schools on students so that most, if not all, can stay in school from admission to graduation. Adopting policies and practices aimed at strengthening teacher quality through supervision of instruction is one of the ways forward. However, the system must first pay attention to enhancing the capacity of those charged with supervisory responsibilities.

We share Glickman's (Glickman et al. 1998) view that supervision of instruction is not an official position but what is done to provide needed support to teachers as they wrestle with instructional responsibilities in an increasingly changing and complex environment. If the resources are not available to enable PPIs to regularly visit all schools, there are other options. One of them is to foster norms of collegiality among teachers to enhance their capacity to identify and solve their problems. If pedagogic inspectors cannot provide supervision on a regular basis to all teachers, then there is need to have teachers provide help to each other. Within each secondary school there is great diversity in terms of teaching experience, level of education, and so on. For example, more experienced teachers could be mandated to carry out regular supervisory responsibilities and in-service professional development opportunities provided to strengthen teacher quality. Our focus has been on the pedagogic inspectors of English language and teachers in the same discipline. Similar research needs to be carried out in other subject areas.

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Funding and Quality Assurance in the Nigerian Education System

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Abstract: *The paper undertakes a theoretical discussion of the concept of quality and quality assurance, as well as the indices of achieving quality in education. The study adopts an exploratory discussion of the pattern of educational funding in Nigeria and its implication for quality assurance in the education system. The study discovers that funding of education has not been given the necessary attention by the Nigerian government. On average, the federal government allocated less than ten per cent of its yearly budget to education. The article notes with concern that this low level of funding will have a serious impact on assuring quality in the system. The paper concludes that things that needed to be done with money in order to improve quality in the education system (such as provision of instructional facilities; building of classrooms, libraries and laboratories; provision of recreational facilities; and prompt payment of staff salaries and emoluments), could be done, if the sector is effectively funded.*

Introduction

The concern for quality of education has become a worldwide issue. Since the 1980s, many countries have treated the improvement of education quality as one of the most important elements in their educational reform agenda. For instance, in 1983 the USA's National Commission on Excellence in Education expressed a serious concern over the declining quality of education in the country. In China, also, the concern for quality education has increasingly become a significant issue. As a matter of fact, Gu (2001) remarked that the full implementation of the nine-year compulsory education scheme in China raised the question of quality education. He further remarked that increasing concern over the matter of education quality is caused not only by the popularisation of education, but also by all sorts of challenges faced by education in the twenty-first century, which include the rapid development of science and technology. In Nigeria, concerns have been expressed by various stakeholders about the quality of the educational system. This is perhaps born out of the crises that the system has been facing in the first decade of the century, which include the problems of underfunding, inadequate infrastructure facilities, poor management of schools, industrial crises and poor remuneration of staff, all of which have threatened the quality of the educational system.

Quality appears to be an elusive notion, recognised by all disciplines and professions, even though only few of them could specify its components and features with any degree of precision and confidence. Consequently, since the early 1990s, substantial work has been

undertaken on quality in education, its indicators and relevance. This is in addition to the number of clarifications that have been made by various researchers and authors on what the concept actually means. For example, two international agencies have developed certain framework for quality education. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Commonweath Secretariat 2005) emphasised the following areas for quality basic education:

a. learners who are healthy, well nourished and ready to participate and learn, supported in learning by their families and communities;
b. environments that are healthy, safe, protective and gender sensitive; provide adequate resources and facilities;
c. content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills; especially in terms of literacy, numeracy and skills for life and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace;
d. processes through which trained teachers use child centred teaching approaches in well managed classrooms and schools and skillful assessment to facilitate learning and reduce disparities; and
e. outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes and are linked to national goals for education and positive part in society.

The concern of UNICEF therefore is that the indices of quality education are learners, who are healthy and would be willing to learn. This learning must take place in a conducive, secured and non-discriminatory environment. There should also be a curriculum that is relevant to the needs and aspirations of the learners, immediate community and the national goals of education.

Similarly, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2008), in its work on quality education, contended that quality education upholds and conveys the ideals of a sustainable world – a world that is just and equitable in which individuals care for the environment to contribute to equity – takes into consideration the social, economic and environmental contexts of a particular place and shapes the curriculum or programme to reflect these unique conditions. The Organization further submitted that quality education is locally relevant and culturally appropriate, is informed by the past (e.g. indigenous and traditional knowledge), is relevant to the present and prepares individuals for the future.

This further upholds the importance of culture in achieving quality education. The educational policy of any nation must also emphasise relevance and the inclusion of indigenous and traditional knowledge in achieving quality in education. Indeed, any educational system that does not give value to culture and indigenous learning is bound to fail.

The work of UNESCO and UNICEF has also been supported by other researchers, especially from the global point of view. From the work of Michaelowa and Chapman, as cited in Barret, Lowe and Nikel (2005), quality education is a human right, which supports human development and poverty reduction and promotes social cohesion, social diversity, peace, human security, and so on. Several approaches have also been adopted by some researchers in their study of quality education. Using the capability approach, Lawrence and Tate (cited in Barret et al. 2005) believed that quality education is expected to build human capacity not only for employability, but also for broader lifelong learning as well as for adaptive and coping livelihood strategies in a fast-moving and complicated world. The livelihood

approach of Chambers (cited in Barret et al. 2005) posited that quality education must have the obligation to establish and sustain the conditions for each and every individual, irrespective of gender, ethnicity, race or regional location.

Definitions and Characteristics of Quality

Van den Berghe (1996) contended that the term has often been ill-defined, defined in a narrow sense or not defined at all. Occasionally, quality is defined quite narrowly, as it is by the effective school movement in the Netherlands: *quality should be demonstrated by results* (Nielsen & Visser 1997). Calder and Gordon (1996) regard *better student retention* as the key indicator of improved educational quality, and agree that quality and efficiency should be defined in terms of student success: that is, students will persist with their studies as long as they perceive that their college is helping them to achieve their personal and career goals.

While acknowledging the problem with the definition of quality, Vioeijenstijn (1993) viewed the term to mean *the degree to which the previously set objectives are met; fitness for purpose or added value*. Finally, Akin-Aina (1994) gave the definition of quality as the possession of certain attributes and elements that are adjudged by those who know, or are deemed to know, as being of value or high standards in terms of end product, efficacy or user-satisfaction.

Quality also refers to the determination of gradations based on standards of excellence beneath which a mark of inferiority is imposed or adduced and above which grades of superiority are defined. In the view of Fadipe (1999), quality is the worth of appropriateness of the resource available.

Implicit in the various definitions are various notions

- The idea of quality as being synonymous with the characteristics of property by which something is known or can be described.
- The value or worth of the thing.
- The extent to which the thing satisfies the yearnings and aspirations of the society.

These concepts of quality go on to show that there is no consensus on what constitutes 'quality' or how to measure it (Ogunyemi, Ifegbesan & Osundeyi 2004).

With regards to quality in education, Coombs (1968) quoted the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) as viewing quality in education from two perspectives. The first is from the internal criteria of the system, such as the profile of student performance in a standard public examination. The second is the external criteria, which are the fitness and relevance of an education to its environment.

Coombs (1969) also viewed the qualitative aspects of education as a living, moving thing whose value resides not only in its excellence relative to certain standards, but in its relevance and fitness to the changing needs of the particular students and society it is intended to serve. It is in the light of this that the IIEP (1993) also intimated that the qualitative planning of any educational system should lead to detectable gains in the knowledge, skills and values acquired by students. Also, Ejieh (1990) opined that the quality of an educational system should be judged by both its ability to enable the students to perform well in standard examinations and its relevance to the needs of the individual students, the community and society as a whole. In the view of Ejieh, quality can be increased or improved upon through the employment of highly qualified teachers, through building suitable school plants in suitable school environments, through the development

and exposure of pupils to relevant educational programmes, through prudential management of available educational resources, and through effective interaction between the school and the local community.

Thus, quality in education could be improved by the availability of well-motivated and qualified teachers who will be ready to teach the learners; the building and provision of appropriate school facilities; appropriate and relevant school curricula; the readiness of the school management to manage school resources effectively; and a cordial relationship between the school and community. This view further upholds the earlier contention of UNESCO and UNICEF.

Similarly, Yoloye (1976) listed factors such as quality of teachers, quality of facilities, quality of instruction, quality of evaluation procedures and quality of morale, as well as the quality of administration and management, as some of the factors that must be considered in assessing the quality of an educational system. Reviewing the work of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in the USA, Awokoya (1983: 104) listed the following tasks as necessary for a high-quality education:

a. measurement and standardisation of academic attainments;
b. evaluation of quality of work during supervision;
c. use of competent teachers, and administrative and supervisory personnel;
d. dissemination of information to teachers and students;
e. use of educational technologies with a view to increasing the efficiency of teaching;
f. new research and development to invigorate all educational activities;
g. identification of exceptional talents and measures to challenge their powers;
h. guidance and counselling;
i. placing students in suitable employment; and
j. efficient management of the educational sector.

It is also in this respect that Awokoya (1990) viewed quality in education as being relevant to the ability of the educational system to solve problems in wider society, including the provision of food, water, housing, health, transportation, communication, energy, and so on. The observation of Biggs also tallies with that of Awokoya. In Biggs' view, quality involves the harmonious interplay of all these factors within the classroom, the institution and the culture as a whole (cited in Barret et al. 2005).

Finally, Obanya (2002: 96) summarised the five important points that must be noted about quality issues in education:

a. Quality can be observable and tangible and its effects can be easily felt.
b. Quality is not something we should wait till the end of the process to see, but something which is (or should be) built into all phases of the development of an educational programme.
c. Quality is not a one-dimensional construct, but a tripartite affair, with its input, process and output dimensions.
b. Quality in education can be specifically targeted.
b. The educational development process can be systematically engineered to work towards quality.

All these points have been pooled together in Table 1, which is an attempt to illustrate the complexity of issues to be taken into consideration while working towards quality in education.

Table 1: A tripartite model of quality in education

Inputs	Processes	Outputs
1. Society	1.1. Popular involvement in implementation (all facts). 1.2 Societal acceptance of the programme.	**Successful learning** • Acquisition of socially desirable intellectual and non-intellectual skills. • Continuing interest in learning.
2. Policy	2.1 Adaptability to local conditions. 2.2 Democratic policy review practices.	
3. Management Framework	3.1 Decentralisation/devolution of powers down to the grassroots level. 3.2 Empowerment and autonomy for operators all down the line.	
4. Curriculum	4.1 Responsive to societal and individual needs 4.2 Comprehensive: courage of the three Hs (the head, the hands and the heart). 4.3 Adaptable to changing times, changing needs and changing conditions.	**Full-fledged societal support** Permanent, unqualified; society's interest in the promotion of education.
5. Teaching force	5.1 Quantitatively adequate. 5.2 Adequately educated and professionally prepared. 5.3 Adequately able to promote teacher–pupil interaction to maximise learning (pedagogically skilled). 5.4 Well motivated through an appropriate welfare package, professional support, and opportunities for self-improvement.	**A well-motivated teaching and educational management force.** Teachers fully devoted to continuous self-improvement for a concerted promotion of education.
6. Infrastructure	6.1 Quantitatively, aesthetically and spaciously adequate. 6.2 Learner and teacher friendly 6.3 Integrated pedagogical space of classrooms, laboratories, libraries, toilets, water, farms, workshops, recreational facilities	**A self-regenerating educational system for a self-regenerating society.** The ultimate goal: • a committed society, • a critical mass of productive/creative citizens, • an educational system that goes on improving.
7. Materials	7.1 Quantitatively adequate. 7.2 User friendly, easily exploitable and challenging to both teachers and learners. 7.3 A judicious mix of print, audio and other materials 7.4 Closely related to the goals of the curriculum.	
8. Funds	8.1 Adequacy of funding. 8.2 Targeting funds to those things that will really make a difference. 8.3 Prompt release of funds. 8.4 Prudent application of funds.	

Source: Adapted from Obanya (2002: 39)

Aside from clarifications and definitions of the term 'quality', efforts have also been made to outline the indicators of quality. The purpose of indicators is twofold; to provide information to policy makers to assist in policy formulation, and to demonstrate accountability. According to Nuttal (1994), any indicator system embodies value judgements about what is meant by quality or desirable outcomes in education. Even though indicators have been regarded as only a tool, and not an end in itself, Seyfried, Kohlmeyer and Futh-Riedesser (1999) noted that analysis of indicators would depend on the point of view of the observer. However, they suggested that quality indicators could focus on qualification of trainers, equipment in classrooms, participant's evaluation of the course, and usefulness of the course to participants (motivation/employment prospects), as well as the relevance of the qualification for the workplace (practical orientation, social skills, and so on).

In an extensive study among 13 countries on the indicators of quality, Blom and Meyers (2003) found that the indicators include educational attainment, progression, human resources, learning environment, learner support, demographics and inclusiveness, assessment processes, financial resources, and physical resources. These indicators are further explained in Table 2.

Table 2: Quality indicators ranked according to frequency of occurrence

High-frequency quality indicators					
Serial number	**Name of indicators**	**Frequency**	**Serial number**	**Name of quality indicators**	**Frequency**
1	Educational attainment	16	2	Progression	13
3	Human resources	12	4	Learning environment	12
5	Learner support	12	6	Demographics and inclusiveness	12
Medium-frequency quality indicators					
7	Assessment processes	11	8	Financial resources	11
9	Physical resources	10	10	Course documentation	10
11	Quality assurance systems	10	12	Quality of teaching	10
13	Quality of courses	9	14	Stakeholder satisfaction	9
15	Training cost-		16	Access and equal opportunity	9
17	Employment outcomes	7	18	Management of training provision	7
Low-frequency quality indicators					
19	Effectiveness of training	5	20	Collaboration and cooperation	5
21	Occupational health and safety	3	22	Innovation and development	2

Source: Blom & Meyers (2003)

From the literature, it is clear that quality education cannot be divorced from relevance. That is, such education must be seen to be appropriate to the society in which it is operated, as well as be able to solve political, social and economic problems. Education must intensify all actions that are geared towards the strengthening of democratic structures and institutions, the empowerment of the populace (especially women and grassroots workers) for full participatory governance, as well as the development of appropriate strategies for conflict prevention and resolution. A qualitative education will favour the development of an economy that puts greater emphasis on maternal issues and childcare, universal access to basic survival services, raising the skill profile of the populace, improving general enlightenment and access to information, raising the national resources and production base, providing an enabling environment for creativity and investment in human capital, and a more prudent management of all resources, including a relentless war against corruption.

Approaches to the Study of Quality

There have been various approaches to the study of quality. These approaches may be primarily concerned with quality control, quality assurance and quality improvement. Many educational systems adopt as well as adapt those approaches that seem to fit their own context. Quality assurance is related to quality control but it functions in a rather proactive manner. Quality assurance goes beyond the comparison of output with defined standards to include an approach that seeks to prevent defects from arising in the first place. Quality assurance extends the focus from outcomes or outputs to the processes that produce them. It is related to accountability, and both are concerned with maximising the effectiveness and efficiency of educational systems and services in relation to objectives.

Nevertheless, quality assurance has assumed greater importance as an organisation moves from focusing on product to focusing on process. Quality assurance is itself a process that requires standards to be defined, procedures to be monitored and non-conformance to be analysed and remedied (Nielsen & Visser 1997). Accordingly, quality assurance has focused on the following:

- Learner's entry behaviour, characteristics and attributes, including some demographic factors that can inhibit or facilitate their learning.
- The teachers' entry qualification, values, pedagogy, professional preparedness, subject background, philosophical orientation, and so on.
- The teaching/learning process, including the structure of the curriculum and learning environment.
- Outcomes, defined for different levels in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes including appropriate and relevant instruments to assess these objectively. (Ehindero 2004)

Thus the term 'quality assurance' is often used in relation to 'accountability' in the process of establishing and promoting 'standards'. According to the Senate Employment and Training Reference Committee in Australia (cited in Ogunyemi et al. 2004), quality assurance is generally understood as the

> process by which users (but also producers) of a service or product can be confident of its consistency reliability, safety and to some extent its 'value for money'. Such assurances are normally predicated on certain key assumptions about the conditions under which the product or service will be used and the nature of the users involved.

Quality assurance therefore involves the extent by which both the producers and users of a product are satisfied with its safety and reliability.

Accountability involves the requirement that one group provides a justification of its activities to another group in return for trust or privileges. Accountability also normally involves the expectation that the accountable group be willing to accept advice or criticism from the public and to modify its practices in the light of that advice or criticism.

Contemporary efforts at enhancing organisational (including educational) quality have largely centred on the work of W. Edwards Deming, who insisted that quality could not be improved unless it could be measured (Dill 1995). Although Deming's work originally focused on industry, it has since been applied to quality-assurance policies in schools, colleges and universities. Applying this model to university education, according to Ogunyemi et al. (2004), would imply attending to such inputs as quality of entering students, adequate library and laboratory facilities, recruitment of qualified and competent staff, and *constant flow of operational funds into the system.*

All these arguments still point to the fact that quality assurance involves a lot of inputs, including a regular and efficient funding of the system. Just as funds are an essential ingredient to the success of any developmental process, they are very pertinent to the issue of achieving quality in education. The Senate report on Vocational Education and Training (VET) in Australia also lends major support to the contribution of funding in achieving quality in education. The report recommended that quality be restored to the system by a variety of means, but primarily by strengthening its regulatory and quality framework. It further proposed that this could be done by means of legislation (by making national standards legally enforceable) and funding (by restoring base-level and growth funding to the states and territories) (Senate Employment 2000).

Consequently, the objective of this paper is to take a cursory look at how funding could contribute to the achievement of quality in the Nigerian educational system. It also discusses the pattern of the funding of education in the last few years in Nigeria and the implication of this on the entire education system.

The Role of Funding in Education

From Obanya's model in Table 1 and from the findings of Blom and Meyers (2003), as shown in Table 2, funds and financial resources are an important indicator of quality in education. Adequate funds are obviously necessary: they must be spent on those things that will make an impact on the educational system, they must be promptly released by the relevant authorities, and they must be used prudently for their intended purpose. There are possibly other inputs that cannot be achieved without the availability of funds: for instance, without the necessary funds it may be difficult to employ suitable teachers, and to provide them with adequate professional training, and motivation in the form of remuneration and a welfare package . Simlarly, the provision of a good-quality infrastructure – such as libraries, toilets, water and recreational facilities – and learning materials –such as audio-visual aids – is very difficult without adequate funds.

The importance of funding to the realisation of the objectives of any organisation cannot be ignored. Money is indeed germane to the success of any human endeavour. As a matter of fact, any policy formulated by the policy makers will require money for its implementation; the educational system is not an exception to this rule. The system needs adequate funding at

all levels in order to achieve its objectives, as well as maintain quality in the system. This is why Ozigi (1978) contended that *no organisation can survive or carry out its functions effectively without adequate financial resources at its disposal.*

The importance of funding to education was first stressed by Coombs and Hallak (1972) in this way:

> Money provides the essential purchasing power with which education requires its human and physical inputs. With too little money, education is helpless. With ample supply, its problems become more manageable even though they do not vanish. (Quoted by Imhabekhai & Tonwe 2001: 30)

Also, commenting on the importance of funding to the school system, Aghenta asserted that:

> The success of any school depends upon the resources available to it. Money is very important in this respect because by it, all other vital elements in the school can be obtained; such as buildings, purchase of equipment, payment of teachers salaries and allowances and running expenses. (Aghenta 1984: 230)

From the above assertions of Coombs and Hallak and that of Aghenta (1984), the entire process of any educational system is predicated on the availability of money. Although money cannot possibly solve all the problems, it is needed to provide the necessary school buildings, as well as to pay staff salaries and allowances. Without funds, all these would be difficult to achieve.

