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CREATING SUPPORTIVE WORK CLIMATES FOR TEACHERS IN AN ERA OF REFORM: CASE STUDIES OF TWO MALAYSIAN PRINCIPALS AND THE CONTEXTS IN WHICH THEY WORK

By

Suseela Malakolunthu

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Curriculum, Teaching, and Educational Policy 1999

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ABSTRACT

CREATING SUPPORTIVE WORK CLIMATES FOR TEACHERS IN AN ERA OF REFORM: CASE STUDIES OF TWO MALAYSIAN PRINCIPALS AND THE CONTEXTS IN WHICH THEY WORK

By Suseela Malakolunthu Michigan State University

Malaysian schools are inundated with reforms. Among the numerous factors influencing the success of educational reforms, teacher learning and teacher change remain as key factors. Research literature suggests that one source that could help create supportive work climates enabling teachers improve their practices is the principal. But principals' work is complex and is influenced by the larger contexts in which they work.

This case study explored the perspectives of two secondary school principals with regard to their part in creating work climates that would support teachers' instructional improvement; the teachers' perspectives with regards to their principals' efforts in supporting their work; and the policy, organizational, and social factors that facilitate or constrain principals' efforts to create supportive work climates for teachers. Two principals and 17 teachers were involved in the study. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, observations, and policy and school documents. Data was analyzed using the qualitative method of constant comparative analysis.

The findings indicate that the principals' views of supportive work climates differed from the teachers' views. While the principals focused on either providing physical facilities and material resources or creating a "happy

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and friendly" atmosphere, teachers desired work environments which would encourage shared planning, teacher participation, and teacher learning through collegial interactions. The cross-case analysis revealed that principals had different approaches to organization. While one principal used a rational-bureaucratic approach, and the other principal practiced a human-relations model, the teachers desired a human resource development approach in their work place.

The principals' perspectives differed from the teachers because they are influenced by the larger policy, organizational, and social contexts in which they function. The policy community in Malaysia emphasized academic test scores, physical, social aspects, and public relations outcomes, but not aspects related to teacher professional development. Powerful forces from the top affected local practice by focusing on a limited set of expectations and providing limited resources to principals for helping teachers develop. achers develop. Therefore, understanding how principals might contribute to teachers' learning about educational reforms requires an understanding how contextual factors shape and constrain principals' thinking and practices.

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The past few years have been a wonderful journey of chipping and shaping; transforming and transcending. I never could have started or completed this intellectually demanding and emotionally challenging journey alone. There have been several people who have been motivating, supporting, guiding, and accompanying me in my journey. I owe so much to all of them.

First, I appreciate and thank the two superb principals and the highly committed teachers who participated in this study. The commitment and the professionalism they exhibited during the study was remarkable. They indeed taught me a great deal about the tension between policy and practice in real life situations. I am also thankful to three Ministry of Education personnel at the Institute Aminuddin Baki who willingly shared their views and insights from a policy perspective. In order to preserve their anonymity, I have withheld the names of these people who played an integral role in my study.

I also want to thank the Malaysian Ministry of Education for providing me with the Federal/World Bank fellowship which enabled me to pursue a Ph.D.

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resource center and other facilities at Institute Aminuddin Baki during my data collection.

As the first advisor of my guidance committee, Bill McDiarmid helped me sort out some issues which I wanted to study and helped me make sense of the initial ideas for my research topic. Later these ideas were developed and refined into research questions which framed this study. I thank him for this initial efforts in mapping out clear directions for my journey.

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Gary Sykes as my professor and committee member has impressed me with his sharp and clear thinking about the policy and practice issues surrounding education and schooling. His ideas on educational improvement and deep understanding of how the educational structures of a system function has liberated me from the naive and narrow views I had about the system, and the bias I had about policy and practice. I have appreciated his interest in my ideas and the insightful and fundamental questions he has raised. I am also grateful for his prompt response to memos which I sent him while I was doing research in Malaysia. He has also been a great resource in indicating and connecting me to a number of current literature related to my study. I am grateful to Gary who has played an important part in this work.

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and concern for my well-being. Since I was thousands of miles away from my family, she became the light which gave me constant hope of reaching the end of the tunnel. I greatly admire her ability to focus on the positive and to keep me motivated throughout this process. The seriousness, commitment, and the interest she showed in my study fueled my eagerness to proceed. It has been an incredible experience flowing with her so swiftly and yet gently, and I thank her for making this journey a memorable one.

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I thank both my parents who only had two years of schooling each but had so much reverence for education. The emphasis they placed on

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education has made me pay serious attention to learning. While my mother 'served' me with food and care, my father instilled in me confidence, hard work, and self-reliance. Both of them together have contributed much to what I am today.

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ability and growth is one big reason which allowed me to pursue this journey. It is a great blessing to have Naga as my life partner, and many of my accomplishments would not have been possible without his support and understanding. I am greatly indebted to him for being such a wonderful father to our daughters and providing them with best care and comfort. I will always be grateful for his patience, good-nature, and unconditional love.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Malaysian education system is in the midst of introducing and implementing numerous curricular and instructional reforms that require changes in classroom practices. Some of the key reforms include the integration of higher order thinking skills across curriculum, teaching of creative and critical thinking skills, and the inculcation of moral values in the teaching of all subjects. However, little attention is paid by the administration at the State or the Ministry of Education to issues of how teachers learn and implement new instructional practices. As a result, teachers may not be getting the assistance they need to learn to teach according to the reform expectations. One person who could help teachers to adopt, adapt, and change their instructional practices as expected by the reforms is the building principal. Literature from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom suggests that the principal is key in school change and instructional reform. However, there has been little research in Malaysia that addresses this issue. Due to the fact that the educational system in Malaysia is organized differently and operates in a different cultural context, research is needed to learn more about Malaysian principals' roles and their potential effects on teacher learning. To that end, this dissertation explores the practices and perspectives of two Malaysian principals to learn more about whether and how they considered supporting teachers as part of their job, and how the context of their work constrains and affects what they do.

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In this introduction, I discuss why it is important to focus on teacher learning and the crucial role principals could play in teachers' instructional improvement in Malaysia. In the following chapter, I go on to elaborate each main point in the argument with supporting literature.

Overview of the Malaysian Education System

Malaysia is a relatively small nation situated in the heart of Southeast Asia with a population of 20 million. It is a former British colony that gained independence in 1957. During the colonial period, education was very much a decentralized activity in Malaya (name of Malaysia before independence) and the missionary schools such as the Victoria Institution, King Edward VII Secondary School, Anderson School, Penang Free School and many other schools established by the British and the local ethnic groups enjoyed the freedom of decentralization and practiced site-based management (Abdul Shukor, 1998; Mok, 1995). In the 1960s and 1970s with the enactment of the various post-independent Education Acts such as the Razak Report 1956, the Education Act 1961, and the Cabinet Report 1979, education in Malaysia became a highly centralized enterprise with the Ministry of Education playing the lead role in all the key decision-making for the entire nation (Ministry of Education, 1988).

The centralized administrative structure in Malaysia is organized at four hierarchical levels, namely, the national, state, district, and the school.

Ministry of Education (MOE)

The Ministry of Education translates the national economic and social policies into educational plans, programs, and projects in accordance with national aspirations and objectives. The Ministry also formulates policy

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State Education Department (SED)

The implementation of educational policies and plans made at the federal level are carried out at the state level through the State Education Departments. The SEDs supervise the implementation of education policies, and monitor national education programs, projects, and activities, in addition to providing feedback to the central agencies for general planning.

District Education Office (DEO)

The District Education Offices are set up in each state to support the state level administrative system. They provide the linkage between schools and the State Education Department (Ministry of Education, 1993).

School

At the school level, the headmasters (at primary schools) or the principals (at secondary schools), assisted by two or three senior assistants, are responsible for providing professional as well as administrative leadership.

In Malaysia, principals are hired by the State Education Departments and the Ministry of Education. There are two ways that principals are hired. The State Education Departments select and promote the senior teachers who have served as senior assistants to the principal to fill any vacancies available for a principal within the state. This group of principals who come up to the principal's position through the rank and file system obviously are exposed and accustomed to school culture and work behavior.

A second selection method draws principals from a pool of very senior education officers who have served as the head of departments in one of various divisions of the Ministry of Education. Since there are not many promotion positions available at the Ministry of Education for senior officers,

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By the year 2 Malaysian so living in a so economically in full posses and resilient. when some of them are long overdue for their next upgrading, they are promoted and sent to secondary schools as principals. Usually there are fewer principals selected in this way than there are principals who have come up through the rank and file system.

Since a principal's promotion in Malaysia is based on seniority and the number of years served in the education system, by the time a person is promoted to principalship, he or she is close to the age of retirement (55 years old). This may cause problems in the sense that the principal is only left with a few years in his or her service and may not be able to accomplish much as a principal. This also means that there is a high rate of principal turnover.

In a centralized system of administration of education such as Malaysia's, principals are largely accountable to their respective State Education Departments and to the Ministry of Education. Therefore, they respond to the requests and demands from the top and follow the directives given to them. In other words, their priorities at work are most of the time determined by the expectations laid out by higher administrative authorities.

The Inquiry

Malaysia is making strides towards her Vision 2020 - a national vision to turn Malaysia into a "fully developed" nation in the next 22 years. The Prime Minister announced,

By the year 2020, Malaysia can be a united nation, with a confident Malaysian society, infused by strong moral and ethical values, living in a society that is democratic, liberal and tolerant, caring, economically just and equitable, progressive and prosperous, and in full possession of an economy that is competitive, dynamic and resilient. (Mahathir Mohamad, 1991)

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This aspiration to drive the nation towards "progressive" goals places tremendous pressure and expectations on education, which is seen as a key factor in nation building. Thus, the Vision warrants many reforms and implications for the educational arena. Its impact can be felt in every area of education, from reformulating of the educational policies to school restructuring.

Why focus on Teacher Learning in the Context of Current Educational Reforms?

The Ministry of Education has multiple ambitions and it mandates them as educational reforms. The State Education Departments and the District Education offices pass down the mandates to the principals, and the principals disseminate the information regarding the reforms to the teachers. There are three groups of people involved in this process - the policy makers, the principal, and the teachers.

Educational literature written from the perspectives of the United States and Canada widely advocates the importance of teachers as the central agent of change in educational reforms, and teacher learning as the key element in the change process. This literature notes that, among the numerous factors that determine the success of an educational reform, the quality of the teaching staff remains the key factor (Sarason, 1982; Fullan, 1991). The power to effect significant educational change is and always has been in the hands, heads, and hearts of educators, and therefore true reform must go where the action is (Sirotnik, 1988). Therefore, teachers' understanding, capability, skill, will, knowledge, commitment, and continuous learning play a crucial role in improving the existing system (Cohen, 1988; McLaughlin, 1990; Shulman, 1983; Sykes, 1999). Wise (1991)

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stated, "We cannot improve schools without improving the skills and abilities of the teachers within them. In other words, we must see change as an individual process and be willing to invest in the intellectual capital of those individuals who staff our schools" (as cited in Gusky and Huberman, 1995, p. 118).

In the Malaysian context, the Vision 2020 and the subsequent educational reforms have posed greater challenges for teachers than ever before. Within this context, I perceive the efforts to improve teacher learning and teacher change to be crucial. There are studies conducted in Malaysia which show that teachers face problems implementing new ideas and improving instructional practices as prescribed by the reforms. For example, one study on the teaching of higher-order thinking skills in the language classroom revealed that the teachers felt that they were not prepared to successfully implement this innovative idea in their daily lessons. The teachers in this study mentioned that the short-term in-service training with which they were provided was not very helpful in infusing higher-order thinking skills in their teaching (Nagappan, 1998).

Another study carried out in Malaysia indicated that teachers generally lacked the knowledge of curriculum and educational policies, as well as the skills to develop and utilize supportive teaching materials to effect positive changes in their classrooms. Teachers were not well prepared to carry out instruction as prescribed by the reforms (Amir, 1993). These two studies indicate that teachers in Malaysia sometimes do lack both the knowledge base as well as skills needed to teach in new ways. While there has not been as much research as in the United States, these studies suggest that teachers' learning should be a significant issue in Malaysia as well.

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Who Could Help Teachers Learn New Ways to Teach?

The building principal could help teachers learn and adapt to reforms and improve their instructional practices by providing time, mental space, and opportunities for professional development. Major research on innovations and school effectiveness showed that principals played key roles in the school improvement and change process in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom (Leithwood, 1990; Lightfoot, 1983; Mortimore, 1995; Purkey and Smith, 1983). Michael Fullan said, "... because of closeness to the classroom situation and opportunity to alter workplace conditions, probably the most powerful potential source of help or hindrance to the teachers is the principal" (1991, p. 143). The principal is the most important reason why teachers grow - or are stifled on the job (Barth, 1990). Studies have concluded that "projects having the active support of the principal were the most likely to fare well" (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978, p. 124). Little (1982) and Rosenholtz (1989) found that the norms of collegiality among teachers were developed when principals provided support and encouragement for the creation of these norms.