Musaazi also agrees with the above assertions, when he states that:

> For schools to function effectively, they needed to buy textbooks, establish new buildings, pay teachers salaries, buy science equipment and maintain other service that are required by a school to carry out its functions as an educational institution. (Musaazi 1982: 283)

The Federal Government of Nigeria also agreed that:

> Education is an expensive social service and requires adequate financial provision from all the tiers of government for successful implementation of the educational programmes… (Federal Government of Nigeria 2004: 61)

Indeed, a good education financing system generates an adequate level of funding to promote efficiency and equity aimed at optimising the distribution of education and its benefits among citizens (Saavedrea 2003).

It is difficult therefore to talk of enhancing quality of education without considering the issue of funding. The emphasis should not just be on more funds, but should be on effectively funding the process of education. This involves a more rigorous analysis of what should be funded, with a strong emphasis on those things that are likely to have positive effects on education, such as an improved management of available funds, including a very meticulous check on corruption and all cases of misapplication of funds.

Funding and Quality Assurance in Education: Some Observations from Nigeria

No doubt, the level of instructional facilities available in its schools determines the quality of education in a country. Various studies have shown that there is a generally low level of instructional materials in Nigeria's schools. Nwagwu (1997) observed that the crisis of shortage of infrastructure and facilities is felt at all levels of Nigeria's educational system. The library facilities and books are grossly inadequate and so is the provision of classrooms, furniture, laboratories and workshops. Another study by the National Primary Education Commission and the World Bank (1997) also revealed that many primary schools in Nigeria lacked adequate teaching facilities. Indeed, the study found out that apart from the traditional chalkboards, which were in adequate supply, other facilities – dusters, biros, pens, lesson notes, marking pens, wall charts, maps, globes, and so on – were inadequate. In Kwara State, Abdulkareem (1997) found out that 80 per cent of the primary schools indicated that less than 20 per cent of their pupils had enough textbooks to work with. And in Imo State, Anukam (2001) discovered that most of the key instructional facilities needed to facilitate learning were either in short supply or not available at all. In addition, 50 per cent of the pupils had no chairs no desks, while most of the teachers had no chairs either. Similarly, the level of availability of chalk and chalkboard, textbooks and continuous assessment books was low. The study further revealed that most of the head teachers could not provide these essential facilities because of lack of funds. Earlier, Abenga (1993) reported that the problem of inadequate funding has affected the provisions of vocational and technical education programmes despite their merits, and despite government clamour for this type of education.

The World Bank (2002) and USAID (2002) in their own assessment reported that primary schools throughout the country lack basic infrastructure, supplies and instructional materials. Delays in the payment of teachers' salaries are still a problem in some states. The basic levels of the education system are still unable to provide adequate service delivery or staff development and training, and this has negative implications for learning outcomes and opportunities for further education. In Nigeria, teachers hardly get government support for capacity development. Most of the time, teachers sponsor themselves on in-service training. The government claims it is not able to provide financial assistance to teachers' in-service training courses. Teachers' professional development is therefore the responsibility of the individual rather than the employer.

The point being stressed here is that if adequate funding is made available by the government it would be easy to procure most, if not all, those facilities for the use of the schools. A situation where students still sit on a bare floor or hang on the window to receive a lecture is not in the best interest of the system, as no meaningful teaching and learning could take place under such conditions.

There is no doubt about the fact that adequate funding is also needed to recruit staff (teaching and non-teaching) for the schools. It is common knowledge that most schools in Nigeria lack teachers in nearly all subjects, especially science and vocational subjects. For instance, Obemeata (1991) discovered that most schools in Nigeria lack teachers in such areas as pre-vocational subjects, sciences, mathematics and Nigerian languages. The excuse has always been that there is no money to employ the required staff. Yet the government itself has agreed that 'no educational system can rise above the quality of the teachers' (Federal Republic of Nigeria 2004: 39). Teachers who are holders of the National Certificate in Education (NCE) teachers are more often employed than graduates. In 2004, the Ogun State government recruited 1,500 NCE and 500 graduate teachers for its Teachers Voluntary

Scheme (TVS). Under the scheme, the teachers would be paid a salary far less than what the normal government teacher receives. Even though the teachers under the TVS would be paid less and less money would be required, the government complained of lack of funds, despite being aware of the need to employ more good-quality teachers for the education system. Good-quality education hinges on the recruitment of high-calibre teachers, so funding is essential for recruiting enough good-quality teachers. Fadipe (1990) had earlier recognised the fact that employing the least-qualified teachers, who receive less pay, instead of employing highly skilled and qualified university graduates, who will demand a better salary, has an effect on the quality of education.

In addition, existing teachers need to be retained and retrained through sponsorship for in-service courses, workshops and seminars. Recent observations have shown that teachers spend their own money to fund their acquisition of more knowledge and higher qualifications, by sponsoring themselves on part-time and sandwich courses. This is because government at all levels has stopped sponsoring teachers on in-service training, citing a lack of finance. Yet the government and society expect a lot from these teachers. It must be made clear that no teacher can perform above his or her skill. What the teacher teaches in the classroom is a product of what he or she has received in terms of training and retraining.

The school also needs to be staffed with adequate non-teaching personnel, such as typists, clerks, messengers or drivers. The personnel have important functions to perform in the realisation of the school's objectives. The level of non-teaching staff in public primary schools is almost nil in Nigeria. It is the head teacher who undertakes the clerical and administrative duties, such as preparation of salary vouchers or the dispatch of letters. Much precious time that the head teacher should have spent on academic functions is wasted on clerical duties because of the dearth of non-teaching personnel in primary schools. Of course, the excuse is always a lack of funds.

Adequate funding is also needed to pay teachers salary and allowances. One of the teachers' major complaints has always been lateness and irregularity in the payment of their salaries. A Nigerian newspaper, in one of its editorial columns, captured this precarious situation:

> it is perhaps no coincidence that the plight of the schools and teachers has failed to spawn the expected public outcry. Possibly, too, apparent official apathy might as well be an index of growing disinterest; the fact that teachers have had to embark on an industrial action to press their demands had, inexplicably, starved them of necessary attention. The drift of official (in) action nevertheless compels us to suspect insensitivity. (*Nigerian Tribune*, 29 October 1999: 10)

In November 2003, primary school teachers in Lagos State embarked on a series of demonstrations to protest non-payment of salaries and allowances by the government. This situation persists in some other states. If adequate funding had been provided, this type of ugly incident would not have arisen. Studies have also shown that one of the factors that motivate teachers to work is regular payment of salary. But when adequate funds are not provided to do this, then teaching cannot go on, thus affecting the quality of teaching and learning.

Funding of Education in Nigeria

Over the years, the issue of funding of education in Nigeria has generated a lot of

controversies, debate and argument among Nigerians. On the pages of newspapers, and on radio and television programmes, parents, students, teachers and labour unions have often expressed concern about the lopsided manner in which the system is being funded. Indeed, the contentious issue of funding has always been a major source of friction between the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and successive governments in Nigeria. The contention of the Union has always been that the various governments have not paid enough attention to adequate funding of the educational system.

For instance, since the advent of democratic government in Nigeria in 1999 budgetary allocation to education has fallen from 11.13 per cent in 1999 to 7 per cent in 2001, and further dropped drastically to 1.81 per cent in 2003. Though it increased to 7.2 per cent in 2004, it decreased again to 6.67 per cent in 2005. Since 1999 Nigeria as a country has always spent less than 10 per cent of its budget on education. Ibukun (2003) further observed that education has often become the focus for budget cuts to address financial shortfalls in Nigeria. The UNESCO (2000) report on the state of education in Nigeria had earlier indicated that expenditure on education when compared with overall annual budget has been grossly inadequate. According to the report, between 1987 and 1997, the average expenditure on education by the Federal Government was 5.1 per cent of the annual budget and 1.1 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In addition, Fagbamiye (2003) quoted UNESCO as reporting that:

- Lesotho spent 13.2 per cent of its GDP and 25.5 per cent of its annual budget on education;
- Zimbabwe spent 10.12 per cent of its GDP and 17.6 per cent of its annual budget on education;
- South Africa spent 6 per cent of its GDP and 24 per cent of its annual budget on education;
- Namibia spent 9.1 per cent of its GDP and 22.5 per cent of its annual budget on education;
- But Nigeria devoted 5.31 per cent of its GDP and an average of 9.9 per cent of its annual budget on education.

Fagbamiye also quoted UNESCO as recommending that each country should spend a minimum of 25 per cent of its budget on education. Similarly, an agreement between the government of Nigeria and ASUU in 2001 agreed that 'in accordance with UNESCO GUIDELINES, the federal and state governments shall allocate to education, a minimum of 26 per cent of their annual budgets. This target shall be met within three years.' Unfortunately, to date the government has not implemented this agreement.

The precarious condition of the education sector partly stems from the unanticipated effects of the structural adjustment programme introduced to address distortions in the economy and improve the systems of economic management. This led to a reduction in government support to the sector. Other factors were poor governance at both institutional and social levels, as well as the tense and uncertain political environment caused by prolonged military rule, as resources were diverted for funding institutional changes (Balami 2002).

The picture that emerges from the foregoing is that underfunding of education has led to a decline in the level of quality of the educational system. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) further captured the situation:

> the low resource level has led to a prolonged period of neglect and decay in the education system (USAID 2002: 42)

Consequently, since financial support has declined, it has led to overcrowding and declining quality in education. Competition for dwindling resources has led to a further reduction of public resources allocated to education.

What pains one perhaps is the fact that, though the government is aware of the problem of inadequate funding of education and its attendant consequences on quality assurance, the required steps are not being taken to ameliorate the problem. The *Education Sector Status Report* (Federal Ministry of Education and UNESCO 2003) enoted that: 'In Nigeria, there is a marked disparity in the quality of education offered by schools at the same level due to the method of financing schools. Schools that are able to mobilize more funds offer better physical structures, furnishing, broader curricula and better-trained staff than their less richly endowed counterparts' (p. 99). Thus, government itself has come to the realisation that the quality of education is determined by the availability of enough funds to run the system.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The most important part of an educational development plan is not its projection and output target, nor even its list of educational priorities. It is that part which deals with human and fiscal resources, showing what will be required to effect the planned expansion and change, and how the government proposes to raise the required money and to recruit the necessary personnel.

It is clear from the above discussion that adequate funding is necessary for the educational system, if quality is to be assured. Money is definitely needed for both recurrent and capital expenditure of the school. Most classrooms in Nigeria's schools are not only dilapidated, they are inadequate; laboratory and instructional facilities are in extremely short supply. Quality can never be assured under this situation.

Though improved funding is being advocated for the educational system, certain factors highlighted by Obanya (2002) should also be noted. These are:

- a more rigorous analysis on what should be funded, with a strong emphasis on those things that are likely to have positive, multiplier effects on education;
- programming activities and projects to to be linked with the availability of funds;
- more emphasis on the cost-effectiveness of educational programmes;
- improved management of available funds, including a very meticulous check on corruption and all cases of misapplication of funds; and
- diversifying the source of funding – in other words, going beyond government to other sources.

There is no doubt about the fact that quality has some financial implications. The desired funds need to be budgeted, released and properly managed in order to assist in achieving the desired quality. It is undeniable in Nigeria that funding has not kept pace with the great expansion witnessed in all tiers of education in the country. The provision of more funds to education is a matter that requires urgent attention as well as cooperation and assistance from national and international agencies.

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The Issue of Large Classes in Kenya: The Need for Professional Support for Primary School Teachers in School Contexts

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Abstract: *Since the declaration of free primary education in 2003 in Kenya, there has been a big influx of children into schools, resulting in very large classes. Teachers were not prepared to handle and teach these large numbers of learners effectively. Teachers encounter enormous challenges, impacting on the quality of teaching and learning, therefore the provision of 'quality' education. However, there are no systematic specialised professional development structures that have been put in place to support teachers. It is therefore my suggestion that 'specialised' support organised at school level may equip teachers with the skills and knowledge to enable them to deal adequately with the issues of these classes. This is a literature/experience narrative that analyses how the existing school-based professional structures can be strengthened to support teachers of large classes to improve their teaching and learning practices.*

Introduction

The re-introduction of free primary education (FPE) in Kenya in the year 2003 led to a very significant increase in primary schools' pupil enrolment. However, there was no concomitant increase in the number of teachers. This resulted in large classes of about 60 to 100 children – a feature common in developing countries such as Kenya (Valerian in O'Sullivan 2006).

Teachers of such classes encounter a number of challenges that impact negatively on the quality of teaching and learning, consequently, affecting the provision of 'quality' education in most public schools.

Despite these difficulties, there has been no professional support in place, either at school or national level to help teachers cope with the challenges. This is in spite of teachers' assertion in many forums that they lack the capacity to effectively teach large classes. It is my suggestion that 'specialised' support organised at school level may equip teachers with skills and knowledge to enable them adequately deal with the issues of these classes: as Garret and Bowles state, 'Effective teacher development cannot take place alienated from the context of practice' (1997: 27).

This is a literature/experience narrative that analyses how the existing school-based professional structures can be strengthened to support teachers of large classes to improve

their teaching and learning practices in these classes. First I provide the methodology for this paper, which is based on narrative inquiry. I discuss a rationale for teachers' need for professional support, and why such support should be provided at school level. I examine how FPE was re-introduced in Kenya and the impact it has had on schools, specifically teachers. I then explore and analyse the main challenges that teachers encounter and how these are affecting their classroom practices. These will be followed by a discussion of how the existing schools' professional development structures may be strengthened to give teachers the needed professional support. Lastly, I discuss the implications of the above for schools, and the training and development of teachers and head teachers.

The narrative focuses on the following structures:

- subject panel groups (SPGs), which are compulsory in all public primary schools;
- School-based Teacher Development (SbTD), which was a project implemented by the (MoE);
- programmes by the private INSET providers: these include private universities such as my own – The Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development, Eastern Africa (AKU-IED, EA).

The above will be followed by a SWOT analysis of the combined structures to highlight their functional commonalities in terms of their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

Objectives of the Paper

The purpose of this literature/experience-based narrative is to analyse how the existing teacher professional development structures at school level may be strengthened and effectively used to give teachers relevant, systematic, sustainable and continuous professional support that can enable them improve the quality of teaching and learning in large classes. I will draw examples from my experiences as a teacher educator, and from relevant, appropriate literature. Therefore the objectives of the paper are to:

- analyse the existing school-based professional development structures;
- recommend how these structures can be strengthened and utilised to support teachers of large classes for 'effective' teaching and learning;
- analyse the implications of the above for schools in Kenya; and
- examine the implications for training and development of teachers and head teachers in Kenya

Rationale

There is growing evidence that one of the main challenges teachers face today in public primary schools is how to effectively promote teaching and learning in large classes. This challenge is probably heightened by the suddenness of the shift teachers had to make from handling small classes to large ones. However, one may ask whether teaching of small classes, as opposed to large ones, results in effective teaching and learning. The educational stakeholders would probably answer this question in the affirmative, basing it on the pupils' exam performance, which seem to have declined since the introduction of FPE (Editorial 2006). Moreover, educational debate accepts that large class size has a negative impact on teaching and learning (O'Sullivan 2006). The validity of this argument could also be based on the fact that teachers had to make the sudden shift without any prior arrangements for professional support to ease the transition.

Despite the above arguments, five years after the introduction of FPE, there seems to be inadequate and unclear professional support structures and mechanisms for teachers. The measures that have been taken by the MoE and INSET 'are of an occasional or *ad hoc* character and seldom form part of a coherent, structured policy appropriate to the situation' (Valerian 1991: 13), and involve very few teachers.

Instead of the various stakeholders dealing with how teachers can be professionally supported, many seem to have retreated into what Halpin (2006) would term a state of ambivalence; they recognize what is happening, but they choose not to notice it, hoping that it will go away. A reason for this, perhaps because large classes are a relatively new phenomenon, could be that 'The problem has not been properly grasped, with the result that there is no clear awareness of it on the part of those responsible for, those employed in, or those affected by the education system' (Valerian 1991: 13). Moreover, there seems to be an assumption that the teachers themselves will grapple with this issue, and, possibly, eventually come to terms with it.

The pre-service teacher training that teachers receive fails to prepare them to handle large classes. As much as there have been radical reforms in educational policies regarding schooling in Kenya, for example FPE, the teacher-training curriculum has not undergone any significant modifications to reflect them. The MoE seems to accept responsibility: 'The MoE has not put in place a comprehensive teacher training curriculum to prepare teachers to cope with the changes and emerging challenges in teaching' (MoE 2004).

Moreover, the two-year pre-service training cannot be expected to adequately prepare teachers for rapid social–economic changes, compounded with rising societal expectations that impact on their profession (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation 1999). Teachers are therefore ill prepared for the realities in the field. For example, teachers are trained to handle 'average' classes of about 40 pupils, contrary to what they find in the field.

The question of how teachers can promote and sustain effective teaching and learning in the light of the challenges they encounter is one that will persist. Cherian and Mau argue that, 'Large classes are a direct outcome of our efforts to use limited resources to reach and educate as many as possible' (2003: v). Therefore, large classes are *a necessity* and will remain so for many years (Valerian 1991). However, this question may be resolved if teachers can receive sustained professional support at school level. This may prove to be effective, since my experiences are consistent with Dean's view that 'School is the major learning place for teachers, and has a strong and lasting influence on the teachers' development' (Dean 1991: 9). The school setting allows an easier relation of theory to practice, and may therefore provide a significant framework for professional improvement of teachers (Blandford 2000).

However, it is important that, even at school level, teachers participate in making decisions about the meaningfulness and benefits of the type of professional support they are to receive. This may enable them to have greater ownership of the activities. Otherwise, top-down approaches result in teachers lacking a sense of obligation, and may prove difficult to sustain any changed performance.

Methodology

Narrative Inquiry Approach

With the sudden introduction of FPE in Kenya, teachers found themselves teaching very large classes. However, they were not in any way prepared to handle these classes. They are

facing enormous challenges that are impacting on the quality of teaching and learning. Moreover, the MoE does not seem to have any tangible plans to professionally support teachers. Consequently, as a teacher educator who has observed the kind of challenges these teachers encounter, I thought of exploring how professional structures at school level could be strengthened and utilised to give them support that could enable them to handle large classes better, and to improve the quality of teaching and learning.

Therefore, narrative inquiry seemed an appropriate methodology for this literature /experience-based study, since 'as a methodology it entails a view of the phenomenon' (Connelly & Clandinin 2006: 477), which in this case is the phenomenon of large classes in Kenya. Moreover, this study emerged from my teacher education practices, and it also aims at studying and improving my own practices (Clandinin, Pushor & Orr 2007) of working with schools and teachers in the context of large classes.

Furthermore, I used narrative methodology as a meaning-making (Chase 2000) process of analysing the existing school-based professional development structures so as to understand and have an insight of how these structures can be strengthened and utilised to give much-needed professional support to teachers of large classes. This literature/experience-based narrative also assisted me to understand how these structures can be meaningfully organised for supporting teachers and the consequences that can be derived from them (Chase 2000).

The Narrative

In this narrative, I first briefly examine the history of FPE in Kenya, which resulted in large classes. I give a snapshot of a large class by describing it, and the teaching and learning environment in such a class. I analyse how classroom management as the major challenge teachers encounter impacts on other factors, hence influencing the quality of teaching and learning in large classes. How school-based professional development structures can be strengthened and utilised to give professional support to teachers of large classes is examined and analysed. Finally I discuss the implications of the foregoing for Kenyan schools, and for the training and development of teachers and head teachers.