While there is ample literature suggesting that principals can play crucial roles to create the conditions for instructional improvement, this literature is based mostly on studies conducted in North American and British schools. In contrast, there are relatively few Malaysian studies examining whether and how principals act as instructional leaders and specifically how they support teachers' work and development. This lack of information leads to some key questions: What are Malaysian principals' priorities? To what extent and how do they involve themselves in the creation of supportive work climates for their teachers' instructional practices, especially when teachers are expected to adopt new forms of

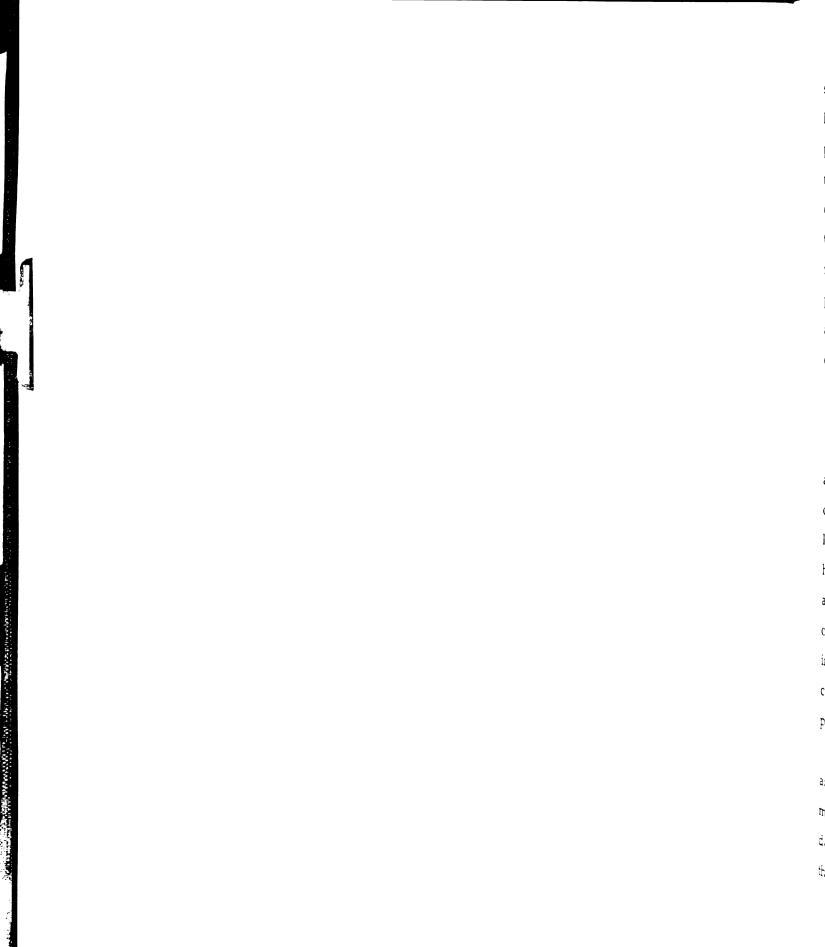
instruction? If they are indeed doing something to support teacher development, then what are their strategies and success stories? If they are not doing much to improve teacher development in their schools, then why not? Are there limiting factors, obstructions, constraints that prevent them from acting as instructional leaders?

The last two questions arose from literature that has shown the complexity of principals' work, and the fact that it is very much affected by social, economic, and political circumstances (Gronn and Ribbins, 1996; Harber, 1992; Hallinger and Murphy, 1987; Leithwood, 1988; Ribbins, 1995). In a review in the Handbook of Research on Educational Administration, Boyan (1988) noted that,

As of the mid 1980s, the least amount of systematic study has gone to the interaction of personal and situational variables as a source of explanation, the very area that offers most hope for gaining clearer understanding of why administrators do what they do (p. 93).

Leithwood, Begley, and Cousins's (1990) comprehensive review on 'The nature, causes, and consequences of principals' practices' revealed that "What principals do -- their 'practices' -- is most directly a consequence of what they think -- their mental processes" (1990, pp. 5-6). They also note that factors external to principals interact with their personal traits, knowledge and beliefs, values, attitudes, and skills, to shape principal practices (1990, pp. 21-22). Factors external to the principals may include the district characteristics, community/policy expectations, state mandates, and federal program requirements and so forth (Bossert et al., 1982; Pitner, 1988).

Since principals' work and behavior is influenced by their thinking, and their thinking is shaped by their professional background and by external factors, it is important that questions about principals' practices and roles are



studied in the larger contexts in which they function. Unfortunately, there has not been much research about the influence of contextual variables on principals' work, nor is there much literature about why some principals are not instructional leaders. Therefore, in order to identify and understand the obstacles, constraints, dilemmas, tensions, and pressures which may impact the principals' work and leadership behavior, it has been recommended that more grounded research be done on schools and the contexts in which principals operate (Harber, 1992; Hannaway and Talbert, 1993; Leithwood et al., 1990). This advice was applied to the design of this study which seeks to describe two Malaysian principals and the contexts in which they work.

Framing Questions

Educational reform operates on three loosely connected levels: policy, administration, and practice (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988). Principals are caught right in the middle between the policy and practice continuum in a loosely coupled system such as the school (Weick, 1976; 1982), where they have the huge responsibility of bridging the gap between the two to bring about school improvement. As noted earlier, the research literature points out that principals occupy a strategic/key position where they could be of immense help in implementing the reforms mandated from above by creating the working conditions necessary for teachers to improve their practice (Elmore and Burney, 1998).

Therefore, due to the strategic position principals hold in a hierarchical administrative system, I considered them to be the most appropriate people to make the focus of my study. By making them the focal point, I was able to go downwards to the teachers and find out how they perceived the role played by the principals in supporting a work climate conducive to instructional

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improvement. At the same time I was also able to go upwards to understand the policy context and its pressures which limit principals' activities. So, in this study a focus on principals leads to insights about the Malaysian educational system from the policy as well as the practice level.

In short, this study seeks to investigate whether two principals in selected secondary schools in Malaysia consider part of their job to be creating a supportive work climate for improving teachers' instructional practices. If so, how do they define this role and enact it? Following this, how do teachers perceive their principals' support towards their learning? What contextual factors affect principals' perspectives and practices with regard to supporting teachers' learning? Hence, the questions that frame this study are as follows:

- 1. What are principals' perspectives with regard to their part in creating work climates that support teachers' classroom instruction and instructional improvement?
- 2. What are the teachers' perspectives with regard to their principals' efforts to create supportive work climates?
- 3. What factors contribute to principals' perspectives about creating supportive work climates? In particular, what external factors -- policy, organizational, and social -- facilitate or constrain principals' efforts to create supportive work climates for teachers in their schools?

Significance of the Study

Education in Malaysia is now in many respects at a crossroads. In particular, the nature of the principals' roles and responsibilities may be at a crucial turning point. The Ministry of Education is considering ways to change the school organizational and administrative system. There are a few

suggestions given by the Director General of Education along these lines. He states that the current system of centralized administration with its top-down system is not productive. Therefore, there is a need to reduce the emphasis placed on the existing central bureaucratic system and move towards localized, site-based management at schools, and change the current system of promoting principals based on their seniority to a more rigorous selection procedures based on the candidates' caliber and qualifications (Abdul Shukor, 1998).

In one of his memos sent to all principals, the Director General of Education mentioned that the current emphasis on the bureaucratic model and the tight control of the centralized system of management has had a crippling effect on overall educational improvement. He added that if the bureaucratic model goes unchecked it can also bring about negative effects in pedagogical and teaching processes. Therefore, he has suggested that Malaysian schools become 'self-managing' schools where accountability and local initiative will become the rule of the game (Abdul Shukor, 1998).

While this suggestion by the Director General of Education is timely, it raises a number of questions with regards to the preparation of principals for such a 'self-managed' scheme. For decades the schools in Malaysia have been controlled from the top. But 'self-management' or 'site-based management' may require principals to make decisions for their schools and take up total leadership responsibility. This means principals have to learn and thoroughly prepare themselves to lead the teachers and the students in the school. Are principals prepared for this challenging role?

With regard to the proposed changes in the selection and training of future principals, since the existing system (i.e., promoting principals based on their seniority and providing limited in-service training) has been unsuccessful in creating effective schools, educational leaders have recommended that the system of principal selection and professional development in Malaysia should be modified (Abdul Shukor, 1998; Ministry of Education, 1998a). The Director General of Education has recommended that aspiring candidates 30 years old and above may apply for the position of a principal. Following their application, candidates would be interviewed. The selected candidates will be provided with thorough professional preparation where they will be exposed to the various theories of management and leadership, and also go through some form of internship where they will develop some deeper understanding about the education system and its processes (Ministry of Education, 1998a).

Thus, at this point in time, Malaysian principals' learning, preparation, selection, and development is given priority by the Director General, who has laid out a set of proposals for others in the Ministry and the country as a whole. Since there has been little empirical research on Malaysian principals, there is a need for research that describes and seeks to understand more about Malaysian principals as they currently operate, in order to plan more thoughtfully how they might be selected and prepared differently in the future.

I believe that the information gathered from this study could inform policymakers' decisions about principals' roles in school improvement. It is my hope that this study may also help the policy community recognize the importance of a long neglected issue -- the teachers and their learning needs -- and encourage policymakers to improve principals' professional development with regard to teachers' learning. It may also inform the policymakers regarding contextual variables that influence the principals' performance.

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CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Chapter 1 outlined the reasons why I chose to study principals' practices and perspectives with regards to supporting teachers' instructional improvement in the context of current educational reforms. This chapter further elaborates each main point in the argument with supporting literature.

Current Educational Reforms and Teachers' Learning: A Brief Overview

Malaysian schools are inundated with numerous reforms ranging from school restructuring to reorganization. There are reforms related to curriculum, instruction, and assessment which include the integration of higher order thinking skills, teaching of creative and critical thinking, inculcation of moral values, integration of generic skills or competency skills linking school and work, project method of teaching (for example geography and history projects as part of assessment), and so forth. There are also reforms related to Information Technology in the classrooms which include computer assisted teaching-learning, and multi-media resource utilization. There are also reforms related to classroom reorganization which include student grouping, cooperative learning, block scheduling, and many more.

Among the numerous educational reforms ranging from school restructuring to reorganization, reforms related to curriculum and instructional improvement are the major ones affecting teachers' daily practices directly. One such reform emphasized in Malaysia is the integration

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of the "higher order thinking skills" across curriculum and the development of "creative and critical thinking" among students. Even though the development of thinking abilities was introduced in the Integrated Curriculum for Secondary Schools as early as 1988 (Ministry of Education, 1989), it gained its emphasis only after the implementation of the Vision 2020 in 1991 which echoed its aim to transform the Malaysian society into a "thinking society." As a response to this national Vision, the Ministry of Education focused on full fledged integration of the higher-order thinking skills across all disciplinary subjects.

But integration of the higher-order thinking skills or the teaching of the creative and critical thinking is not an easy task for the teachers. As opposed to lower-order thinking strategies where students are asked to receive or recite factual information or to employ rules and algorithms through repetitive routines, higher-order thinking requires students to manipulate information and ideas in ways that transform their meaning and implications, and arrive at some conclusions or interpretations.

Manipulating information and ideas through these processes allows students to solve problems and discover new meanings and understandings for themselves. These new views about student learning characterize learners as active, constructive problem solvers, and consequently learning becomes a learner-mediated process (Anderson, 1989).

This new thinking about teaching and learning poses new challenges for teachers to change their conventional practices of "knowledge telling" and "didactic" methods of teaching to a more demanding form of "knowledge-generation" and "inquiry" methods of teaching and learning. Teaching higher order thinking skills requires teachers to go beyond mere recall and comprehension to a level of applying, evaluating, analyzing, and

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synthesizing information. In order to engage students in and develop their cognitive skills, teachers will have to learn the cognitive processes that promote development of higher order thinking about a certain subject matter (Anderson, 1989; Rosaen, 1989). For example, in the teaching of Human and Economic Geography for the upper secondary students, I as a teacher needed to be very clear about the purposes and outcomes of engaging students in the thinking process. I had to understand and specify the nature of the "thinking skills" involved. For instance, in analyzing the basic climatic factors of an area and its influence on human economic activities, I had to take students through different levels of thinking in order to help them see the relationship between various geographical factors and their interconnectedness with human economic activities. A proper understanding of the various geographic factors and its impact on economic activities will help students think further about other related issues such as the population distribution and density of a given area, transportation and communication networks, development of infrastructure for industrial growth and investment, employment opportunities, housing, growth of cities and so on.

The key factor here is teachers' own understanding about restructuring the material and the different levels of thinking that they could employ in order to lead their students to explore deeper issues. Since thinking does not happen in a vacuum, students need to be provided with the right contexts and taught how to develop ideas, see relationships, solve problems or make judgments (Rosaen, 1989). For example, discussing issues related to the problem of flash floods in the city of Kuala Lumpur, students had to be taken backward to understand the sources of the problem, which includes clearing forests and consequent soil erosion, river sedimentation and mud flow. They

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also need to be taken forward in order to analyze and understand the possible damage this flash flood could cause to human living and the city's economic activities. All these might entail teachers themselves thinking deeper about the discrete thinking operations such as recall, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of the subject matter to be taught.

What do Teachers Need to Teach in New Ways?

In order to teach according to the reforms and bring about positive outcomes in classroom instruction, teachers need to think in new ways about the subject matter, the curriculum, the general pedagogical practices, the students and the context in which they are teaching. Most importantly, they need to acquire pedagogical content knowledge which involves the transformation of the content or curricular knowledge into effective learning experiences for their students (Borko and Putnam, 1990; Grossman, 1995; Shulman, 1987). All these entail teachers changing their existing beliefs about the teaching-learning process, and viewing teaching as a knowledge transformation process instead of the traditional knowledge transmission activity. It also means that student learning is no longer information gathering but it is an active process of knowledge generation. For many teachers, learning to teach in new ways may require a new mind set or at least a mental shift that incorporates change in four areas.