The Re-Introduction of FPE and the Issue of Large Classes

At independence in 1963, education was perceived as one of the ways of fostering rapid economic and social growth. Educational commissions (Kenya Education Commision 1965, Commission Report 1976), mandated by the government of the time to inquire into this issue recommended FPE as an appropriate approach to achieving the above goal. Therefore, FPE was first introduced in Kenya in 1978. This was sustained until 1988 when the donor communities imposed structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), which recommended a cost-sharing scheme between the government and parents to fund primary education (Okech & Rollestone 2006). (A classic case of tensions that exist between donor communities and developing countries.) This system was upheld until 2003, when a new government re-introduced FPE.

FPE was a campaign tool used by the present government to win the 2002 general elections; therefore its re-introduction was very sudden. There was just one week between the inauguration of the new government and the opening of schools for the New Year in 2003. Within that period, the government had to implement FPE, since it was part of its election mandate. The scenario changed almost instantly; one day schools had 'normal' numbers of children, and the next, they were literally 'bursting at the seams' with some of them having double the number of children they had had previously. Educational stakeholders did not have

a choice and/or a chance to contribute to the making of this policy since the government was determined to implement it whatever the circumstances. Perhaps this is why its implementation is riddled with complex challenges, since there was no collaborative decision-making.

Currently, the 17,000 public primary schools in Kenya have an enrolment of 7.9 million children, up from 5.9 million in 2002 (USAID Kenya 2006). However, the number of teachers has remained at 210,000 (Onguko 2005), resulting in a big shortage. The assistant minister for education has maintained that 'The problem of teacher shortage will persist until the embargo on the employment of new teachers is lifted'. He further explained, 'The best the ministry can do is to maintain the required ceiling by filling vacancies arising through natural attrition' (Mwiria 2006: 6). These statements depict the helpless situation headteachers, teachers and parents sometimes find themselves in when it comes to policy-making that affects them. This top-down approach of policy-making mostly aggravates situations. For example, one slum school in Nairobi had its pupil population grow from 400 to over 1,000; however, the number of teachers remained at 33 (Halai, Otienoh, Shariff, Swai & Okoko 2005); the class sizes range from 50 to 80 pupils. This scenario is typical of most urban schools (Watson, in Holderness 2003), which has resulted in classroom situations like the one described below.

A Snapshot of a Large Class

Classrooms in Kenyan public primary schools were initially designed to accommodate about 30 to a maximum of 40 children. Today, using the urban slum school as an example, these same rooms accommodate up to 100 children. The number of desks has not increased. As only few children can squeeze themselves on the desks (about four children on a desk meant for three), the rest sit on the cemented floor.

These overcrowded classrooms allow minimal teacher or pupil movement. This situation is aptly reflected in Rogers: 'The day-to-day school teaching normally takes place in a rather unusual setting: a small room, often inadequate furniture and no space to move' (1999: 5). The teacher is awkwardly placed at one end of the classroom (Wootton 2001), close to the blackboard to enable him or her to write. His or her movements in and around the classroom are impeded, thus the teacher is unable to manage, monitor and give individual attention to children. Hence classroom management becomes a major challenge, which leads to other problems.

Challenges Teachers Encounter

Questions regarding whether large classes compromise the 'quality' of education are being raised by various educational stakeholders. These seem to be valid since the teachers who are expected to deliver it are encountering enormous challenges and receiving little professional support.

Drawing from my experience, some of the main challenges frequently cited by teachers include:

- classroom management and organisation;
- monitoring pupils' progress; and
- giving individual attention.

Analysis of Classroom Management and How it is Linked to Other Challenges

Classroom management is defined differently by various educationists. However, one definition that I think gives a good description of what it really entails is:

> Classroom management means a great deal more than 'making kids behave.' It means essentially the teacher getting things going, keeping things moving, keeping things safe, and running the show well enough to be able to actually teach and have students learn. (Author unknown[1])

I consider the above definition appropriate since it depicts classroom management beyond the simple behavioural supervision and discipline imposition that is perceived by many teachers.

One of the indicators of 'getting things going, and keeping things moving' could be when the teacher is able to monitor children's progression in classroom tasks. 'Keeping things safe and running the show well' could mean creating an environment in which students can learn and teachers teach. However, these may not easily be achieved in a crowded class where the teacher is practically immobile.

Waterhouse (2001) describes how classroom management is central to the quality of teaching in terms of its impact on learning. Without it, the quality of teaching and learning is compromised. As Wragg describes it,

> Without the ability to manage a class effectively, any other skill teachers have may be neutralised. It is no good knowing your subject matter, being able to devise interesting activities appropriate to the topic, knowing what sort of questions to ask, or being able to give a clear explanation, if you cannot obtain a hearing or organize a group of children. (1993: 2)

This perhaps is the situation of teachers of large classes. From my experience of observing classes, teachers may have well-prepared lessons, with very good teaching and learning resources, and may be very well versed in content. However, they may be unable to teach and assist children to learn because of problems with classroom management. In most cases, it seems, teachers try to control the classroom through punishment and rewards, which demands a high degree of surveillance. As a result, they turn into monitors and disciplinarians rather than managers of learning, which interferes with achieving a productive classroom (Watkins 1997). Consequently, very little teaching and learning occurs, which ripples into little monitoring of children's progress, and individual attention. Monitoring and giving attention are of paramount importance as they ensure that children begin to work on tasks on time and proceed as required (Empner, Everton & Murray 2006).

Of course, factors other than large classes may cause classroom management problems. Wootton argues, 'Most deficiencies in class management are associated with a general lack of vitality and purpose in the presentation, with low expectations of what pupils can achieve' (2001: 24). But regardless of this, it should be appreciated that larger numbers of children in classrooms almost certainly add substantially to the challenges faced by teachers in their classroom management.

Effective Use and Strengthening of Schools' Existing Professional Development Structures

In this section, I discuss and analyse how subject panel groups (SPGs) and the school-based teacher development (SbTD) programme can be effectively used and strengthened. I will do the

[1] This quotation has been passed on in the AKU-IED, EA circle of professional development programme facilitators, but the source is unknown.

same for private INSET providers, using my own institution: Aga Khan University's Institute for Educational Development, Eastern Africa (AKU-IED, EA) as an example. In this case, I will analyse the Certificate in Education programmes (CEPs) offered to practising primary teachers.

Subject Panel Groups (SPGs)

Structures of SPGs

The MoE recommends that all public primary schools should have SPGs for the four core subjects: maths, English, science and social studies. These groups are composed of all the teachers teaching the subjects at all levels of the primary section. The panels elect chairpersons and secretaries who are responsible for scheduling meetings and writing minutes, respectively. The senior teachers who are in charge of academics are their overall supervisors. Aparts from ensuring that the panels meet, they also check their minutes and take actions where appropriate. The panels are to meet as often as required to meet teachers' needs (Halai et al. 2005). However, with teachers' heavy workloads, if panels have to meet often, an enabling timetable should be put in place.

A strength of this structure is that, if effectively used and supported, it may ensure that most if not all teachers are, in one way or other, involved in an on-going school-based professional development.

Role of SPGs and How they Can Be Strengthened

SPGs discuss various issues affecting teaching and learning, and how members can improve their classroom practices to enhance learners' performance. These issues include the coverage of the syllabus, sharing ideas on how certain difficult topics can be taught, and, if need be, observing each other's lessons to learn how certain difficult topics can be handled. As one teacher described it:

> When we meet with other teachers we discuss how to handle certain topics. For example if I teach science and I have a problem of teaching reproduction, I can talk to [another] science teacher, he can explain to me on how to do it, or he can decide to go and teach while I observe and see how I am supposed to do it. So we do that, even in English that is what we do. (Halai et al. 2005)

Such loosely structured peer coaching seems to emerge as one of the ways teachers promote effective classroom teaching and learning. There appears to be a realisation that collegial professional support at the subject panel level is crucial if they are to improve classroom practice. However, it was surprising that challenges posed by large classes were conspicuously missing from panel discussions as reported by Halai and her colleagues.

One way of addressing problems arising from large class sizes would be to use peer coaching and collegial-support-enabling SPGs as a mechanism for developing teachers' coping strategies. Teachers could realise that the professional benefit of sharing ideas verbally might be enhanced if these ideas were also to be tried out in the classroom, perhaps especially with a critical colleague to observe the performance and give constructive feedback. This practice, if sustained, may translate into improvement in teachers' classroom practices in large classes. Gottesman and Jennings suggest that, 'Peer coaching is a formal structure to replace informal conversations concerning practice and classroom behaviours. Used properly, peer coaching is a powerful tool to produce internalisation of a routine' (1994: 8).

SPGs may further be strengthened if the concept of team teaching is introduced. This could be a possible strategy for teachers to discuss, plan and try out the most viable classroom management techniques that can promote effective classroom practices. For example, with team teaching, teachers may be able to monitor more children as they carry out classroom tasks, hence give individual attention to a relatively larger group of children than just one teacher can provide. This may then impact positively on the quality of teaching and learning. As Cherian and Mau argue, 'Team teaching makes a difference. The advantage … is that, teachers work in teams to synergise teaching strategies for large classes' (2003: 171).

To further strengthen team teaching, teachers may also engage in peer coaching. This may give them the opportunity to observe and give feedback to one another as they seek to improve skills that will enable them effectively to teach large classes.

The systemisation and strengthening of team teaching and peer coaching at the SPG level, as Holderness (2003) suggests, will not just ensure that teachers share techniques and give emotional support to one another, but may also lead to exemplary teaching practices.

Successful implementation of the above strategies may be a challenge to schools due to teachers' heavy workloads. Teachers hardly have free time to plan, team teach, peer coach, and at the same time get involved in other school activities. Nonetheless, collaborative decision-making between the teachers and the headteachers may resolve this. Moreover, it may be easier if the headteachers are committed to the concepts since they control so many of the factors such as release time necessary for peer coaching [and team teaching] (Gottesman & Jennings 1994).

In the case of Kenyan schools – where headteachers, as agents of the teachers' employer (Teachers' Service Commission 2003), seem to have absolute power over policies and practice – their support for this may be a sure way of getting teachers release time. It can therefore be rightly argued that 'The principal's [headteachers] leadership is one of the essential ingredients in peer coaching [and team teaching]' (Teachers' Service Commission 2003: 22).

There seems to be a fair amount of successful functioning of SPGs. This could be attributed to the fact that these structures have been in place for a long time, and the MoE through its inspectorate unit ensures that they are functional. For example, the slum school's senior teacher kept records of minutes of all panel meetings as evidence to the inspectors that they do exist and they are practical (Halai et al. 2005). This may make it easier to introduce the above-mentioned collegial activities.

These could be particularly helpful if they were introduced in a non-evaluative or non-judgemental form. Otherwise, from my experience, teachers may construe these activities as part of formal evaluation and therefore reject their adoption.

The School-based Teacher Development (SbTD) Programme

Onguko (2005) states that the SbTD programme was a component of the Strengthening Primary Education project designed by the MoE and funded by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID). It was implemented through the INSET unit of the MoE.

The programme, according to the Teacher Advisory Centre (TAC) tutor handbook (1999), was designed to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the primary schools. Its aims were to:

- develop reflective primary teachers who are willing to challenge their own ideas about teaching by using a variety of teaching and learning strategies that should challenge and motivate all pupils; and

- enable trained SbTD teachers – Key Resource Teachers (KRTs) – to lead school-based professional development within their subject areas in their schools.

The Structure of SbTD

SbTD was a five-month distance learning (DL) in-service education programme that targeted 54,525 teachers – approximately 29 per cent of the total primary teaching force from the 17,000 primary schools (Limozi and Pontefract 2005). Each of the schools nominated a maximum of three teachers (KRTs) for each of the three core subjects: mathematics, science and English.

The programme consisted of four modules: the core module, which was compulsory for all teachers, dealt with principles of good primary practice, with emphasis on reflective practice. The three specialist modules of the core subjects focussed on the diverse strategies of child-centred teaching and learning.

All the modules comprised nine units. Each unit was written in an interactive way, asking teachers to respond to questions, and to carry out classroom activities (Kyungu 2001). It was envisaged that through this approach teachers would engage in professional dialogue with the units' text, hence enabling them to consider their own experience alongside new ideas for classroom practice (Kyungu 2001).

To assist the KRTs to conceptualise DL, a two-day induction course was conducted, where they were provided with module materials and teacher support handbooks, and informed of the support structures that had been put in place.

The support role was played by the TAC tutors. Their main responsibility was to provide mentoring support to ensure there was quality development of the KRTs in the above-mentioned areas. This process was of great significance since the KRTs were to play a mentoring role in the development of teachers in the various subject areas, by working with appropriate subject panels in their schools (Kiptoon 2000).

The structure of the project was that of a cascade model. Though this model could be a way of effecting large-scale change at classroom level, Hayes argues that 'Experience of cascades in in-service development has tended to show that the cascade is more often reduced to a trickle by the time it reaches the classroom teacher' (2000: 135). This raises doubts about the effectiveness of this model.

Questions regarding the programme's success in bringing about improved quality of teaching and learning and its sustainability are being raised (Day & Sachs 2004). Other questions could arise in relation to whether the two-day DL induction workshop for the KRTs was adequate to prepare them for, and enable them to conceptualise, the complex (DL) strategy of learning. It is not also clear whether these teachers' workloads were reduced to enable them interact with the module texts, and carry out other activities of the programme, or whether they had to do this in addition to their teaching loads; the effectiveness of the support system would also be another questionable area.

There is very little solid evidence and information available on evaluation of the SbTD programme and these judgements must be speculative. Nevertheless, one would imagine that it would take time, coupled with systematic follow-up and support to the KRTs for these new concepts (e.g. reflective practice) to be internalised and successfully implemented in schools for any tangible change to be realised: 'Change is a journey and not a blue print' (Fullan 1993: 24).

How the SbTD Programme Can Be Strengthened

Although the core module deals with classroom management, the management of teaching large classes is not addressed. One way of strengthening SbTD is by upgrading this module

to include possible solutions to challenges of management in large classes. KRTs should be oriented in these, to enable them mentor other teachers.

Reflective practice (a component of the main objectives of the programme) is another tool that could be strengthened by the KRTs by encouraging other teachers to use it in finding practical ways of positive management of large classes. This tool, described by Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) as a discourse of practical professionalism, may enable teachers to have the capacity to exercise discretionary judgements in situations of unavoidable uncertainty (Schon in Hargreaves & Goodson 1996), as in the case of large classes.

I have learnt that teachers' 'lack of time', is an impediment to their maintenance of reflective journals on a regular basis. Perhaps informal reflective dialogue between the KRTs and the teachers, and later among peers, could be encouraged. This arrangement may not just ease the pressure on teachers' time, but may also provide stronger professional support, as teachers provide more possible solutions to the challenges they encounter, which can then be tried out in classes. The learning experience could also prove to be richer as peer-reflective groups encourage teachers to challenge existing theories and their own preconceived views of teaching (Ferraro 2000). Journal writing can be introduced later after the concept of reflective practice through dialogue has been internalised.

However, several questions could be asked regarding whether 'lack of time' is the sole reason teachers are unable to reflect through journal writing, and whether reflective dialogues are, therefore, the remedy to this. For example, do teachers perceive journal writing as an added burden in a context where their morale is low due to low pay and societal lack of appreciation of the profession (Davis 2003)? Is it because they lack ownership of the concept since it is foreign and somehow imposed on them? Is it the action of writing that is an issue, since the culture of reading and writing is not as developed as in the western world, where this concept originated from and seems to have taken root? Perhaps there is need to intensely explore these questions if a viable and realistic remedy to journal writing is to be determined.

Private INSET Providers: A Case of AKU-IED, EA's Certificate in Education Programmes

The Certificate in Education Programmes (CEPs) are six-month-long, school-based programmes that aim at improving practising primary teachers' content knowledge, while introducing and exposing them to non-traditional teaching methodologies. The programmes also attempt to give teachers a better understanding of their own and their students' role in the classroom process.

A fundamental tenet of the programmes is their effort to integrate theory and sound classroom practices. Thus, a large component of the programmes is classroom-based, where teachers apply their acquired approaches, and reflect on their experiences. The programmes' training approach can be equated to what Hargreaves and Fullan term 'Teacher Development as knowledge and skills development; where teachers are equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to provide pupils improved opportunities to learn' (in Garret and Bowles 1997: 28). The authors note that this approach to training is normally used to meet identified needs in teaching. In our case, baseline surveys and needs analyses are carried out for this purpose. Over a three-year period, these have not only revealed that teachers are experiencing challenges in managing large classes, but they are also voicing how much these are impeding effective teaching and learning. They are therefore seeking the programmes to equip them with skills and knowledge of dealing with the challenges. As a result, issues of large class sizes are incorporated in the programmes.

However, from my experience of observing teaching in large classes, teachers still encounter challenges of classroom management even after attending the CEPs. Reflecting on this, I feel perhaps we do not adequately address this issue. One of the strategies we emphasise and encourage teachers to use in managing large classes, and in enhancing teaching and learning, is cooperative learning. Though we model this for teachers, and they experience how it is to be taught and learnt in cooperative groups, we do not go further and model it in a large class.

As a result many questions are left unanswered: how many groups of how many children are ideal for a large class? If one has many groups with small numbers of children, will one be able to adequately monitor and give all groups equal attention within the limited time of a 40-minute lesson? Is it feasible to have many groups of fewer children in the small space of the classroom? Can the teacher take some groups out of the classroom? What are the implications of this? These questions certainly suggest that the use of cooperative learning to manage large classes is more complex than we acknowledge in our programmes.

My observations show that when teachers have large groups of children working together, this results in overcrowding over the tasks. Hence, only a few children are able to participate, while others are passively observing, chatting, playing or simply disengaging themselves from the tasks. These 'big groups make individual accountability and equal participation more difficult because individuals are more likely to avoid responsibility or be left out in a large group' (Jacobs & Inn 2003: 151). This not only defeats the purpose of cooperative learning, but also creates classroom management problems.

As teachers continue to encounter challenges, and eventually realise that they do not have adequate skills and support to effectively and successfully use cooperative learning in the management of large classes, 'they shelf the new learning and revert to the old way or search for a new bandwagon or a new panacea' (Gottesman & Jennings 1994: 11). The question we have grappled with is how teachers might modify cooperative learning to suit their classroom contexts. For example, how can they be encouraged to trust children to carry out peer monitoring, instead of shouldering the whole responsibility?

The Strengthening of the CEPs

The CEPs have to be redesigned to adequately meet teachers' needs, and enable them successfully to transfer the learnt skills into the classroom. At the same time, teachers need to have the capacity to modify these to suit their large class contexts. For this to occur, sustainable peer coaching and team teaching between the teachers and the facilitators should take place in the teachers' classes.

The two strategies should be structured as described in the SPGs. The only difference is that these will take place between the facilitators and teachers. These might result in richer planning, discussions and feedback, which may lead to modification of the cooperative learning strategy that can promote better classroom management. Gottesman and Jennings further write, 'Peer coaching ensures that theory, demonstration, practice, feedback, and coaching transfer any training from the lecture room to the classroom with ongoing trouble shooting and renewal' (1994: 15).

In the above arrangement (peer coaching, team teaching between facilitators and teachers), unlike the SPGs, release time for teachers may not be a challenge, since the facilitators will be the ones to be flexible and fit in the teachers' teaching schedules. In this setting mentoring would not be appropriate since the facilitators themselves have no expertise of teaching large classes.

However, the heavy demands of this may have implications for our very young institution in terms of human and financial resources. Moreover, it will negatively impact on our vision of becoming a strong educational research institution. The dilemma will be how ours can become 'a front ranking institution in research and have its faculty who are also investing effort in ensuring that its courses are the most effective in enabling its students to be transformed' (Barnett 2001: 12).

A SWOT analysis of the above professional development structures at school level is provided as Figure 1.