1. In-depth subject matter knowledge

Reforms in instructional practices which call for incorporating higher order thinking skills and creative and critical thinking require teachers to have a firm grasp of the subject matter for teaching. This includes the knowledge of the content (facts, concepts, and organizing principles,

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Those teach and sciences have they can transform procedures within a discipline) as well as the substantive and syntactic structures of the discipline which may lead a teacher to look into the explanations, interpretations, discussions, and deeper analysis involved in the teaching of a subject (Schwab, 1978; Shulman, 1987). A growing body of case studies of subject matter teaching reveals how the presence or absence of this kind of knowledge affects the learning opportunities that teachers provide for their students (Ball and McDiarmid, 1990; Grossman, 1990; Wilson and Wineburg, 1988). The many cases or portraits of teachers struggling to make their knowledge explicit to their students make a compelling case for why teachers need deeper and more flexible subject matter knowledge than they generally have a chance to learn (Feiman-Nemser and Remillard, 1996).

While the changes in instructional practices according to the reforms demand deeper and flexible understanding of subject matter knowledge, there is reason to predict that Malaysian teachers in general lag far behind in this domain. The subject matter knowledge of most of the teachers is likely limited to what they have learned during their student days. A majority of the teachers in Malaysia are non-graduates (82.1 percent) who came into teaching immediately after completing their secondary level education plus two to three years of teacher training (UNESCO International Bureau of Education, 1993-1994). Such teachers lack advanced knowledge in their subject matter. Their teaching may be based on their past memories of their student days, in which case it is intuitive and imitative rather than explicit and analytical (Lortie, 1975).

Those teachers who qualified with a bachelor's degree in liberal arts and sciences have higher academic qualifications, but it is not clear how easily they can transform their subject matter knowledge into something that is

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teachable. Research conducted by NCRTL at Michigan State University has shown that teachers who majored in the subject they were teaching were only slightly better than majors in other subjects at explaining a concept or in developing a story problem or an example to illustrate a particular concept. So, majoring in an academic subject in college does not guarantee that teachers have the specific kind of subject matter knowledge needed for teaching (National Center for Research on Teacher Learning, 1993). I expect that the situation in Malaysia is the same. My experience was that teacher education courses in Malaysian undergraduate programs are not rigorous enough to help prospective teachers acquire an in-depth understanding of the subject matter needed for effective teaching.

2. Knowledge of learners and their contexts

Dewey (1938) said, "All genuine education comes through experience. Experience is educative only to the degree that this knowledge modifies learner's outlook, attitude, and skill....Failure of adaptation of material to the needs and capacities of individuals may cause an experience to be non-educative" (pp. 36-39). This explains very well the importance of taking students' existing knowledge, prior beliefs, and understanding while planning and executing a lesson. In Malaysia, a multi-ethnic society, students come from various ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds. Accordingly they bring different kinds of experiences and ideas to the classrooms and vary tremendously in their knowledge and beliefs, and in their perceptions about the world around them. As a teacher, one has to be very sensitive to these differences and carefully treat each student individually and respect the unique ideas they bring to school. This is not an easy task and may pose great challenge to the teachers.

Students also vary in terms of their academic capabilities and intellectual abilities. Not every person possess the same level of cognitive ability as the others. Their abilities vary according to the amount of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1978) and social capital (Lareau, 1989) they are endowed with by their family heritage, parents, and surroundings. Bearing this in mind, teachers will have to start from where the child is and tailor the learning process according to the individual student's needs. This can be a very demanding task for Malaysian teachers who have to teach higher order thinking skills and creative and critical thinking to a huge class with 30 to 40 students coming from very different socio-economic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds.

In order to help diverse students understand and become skillful in creative and critical thinking skills, teachers may have to learn new and different pedagogical approaches and classroom management styles. Teachers may need help to try out new classroom organization and management techniques which could provide optimum learning environments for students from differing abilities. All these new ventures and interrogations into teaching higher order thinking skills, and creative and critical thinking may entail new learning on the part of the teachers about their learners and their cultural and social contexts.

3. Pedagogical content knowledge

Even when teachers have thorough grounding in their subject matter and they understand their learners, more is needed to promote effective learning experiences by students. Grossman, Wilson, and Shulman (1989) argued that while subject matter knowledge is the foundation for teaching, it is not enough alone to make teaching meaningful. They said that the key to

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teaching is the act of transforming disciplinary knowledge into a form of knowledge that is appropriate for students and specific to the task of teaching. In the Malaysian context too, teachers teaching higher order thinking skills, and creative and critical thinking need to know the way to transform their subject matter knowledge and present it to students in such a manner that the students would grasp ways of analyzing, evaluating and synthesizing the content.

This knowledge which helps teachers connect subject matter to their students in meaningful ways has been labeled pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986). It is a special amalgam of content and pedagogy which includes ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others. Lee Shulman describes this pedagogical content knowledge as a second kind of content knowledge,

...which goes beyond knowledge of the subject matter per se to the dimension of subject matter for teaching....Within this category of pedagogical content knowledge I include, for the most regularly taught topics in one's subject area, the most useful forms of representations of those ideas, the most powerful analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations, and demonstrations - in a word, ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others. Pedagogical content knowledge also includes an understanding of what makes the learning of specific topics easy or difficult; the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons (Shulman, 1986, pp. 9-10).

In other words, this is a knowledge transformation process which involves
(a) preparation through critical interpretation and analysis of the text; (b)
representation of the ideas in the form of new analogies, metaphors,
demonstrations, and so forth; (c) selecting of the appropriate methods and
models of delivery; and (d) adapting instructional materials and strategies to

suit student characteristics and the context. It refers to the capacity of a teacher to transform the content knowledge he or she possesses into pedagogically powerful lessons that are adaptive to the variations in ability and background presented by the students (Shulman, 1987). It is the ability to adapt different forms of representations in multiple ways in order to meet specific goals for specific set of learners. In Dewey's terms, it means to "psychologise" the subject matter, to rethink disciplinary contents and concepts in order to bring it within the range and scope of the students' lives and make it meaningful (Dewey, 1964).

4. Teachers' beliefs about students, subject matter, and teaching and learning

For most teachers, conceptions of teaching and learning tend to be eclectic collections of beliefs and views developed over time (Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Cohen and Ball, 1990). Some teachers still believe and operate under the assumption that 'teaching is telling, knowledge is facts, and learning is recall' (Cohen, 1988). In the Malaysian context, based on my experiences with my colleagues, I would say that this holds true for many teachers who still do believe teaching is knowledge telling and learning is knowledge consumption. Therefore, they do not see the necessity to engage students in active problem solving activities or in involving them in the acquisition of new knowledge.

Teachers who operate under the assumption that students are empty vessels waiting to be filled believe that students are passive recipients who act as depositories of knowledge (Freire, 1970) and that the teachers' responsibility is to dispense information that students would absorb and somehow be able to use later (Darling-Hammond, 1997). With such an understanding, many teachers take the central role in the classroom and

monopolize the whole teaching-learning process. Not much opportunity is given for student participation.

But effective instruction of creative and critical thinking involves full participation from the students. Teachers have to shift from the traditional teacher-centered, chalk-talk method to the student-centered, activity-based instruction. In order to change teachers' conceptions from a conventional teacher-centered to a more learner-centered, constructivist view of learning, deep examination of prior ideas and beliefs about the nature of knowledge, teaching and learning may be necessary before teachers reconceptualize their practice (Nelson, 1997). But studies done in the United States and in Mexico have indicated that teachers changing their conceptions to teach in constructivist ways is not a simple task (Cohen, 1991; Tatto, 1999).

In the mid 1980s, the California State Department of Education revised mathematics teaching and learning so that mechanical memorization of mathematics was supposed to be replaced with conceptual understanding. A teacher in the study, Mrs. Oublier, thought she had revolutionized her mathematics teaching, but was found to have filtered her instruction through the traditional approaches to teaching. For example, she used new materials, but used them as though mathematics contained only right and wrong answers. She revised her curriculum to help students understand, but conducted her class in a manner that discouraged exploration of student understanding. As Cohen said, she did not revolutionize her teaching practices for conceptual understanding, but instead she merely cobbled new ideas onto familiar practices (1991).

These and other research studies (e.g. reviews by Richardson, 1990, and Borko and Putnam, 1996) highlight the central role played by teachers' beliefs and conceptions when learning new ways to teach. If beliefs do not change,

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then teachers' learning about new ways to teach may not be deep enough to support genuine chaage in instruction.

Teacher Professional Development

The increased demands of teaching embedded in educational reforms in Malaysia require changes in how teachers teach and learn. The changes in teachers' conceptions of teaching and learning and learning to teach in new and challenging ways cannot be fulfilled with existing forms of in-service training. In Malaysia, there is data suggesting that the existing system of inservice teacher education is ineffective in disseminating and implementing curricular reforms (Amir, 1993; Noor Azmi, 1989; Malakolunthu, 1997). In particular, the data collected by Malakolunthu (1997) provided a portrayal of some Malaysian inservice efforts. In-service and in-house training is often short-term and not sustained. Most of the time, such courses are developed by the "experts" at the top -- either at the Ministry of Education or at the State Education Department, and the contents of the in-service training are not related to individual teacher's needs. The same content is taught to all participants without any regards for their backgrounds, and occurs in isolated settings away from real classroom situations. The inservice is usually mandated and sometimes it is not perceived as value-adding or productive, since it does not originate from the teachers' needs. As a result of all these factors, it was considered as a burden by the teachers studied (Malakolunthu, 1997).

The model of inservice most prevalent in Malaysia contrasts with an alternative model portrayed in North American literature as long term, ongoing professional development programs (Gusky and Huberman, 1995; Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992; Lieberman, 1995; Little, 1993). Darling-

P in ٩r 0f in st: tea ire sch Hammond and McLaughlin (1995) noted that effective professional development engages teachers both as learners and as teachers, and allows them to struggle with the uncertainties that accompany each role. According to them, an effective professional development program engages teachers in concrete tasks of teaching, assessment, and observation that illuminate the learning and development processes; it is grounded in participation-driven inquiry, reflection, and experimentation; it is collaborative, involving a sharing of knowledge among educators and a focus on communities of practice; it is connected to and derived from teachers' work with their students; it is sustained, ongoing, intensive, and supported by modeling, coaching, and collective problem solving; and it is connected to other aspects of school change.

Richard Elmore (1997) also defines successful professional development as activities that focus on concrete classroom applications of general ideas; expose teachers to actual practice rather than description of practice; provide opportunities for observation, critique, and reflection; involve opportunities for group support and collaboration; and involve deliberate evaluation and feedback by skillful practitioners with expertise about good teaching. Under such a model, teachers themselves plan, select, and make decisions with regards to their learning needs for the improvement of their instructional practices. Teachers participate in an on-going collegial interaction, technical collaboration, and professional inquiry which would stimulate their professional growth (Lieberman, 1994).

Literature about teachers' professional development advocates that teachers need chances to learn from one another's successes and failures, and freely share their ideas and knowledge. Little's (1986) classic study of six schools involved in staff development in a medium-sized urban

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environment attributed the successful implementation of an innovative program to the critical importance of building norms of collegiality and experimentation. This is supported by the study done by Rosenholtz (1989) which indicated that teachers who work in collaborative, growth-oriented settings are more likely to engage in experimentation and more likely to feel professionally stimulated.

In the Malaysian context, an ongoing, well-sustained, strongly-supported professional development program may be helpful in assisting teachers to learn to teach in new ways as expected by the reforms. Adult learning theories suggest that adults appreciate and participate wholeheartedly in any learning programs where they are involved in deciding and planning what they want to learn and if it is tailored to suit their individual/group learning needs which may be directly related to their day-to-day professional lives (Knowles, 1990). Therefore, teacher professional development which could be organized around teachers, by teachers, and for the teachers could be helpful in the Malaysian reform context, certainly more likely to succeed than the short-term, top-down, mandated inservices that are the norm in Malaysia at this time.

How does the literature on teachers' learning and professional development influence the design of my study?

All of the literature reviewed so far highlighted the importance and complexity of teachers' learning in order to change instructional practices. Since teacher learning is so complex, it cannot be achieved through brief inservice training and short term intermittent courses, and thus there is a need for well-formulated, long-term, on-going professional development

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activities organized around teachers' needs and collaboration about their teaching practice.

If teachers need in-depth subject matter knowledge, knowledge of learners and their contexts, pedagogical content knowledge, and deeper understanding about the teaching-learning process as described in the preceding section, where and how can Malaysian teachers gain access to such opportunities? As noted above, inservices run by the State or Ministry have not fulfilled requirements for genuine professional learning. An alternative site for professional development opportunities that would facilitate collegial discussions and collaboration around issues of practice over a long time is the school. But if the school is to be the site for meaningful professional development activities, it is likely that principals would need to be involved, at the very least, and perhaps even leading such efforts.

Thus, my review of literature on teachers' learning and what is needed for high-quality professional development led me to focus on principals and the roles they play (or could play) in creating a school environment where Malaysian teachers' learning about new instructional practices is supported.

Principals as Instructional Leaders

Among the many factors which could influence teachers' learning and development, principals are considered to be the key agents of change who could provide and facilitate on-going school level support, at least in the North American and United Kingdom literature (Louis and Miles, 1992; Leithwood, 1990; Mortimore, 1995; Purkey and Smith, 1983).

Many discussions in the research literature about principal effectiveness highlight an aspect called "instructional leadership." Even though principals play several roles ranging from administration to school

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management, the instructional leadership role is considered by many to be the key for school improvement. Principals as instructional leaders are said to be making a difference in schools, facilitating school change and influencing the instructional improvement aspects (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Fullan, 1991; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982). The Chief Inspector for Schools in the United Kingdom said that, "If the largest single factor in determining pupil standards of achievement is the quality of teaching, then it is also the principal's leadership which is the critical factor in improving the quality of teaching in today's schools" (Office for Standards in Education, 1995, pp. 5-6, as cited in Gronn and Ribbins, 1996). Principals who are instructional leaders assume the key duty of developing a productive and satisfying working environment for teachers where the teaching-learning process would flourish and produce effective results. The assumption that undergirds the theory for instructional leadership is that innovation is continually needed to promote self-renewing change. The force which promotes the acceptance and management of innovation rests with the school's leader - the principal (Greenfield, 1987).