Figure 1: SWOT analysis of the school-based professional development structures

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
• Creates collaboration and collegiality. • School-based professional development. • Cost effective. • More teachers are professionally supported. • Teachers provide moral support to one another.	• Some structures have new ideas imposed on teachers, e.g. reflective practice – not easily understood and accepted by teachers. • Some do not adequately address teachers' concerns and needs.
Opportunities	**Threats**
• Sustained professional support for teachers. • Peer coaching, mentoring and team teaching. • Improvement of classroom practice. • Sharing of ideas and experiences among teachers.	• Lack of time for collegial activities. • Head teacher's indifference and lack of commitment. • Teachers' heavy workloads. • Teachers' lack of ownership of some of the strategies within the structures.

Implications for Kenyan Schools

The foregoing narrative has implications for primary schools in Kenya. First, schools have to make conscious efforts to ensure that issues of large classes are addressed in the school-based PD initiatives. The aspects of peer coaching and team teaching among subject panel group members are areas that could be strengthened to be more systematic. Teachers should not only share ideas and teaching experiences, but should also implement some of these in their classrooms: for example, a critical friend could observe a lesson in progress and provide feedback to a colleague after the observation. Moreover, they could practise team teaching. These arrangements will enable teachers to learn from one another, hence share ideas of how to improve teaching and learning in large classes. However, for this to occur, teachers' timetables should be organised in such a way that time is released and synchronised for teachers to be meaningfully involved in team teaching and peer coaching.

The KRTs are core to the success of the SbTD programme. Since doubts have been raised about the cascade model in relation to its trickledown effect (Hayes 2000), for KRTs to effectively mentor teachers in the many areas that were stipulated in the programmes, schools would have the obligations of reducing KRTs' workloads. However, with teacher shortage and large classes, this poses a big challenge to schools. Nonetheless, proper arrangements in consultation with the rest of the teachers would perhaps suffice.

Teachers engaging in reflective practice is one of the components and objectives of the programme. Teachers are encouraged to reflect through teacher diaries (journals). However, from my experience of working with teachers in this region, journal keeping is very challenging due to a variety of reasons. Perhaps schools should free time for KRTs to have reflective dialogues with teachers before introducing the journals. Kuit, Reay and Freeman (2001) argue that reflection is difficult when done in isolation; it works best in collaboration with others. Indeed, Hatton and Smith (1995) advocate collaboration reflections in terms of dialogic reflective practice.

Implications for the Training and Development of Teachers and Head Teachers

The challenges that teachers encounter while teaching large classes, their voicing of these issues, and the helplessness that they depict, is an indication that both teachers and head teachers need continuous professional development programmes that focus on issues of large classes.

One issue that is certain: the incapability of teachers to manage large classes curtails effective teaching and learning in those classes. Teacher development programmes should focus on diverse ways of managing large classes. Team teaching could be introduced in these programmes as one aspect of classroom management that could result in improving the quality of teaching and learning in large classes.

Though experience has indicated that the way AKU-IED, EA introduces cooperative learning to teachers is not adequate for the management, hence improvement, of teaching and learning in large classes, I still feel that the implementation of its structures – such as think–pair–share, round table and round robin – could not only ensure that most learners are task-occupied, but would also make certain that there is adequate classroom management to enable the teacher to keep things moving, keep things safe, and run the show well enough to actually teach and have learners learn. Therefore, for large classes, during CEP, PD sessions for teachers, emphasis should be on the above structures rather than the cooperative learning groups that are usually the norm.

Though head teachers are supposed to be pedagogical leaders in their schools, giving guidance to teachers on issues of teaching and learning and for quality assurance of the same, due to their lack of professional preparation for this position (Onguko, Abdalla & Webber 2008) most of them are not even aware that this is one of their responsibilities. Teacher pre-service and in-service training in school leadership and management courses should focus on this aspect, not only for head teachers' awareness, but also to equip them the skills they need to help teachers improve the quality of teaching and learning in large classes.

Transferability of the Narrative to other Schools in Other Countries

Literature asserts that large classes are one issue that is common to, and being grappled with in, many developing countries. This issue will not go away tomorrow; it is here to stay. It is a

direct outcome of efforts to use limited resources to reach and educate as many people as possible (Cherian & Mau 2003) – a typical scenario in the developing countries.

Though enabling children to access primary education has been applauded, the issue now is how to improve the quality of teaching and learning in large classes that are an outcome of this access. The foregoing suggested school-based professional support could be adapted in other schools in other countries. For example, in my judgement, it could relatively be easy for the SPGs model to be adapted in other developing countries grappling with large classes, for teachers' professional support. This is because the only resources needed for relatively successful establishment of SPGs are teachers and their experiences.

Introducing SbTD could be more complex for other schools to adapt since it needs more resources for its implementation. However, it is a project that could be consciously carried out if governments are interested in improving the quality of teaching and learning in large classes.

In many developing countries there are universities that initiate teacher development programmes that can be equated to AKU-IED, EA's CEP. However, programmes for teachers should be tailored to teachers' needs. Institutions should work in collaboration with schools to identify their professional needs and priorities. These will enable teachers to have ownership of the programmes.

The SWOT analysis (Figure 1) indicates the strengths and opportunities that would benefit other schools in other countries if the above school-based professional structures are strengthened and utilised.

Conclusion

Provision of educational opportunities should enable the beneficiaries to participate in bringing about positive socioeconomic changes. This may be achieved if children access 'quality' education that is a result of good-quality teaching and learning. It is therefore critical that, with FPE, children access a 'good' education. This may occur if teachers are equipped with the skills and knowledge to manage and promote effective teaching and learning in large classes.

Effective use and strengthening of professional development structures which could promote collaboration and collegiality of teachers at school level – in the form of peer coaching, mentoring and team teaching – may be the answer to this. The opportunities these structures provide are not just time and cost effective, but once the teachers learn them the process can become routine and natural (Gottesman & Jennings 1994). This may ensure a provision of a relevant, systematic, continuous, sustainable professional support that can have a long-term positive impact on teachers' practices and consequently on children's learning.

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Teacher Job Satisfaction in Developing Countries: A Critique of Herzberg's Two-Factor Theory Applied to the Nigerian Context

Linda Evans and Fadekemi Olumide-Aluko

Abstract: *Research-informed changes to educational policy and practice are often predicated upon the assumption that findings of, and theoretical perspectives generated from, any study will have wide applicability. In this article the applicability to the Nigerian context of one specific theory is examined: Herzberg's two-factor theory of motivation. In particular, we consider the extent to which Herzberg's contention that pay is not a motivator applies to Nigerian schoolteachers. Drawing clear distinctions between the realities of the professional and personal lives of Nigerian teachers and those of Herzberg's original research subjects, we reach the conclusion that theories and theoretical perspectives developed in the western world do not necessarily travel well, and that more research is needed on occupational psychological issues in developing Africa, specifically regarding the relationship between pay and job satisfaction.*

Introduction

The field of occupational (or work) psychology incorporates extensive theoretical and empirical examination of what influences employees' satisfaction at work. A plethora of studies have contributed steadily to the knowledge base in this field since its inception in the early decades of the twentieth century; Locke (1969) estimated that, as of 1955, over 2,000 articles on the subject of job satisfaction had been published and that, by 1969, the total may have exceeded 4,000. That figure has greatly increased in the intervening 40 years. Many more recent studies spanning the sometimes overlapping fields of occupational psychology and educational research have focused more narrowly on educational professionals' job satisfaction (e.g. Bogler 2001; Butt & Lance 2005; Crossman & Harris 2006; Dinham 1995; Evans 1998; Oshagbemi 1996; Seifert & Umbach 2008; Vardi 2009; Zembylas & Papanastasiou 2005). There is often an underlying assumption that the findings of and the theoretical perspectives generated from any study will have wide applicability (with the obvious exceptions of case studies and other research that is demonstrably atypical) and, indeed, research-informed changes to policy and practice are often predicated upon such an

assumption. Yet this assumption has been questioned and challenged on several fronts: Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) pioneering work on societal cultural traits has highlighted the difficulties in crosscultural transference of knowledge and theory; and, in relation to transferability between different work contexts, Nias (1981: 235) is one of those who has questioned specifically the applicability of research conducted outside education contexts to that context, observing that it is necessary to go beyond 'theory generated in studies of business or industry' and develop more school-based research that will provide first-hand insights into teachers' job satisfaction. It is with this specific issue – teachers' job satisfaction – that we are concerned.

In contrast to the wealth of discourse on job satisfaction in the western world, the subject is one that has enjoyed some, but significantly less, analysis and debate in Nigeria, particularly in relation to education contexts. Egbule (2003: 159) confirms that on the Nigerian educational scene, 'it appears that few researchers are interested in the area of job satisfaction'. As it is a country evidencing a growing crisis with teacher job satisfaction (Adelabu 2005; Eldis 2008), as well as a notoriously high unemployment rate (Egwuoniso & Ighile 2008), it is reasonable to expect that Nigeria's context, in manifesting so many differences between the context of the developed western world and that of Africa – particularly sub-Saharan Africa – may not necessarily be incorporated within the theoretical perspectives advanced by most researchers of job satisfaction. This suggestion, and its implication that more research is needed on occupational psychological issues in the developing African context, needs examining further, and this article contributes towards that examination.

Looking through the keyhole of theoretical perspectives that were developed within the context of, and whose implications have the greatest resonance with, the developed world, our focus in this article is job satisfaction in a nonwestern context. Specifically, we single out one study for examination of the extent of its context-transferable robustness: Herzberg's (1968) seminal, though contentious, motivation–hygiene theory, which, despite being much debated and questioned, has nevertheless had a significant impact upon practical management training and thinking in the west. In this article we evaluate the usefulness of Herzberg's theory to the Nigerian educational leadership and management context, and offer some considerations on the way forward in augmenting this specific knowledge base. We begin by outlining the essential elements of Herzberg's theory.

Herzberg's Theory

Herzberg's research was not focused on teachers: carried out in the USA in the middle decades of the twentieth century, it involved studies of the job satisfaction of engineers and accountants in Pittsburgh. His research led Herzberg (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman 1959: 111) to reject what he termed one of the erroneous 'habits of scientific thinking', which was to assume that opposing variables necessarily operated as two ends of a single continuum. From analysis of his research findings he formulated what he calls his motivation–hygiene theory or, as it is also known, the two-factor theory. The basis of the theory is that there are two separate continua on which values of job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction should be placed, because the factors which enhance job satisfaction are totally distinct from those which lead to job dissatisfaction. As a result, Herzberg contended, if the satisfying factors decrease, the employee merely drops to a neutral state of satisfaction (i.e. no satisfaction) and not to a state of dissatisfaction. In the same vein, where factors

causing dissatisfaction are significantly reduced, the affected worker de-elevates to a neutral state of dissatisfaction (i.e. no dissatisfaction) rather than one of satisfaction. From his findings Herzberg identified two distinct sets of factors – one set which are capable of motivating, or satisfying, employees, and another which de-motivate or create dissatisfaction. Herzberg labelled these, respectively, 'motivation factors' and 'hygiene factors'.

Five specific 'motivation factors' were identified as those specific features of work which are capable of providing job satisfaction – achievement, recognition (for achievement), the work itself, responsibility and advancement – and which share the distinction of being intrinsic to the work. The key point is that these five motivation factors are, according to Herzberg, the only factors that are capable of motivating people at work or of providing job satisfaction. (He neither defines job satisfaction and motivation nor distinguishes between them; indeed, he uses the two terms interchangeably.[1]) 'Hygiene factors' were so labelled because of Herzberg's belief that they have a similar effect on the worker as medical hygiene has on any environment inhabited by people: preventative of illness, but incapable, without the inclusion of additional factors, of creating good health (or in the case of job-related attitudes, satisfaction). Herzberg identified five such hygiene factors, all of which, he notes, are extrinsic to the work: salary, supervision, interpersonal relations, policy and administration (referred to in the UK as management), and working conditions (Herzberg et al. 1959: 113). Paralleling that relating to motivation factors, the key point about hygiene factors is that none of them is capable of motivating people or providing job satisfaction (except, as Herzberg points out, in the cases of a minority of individuals who are 'hygiene seekers'). This capacity-related distinction between the two sets of factors is the basis of Herzberg's theory; a basis that he considers revelatory:

> In summary, two essential findings were derived from this study. First, the factors involved in producing job satisfaction were separate and distinct from the factors that led to job dissatisfaction. Since separate factors needed to be considered, depending on whether job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction was involved, it followed that these two feelings were not the obverse of each other. Thus, the opposite of job satisfaction would not be job dissatisfaction, but rather *no* job satisfaction; similarly, the opposite of job dissatisfaction is *no* job dissatisfaction, not satisfaction with one's job. The fact that job satisfaction is made up of two unipolar traits is not unique, but it remains a difficult concept to grasp (Herzberg 1968: 75–76).

In this article, our principal interest is the issue of pay. By categorizing it as a hygiene factor, Herzberg contends that it is incapable of motivating people or of providing job satisfaction – at least in the long term. Indeed, he likens a pay rise to 'a shot in the arm', arguing that it may motivate or satisfy in the short term but its effects are short-lived because, in contexts and situations where there is dissatisfaction, pay has no (enduring) capacity to remove or alleviate the dissatisfaction. On this basis, he argues, it is not a motivator and may only act as such with people who are 'hygiene seekers'. The key issue that we address in this article is

[1] Evans (1998, 2002) bases her critique of Herzberg's theory on his failure to define these two terms and to distinguish between them: a shortcoming which, she argues, impoverishes his work by undermining construct validity.

whether or not this argument is applicable to the context of the developing world: specifically, to the context of Nigeria and its workforce of education professionals.

The Nigerian Context

Through an extensive multi-site case study involving several countries around the world, Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) uncover major distinctions between western societal culture and that of developing Africa. They rate West Africa highly on their *power distance index* (PDI; an index which measures the degree of inequality existing in a society), and the USA, UK and several other European countries considerably lower. Countries with a high PDI rating typically manifest cultures that are more authoritarian in nature, while those with a low PDI indicate a more egalitarian and democratic ethos.

These findings hold water when Nigeria's societal norms are considered, in which a deep reverence for age and authority can still be observed in everyday life. From early childhood, children are taught to demonstrate great respect and practise obedience to their superiors. This authoritarianism can also be observed in the organisational cultures of most Nigerian schools – places where discipline and the indoctrination of culture are afforded paramount importance. Indeed, it remains a rarity for a teacher working in a Nigerian school to be seen to be openly questioning the wisdom of his or her superiors.

Another offshoot of this authoritarianism is that, with a few ethnic exceptions, Nigerian society is male-dominant. Despite the increased proliferation of the notion of equality or equity between the sexes, women still commonly act out subservient roles. This includes the spheres of national and local politics, marriage and family, and even the workplace.

The Development of Education in Nigeria

It has been observed that Britain did little to advance education in Nigeria during colonisation (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2008) and that a wide proliferation of schools only began following independence in 1960. Before this, most schools were owned by Christian missionaries and provided a western-style, Bible-based education (Ugwoegbu 1992). In 1969 the first National Curriculum Conference was held, following an expression of general dissatisfaction with the existing educational system, resulting in the country's first National Policy on Education. The Policy has undergone several amendments and currently provides a framework for free state-provided education from primary through to tertiary level.

However, efforts to provide free education were significantly undermined by insufficient government spending, which led to a big decline in the educational system in the 1980s and 1990s (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2008). Symptoms of this decline included a shortage of qualified teaching staff, low-paid teachers, months of arrears on teachers' salaries, poor educational infrastructure, and an insufficient number of schools to cope with the country's population growth – which by the 2006 census is currently approximately 140 million (BBC 2008). This resulted in an explosion of private schools onto the educational scene in the 1980s, a condition which persists today. Nevertheless, a majority of Nigerian children continue to attend state-provided education, due in part to the private schools' generally prohibitive fees.

The Socioeconomics of Nigeria

Nigeria has long been accorded the title 'giant of Africa', contributing nearly 50 per cent of the gross domestic product of the entire West African region. Its economy is largely dependent on the oil and gas sector, and it is currently the eighth largest exporter of oil

worldwide (BBC 2008). In spite of this, over 54.7 per cent of the population (approximately 75 million people) live below the poverty line, contributing to an average life expectancy of 47 years (BBC 2008).

Nigeria's socioeconomic conditions have been aptly described as 'a paradox', in which 'the country is rich but the people are poor' (World Bank 1996: i). Alleged high levels of corruption, poor standards of state-provided education, insufficient employment opportunities and an inadequate healthcare system have all been said to contribute to keeping the wealth of the nation in the hands of an elite minority, leaving the teeming majority of Nigerians to struggle through life under very harsh economic conditions (Oritsejafor 2000). (A recent international cost of living survey placed Lagos (Nigeria's commercial centre and former capital city) 37th out of the 143 most expensive major cities to live in worldwide (Mercer 2008).) Fortunately, like many African cultures, there is a pervasive sense of cohesive communality among Nigerians, which means that the sufferings of the teeming masses brought on by harsh economic conditions are often tempered, if only slightly, with a sense of camaraderie.

These harsh economic conditions have heralded an era in the nation's history where money is widely accepted as the primary symbol of power and social status in modern Nigeria, unlike with past generations where education and/or hereditary title were accorded the highest social value. The Nigerian example, therefore, could be said to be one in which needs have regulated the course of societal values, as opposed to one where values have determined societal needs, a reference point which Evans (1998) underlines as having significant implications on enquiry into job satisfaction in any context.

The Plight of the Nigerian Teacher

Azare (1992: 61) describes the Nigerian teacher as 'the most underrated professional in Nigeria'. Amatu and Amatu (1989: 181) suggest a reason for this:

> In the current craze to get rich quick by many Nigerians, intellectual elitism has been replaced by economic elitism. Teachers are aware of this. Non-teachers also are. Teachers in turn are aware that others are aware of their diminished status in society.

The lowered professional status of the Nigerian teacher is said to have begun following independence, when, following an increase in employment opportunities available to educated Nigerians, many teachers abandoned the profession and took up seemingly more glamorous employment elsewhere in the public and private sectors. In addition, an increasing number of graduates selected teaching as a last resort only when unable to gain more lucrative or 'in vogue' jobs. The effect of these was a growing crisis of diminishing teacher morale in Nigeria, because as Adelabu (2005: 3) explains, 'the public began to look down on those teachers who remained in the classroom as second-string public servants'.

Current studies indicate that, amidst a crippling socioeconomic framework, Nigerian teachers continue to suffer the indignity of being among the country's very lowest-paid university graduates (Adelabu 2005; Eldis 2008), in comparison with graduates of other disciplines such as law, medicine, engineering, management, information technology, business and accounting. A recent comparison of average annual earnings exposed the pitiful salary-earning position of the Nigerian teacher (BBC 2008). The annual earnings of a state school teacher were estimated at US$1,920, while those of state hospital doctors and

freshly employed oil-firm workers were estimated at US$6,720 and US$26,880 respectively.

In fact, it is common knowledge that there are few teachers practising in Nigeria who can actually afford modest living accommodation, daily living expenses (including three balanced meals and transportation to and from work) and the cost of monthly utilities on their monthly wages alone; almost certainly none of which teach in state-provided education. Consider the pitiable words of an anonymous Nigerian state-school teacher in a recent study (Eldis 2008: 18): 'Sickness, no money to pay for food, for family, pay for school fees, mates in other sectors progress while we regress. Our salaries are too low to live on. Something has to be done. We're suffering silently.' What is more, Nigerian teachers' salaries are frequently paid months in arrears (Adelabu 2005), a recent case in point being that of the salaries from July to December of 2007 of freshly recruited primary school teachers in Ebonyi State; these were not released by government until January of 2008 (All Africa 2008).