In a study involving over 2,500 teachers and 1,200 principals, Smith and Andrews (1989) found that principals who were instructional leaders marshaled personal, building, district, and community resources to achieve the vision and goals of the school. The instructional leaders demonstrated effective use of time and resources; demonstrated skill as a change master by establishing an ongoing process for planning and making necessary changes within the school while developing the feeling of individual and group ownership; and demonstrated the ability to motivate staff members. Principals as instructional leaders also acted as instructional resources who demonstrated the ability to evaluate and reinforce appropriate and effective

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instructional strategies, and supervised the staff, using strategies that focused on the improvement of instruction.

Joyce and Showers (1988) argued that the purpose of school leadership is to be very active in bringing about a cohesion in the faculty; organize the faculty into study groups and coaching teams, meeting with those teams and facilitating their activities, organize staff development, and continuously assess the educational climate of the school, feeding information and perspectives to the faculty for use in decision making about possible areas for study and improvement.

Persell and Cookson (1982) reviewed more than 75 research studies and reported that principals who are strong instructional leaders directly communicated with teachers, supported and participated in staff development activities, established teaching incentives for the use of new instructional strategies, and displayed knowledge of curriculum materials. Such principals also effectively consulted with others by involving the faculty in school decision making processes. Teachers working under such leadership felt that they were genuinely encouraged to exchange ideas and see the school as a place which encourages inquiry and change.

Some studies reviewed by Bossert et al. (1982) suggested that principals in effective schools devote time to the coordination and control of instruction and are more skillful at the tasks involved. They do more observations of teachers' work, discuss more work related problems with teachers, and are more supportive of teachers' efforts to improve (especially by distributing materials or promoting in-service activities), and are more active in setting up teacher evaluation procedures.

Principals as instructional leaders are also responsible for creating a work environment which would foster good human relations. Effective

principals apparently recognize the unique styles and needs of teachers and help teachers achieve their own performance goals, a process that may fulfill teachers' higher order needs. They also encourage and acknowledge good work (Bossert et al., 1982).

Krug (1992) also emphasized the role of principals in promoting positive instructional climates for teachers as one of the key components of instructional leadership. According to him, experienced principals recognize that their primary objective is to motivate people by creating conditions under which people want to do what needs to be done, and are protected from external interference. Effective teaching and learning is inevitable in a school environment where teachers are supported for their achievements. Good instructional leaders help create excitement, provide reinforcement, and channel teachers' energy in productive directions.

How did the literature on instructional leadership influence the design of my study?

Literature on "effective schools" (mainly from the United States) reiterated the important role played by principals in creating and assisting teachers in variety of ways to help improve their instruction. Principals as instructional leaders marshal resources, become resource personnel for matters related to curriculum and instruction, help promote staff development, act as buffers to protect teachers from external disturbances, and so forth. While studies done in the U. S. have found principals to be key agents who create positive instructional climate, support staff development activities, and effect positive changes at schools, it is not clear to what extent and how principals in Malaysia directly support and participate in the improvement of instruction at their schools, especially by supporting their

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teachers' professional growth and learning. So, this led me to frame my research questions at the beginning of my study as "to what extent and in what ways do Malaysian principals engage with the task of creating a supportive work climate for teachers' instructional improvement?" I asked this question with the hope of finding out whether in the first place they create supportive work climates, and then, if they do, how they accomplish this, or, if they do not, why they do not act as instructional leaders.

Transformational Leadership

While instructional leadership has been a concept highlighted by many studies of principals, recently there has been another school of thought which argues that the concept of instructional leadership is narrow and it does not specifically address issues related to organizational development. The proponents of transformational leadership argue that school restructuring creates new expectations of those who offer leadership to schools, and these expectations for school leaders are not well captured by images of instructional leadership (Leithwood, 1992, 1994). Instructional leadership (by definition) focuses attention on what school improvement researchers refer to as "first order" changes, or changes in core technology. An example of first order changes is a constructivist model of learning and forms of instruction designed to teach for understanding. However, there is an increasing accumulation of evidence demonstrating that an almost exclusive focus on first order changes is associated with the failure of change initiatives -especially failure to institutionalize such changes after their implementation (Fuhrman, 1993; Fullan, 1993). This calls for attention to second-order change as an essential element for the survival of first-order changes.

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 $O^{\mathcal{U}}$ the cultur While the first order changes involve instructional leadership which would support the changes in the core technology and the teaching-learning process, second-order changes involve a form of leadership that is sensitive to organization building: developing shared vision, creating productive work cultures, distributing leadership to others, and so forth (Leithwood, 1992, 1994). In these ways transformational leadership may arouse human potential, satisfy higher needs, and raise expectations of leaders and followers to motivate them both to higher levels of commitment and performance (Sergiovanni, 1988).

Transformational leadership is expected to have an effect not only on teachers' motivations but also on their psychological dispositions. It is expected to bring about changes in the teachers' perception of the school characteristics, commitment to change, and organizational learning or the collective capacity development for school improvement. These psychological dispositions brought about by transformational leadership are supposed to result in positive school change.

According to Fullan (1991) serious reform is not implementing single innovations, but involves changing the culture and structure of the school. Since instructional leadership does not press for such changes, transformational forms of leadership which emphasize the organizational and cultural changes more attuned to the people and their involvement and empowerment are sought (Hunt, 1991).

Collegiality, Technical Collaboration, and Professional Inquiry as Avenues for Teacher Learning

One very important aspect of transformational leadership -- changing the culture and structure of a school in ways that sustain professional growth

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and instructional improvement -- is facilitating norms and practices of professional collegiality. As described above in the section on teachers' professional development, literature in teacher learning advocates that teachers need chances to learn from one another's successes and failures and freely share their ideas and knowledge. Little's (1982) classic study of six schools involved in staff development in a medium-sized urban environment ascribed the critical importance of successful implementation of an innovative program to the building of norms of collegiality and experimentation. This is supported by the study done by Rosenholtz (1989) which indicated that teachers who work in collaborative, growth-oriented settings are more likely to engage in experimentation and more likely to feel professionally stimulated. In this section, the principals' role in supporting collegiality is reviewed.

Teachers need to be part of a larger learning community that can be a source of support and ideas. Beyond such support systems, they also need chances to experience learning in ways consistent with reform and to observe teaching practices that help students achieve the learner outcomes. Research conducted in the 1980s and 1990s suggests that teachers can create, improve, and sustain new pedagogies far more effectively in the company of likeminded colleagues then they can on their own (McLaughlin, 1993; Featherstone, 1996). Ideally, the right person who could make this possible for teachers is the principal. A school principal can act as the 'middle manager' who could put things together and create a collaborative learning environment where teachers can trust each other and openly discuss their problems and their difficulties. Cultivating such relations among the staff would increase their collective capacity to help one another to improve.