This economic deprivation has resulted in many teachers having to resort to other (and often illicit) means of meeting their basic needs, including the unlawful collection of levies from students; unauthorised sales of handouts, books and uniforms to students; examination malpractice; and dual jobs such as petty trading of clothes, fashion accessories or household items (Amatu & Amatu 1989). These factors have contributed to a shift in the perception of teaching held by much of Nigeria's younger society as a 'dead-end job', or one that is to be considered as a career path either only in the absence of better opportunities or where there is assured income from an alternate source (for example from a spouse or business venture). A recent report confirms this, and offers one possible reason why the teaching profession in Nigeria today is largely occupied by women, being less attractive to men:

> Teachers rarely admit or associate themselves with their profession as it is rendered insignificant in comparison to most other professions. There is a reminder of this at every door they approach. It even affects their marital chances; male teachers often cannot find a wife. (Eldis 2008: 46)

Applying Herzberg's Theory to the Nigerian Context

This outline description of the Nigerian terrain highlights several key characteristics significant to our examination of the applicability of Herzberg's theory to developing African countries.

First, the findings of Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) of separate sets of norms operating in West Africa and the western world (notwithstanding any similarities occasioned by British colonisation of large portions of West Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) shed some suspicion on the universality of accepted theories on job attitudes that originate from the west; more so, considering that the empirical knowledge base on job attitudes in Nigeria is significantly thinner than that of the UK and USA. Is Herzberg's motivation–hygiene theory a context-specific one, or one that bears universal application? If indeed context is the fuel that drives our attitudes and values, then assumptions about the job attitudes of Nigerian teachers based on Herzberg's research alone cannot be made.

A second significant characteristic of the Nigerian context is the harsh economic conditions which have contributed to a predominance of poverty (World Bank 1996). The living conditions of the average Nigerian are undoubtedly very difficult (Oritsejafor 2000), and far below the standards which the average westerner may take for granted. Since the decline of

the oil boom in the 1970s, the ever-worsening economic conditions have brought about a sharp shift in Nigerian societal values: hard-nosed ambition for quick and easy wealth prevails.

The combined influence of these factors provides a unique contextual framework, profoundly different from 1950s white-collar Pittsburgh, the site of Herzberg's original study, within which the determinants of job attitudes may reflect a different reality from that posited in the two-factor theory. In fact, in his later writings, Herzberg (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman 1993: xvii) acknowledges a number of studies which prove the existence of contexts in which his motivation–hygiene theory was negated:

> Luther Backer's 1981 study of South African workers showed most of black unskilled workers' satisfaction coming from extrinsic hygiene factors in contrast to the 'normal' pattern of skilled black workers. Prakasam's 1982 study of textile workers in Bombay also showed little satisfaction from job content.

He provides an interesting explanation for this (Herzberg et al. 1993: xvii):

> 'Abnormal' motivation-hygiene profiles did emerge in jobs where there were no opportunities for learning from the work itself … There seems to be good evidence that when workers are forced to seek satisfaction only through hygiene, they must either strike or give up their motivators and become addicted to hygiene.

Here Herzberg effectively concedes (albeit perhaps unwittingly) that context often controls the determinants of job satisfaction. And if indeed the roots of job satisfaction lie, at least to some extent, in context – and context (specifically national) includes culture, norms and beliefs – then the presumed application of theory on job satisfaction determinants of one contextually defined group on that of another, without empirical justification, raises a moral issue. Could Nigerian-based workers, for example, not be influenced by this view to feel that they are perhaps in some way 'abnormal', or, living or working in 'abnormal' circumstances, as Herzberg puts it, if they fail to derive job satisfaction *primarily* through Herzberg's 'motivators'? The warning of Hofstede and Hofstede (2005: 6), given in their extensive crosscultural study, is most instructive here:

> there are no scientific standards for considering the ways of thinking, feeling and acting of one group as intrinsically superior or inferior to those of another … One should think twice before applying the norms of one person, group, or society to another.

The studies to which Herzberg refers above support the argument that the motivation–hygiene theory may be context-specific. Considering the stark realities of their lives and lifestyles, assumptions that Nigerian teachers value and derive job satisfaction from achievement and recognition more than from large salaries and attractive benefits is potentially spurious. Moreover, there are studies which have indicated that salaries and allowances are a part of the key factors that bring about job satisfaction in Nigerian teachers (Kazeem 1999; Ubom 2002). More recently, educational industry stakeholders in Nigeria have acknowledged salary as 'the biggest motivational issue for teachers in Nigeria in recent

times' (Adelabu 2005: 14). Furthermore, research from the USA also indicates that job satisfaction generally increases with higher earnings (Conference Board 2003; Heywood & Wei 2006). Indeed, Azare (1992: 61), a former commissioner for education in Nigeria, wittily observes:

> It could be argued that other than favourable pay size … such satisfaction can be found in the pure pleasure of doing what one is doing for its own sake, no matter the size of the rewarding income. But, even idealists and altruists have to eat. Working and getting a decent reward for it still represents the best way of ensuring this.

In fact, deeper reflection reveals that Herzberg's findings regarding pay may in themselves be open to an alternative interpretation from that which has been popularly offered. Although Herzberg positions pay as a dissatisfier (presumably because it fits better with the typology of his other 'extrinsic' factors than those which speak to the work itself), closer scrutiny of his research findings reveals that, in fact, pay was slightly nearer in actual points scored to advancement and responsibility, on his respondents' scale of items that increased job satisfaction, than to the other extrinsic factors.

Evans's discourse on the individuality of job satisfaction could also be applied in favour of the argument for pay as a potential satisfier (Evans 1998: 150). She highlights the difficulty in attempting to standardise job satisfaction determinants, explaining how 'comparative experiences' may give rise to variations in workers' individual expectations of similar or even identical jobs and, consequently, in the influence of specific factors on their personal levels of job satisfaction. Therefore, a teacher who remains unemployed for several months (which is not a rarity in Nigeria), and whose utmost need is a stable source of comfortable income that will adequately support himself or herself and a family, may regard the attractive salary and benefits of his or her recently acquired job as a principal motivator and source of satisfaction, despite the fact that he or she may be working in an environment where his or her achievements regularly go unrecognised. Thus far, then, Herzberg's theory may not hold water in Nigeria. But what are the implications of this evidence for Nigerian educational leadership and management?

Job Satisfaction of Nigerian Teachers: Implications for Educational Leadership and Management

'I haven't looked at my pay slip for the last twelve months', said one of the primary school teachers interviewed by Evans (1999: 12) in her research into teacher morale, job satisfaction and motivation. The teacher in question was British, though the comment could feasibly have been made by a Nigerian teacher. The crucial distinction, though, is that the Nigerian teacher's comment would likely have been prompted by having received no payslip, whereas the British teacher, in full receipt of his – and the salary that it indicated – was implying that neither held any real interest to him. He continued: 'and I don't know why – it's not a driving force any more. At one stage I used to long for pay day and look carefully at how much I'd got … but it doesn't bother me any more'. This represents a stark contrast to the situation of many teachers in the developing world.

Despite her criticisms of Herzberg's theory (Evans 1998, 2002), in her book, *Managing to Motivate: A Guide for School Leaders,* Linda Evans (1999) nevertheless follows the 'Herzbergian' line of denouncing pay as an effective motivator of work-related attitudes: 'my

own research … revealed conditions of service, within which category I include salary, to have only limited influence on teachers' attitudes to their work' (1999: 12). Much more influential, she explains, are school-specific factors, which impact upon teachers' working lives much more than do centrally imposed factors (1999: 14): 'job satisfaction, morale and motivation are predominantly contextually-determined. This is because it is the context of teachers' working lives that represents the realities of the job':

> The reason why it is school-specific issues, situations and circumstances that evidently take precedence as morale-, motivation-, and job satisfaction-influencing factors is that they constitute teachers' working lives. It is at the context-specific level that teachers carry out their work. Centrally-initiated conditions, or, indeed, any conditions that emanate from outside of the contexts in which teachers work, only become real for, and meaningful and relevant to, teachers when they become contextualised. Until they are effected within the contexts in which teachers work, such conditions are non-operational: they exist only in abstract form, as ideas, principles or rhetoric. They do not constitute reality (Evans 1999: 16).

Arguing that school leadership and management are the greatest influence on teachers' morale, job satisfaction and motivation – a conclusion that she later qualifies (Evans 2001) by exposing it as an indirect, rather than a direct, influence – Evans's book (1999) takes the form of a school leadership manual for getting the best out of staff by focusing on the factors that make up the realities of teachers' working lives. The 'manual' does not cover issues related to pay.

But the point is that for most Nigerian teachers pay is, in fact, one of the starkest realities of their working lives. Its inadequacy forces them to take on second jobs (if they can find them) and its lateness in reaching their wallets (more typical in state-provided schools) creates real hardship that problematises their personal lives. Teachers' pay therefore becomes a key issue for Nigerian educational leaders and managers, for anything that constitutes the reality of teachers' working lives influences their – teachers' – attitudes, which, in turn, influence their work. However, Nigerian school heads are themselves no more immune than the teachers whom they lead and manage from the systemic deficiencies that create pay-related hardships and inconveniences. What, then, are the implications for their leadership and management?

Rather than passively sitting back and accepting the *status quo,* with all its deficiencies, they may respond by incorporating awareness-raising and lobbying dimensions into their leadership and management roles. School leaders and managers should be proactive in trying to change the system; they are, after all, victims of it as much as the teachers whom they lead. There is a need for school heads to join forces and create pressure groups that raise awareness among those with the power to change things, that Nigeria's development is dependent upon societal growth through, *inter alia,* technological and scientific advancement that are the products of a good education system, and that such a system is dependent upon a high-quality state education system that employs a high-quality teacher workforce: a workforce that is recognised and rewarded by good working conditions and, in particular, decent remuneration. Though they may feel like voices crying in the wilderness, school leaders and managers must take responsibility for trying to raise awareness, as well as initiate partnerships with educational policy makers in exploring innovative, made-to-measure solutions to the underlying political, economic and cultural challenges which fuel

an enduring devaluation of educational professionals in Nigeria. Coupled with evidence from relevant educational research, these voices have the capacity to kick-start systemic change. Yet what is the nature of such 'relevant educational research' that could lend its weight to their voices?

Increasing the Knowledge Base: Ways Forward

Our critique of the applicability of Herzberg's theory to the Nigerian context highlights a more general issue: that theories do not necessarily travel well across contexts. But how, through scientific means, may information best be ascertained that will be of real use and value to Nigerian educators, educational leaders and policy makers? We raise the following issues for consideration.

First, it is essential that researchers probe deeper into the potential impact of earnings on job satisfaction in Nigerian teachers, bearing in mind the harsh socioeconomic environment in which they practise their vocation and the resultant shift in Nigerian societal values. What is needed is context-specific research that addresses the principal research question: what factors influence the motivation and job satisfaction of Nigerian teachers in both the state and private sector? Indeed, a comparative study of the two sectors is likely to be most illuminative.

Second, in a country replete with hardships and challenges, it may be necessary, as we have implied, to set aside 'Herzbergian' notions which seem to ignore the common interplay between intrinsic and extrinsic factors in their affecting of workers' attitudes, and consider, instead, other ideas that acknowledge the validity of the notion that both inherent and contextual factors of a job affect workers' job satisfaction, and depend largely on the worker's individual orientation, values or needs (Evans 1998; Katzell 1964; Schaffer 1953). Notably, Evans's (1998) recognition of the ambiguity of job satisfaction, as expounded in her bipartite model (comprising *job comfort and job fulfilment*), provides a more objective view on which to base research into job satisfaction in Nigerian educational settings.

It is also important to investigate the influence of other factors that may have been overlooked (or glossed over) in Herzberg's work, which may have been found to affect job satisfaction in teachers in other studies. These include the influence of job insecurity on job satisfaction and organisational performance (Reisel, Chia, Maloles & Slocum 2007). The prevalent high unemployment rate in Nigeria and the regular stream of crumbling businesses (including schools) due to bankruptcy, internal politics or new regulations and policies imposed by successive governments or military regimes make the issue of job insecurity much more relevant to the Nigerian context than it would have been in the context in which Herzberg conducted his study.

Also potentially valuable is the notion that more distributed forms of leadership may enhance the job satisfaction of teachers (Wright & Kim 2004). It would be useful to test the accuracy of such views in a country like Nigeria, which has a predominantly authoritarian culture (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005) that may not appear at first glance to fit comfortably with more democratic management styles.

Concluding Remarks: Wider Implications

We have examined but one theory that was generated from data collected in a context quite different from that of developing Africa, and it has, for the most part, been found wanting:

losing much in the translation. However, as the western world – at the time of writing – continues to sink under the weight of the problems created by what is now accepted as a global recession, we may, in fact, find that, contrary to Herzberg's theory, pay becomes increasingly influential on job satisfaction and motivation within a context that is evidently changing shape under the looming pervasive threat of job insecurity and redundancy, exacerbated by rising living costs. Indeed, had Herzberg conducted his research a few decades earlier, against the backdrop of the American depression of the 1930s, rather than the post-war recovery period of growing affluence, he may have reached quite different conclusions.

Yet there are implications here, drawn from our examination above, that are much wider than our proposition that Herzberg's theory lacks applicability to the Nigerian context. What our examination indicates is that one size does not necessarily fit all when it comes to applying, further afield, theory and discourse developed in the west; some of them may not travel well. We do not, by any means, advocate a parochial, fragmentary approach to educational research and theory generation: one whereby credibility and validity are purchased principally with contextual match and specificity. We do, however, simply recommend a degree of caution when adopting in sub-Saharan African contexts the wisdom and scholarship that reflects western perspectives, formed in western contexts: these may turn out to represent the best value when they are adapted rather than adopted. Yet nothing, we suggest, is likely to be as relevant and useful as Nigerian-based studies of Nigerian teachers, but of which there are currently far too few. Conducted with rigour and disseminated effectively, these will provide the robust evidence base that is needed to be taken on board by policy makers and practitioners at all levels if Nigeria is to develop the education system that it needs and deserves.

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A Study of Pacific Island Senior Managers as Aspiring Principals in New Zealand Primary Schools

Carol Cardno and Enosa Auva'a

Abstract: *As a minority group, Pacific Island principals are under-represented in both senior management and principalship positions in New Zealand primary schools. This is significant in relation to the intense clustering of Pacific Island children in schools in some urban areas, and research that highlights how successful ethnic minority leaders can positively influence student achievement. This study set out to examine the perceptions of a group of Pacific Island senior managers in Auckland primary schools to determine the successes and challenges they encountered as aspiring principals. The findings show that the conditions for success are related to both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. The challenges stem from both personal and systemic factors. The study concludes that whilst participation in national leadership development initiatives must be encouraged, the confidence of these aspirants could be increased through a leadership development programme targeted to meet specific ethnic needs related to both personal and systemic barriers.*

Introduction

New Zealand is a South Pacific nation with many affiliations to the island nation states of the southwest Pacific, namely Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Samoa, Tokelau and Tonga. Collectively, those of Pacific ethnic background are referred to as Pacific Islanders, Pasifika peoples or people of Pacific origin. For many decades, there has been a flow of Pacific Islanders (PI) seeking work in New Zealand so that many become permanent residents of the country, and then go on to have children there. A trend of Pacific Island migration has been the choice of urban settlement (involving 97 per cent of the Pasifika population) within a few concentrated areas, with Auckland having the greatest numbers, and a further concentration in certain city localities.

Issues associated with a concentration of Pacific communities and schools that are predominantly Pacific in their ethnic mix gives rise to questions about the sort of leadership that would be effective. A key aspect of the *Pasifika Education Plan 2008–2012* (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2009) is the emphasis on families and communities and on working together to improve learning outcomes for children, which has implications for how the leaders of predominantly Pacific schools will meet such goals. These are extremely challenging expectations for the principals of such schools because of issues such as

multicultural sensitivity, the aspirations of ethnic groups and the need to role-model success for such groups. In such circumstances, principals who belong to the ethnic majority in a uniquely multicultural group may have an advantage in meeting such challenges. The reality is, however, that there is an exceedingly small pool of aspiring Pacific Island teachers, senior managers and principals to draw on.

There is currently general concern in New Zealand about the future supply of school principals and other school leaders for the nation (Brooking 2007; New Zealand Ministry of Education 2007) that mirrors international concern about the increasing turnover of principals, the ageing principal workforce, and the diminishing pool of aspirants to the position of principalship (Pont, Nusche & Moorman 2008). Alongside this is the incidence of many schools that are highly ethnically diverse, yet this rapidly increasing diversity of the student population is not represented in the diversity of those holding principal positions. The ethnic diversity of principals has increased very little since the radical reform of administration of New Zealand schools in the late 1980s (New Zealand Parliament 1988). It is established that in 2006 around 86 per cent of principals were of European origin, 9 per cent of Maori origin and 5 per cent of 'other' ethnic origin (Brooking 2007). Official literature is silent with regard to the actual breakdown of ethnic origin associated with this 5 per cent of the principal population. The situation appears to be similar in the UK, where 'Currently there is no national data on the ethnic breakdown of headteachers' (McKenley & Gordon 2002: 8).

What is known, however, is that the number of Pacific Island principals is disproportionate in comparison to the growth of the Pacific Island population. This is particularly noticeable in schools with high Pacific student numbers. There are currently over 71,000 Pacific Island students attending New Zealand schools, which equates to approximately 10 per cent of the whole student population. There are currently 1,267 teachers of Pacific Island origin. Of these, 55 are in senior management positions such as as deputies, and 28 are in principal's positions (www.educationcounts.govt.nz).

Very little is known about the experiences of senior managers of Pacific Island ethnicity who may be interested in aspiring to become principals. Hence, the purpose of the study reported in this paper was to examine the factors that impacted on Pacific Island senior managers' decisions to actively aspire to principalship in New Zealand primary schools. As there is no literature that deals with the issues of career progression and career development of Pacific Island senior managers in New Zealand, the study sought to fill this gap and find out about the conditions that might support or act as barriers to the aspirations of principalship held by this minority group. The literature that does exist draws on studies that have been conducted mainly in the USA and the UK. These studies highlight three themes that are explored here: minority group representation, career pathways and targeted leadership development.

Issues Related to Minority Group Representation

It has been argued that the success of minority group children in schools can be enhanced when they are provided with minority group representation in the classroom and at the formal leadership level (Bush, Glover, Sood, Cardno, Moloi, Potgeiter & Tangie 2004; Haberman 2000). Furthermore, minority groups in senior leadership positions add their rich cultural heritage to the wellbeing of the school, provide role models, and in the process play a unique role in transforming educational opportunities (McKenley & Gordon 2002).

A research report for the National College for School Leadership in England (McKenley &

Gordon 2002) examined the challenges faced by minority groups aspiring to senior leadership status and investigated specific issues that faced minority groups in the promotion of effective leadership. The study found that minority leaders' achievements were not recognised by colleagues and authorities. In some cases it was found that they were professionally abused and attacked by their colleagues. It also showed that school leaders from minority groups felt a high level of personal pressure in being 'pioneers' in school leadership, and that they were too closely observed and scrutinised by their peers. A similar finding is evident in the work of Powney, Wilson and Hall (2003), who assert that practitioners from black and minority ethnic (BME) backgrounds were less likely to be promoted to leadership positions than white teachers. When they were promoted, this promotion and their ongoing progress were very much determined and influenced by the family and community. In short, they succeeded despite many barriers confronting them.

In a further study conducted in England (Bush et al. 2004) it was found that minority groups were under-represented in the teacher–pupil ratio, and that teachers from a BME background had far more empathy for minority groups than their white counterparts, suggesting that 'BME leaders have an advantage because of their ability to empathise with pupils from ethnic minorities but a disadvantage in that career progress is perceived to be more difficult for them than white leaders' (2004: 71).

Given that these sorts of challenges are encountered, it is not surprising that there are currently very small numbers of minority groups who are senior managers in schools (Brooking 2007; Bush et al. 2004; McKenley & Gordon 2002). The picture that emerges in relation to minority group members occupying senior management positions in schools is problematic. It is underpinned by the under-representation of minority ethnic group teachers in the system. One reason for the very small number of Pacific Island principals in New Zealand schools compared to this ethnic student population (especially in ethnically concentrated areas such as Auckland) is that there are insufficient Pacific Islanders being recruited and retained in the teaching force.

The number of minority group teachers is not representative of the minority group student populations in the USA (Haberman 2000), the UK (Bush et al. 2004; McKenley & Gordon 2002) and New Zealand (www.educationcounts.govt.nz). Research into one teacher education programme set up in Milwaukee to attract African-Americans into teaching provides some understanding of the conditions surrounding the incidence of the low number of African-American teachers in that area. There was a need to attract minority teachers to Milwaukee public schools because of the increase in the minority student population. The programme was found to be very successful in increasing the number of minority teachers in the area and closed the gap between the number of students and teachers from minority groups. The success of the programme was attributed to the resourcing of mentoring support provided by the system and recognition by the Milwaukee community of the important contribution minority stakeholders could make.

Issues Related to Career Pathways for Principals

The natural pathway towards principalship is a direct move from a deputy's position (Draper & McMichael 1998; James & Whiting 1998). According to Harris, Muijs & Crawford (2003), school leaders from an ethnic minority group faced personal and professional challenges in their aspiration to higher roles in schools. They found that deputies from ethnic

minority groups had to work harder towards their goals than their white peers. They were less likely to be encouraged to apply for promotion to senior roles than their white counterparts, and they were also less satisfied with teaching as a career, leaving it after five years of service, on average. Harris et al. (2003) also highlighted the barriers faced by minority groups in what was termed 'ghettoisation' of job opportunities, where jobs for minority groups were attainable only in high ethnic minority population areas rather than the 'leafy white suburbs'. Furthermore, it was found that minority groups were at a disadvantage in progressing because they did not have a 'network' of encouragement to rely on for job prospects compared to their white peers.

The lack of a clear role definition for a deputy is also identified as a barrier towards achieving principalship. While the position does provide training and development opportunities for prospective principals, research (Cardno 2003; Harris et al. 2003; James & Whiting 1998) reveals that the experience of being a deputy or assistant principal is not always helpful preparation for headship because of the lack of direct leadership experience encountered in that role. Unless there is targeted professional development and leadership development for deputies and they are provided with support and encouragement in their aspirations by the principal, they feel less confident to progress to principalship. For minority groups, according to McKenley & Gordon's (2002) research on minority ethnic groups in England, barriers to progression included the lack of personal networks and collegial support as well as issues of confidence in the capacity of ethnic minority aspirants within the system.

The literature identifies a lack of succession planning as a barrier to career progression (Bush et al. 2004; Cardno 2003; Hargreaves, Moore, Fink, Brynman & White 2003; Harris et al. 2003). Succession planning is defined as a deliberate and systematic effort made by an organisation to identify, develop and retain individuals with a range of leadership competencies who are capable of implementing the current and future goals of the organisation. Effective succession planning provides the developmental experiences for potential employees and is based on agreed principles between the employer and employee, and it is active at all levels of the organisation (Liebman, Bruer & Maki 1996). Succession planning ensures availability of a continuous pool of good-quality candidates for principal roles. It provides for the development of future leaders and the retention of current leaders (Friedman, Hatch & Walker 1998). Succession planning and leadership development go 'hand in hand' both to create pools of applicants and to prepare good-quality applicants and incumbents. According to d'Arbon, Duignan and Duncan (2001), succession planning and leadership development that is associated with progression have become areas of great interest for researchers and academic planners as they respond to an impending shortage of applicants for principal positions from any cultural group. Lacey (2002) suggested that leadership aspiration would be encouraged and application rates for principal positions would increase if succession planning was commonly in place. This activity is being urged in recent research and initiatives in the international arena (Pont, Nusche & Moorman 2008).

Part of succession planning involves relevant management and leadership development at appropriate career points. This not only improves leadership capability at every level but also contributes to better management of principal succession and sustainability (Hargreaves et al. 2003) and overall improvement of the quality of school leadership. Leadership development is about enabling people to lead others (Bush et al. 2004) and thereby expanding a pool of capable applicants for internal and external progression. Crucial to the success of a school, leadership development increases the number of leaders. It addresses

issues in a planned way at points of entry and exit at a school, and understands the environmental factors that may impact and affect a school in principalship turnover. The current interest in leadership development for potential and practising principals is clearly evident in the international literature (Brundrett & Crawford 2008).

Targeting Leadership Development Programmes to Pacific Island Needs

There is research evidence to support the view that in order to harness the positive aspects of diversity in schools it may be necessary to target specific ethnic minority groups with tailor-made and particular approaches to achieve equity and advancement for the group. One such affirmative activity relates to leadership development that is designed to meet the particular needs of ethnically diverse leaders and principal aspirants. The research of Harris et al. (2003) suggests that, to attract people from an ethnic minority background into leadership, 'There needs to be an acknowledgement of the difficulties they face and specific introductory and support programmes for those who are considering career moves' (2003: 4). These authors assert that 'More research into the particular development needs of these groups is required to ensure that future provision is relevant, appropriate and ultimately effective' (2003: 4).

Pyke's (2002) study of Catholic schools in Australia found that they would have had to be run by non-Catholic principals had it not been for a deliberate leadership development programme to enable Catholics to become principals in Catholic schools. This work reveals that minority groups gain significantly from organised, targeted succession planning linked to relevant leadership development. Hargreaves et al. (2003) argue that leadership development should be meshed with a need to plan succession if it is to be meaningful preparation for specific roles.

The Study

The aim of the research was to investigate the factors that impacted on the aspirations of a group of Pacific Island senior managers in New Zealand primary schools to progress to principalship. The research questions focused on:

a. understanding the conditions that led to the very small incidence of deputy principals who belonged to the Pacific Island ethnic minority group becoming principals; and

b. examining the factors that supported or hindered the aspirations of this group.

Of the twenty Pacific Island senior managers approached to participate in the study, eight agreed and formally consented to be interviewed in accordance with approved ethical requirements.

The use of a structured interview tool was both methodologically suitable in the qualitative approach taken for the study, and culturally acceptable to the participants because the Pacific Island way is to talk, rather than write. This talk – 'talanoa', in the Samoan language – signifies an appropriate engagement employing openness and transparency. The researcher was well situated to approach the participants and seek their assistance because he was a Pacific Islander (Samoan) himself and a primary school principal. The eight participants in this study were deputy principals: six were Samoan and the other two were of Niuean descent. Seven of these participants were women. The majority (five participants) worked in

low-decile (socioeconomic status) schools with predominantly Pacific Island students; the remainder worked in mid-decile schools, with Pacific Island students forming at least a third of the ethnic mix.

Findings

The key findings of the study can be summarised under the two broad categories of conditions that support (intrinsically and extrinsically) and conditions that challenge (personal and systemic).

Conditions that Support

Three of the eight deputy principals (who all held senior management positions) in this study had applied for principal's positions unsuccessfully. The other five were unsure about their motivation to apply. All participants, however, were able to identify aspects (personal and work-related), as well as their ethnicity, that could be considered as contributors to possible success in their current positions and in aspiring to principalship. Intrinsic factors such as being committed to serving their community and being guided in their decisions by deeply held religious values are recognised as contributing to success. Two extrinsic factors also emerge as supporting factors: the first is related to serendipitous succession to and experience in senior management, and the second, to the role played by family and peers.

Intrinsic Factors

All of the participants in the study expressed their commitment to serve their ethnic communities. They felt that as a minority group of Pacific Island teachers who held positions of responsibility in the senior leadership of the school they had a duty to their community to perform this role effectively. They also believed that as well as being role models for the children and the wider community they were contributing to achieving better representation of their ethnic group, especially in areas where there were high concentrations of Pacific Island children. As one participant stated, 'PI leaders have better connection with PI communities'. Another commented that 'A person of experience with PI communities has more empathy toward PIs'. Yet another participant provided the view that 'PI students have natural respect for PI leaders and PI leaders have a better rapport with PI students. They provide role models for PIs and have their own PI leadership style appropriate to PIs.' In short, as one participant said, there was a great advantage in that 'A PI leader can contribute to solving PI-specific problems'.

They saw leadership positions in schools that were located in their Pacific Island communities as a viable way of role-modelling their success for the benefit of others. Three participants indicated they were ready to become principals of multicultural schools because their ethnicity and understanding of ethnic-specific issues was a special contribution they could make. Two commented that having a 'PI background and experience were important factors' in their decision to apply for principalship. They believed that a Pacific Island principal understands the 'expectations of our parents particularly from a Samoan perspective', one participant adding 'this is the focus I have and that is the factor that contributed to my wanting to become a principal.' Most participants also revealed that their Christian faith was a contributor to their success, because when presented with the opportunity to progress to a senior position they had been guided by the belief that God wanted this for them.

Extrinsic Factors

The experience of being successful in achieving promotion to senior management positions was one factor that these participants recognised as motivating. Six participants said they were ready to become principals because of their experience as senior managers. Their experiences included leading a professional development programme, leading a curriculum subject, organising day-to-day management in the absence of the principal and leading staff meetings and syndicate teams. All these six participants had acted as principals when their principals were away. One said 'I have sat in this job (DP) for so long and I've crafted the job that I could take the knowledge I've got and transfer it in a school'. Another believed in his 'ability to run the school, to administer and manage people' as well as 'oversee vision and where the school's going to head and the achievement of students'. Two believed they had 'vision'. Of the six participants who said they wanted to become principals, three were actually applying for principalship. They acknowledged their deputy principal experience as an important factor in building their confidence to apply.

Yet serendipity appears to be associated with the way participants in this study came to be holding senior management positions in the first place. It could be assumed that succeeding to deputy principalship was a result of deliberate planning and that career progression planning might, therefore, impact on their motivation to deliberately apply for principal's positions. However, the findings revealed that seven participants in this study had been appointed to their current roles by coincidence rather than being intrinsically motivated to apply for the position. Thus, extrinsically, this serendipity is a recognisable success factor – at least at the deputy principal level in this case. One participant, for example, recognised that her appointment may have been a result of being in the right place at the right time. 'I fell into this relieving job as a senior teacher and while I was at that school the DP fell ill and I was put in as acting DP. The DP passed away and our principal restructured so I was the DP, and here I am today.'

Participants in this study confirm that their local ethnic communities and close-knit Pacific Island families contributed to their success as senior managers. Three participants accredited their successful appointment to senior management positions directly to the encouragement received from their families and peers, and believed this would apply in their seeking higher positions such as principal. One was encouraged by her sister-in-law and family to apply for a vacant job in her school, recalling: 'I'm here because my sister-in-law sent like hundreds of emails.' The important contribution of her home environment and her involvement in community activities as training ground for leadership and management is expressed by another participant as follows: 'As any Samoan, I started from home. Women's fellowship, church fellowships, school choir.'

Conditions that Challenge

Belonging to an ethnic minority group in a profession such as teaching presents many challenges without the added pressure of seeking promotion along the career pathway that commonly leads from middle to senior management and on to principalship. Both personal and systemic factors were elucidated in this study of the aspirations of a group of Pacific Island senior managers. Personal factors included ethnicity barriers, and the lack of confidence and planning, both of which were compounded by reticence to share failure and barrier experiences, which this study identified as the 'silent voice' factor. Systemic factors such as lack of institutional support, lack of support networks, patronage and role models,

institutional racism and the absence of a Pacific Island targeted leadership programme were identified as creating challenging conditions for these aspirants to principalship.

Personal Factors

A participant in the study referred to the Pacific Island culture and perspective being an ethnic barrier for Pacific Island practitioners themselves. She commented on cultural attitude within the ethnic community as 'our biggest hill' in that 'we come from a background where the best doesn't necessarily mean it's the one at the top'. Another participant alluded to this attitude as an expectation of 'being a humble PI', and talked about the cultural barriers sometimes created by 'family and community'. Ethnic communities have the expectation that you behave like your own community expects; like doing things 'the Niuean way or the Samoan way'. These ethnic mores could be counterproductive to taking an ambitious pathway or being in the spotlight.

The participants' responses in this study were as much about their 'silent voice' and politeness as about their own real experiences. The participants' responses reflected their upbringing of being respectful. They did not talk about their achievement because this might sound like boasting, and the preference was for others to talk on their behalf. They were happy to share their successes but were not so forward in sharing their struggles. McKenley & Gordon (2002) allude to such expression as 'silent', likely to be demonstrated by people of minority background who are reluctant to share openly their experiences, especially when these run contrary to the majority view. The participants in this study were, for example, diffident about criticising programmes they had attended because this would be an admission of their failure in overcoming the system in which they operate. One of the participants said:

> You start to realise there's something against them out there and I think if we could meet and talk about those issues … there is more power in many than when you're by yourself. It's catering for the style of PI people … there's something there you don't find the way the other groups work, it's like there is a silent component of it where we don't talk about it but we know that this is how it is.

This reluctance to voice concerns and experience of barriers is exacerbated in mixed ethic groups (especially where Pacific Islanders may be in an extreme minority).

One of the main conditions affecting the decision-making of Pacific Island principals about applying for a principal's position is lack of confidence. A lack of experience in career planning and application for senior positions was identified by participants in this study. A participant who had applied unsuccessfully for a principal's job said, 'I don't think I expected to get the job because of my experience and I think that's one thing I don't have'. One participant particularly acknowledged her lack of experience in pedagogical leadership, saying, 'I don't have the research knowledge. That's where my learning has to be, it is making the connections to the research base because that's what people look to.' Although most participants believed they were succeeding in senior management roles, and were gaining some experience, they were not confident about the actual nature of the principal's role or their ability to perform it. Lack of knowledge about the role of the principal and actual tasks thus affected confidence. One who had applied for a principal's role but was not interviewed concluded 'There are things I guess in the role of the principal that I need to clue up on.'

The lack of confidence to aspire to principalship was also related to a lack of qualifications. One teacher had not applied for a principal's job because: 'When I looked at my qualification

it was not appropriate for making an application for a principal's position.' However, she felt her skills matched the profile of the position. Two other participants in this study identified their lack of qualifications as a major factor in making the decision of whether to apply for a principal's position. One commented, 'I'm not ready because I really don't have the passion to go out and do any further study yet, but I know that's part and parcel of being successful.'

Finally, confidence was also affected by a lack of self-confidence in their ability to do the principal's job. Four participants said they were not ready to become principals because they could not sustain the learning and workload they had observed their principals dealing with. They said 'I have so much to learn and things I don't know', 'There is so much administration stuff that a principal has to do like property stuff, and like trustees', and 'I'm still getting my head around the DP role'.

Career planning for principalship was not evident in the case of the eight participants in this study. Six participants of this study stated that they had plans for their careers, but becoming a principal was not part of them. These participants had all achieved promotion to senior management positions coincidentally and without acting on any formal plan. These serendipitous promotions were related to being acting incumbents, on hand, and seen as part of a divine plan. For example, one participant indicated the latter influence in the following comment: 'Absolutely. I do have a plan but only if it was God's plan for my life.'

Systemic Factors

Participants in this study were adamant that being a Pacific Islander was a barrier to achieving promotion to a higher position in schools. They talked about their experiences of racist assumptions that are made by parents. For example, one said, 'There is still institutionalised racism. I am a lot more aware now only because … you have more of a global view and so you can see it in teaching.' Another participant recounted the story of how she had experienced racism within the institution:

> Even now just having someone visit me in my classroom, they come in and turn first to my European teacher aide, so I must have been seen as a PI parent helper. This person was embarrassed afterwards but he was *palagi* [European]. But it's not *palagi* only. You could have an Island parent come in and if they don't know us, they would probably turn to the *palagi* teacher aide as well without knowing. So lots of perceptions there. Interesting, yes?

Another participant commented, 'I hate to say, New Zealand is a great country but there is an element of racism. I see it in people's faces when I turn up to my DP meetings.'

Institutional racism is also experienced in feeling that seniors in the system (especially members of the white majority) are not always supportive. Feeling part of a very small minority, with few opportunities to seek the support of others in the same minority group, limits the use that can be made of professional networks to support aspirants. This investigation found that networking on the part of aspirants in this study was wanting. They alluded to the advantages of networking (but did not use the term) in relation to being able to turn to their principal, their peers and other professionals for advice and support in the appointment process, including application preparation, engaging referees, developing presentations, and their own personal presentation. The three participants in this research who were unsuccessful in their applications for principalship all wished such support had

been available when they were preparing their applications. One said 'I would love my CV to be looked at … I think maybe my CV was a little bit overwhelming'. Another stated that he was 'developing networking and understanding of budget and government agencies' to prepare himself better for the principal's role. One spoke of the confidence generated by 'knowing that you've got a support network around you, like knowing who to call on, you know who to ring about staffing … so knowing that's out there is also part of it (preparation)'. It is salutary to note that one of the potentially most effective and available members of a network for such aspirants, their school's principal, did not perform this role in the case of the majority of participants in this study.

Targeting leadership development programmes to the special needs of specific ethnic minority groups is not a new or radical idea. It has been recommended in several research reports (see, for example, Bush et al. 2004; Harris et al. 2003). Harris et al. suggest that attracting people from an ethnic minority background into leadership requires special provision. They state:

> there needs to be an acknowledgement of the difficulties they face and specific introductory and support programmes for those who are considering a career move. … More research into the particular development needs of these groups is required to ensure future provision is relevant, appropriate and ultimately effective. (2003: 4)

This study aroused the interest and enthusiasm of participants in the possibility of a specially targeted leadership development programme for Pacific Island aspirants to principalship. They supported the notion wholeheartedly. One referred to the culture of learning that Pacific Islanders preferred that could be enshrined in a targeted programme. He said, 'I think it would be more of a bonus – I mean, not to say that the conferences and courses I have attended have not been good, they're good, but within a setting of learning … you know when you're a PI you do learn better with that group.' Another participant referred to a particular ethnic learning style:

> Yes, definitely. Again, it's catering for the style of the PI people in those positions where there's something there that you don't find in the way other groups work. It's that collegiality there, it's not competitive; it's not pretty much into get out there and show yes, I can do this. A lot of PIs still tend to work in that collegial environment. It's like there's a silent component of it where we don't talk about it but we know that this is how it is.

Generally the participants felt they needed to be treated uniquely as Pacific Islanders. Their circumstances were not the same as those of people from other backgrounds.

Discussion

This study has confirmed that these Pacific Island participants have encountered aspects of work and personal life that have contributed to them being successful incumbents in their current positions as senior managers. However, when it comes to their aspirations to be principals, there is evidence of feeling racially disadvantaged and feeling a lack of confidence in themselves. They also lack confidence in the system.

In order to build self-confidence, participants would need to overcome several barriers related to their own ethnicity and perceptions of how they rank when measured against

other candidates for principal's positions. Ethnicity itself is a barrier. There are ethnic mores that curtail ambition and self-aggrandisement. There are ethnic behaviours such as reluctance to voice concerns and failures: the 'silent voice' identified by Auva'a (2008) and McKenley & Gordon (2002). Participants in this study acknowledged that they did not fully understand the nature of a principal's role, and were daunted by some aspects such as workload and their own lack of theory knowledge. Similar constraints have been identified by Cardno (2003) and Harris et al. (2003). In particular, several alluded to their lack of formal qualifications hindering their confidence to apply for a principal's position. One such participant stated, 'There are lots of things that I know I need to do first like I need to look at my qualifications and finish off my degree. Academic qualification is what's going to drive a lot of boards.'

These participants recounted experiences within the system in which they work that indicated gaps in expectations for support that could have built their confidence. For example, more than half had received little or no support or encouragement to take the next career step. Harris et al. (2003) found that ethnic minority aspirants lacked the essential networks to advise and mentor them in career progression. These participants revealed that their own principals had not been key network supporters for them. For a deputy wishing to move upward there is much reliance on the feedback provided by the principal. Just how much influence a principal should have on a person's career needs close examination and further debate. As Greenfield (1985) suggests, the relationship is not neutral and principals can dominate the relationship. For some of the participants of this study, and especially the ones who applied unsuccessfully for principalship, a supportive principal may have nurtured their motivation and confidence toward their aspiration. This was not the case. McKenley & Gordon (2002) reported that minority groups were at a disadvantage because they did not have the network of encouragement to rely on for job prospects compared to their white peers. Networks of colleagues, mentors and patrons undoubtedly play a significant role in career decision-making (Cranston 2007; Harris, et al. 2003; Mullen & Cairns 2001). Harris et al. (2003) go so far as to say that gaining promotion in a career depends largely on the network of the subject within the system.

Members of any minority ethnic group are familiar with the hurdles of institutional racism and racial discrimination that exist within the system and society (Warren 2007). According to Harris et al. (2003), leaders from ethnic minority groups face more personal and professional challenges than their white colleagues in acting on their aspirations towards higher positions. It is widely accepted that ethnicity can prove to be a barrier to promotion within a range of professional fields. Applicants for principal's positions who are from minority ethnic groups face barriers of exclusion internally (choosing not to apply) and externally (when institutional racism is practised) in promotion and employment prospects (Bariso 2001). These barriers include the lack of role models, personal negative experience and perceptions of racism.

Actual or perceived racism was present in the perceptions of the Pacific Islander participants in this study, and is part of the system that they encountered in pursuit of their aspirations. Participants in this study held the view that the system also favours the majority white percentage of the population in terms of their knowledge of the system and how to 'play' it. The study shows that although minority ethnic group members may be ignorant of or reticent about seeking support from seniors in the system, they want to raise their awareness of the potential of networks and use these as a practical tool.

Participants in this study have stated that they would value leadership development as this would build confidence. They also indicated that the creation of forums specific to Pacific Islanders and conducive to open sharing of difficult issues in safe cultural conditions might be needed. Ways will need to be found to increase the participation of Pacific Island senior managers in the leadership development that is currently being provided by the Ministry of Education for aspiring principals (www.educationalleaders.govt.nz/Leadership-development/Aspiring-principals): only 3 out of 175 participants in 2008 were identified as being of Pacific Island heritage. A way forward would be to strongly encourage participation in Ministry of Education leadership development initiatives by building confidence through a specific and targeted form of leadership development for Pacific Island senior managers.

In the longer term, interventions will be necessary so that the critical mass of potential Pacific Island principals is increased. To achieve this, the number of Pacific Island teachers in the system should continue to be of concern as this number will directly affect the future pool of potential principals. Furthermore, these teachers should be groomed for succession planning leading to middle and senior management positions from an early point in their careers, otherwise they may be lost to the system altogether as previous research has shown (Harris et al. 2003).

Conclusion

The very small numbers of Pacific Island senior managers and principals (which is hugely disproportionate to the number of Pacific Island school students) is a fact that can no longer be ignored in New Zealand. A key principle in the *Pasifika Education Plan 2008–2012* (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2009) is about 'working with families and communities to ensure a joined-up approach'. What better way is there to achieve this plan than for highly multicultural schools to employ the sort of principals who harmoniously bind the school and its community in a common cause and simultaneously provide much-needed role-modelling for an ethnic group.

As members of a specific ethnic group, participants in this study have confirmed that they gain satisfaction from being able to serve. This notion of serving the ethnic community through attaining a promotion goal, and having the community value this achievement, has been recorded in research into the challenges faced by black and minority ethnic leaders in the UK (McKenley & Gordon 2002). The passion to work in a strongly ethnic community was bolstered for the research participants in this study by the Christian faith they held in common, which fostered a belief that promotion was 'God's will'. A significant finding was the way in which the majority (seven out of eight) participants had been promoted. They had serendipitously 'been in the right place at the right time'. There was no evidence of deliberate career or succession planning. Whilst this coincidental promotion may have worked fortuitously in these cases for promotion to a senior management position, this success factor might well be a constraint in aspiring to principalship because participants are apparently not taking deliberate steps to plan their own careers. It points to a critical need for career progression planning on the part of individuals and succession planning on the part of the system.

Those aspiring towards principalship need to have career progression plans and the networks of support that allow such plans to be actualised. As part of such plans, they need to engage in targeted leadership development for Pacific Island participants that takes into account the appropriate ways to make 'silent voice' audible in safe cultural situations. Such

programmes would include learning to close the gaps that have been identified as confidence shakers: learning about the principal's role; learning about qualification options; learning about networks; learning about leading communities; and learning how to lead learning in ethnically diverse settings.

The system needs to take serious account of the disproportionate ratio that exists between Pacific Island students and principals of Pacific Island heritage. Succession planning at a systemic level needs to cater for this ethnic minority, especially in settings where ethnic majority phenomenon is rapidly emerging in some concentrated areas of Auckland. Recognising this as a particular problem may lead to a particular solution that not only benefits Pacific Island principals and Pacific Island majority schools, but also generally increases the pool of aspiring principals in New Zealand.

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Vanuatu Principal Development Needs Analysis

Eileen Piggot-Irvine

Abstract: *Recent emphasis on the importance of leadership to school effectiveness has led to an international focus on development of the principal. The findings of an investigation into the role and development needs of principals in Vanuatu are provided. As with a previous study conducted in Fiji and Tonga, this study employed a replicated methodology to that originally used for New Zealand and Australia to enable comparative analysis of findings. In summary, the Vanuatu findings were strongly similar to those of Fiji and Tonga. The areas of strategic thinking and visioning were seen to be highly important, and the greatest needs for development were those of curriculum leadership. Little leadership development had previously been experienced and there was an expressed preference for approaches incorporating sharing of experiences. The latter implies that the Pacific Institute for Educational Leadership (PIEL) programme that has previously been successfully facilitated in Fiji would meet the Vanuatu principal needs as long as careful co-construction and shared local facilitation was considered.*

Introduction

Despite significant international recognition of the importance of leadership development (Lumby, Crow & Pashiardis 2008) a very limited number of opportunities for advanced development have been offered in Vanuatu. A small group of principals attended the 2006 Pacific Institute for Educational Leadership (PIEL) that was facilitated by the New Zealand Action Research and Review Centre (NZARRC) for principals from Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, Vanuatu and New Zealand (NZ). The PIEL programme design was based on recommendations arising from research conducted in Fiji and Tonga by Cardno and Howse (2005), along with material from the Institute of Educational Leadership (IEL) an existing successful leadership programme for NZ leaders (Cardno & Fitzgerald 2005). The PIEL programme led to an invitation from the Vanuatu Deputy Director of Education to conduct a similar programme for Vanuatu principals. An essential precursor to the development of this country-specific programme was a review of research/literature on previous principal development in Vanuatu as well as an investigation of current principal roles, development and needs.

The aim of the research conducted with Vanuatu principals was therefore twofold. The first aim was to conduct a comparative analysis of the findings on the role of the principal in Vanuatu with those of a NZ study by Cranston, Ehrich and Billot (2003) and a Fiji and Tonga study by Cardno and Howse (2005). The second aim was to establish a needs analysis to

inform the construction of a proposed leadership development programme specifically for Vanuatu principals.

This paper begins with an introduction to recent relevant literature on the principal role and development generally followed by a more specific focus on such development within the Pasifika (especially Vanuatu) context. The second section of the paper outlines the methodology and methods adopted for data collection in Vanuatu. The third section of the paper details the findings of the data collection in terms of demographics associated with the Vanuatu principals, principals' perceptions of their roles, and development needs. The final section of the paper includes a discussion of these results and draws recommendations for the development needs of Vanuatu principals, followed by a note of limitations.

Recent Relevant Literature

The Importance of Leadership and Leadership Development

Growing evidence points to the crucial role of leadership in schools and the importance of development of leaders. The effects of leadership have been described by Hallinger and Heck (1999: 4–5) as 'direct', 'indirect' (the most common because leaders work through others to impact on student learning) and 'reciprocal' (leaders affecting teachers and teachers affecting leaders). As Southworth (2004) suggests, leadership is concerned with 'influence', and he says 'effective school leaders work directly on their indirect influence' (2004:102). As early as 1993 Teddlie and Stringfield articulated the pivotal importance of the school leader in school effectiveness as their role as a change agent (Leithwood & Jantzi 1990). In a review of leadership by Leithwood and Riehl (2003) a decade later, the assertion that leadership makes a difference was firmly established. In particular, as Hallinger and Heck (1999) have noted, the ultimate difference they make is to student learning, even if indirect and mediated through others.

Given the importance of the role, and its growing complexity and expansion (Bush 1999; Cranston et al 2003; Southworth 2004), it is vital that significant numbers of principals are prepared and developed for the complex role that they play. This point is emphasised by Ribbins (2008), who highlights that the 'quality of leadership training and development is likely to be a significant factor in ensuring the provision of school leaders in sufficient numbers and quality' (2008: 76). Insufficiency of numbers and quality has never been more significant than in the Vanuatu context, as outlined later.

Role and Tasks of the Principal

A plethora of literature exists on the roles and tasks of leaders, with a recent trend to emphasising the importance of what astute leaders have always known; that is, the instructional (pedagogical or curriculum) leadership role. The 2008 Organisation for Economic and Community Development (OECD) comparative report reiterates Southworth's (2004) point that leadership in schools is concerned with influence through the three related strategies of 'Modelling, Monitoring, and Dialogue' but the report adds that it is also intentional. Intentional refers to 'articulated goals or outcomes to which the process of influence is expected to lead' (2004: 7). Increasingly, as the summary by Knapp, Copeland, Ford & Markholt (2003) emphasises, the key area of 'influence' is on curriculum leadership or 'leadership for learning'. Cardno and Howse highlight this also in noting that there is a duality in the role as 'curriculum (educational or instructional) leader and chief executive of

the school accountable to the governing body' (2005: 3). By implication, also, the chief executive role carries an expectation on principals to take a strategic leadership role for learning. As a summary of this emphasis on instructional leadership, the Robinson, Lloyd and Rowe (2008) leadership 'Best Evidence Synthesis' (BES), notes the following five instructional leadership dimensions that have a powerful impact on learning:

- establishing clear academic goals and expectations;
- strategic resourcing;
- planning, coordinating and monitoring/evaluating teaching and the curriculum;
- promoting and participating in teacher learning and development; and
- ensuring an orderly and supportive environment.

Robinson et al. (2008) are clear that school leaders need high-quality opportunities to update and deepen their knowledge of curriculum, assessment and pedagogy and to integrate that knowledge into all leadership activities. Knapp et al. (2003) concur when they suggest that instructional leaders:

- make learning central to their own work (of themselves, staff and students);
- consistently communicate the centrality of student learning;
- articulate core values that support the focus on powerful, equitable learning; and
- pay public attention to efforts to support learning (observe, support and interact with teachers about practice).

Curriculum and strategic leadership require specific attributes of leaders. Lambert (2002) notes that leadership can be performed by everyone, as long as they have the following *qualities*:

- a sense of purpose and ethics, because honesty and trust are fundamental to relationships;
- facilitation skills;
- an understanding of constructivist learning;
- a deep understanding of change;
- an understanding of contexts;
- an intention to redistribute power and authority; and
- a personal ego that allows for courage and risk, low ego needs and sense of possibilities.

The first and last of these qualities are particularly evident in Vanuatu principals who predominantly have a strong Christian ethic in their work.

Principal Development for a Complex Role

Leadership and principal development come under the umbrella of generic professional development (McMahon & Bolam 1990), but the concept of leadership development has a much more specific focus. Nearly two decades ago Margerison stated that leadership development is 'The process by which you and others gain the skills and abilities to manage yourself and others' (1991: 3). The introductory statement to this brief literature review indicates the growing importance placed on principal development, particularly with the enhanced complexity and challenges in the role.

Cardno (2003) notes that development programmes for principalship fall into two broad categories:

a. pre-employment preparation encompassing selection, formal qualification programmes and/or training; and

b. post-employment preparation, which comprises induction into the role.

Within both the pre- and post-employment categories there are directed and self-directed forms of preparation as well as formal and informal aspects of elements of education, training, development and mentoring. Table 1 illustrates the scope of preparation activity.

Table 1: Scope of principalship preparation activity

Pre-employment preparation	**Post-employment preparation**
Directed Directed assessment of potential for entry to system training/education programmes	***Directed***
Directed engagement in formal educational management qualification programmes	
Directed formal training provided by the system	Directed participation in induction programmes provided by the system
Directed formal mentoring schemes provided by the system	Directed engagement in mentoring as a form of induction
Self-directed	***Self-directed***
Self-directed engagement in formal educational management qualification programmes	
Self-directed engagement in professional development activities	Self-directed participation in induction training
Self-directed engagement in mentoring	Self-directed engagement in mentoring

Source: Adapted from Cardno 2003.

Generally principal development is seen as a career-long process rather than a one-off event and it is far from simplistic, but rather reflective of the complexity of principalship itself. Of critical importance, when considering the establishment of development programmes such as that planned for Vanuatu principals, are precursor questions such as: 'what type of leadership model is appropriate?', and 'preparation for what type of school?' (adapted from Lumby, Crow & Pashiardis 2008: 3). These two questions challenge appreciation of the type of leadership that is adaptable to the rapidly changing environment resulting from globalisation and diverse local communities: preparation of leaders for 'less homogenous communities' (Lumby et al. 2008: 7) arising from globalisation. Such adaptability requires openness, responsiveness and the ability to reflect. Begley, for example, suggests that

'Leaders must become reflective practitioners and authentic towards local needs in their leadership practices' (2008: 30). He further states that the outcome of self-knowledge resultant from such reflection is 'sensitivity to the orientations of others, and a technical sophistication that leads to a synergy of leadership action' (2008: 33). Begley believes that understanding one's own and others' ethics (especially in situations of moral dilemma) and values is important because leadership is 'essentially focused on people and relationships' (2008: 35). Such thinking is also in keeping with Brill's (2000) notion proposing a shift in emphasis to learning for personal transformation that requires emotional honesty and self-acceptance. The latter is a tall order because difficult, non-defensive (Argyris 2003), skills are essential precursors of honesty. As Beatty notes: 'Leaders who know themselves, are far more likely to be able to know others in a non-defensive, non-aggressive way' (2008: 152).

In summary, principal development is multilayered and complex, and consists of multiple events. As Begley (2008) suggests, we are beyond the prescriptive guides/models for school leadership curriculum because processes of leadership and schools are much too context bound to permit this kind of quick fix.

Constituents of an Effective Leadership Development Programme

Multiple other authors have contributed to the debate on effective professional development generally, and these features are equally applicable to leadership development. As summarised in Piggot-Irvine (2008), most importantly this literature suggests that if professional development is effective it should promote improved or changed practice (Fletcher 2003), and meet both context-specific and individual needs because, as Honold (2003) indicates, there is no 'one-size-fits-all solution' to development. The context-situated, work-embedded, notion is a theme also emphasised in the work of Guskey (2002) and Woodall and Winstanley (1998).

Honold (2003) suggests an approach that accounts for variables of developmental stage of participants and learning style. In particular, the principles of adult learning/andragogy need to be considered. Adult learners are self-directing, have accumulated experience, and prefer this experience to be integrated with their learning, and for the learning to be problem-centred and focused on practical, relevant, issues (Rudman 1999).

Effective development is influenced also by the quality of the programme design, implementation features, and facilitation skills. Learning, observing and networking with peers (collaborating), sharing best practice, and translating theory into practice are such features described by Hill, Hawk and Taylor (2002). These features overlap with Darling-Hammond's (2000) perception that professional development programmes should be collaborative, active, connected and ongoing.

In terms of the curriculum content for school leadership development, Beatty (2008) suggests that there is currently no standardised curriculum internationally. However, regardless of this lack of standardisation, Huber recommends that a key aim of the curriculum should be to overcome the:

> classic divide between management and leadership … internationally, some programs provide a model that quite clearly relates to a new conception of school: a changeable and adaptable organization, developing as a learning community and learner-centred school. (2008: 166)

Other shifts in curricula that Huber (2008) has noted include attending to an increased emphasis on teams in schools in order to enhance horizontal and vertical collaboration. Greater importance is placed on collegial learning and problem solving, and on the distributed leadership capacity. Elmuti (2004) of encourages developing the 'soft' skills (inter- and intrapersonal) rather than the 'hard' systems and analytical skills, and exposing leaders to international and crosscultural experiences. As will be seen later in the results section, each of these features resonates with the needs of Vanuatu principals.

Leadership Development in the Pacific

Subsequent to the 1990s, although there has been a rapid rise in the number of leadership development initiatives internationally (Brundrett & Crawford 2008), only a small number of recent programmes have been conducted in the Pacific. An early stage initiative followed an emphasis from the Fiji Education Sector Programme (FESP) on developing leadership and management as critical considerations in their 2003–04 annual plan. An initial step in implementing the plan was the roll out of a 'Train the Trainer' programme during that period.

A further example of a programme, as noted in the introduction to this paper, was the 2006 PIEL programme conducted in Fiji for a range of Pasifika and NZ principals. In preparation for the programme, Cardno and Howse (2005) compared Fijian and Tongan principal roles and development with those of NZ and Australian principals earlier reported by Cranston et al. (2003). The Cardno and Howse study was funded by the Council for Educational Administration and Management (CCEAM) to enhance the development of Pasifika school leaders and educational experiences and achievements of students. Both the Fijian and Tongan principals prioritised visioning, interpersonal skills and empowering, and effective management as development needs. The more detailed findings are reported on comparatively in the results section of this paper, but in summary Cardno and Howse concluded that the role of principals in all four settings was 'large and complex and beset by a number of tensions that are created by the duality of expectations' (2005:10) . The authors recommended a cognitively challenging development curriculum that was largely based on the NZ Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) that offered both self-development and organisational development in keeping with Bolman and Deal's (2004) framework approach, where principals have opportunities to critically reflect in order to: theorise their problems and practice; understand how they frame problems; and reframe problems to incorporate new theory and practice insights (see Cardno & Fitzgerald 2005).

The PIEL programme included the latter recommendations in an intensive ten-day programme that had elements of strategic and curriculum leadership, incorporating a strong focus on leadership of people. Participants engaged in reflective activities to raise their self-awareness and understanding of 'organisational learning' (Sun & Scott 2003), a micro-level concept that includes those processes involving the detecting and correcting of errors (Argyris 1997, 2003) and dealing with dilemmas (Cardno 2001; Piggot-Irvine & Cardno 2005). The PIEL programme was exceptionally well received by all participants, with particular appreciation noted for the cross-fertilisation of ideas across the cultures of participants.

An invitation to facilitate a similar programme to the PIEL in Vanuatu arose as a consequence of a Vanuatu Ministry of Education official attending the latter programme. In order to conduct such a programme a necessary precursor was the exploration of previous research and literature on educational leadership development in Vanuatu. Although minimal literature was found, two key sources included a report on a leadership

development programme for women (Strachan & Saunders 2007) and a background to school leadership in a broad chapter by Tari (2004).

Strachan and Saunders' (2007) report of a co-construction approach to leadership development for women in Vanuatu, aimed at capacity building and sustainability, indicated that the women attending the programme valued it highly. However, the authors also recorded cultural context issues limiting formal leadership opportunities – including male gatekeeping and the influence of a dominating teacher-centred way of learning.

Tari (2004) painted a fairly dire picture of principalship and its development in Vanuatu when he noted that Vanuatu schools lack good management due to: poor policy implementation; inadequate personnel management (staff are often not appraised); overloaded principals who, in addition to managing staff and disciplining students, need to source textbooks and basic materials, and upkeep facilities and assets; and insufficient training for administration. Tari noted that principals often get thrown into the system with minimal preparation.

Given the limited sources available on principal development in Vanuatu, it was evident that greater investigation was required into the specific cultural context, principal roles and development needs. The study reported upon in subsequent sections of this paper outlines the findings of this investigation.

Background to the Vanuatu Research Site

Originally known as the 'New Hebrides', the politically independent Melanesian republic of Vanuatu was formed in 1980, with six provinces and six provincial governments. Efate is the main island, and there are 80 islands in the country with a total landmass of over 12,000km and population of approximately 230,000. More than 80 languages are spoken, with the three official languages being Bislama, English and French. Most (over 90 per cent) ni-Vanuatu (native Vanuatu people) are reliant on small-scale subsistence farming, and the country is strongly dependent on international aid.

The geographic spread, language and economy all strongly impact on the schooling. The French and English dual heritage is reflected in parallel school instruction systems with recent attempts being made to integrate the two. Forty per cent of the population is under the age of 15 and nearly 80 per cent live in rural areas. According to a World Bank study (2005), the quality of education in rural areas is problematic due to access, and a significant percentage of rural students never attend school. However, increases in enrolment are occurring: for example, 90 per cent of children were enrolled in primary schools in 2006, and the primary completion rate in 2005 was 85.9 per cent. The transition rate to secondary schooling in 2004 was 52.5 per cent. In 2005 the pupil–teacher ratio in primary schools was 20:1 and in secondary schools 13:1 (Institute for Statistics 2008). There were 59 secondary schools, and the same number of principals, noted in the last posted statistics in 2002 (38 anglophone: 21 francophone), and 410 primary schools (290 government funded, 94 church assisted, 26 private). The ratio of female to male principals in Vanuatu in 2004 was low at 8 per cent to 92 per cent in secondary and 30.4 per cent to 69.6 per cent in primary (Strachan & Saunders 2007; Warsal 2009).

The Ministry of Education has responsibility for all funding associated with schools, and principals are accountable to the Ministry. Primary school fees are usually less than NZ$20 per term; secondary approximately $300. Many families cannot afford these fees. Sanga (Sanga, Niroa, Matai & Crowl 2004) used a case study to describe one school that received 4

per cent government Ministry funding to meet its budget requirements, with the remainder needing to be met through school fees paid by families.

Primary students sit an entrance test for secondary school, and failure means that they do not progress. Additionally, the level of pass determines the placement into a specific quality of school. A combination of the testing plus high fees results in less than 30 per cent of ni-Vanuatu children completing secondary school.

Vanuatu principals are appointed by the Teaching Service Commission and training provided subsequent to appointment is that of a short-term seminars/workshops type, largely initiated by the Ministry of Education. The Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education (VITE) does not provide leadership or principal development programmes. Principals therefore have limited preparation for both the complex role and the strained context associated with political, social, economic, language, gender and isolation issues. The study reported upon in the following sections outlines the methodology and findings associated with preparing for a development programme for such a context.

Research Methods

Survey and focus group methods were used to gain feedback from Vanuatu principals on roles and development needs. The survey tool was adapted from that of Cranston et al. (2003) to enable comparative analyses as well as clarifying the country-specific information for Vanuatu principals. The survey sought views on demographics, time for aspects of the role (actual, ideal and perceptions of expected time utilisation), role satisfaction, role changes, role pressure, and the importance of specific skills for the role of principal. The roles investigated were simplified to strategic leadership, curriculum leadership, management/administration, student leadership, community leadership, staff leadership, teaching, and dealing with problems. Both closed and open responses were sought in the survey, with an emphasis on open responses for the section on development experiences and needs.

A focus group following the survey completion was designed to expand upon ideas provided in the survey. The open-ended questions mirrored sections 20–25 in the survey; namely, perceptions of strengths brought to the role, areas for development, previous development experiences, interest in participating in leadership development, and additional comments.

Respondent Selection

'Opportunity' or, as it is sometimes called, 'convenience' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2003: 102), sampling was employed for the survey. Extensive communication with local Ministry of Education staff to arrange for broader participation resulted in the suggestion that utilising a meeting context seemed the most viable. All Vanuatu principals attending a national meeting in Efate were invited to participate in the survey and all accepted the invitation. Such sampling allows for limited generalisation because there is no way of knowing whether this is a representative group of the total principal population in Vanuatu. All principals present at the meeting also volunteered to participate in a focus group discussion following the survey completion.

Respondent Demographics

The survey was completed by 24 Vanuatu principals (6 female and 18 male):

- 6 of the principals were from the primary sector; 18 were from the secondary sector.

- 18 of the principals were from Efate (the mainland) or Espiritu Santo and 6 were from the outer islands.
- 10 of the principals had been in the role for three years or less;10 had been in their current school for three years or less.
- 21 of the principals had been a principal in two schools or fewer; 3 had been a principal at three schools or more.
- 17 of the principals were in government schools and 5 were in grant-assisted schools (2 did not record the type of school).
- The greatest majority of principals (16) were from schools with a student population of 250–750.

Results

The results from the study are recorded for level of satisfaction with the role of principal, workload, perspectives on the time allocated for the role of principal (actual, ideal and expected), clarity about roles, rating of importance of skills, strengths in the role, areas for development, previous development and general comments.

Level of Satisfaction with Role

The majority of principals were satisfied overall with their role as a principal: 5 stated that they were very satisfied and 12 satisfied. The remaining 7 principals stated that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. No principals said they were dissatisfied.

Workload

In a typical week, the majority of the principals reported that they worked 40–59 hours in the role (10 were in the 40–49 hours bracket, 10 in 50–59 hours). Three noted that they worked fewer than 40 hours and two worked 60 hours or more. When asked to compare the workload with a year or two before, this number of hours was stated to have increased by 15 principals and remained about the same by 10 others. No principals suggested that the time had decreased.

When asked to rate the pressure on them in their role as principal, 19 said that this was high, 5 that it was average/medium, and none said it was low. Compared with a year or two before, this level of pressure was seen to have increased by 18 respondents and remained about the same by 6. No principals reported that the pressure had decreased. This increase in pressure may have resulted from an attendant increase in variety and diversity in the role during the two years: 19 stated that the variety and diversity had increased, 5 that it was about the same, and no one noted that it had decreased.

Perspectives on the Role of Principalship

When asked to consider the actual time allocated to varied activities associated with the role of the principal in a typical week, respondents indicated the totals (not bracketed) outlined in Table 2. A comparison is made (in brackets) with the ideal (or preferred) time that they would like to allocate to the activities, and with the time (in bold) they believe the system (expected utilisation) would like them to allocate to the varied activities. Note that there are overlaps in responses.

Table 2: Time allocated to principal roles

Activity	A great deal of time	Some time	A little time	No time
A. Strategic leadership of your school	15 (18) **17**	8 (9) **8**	2 (0) **0**	0 (0) **0**
B. Educational/curriculum leadership	7 (19) **19**	13 (6) **6**	4 (0) **0**	1 (0) **0**
C. Management/ administration	18 (14) **18**	6 (9) **5**	0 (1) **2**	1 (0) **0**
D. Student issues	13 (11) **13**	8 (8) **10**	2 (6) **2**	2 (0) **0**
E. Parent/ community/ Church issues	4 (5) **7**	12 (11) **10**	9 (8) **6**	0 (0) **0**
F. Staffing issues	9 (7) **16**	15 (11) **4**	1 (5) **0**	0 (0) **1**
G. Teaching	10 (6) **9**	7 (5) **3**	3 (10) **5**	5 (3) **4**
H. Problem solving	6 (6) **12**	11 (13) **5**	1 (5) **4**	0 (1) **0**

The results show that there was quite a strong alignment between responses for the greatest amount of actual time, the ideal time, and the expected utilisation time for the areas of strategic leadership and management/administration. Educational/curriculum leadership was the area which scored highly for the ideal and expected utilisation times but was considerably lower for the actual time spent on this role. In the areas of staff issues and problem solving there existed further discrepancies, with the principals' perceptions of the expected utilisation of time rated considerably higher than either the actual time for the roles or the ideal.

The first column of Table 2 has been converted to percentages to provide comparison with findings for other countries to show perceptions of devotion of a great deal of time in a typical week, how it should be ideally be devoted, and system expectations (See Table 3).

Table 3: Comparison of time allocated to principal roles in varying nations

Activity (actual)	Typical week (actual) %	Ideal week (principal perspective) %	Ideal week (system perspective) %
A. Strategic leadership of your school	**Vanuatu 60** Tonga 63 Fiji 57 NZ 21	**Vanuatu 72** Tonga 84 Fiji 70 NZ 73	**Vanuatu 68** Tonga 68 Fiji 63 NZ 76
B. Educational/curriculum leadership	**Vanuatu 28** Tonga 58 Fiji 54 NZ 14	**Vanuatu 76** Tonga 53 Fiji 59 NZ 70	**Vanuatu 76** Tonga 58 Fiji 66 NZ 77
C. Management/administration	**Vanuatu 72** Tonga 69 Fiji 71 NZ 78	**Vanuatu 56** Tonga 53 Fiji 52 NZ 3	**Vanuatu 72** Tonga 79 Fiji 68 NZ 56

D. Student issues	**Vanuatu 52** Tonga 37 Fiji 34 NZ 34	**Vanuatu 44** Tonga 21 Fiji 25 NZ 8	**Vanuatu 52** Tonga 42 Fiji 68 NZ 24
E. Parent/community/church issues	**Vanuatu 16** Tonga 16 Fiji 29 NZ 44	**Vanuatu 20** Tonga 21 Fiji 36 NZ 13	**Vanuatu 28** Tonga 37 Fiji 32 NZ 45
F. Staffing issues	**Vanuatu 36** Tonga 56 Fiji 52 NZ 46	**Vanuatu 28** Tonga 37 Fiji 45 NZ 10	**Vanuatu 64** Tonga 74 Fiji 43 NZ 34
G. Teaching	**Vanuatu 40** Tonga 11 Fiji 16 NZ _	**Vanuatu 24** Tonga 11 Fiji 13 NZ _	**Vanuatu 36** Tonga 32 Fiji 23 NZ _

The comparative results for actual times spent in roles (as shown in Table 3) indicate that Vanuatu principals rated the actual time spent on student issues and teaching as higher than principals in Tonga and Fiji. They rated the time spent on strategic leadership, management and administration, and community issues as approximately the same as Tonga and Fiji principals. Curriculum leadership and staffing issues were considered to be allocated less time than that provided by Tonga and Fiji principals. When comparing responses for actual time allocated to roles to that of NZ principals, the results showed that the Vanuatu principals considered that they spent more time on strategic leadership (60 per cent Vanuatu: 21 per cent NZ). Of interest, in terms of ideal time that the Vanuatu principals would like to allocate to roles, was the perception that they would like more time for curriculum leadership and student issues than their Tonga and Fiji counterparts, and a little less time on staffing issues.

Linked to the prioritising of role issues discussed above are those of role clarity, perceptions of role conflict and overload. The responses associated with these issues are summarised in Table 4. The results indicate that the majority of Vanuatu principals believed that to some extent there was role clarity, but also role conflict and overload.

Table 4: Clarity about roles

Role issue	Exists to a great extent	Exists to some extent	Exists to minor extent	Does not exist
ROLE CLARITY (How clear are you about what is entailed in your role as principal?)	9	13	2	0
ROLE CONFLICT (i.e. lack of alignment between what you believe you need to do as principal and what the Ministry expects)	6	15	3	0
ROLE OVERLOAD (i.e. there are simply too many things to do)	8	10	2	0

Competency to Carry Out Role of Principal

As a way of determining development needs, the principals were also asked to rate the importance of key skills/competencies for their role. Responses are recorded in Table 5, and suggest that the Vanuatu principals considered that the most important skills for the role were those of 'inspiring and visioning change', 'interpersonal' skills, and 'being an effective and efficient manager and administrator'. These results strongly mirror those of the Tongan and Fijian principals. The lowest rating overall for Vanuatu principals was in the area of 'managing uncertainty'. However, if the first two 'very important' and important' categories are combined, it would appear that the principals responding considered all skills and competencies listed to be important.

Table 5: Principal rating of importance of skills/competencies

Skill/competency	Very important	Important	Not important	Not sure
Inspiring, visioning change for the school in others (e.g. teachers, parents)	**Vanuatu 83%** Tonga 84% Fiji 91%	4%	0	0
Demonstrating strong interpersonal, people skills such as negotiation, communication and collaboration with staff and other stakeholders	**Vanuatu 83%** Tonga 74% Fiji 88%	4%	0	0
Capacity to delegate, empower others in decision-making and responsibilities	**Vanuatu 63%** Tonga 68% Fiji 63%	9%	0	0
Managing uncertainty for self and others	**Vanuatu 29%** Tonga 47% Fiji 41%	13%	2%	2%
Capacity to develop supportive networks among colleagues	**Vanuatu 71%** Tonga 68% Fiji 20%	7%	0	0
Being an effective and efficient manager and administrator with a focus on best practice and improvement	**Vanuatu 87%** Tonga 84% Fiji 86%	3%	0	0

Strengths in Role

The principals were asked to record strengths they brought to the role as qualitative comments. Most principals overall were extremely modest about their strengths, only noting one or two areas in total. The greatest areas of noted strength were those of developing teams, management and administration, and strategic planning. In terms of collaboration and teams, one principal summed up their greatest strength as:

> Getting to know your environment e.g. the people around you who would have an impact on your role, then show what your plans and vision are for the school and

> what the system expects then bring the people in to work together as a team to achieve the goals for everyone's benefit.

Moderate strengths were noted in the areas of financial expertise, community relations and policy. The lowest recorded areas of strength were stated as managing student welfare, tackling problems, staff development and appraisal. Each of the latter is essentially linked to effective interpersonal skills associated with leadership, and the low reporting of these as strengths also indicates that they are areas for development.

Areas for Development

Principals were also asked to provide qualitative comment on areas for development. The highest areas of need were those of curriculum leadership and leadership generally (that is, leadership as a broad concept). This was followed by policy development, staff development, relationship development and the expertise to conduct self-reviews. The theme of fundamental leadership skills being a requirement for development is evident in these results, as is the continued alert for effective interpersonal skills.

Previous and Desired Approach to Development for Principalship

A variety of previous development approaches that principals had engaged in was reported upon: 9 respondents stated that they had received only 'on the job' training (mainly learning from peers or Ministry staff), 4 had attended short courses on school administration, 2 had bachelor of education degrees, and 1 had developed via observing others.

When asked why they would be interested in participating in professional development for principalship, 12 comments were noted that suggested the importance of sharing learning in some way. The following selection of comments highlights this:

- "Sharing of the educational needs and theory of the region."
- "Learn about what other regions are going through that should help us to set standards to work towards."
- "Sharing ideas."
- "Sharing the same values of the importance of management."
- "Would be a forum where principals could share experiences and thus network as well as learn form each other."

This feedback reveals that little professional development had occurred for the majority of Vanuatu principals, and that opportunity to share expertise and experience would need to be an important feature of any development planned.

General Comments

General comments were made about the role of principals in Vanuatu. Overall, the majority of the comments referred to the need for greater funding for schools and enhanced qualifications for principals. The following two quotes encapsulate the tenor of several others:

> The low level of funding and the extremely poor resource base of Vanuatu schools are extremely limiting in term of principals' capacity to develop achievable vision statements.

> There is a need to upgrade formal qualifications (first degrees and Admin training) to assist school principals in their management of day to day bases and the development of vision for their school.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results overall show a number of features. First, the majority of the group of Vanuatu principals in the research were either satisfied or very satisfied with their role. Although most worked 59 hours or less in the role, they noted that this had increased in the previous two years as had the role diversity, variety and pressure. This trend to increasing workload, diversity and pressure is in keeping with that reported more widely internationally (Bush 1999; Cranston et al. 2003; Southworth 2004) and also by Cardno and Howse (2005) for Fijian and Tongan principals. In terms of time allocated by Vanuatu principals for the significant components of the role, educational/curriculum leadership scored highest for the ideal and expected utilisation times but the actual time spent in this component was lower. This ideal is consistent with the growing emphasis on instructional/pedagogical leadership noted in the BES by Robinson et al. (2008). It would appear, however, that the Vanuatu principals have a gap to fill between the ideal and the practice. They rated that they allocated more time to student and teaching issues than their Tonga and Fiji counterparts but less time on curriculum leadership and staffing issues. The latter somewhat contradicts the Vanuatu principals' report that they spend significant time on strategic leadership: considerably more time than NZ principals noted (60 per cent Vanuatu; 21 per cent NZ).

The areas that the Vanuatu principals considered most important in the role were visioning (a strategic role), interpersonal skills, and being an effective and efficient manager – results strongly in keeping with those aspects of the role that the Tongan and Fijian principals also considered to be important. The greatest strengths that the Vanuatu principals believed they brought to the role were associated with developing teams, management and administration, and strategic planning. The importance of the visioning (strategic) role aligns with that emphasised in the Robinson et al. (2008) BES and the 'Chief Executive' role noted by Cardno and Howse (2005). However, the Vanuatu principals' placement of importance on administration and efficiency is an emphasis mentioned less often in current international literature. Very few Vanuatu principals noted strengths in the areas of managing student welfare, tacking problems, staff development and appraisal. The latter are all essential elements of personnel management that are recorded as particularly important in instructional leadership by Robinson (2007), in organisational learning by authors such as Sun and Scott (2003) and Piggot-Irvine and Cardno (2005), and also in the monitoring role (reviewing, appraising, reporting) that Southworth (2004) suggests is important in principalship.

The majority of principals had only received 'on the job' training for principalship that primarily consisted of learning from short workshops, peers or Ministry staff. The Vanuatu principals considered that the areas of greatest development need were those of curriculum leadership and the broad concepts of leadership in general, and they noted that sharing of experience, expertise and knowledge needed to be an important element of this development. This implies that there is a substantial requirement for post-employment development of both the formal and informal types, possibly combining education, development and mentoring as described by Cardno (2003). The Vanuatu principals' emphasis on sharing experience as part of this development is in keeping with recent perceptions of effectiveness in programme design (see Piggot-Irvine 2008), and suggests that

careful consideration needs to be given to cultural context and local input to design, and to facilitation of the programme. Given this, it is suggested that a co-construction model along the lines of that utilised by Strachan and Saunders (2007) is adopted for the development of the Vanuatu principal leadership programme. The previously successful PIEL content could help to inform the design due to its emphasis on instructional leadership and personnel management – the latter being the most important development needs noted by both the Vanuatu principals in this study and independently by Tari (2004).

Limitations

A significant limitation associated with the study in Vanuatu is linked to the 'convenience' sampling. There was total reliance on local Ministry of Education staff to distribute information on the research, to recruit participant principals and to arrange the venue for meeting. It was not always easy to make communication with the Ministry staff. Examples of this occurred with the email in-box of a vital staff member regularly being over capacity and with problems in reaching the phone lines of staff. Despite this, John Niroa, a key Ministry manager, did everything within his power to encourage principals to attend a meeting where data could be collected.

A consequence of the sampling described was potential bias. It could be that the small group size, their potential subjectivity, and the range of principals attending the meeting rendered the respondents as unrepresentative of the total principal population in Vanuatu, and therefore the findings might not be generalisable beyond this group. Such a limitation is acknowledged, however: it is equally applicable to the findings from the other countries discussed in this paper and does not detract from making the findings informative given the paucity of information or research available on Vanuatu principal development.

A further limitation is the short-term nature of the study. Ideally, a longitudinal, deeper, analysis could have been conducted that included, for example, case studies of principals, impact of development over time, and so on. Such an approach would require considerable funding to enable travel both to and within the extensive area of Vanuatu. Currently this is not a priority for Ministry of Education or Aid Agency funding, but there are many, including this author, who would suggest that the dedicated principals, educators and students in this beautiful country are worthy of such investment.

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