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One study showed that in schools where the principal was actively engaged with teachers and consistently announced expectations for and modeled behaviors of collegiality, there was increased support for self-examination, risk taking, and collective reflection on practice. When principal and teachers observed each other in classrooms, had time to talk about what they were doing, and worked to find solutions to commonly defined problems, the lives of the teachers and the principal were transformed (Lieberman, 1994). In this case the traditions of privacy and isolation were replaced by shared ownership of issues and problems of practice, a willingness to consider alternative explanations, and a desire to work together as colleagues. The staff was building a new set of norms for work and thus a new culture that encouraged and supported inquiry (Little, 1986).

According to Roland Barth (1987), the principal of a school occupies a position of central influence over the improvement of teachers and teaching. Transforming relationships by developing collegiality, engaging teachers in important decisions affecting their classrooms and school, developing personal visions, becoming active adult learners, and maintaining quality in their own and others' performances, are all ways principals can make good use of their extraordinary influence in improving the workplace learning for all.

Research independently reported by Little (1982) and Rosenholtz (1989) provided compelling support for the importance of collegiality and building a professional culture of teaching on the one hand and in enhancing commitment and performance on the other. Both researchers found that the kind of leadership principals provided influences the collegial norm structure of the school. Rosenholtz (1989) found that teachers in high-collegial schools

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described their principals as being supportive and as considering problems to be schoolwide concerns that provided opportunities for collective problem solving and learning. Teachers and principals in less collegial schools, by contrast, reported being isolated and alienated.

According to Little (1982, 1986), collegiality is the presence of four specific behaviors: adults in schools talk about the practice of teaching and learning frequently, continuously, and in concrete, precise terms; teachers observe each other teaching and administering; teachers work on the curriculum together by planning, designing, researching, and evaluating; and teachers teach each other what they know about teaching, learning, and leading. All these practices could not possibly happen without the support of the building principals. In her research, Little (1982) discovered that the principals played crucial role in developing collegial interactions among the teachers. She found that the norms of collegiality were developed when principals clearly communicated expectations for teacher cooperation; provided a model for collegiality by working first hand with teachers in improving the school; rewarded expressions of collegiality among teachers by recognition, release time, money, and other support sources; and protected teachers who were willing to go against expected norms of privatism and isolation by engaging in collegial behaviors.

It has been said that schools should not only be places where teachers teach but should also be places for teachers to become involved in inquiry and growth (Schafer, 1975; Sarason, 1982). As Smylie (1995) says, "In an optimal workplace environment, learning experience would arise from and feed back into work experiences." School as a workplace provides a natural setting for teachers to work and learn collaboratively, making inquiries into their practices, and build cultures of teaching that would support on-going

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professional growth. If schools are the ideal places where teacher inquiry can be promoted, then the role of the principal would be to nurture the learning of the staff. McLaughlin (1991) says,

Principals are primarily responsible for establishing the norms, values, and expectations essential to consequential professional development. This normative climate is not self-creating or self-sustaining, it requires school leaders accomplish this by establishing professional growth and problem-solving as a priority for the school, and making it "safe" for teachers to critically examine their practice and take risk (McLaughlin, 1991, p. 73).

So, as a leader, a principal has to foster a positive learning environment, a school climate where failure is safe and reflection is encouraged, thus creating continuous opportunity for teacher growth.

How does the literature on transformational leadership, especially principals' roles in developing professional collegiality, influence the design of my study?

This notion of transformational leadership threw new light on my inquiry. While it is true that instructional leadership is important for bringing about change in instructional practices, it does not address the human resource development that teachers need to learn in all the ways required by the instructional reforms (or to have a say about whether particular reforms are appropriate and needed in their schools).

This led me to ask questions related to teachers' perspectives about how they define and describe a supportive work climate for their work at schools, and how they see their principals contributing to that. By posing questions about supportive work environments to both principals and teachers, I wanted to learn about whether and how Malaysian principals exhibit transformational leadership or, if there is no evidence of such, why they do or can not act as

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eti şe transformational leaders. In particular, I wanted to learn more about whether and how Malaysian principals support norms of collegiality, technical collaboration, and professional inquiry among teachers. These concepts related to workplace learning led me to inquire about the creation of supportive work climate at schools for teacher learning and instructional improvement. These concepts created an informal framework for my definition of a supportive work climate for teachers which shaped my interviews (as described in the next chapter).

Role of Contextual Factors in Principal Performance

While principals are widely considered to be the key factor in establishing norms for teacher collegiality and successful implementation of school reforms, there is also literature which reminds us that principals work within a complex context (Hannaway and Talbert, 1993; Harber, 1992; Leithwood et al., 1990). Hannaway and Talbert (1993) have said that neither school-based reform initiatives nor the policy research literature take into account local system factors that affect a school's capacity to improve. Some schools, they suspect, face a far more difficult challenge than do others in establishing successful school-level reforms. Their study was concerned with the relative ease or difficulty that different schools have in promoting a strong school-level professional community of teachers and strong principal leadership. They tried to find out how the external environment of public high schools affects the natural occurrence of these two conditions. Their findings showed distinct patterns for schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings given substantial differences in their social and organizational environments (1993, p. 164-165).

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Ball (1987), writing about British headteachers, also noted that there are many contextual factors which restrict, condition, and affect the principals' role fulfillment, and these are neglected in research. He further argues that this is so because the theoretical writing on school organization has been overwhelmingly influenced by systems theory and has not been sufficiently grounded in empirical reality. He says,

It is my contention that organizational analyses -- I include both work in organizational theory and the sociology of organizations -- have had little of any significance to tell us about the way in which schools are actually run on a day-to-day basis. Indeed, a great deal of the writing in this field has actually tended to bypass and obscure realities of organizational life in schools. To a great extent organizational theorists have remained locked, explicitly or implicitly, within the stultifying parameters of systems theory and have tended to neglect description in favor of prescription or to move uncertainly between the two. They prefer the abstract tidiness of conceptual debate to the concrete messiness of empirical research inside the schools (Ball, 1987, p. 1, as cited in Harber, 1992).

Thinking along the same line, Harber from the United Kingdom said, "... despite a mountain of published writing on education, we still know little about the everyday reality of schools and in particular how key actors carry out their roles" (1992, p. 162). Reflecting upon studies of principals in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia, Harber (1992) argued that organizational theories and books on educational management tend to deal with the job of head-teacher in a generalized and prescriptive manner and they tell us very little about the reality of the job or the contexts in which teachers work. He said what is needed is "More research that was grounded in the day-to-day reality of schools and the contexts in which they have to work might help to explain why schools do not necessarily function according to the rules of abstract tidiness portrayed in organizational models" (Harber, 1992, p. 163).

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For instance, Harber's report on studies conducted in Botswana, Ghana, and Thailand highlighted the various economic, cultural, and socio-political factors which divert principals' attention from the teaching-learning process. For example, the principals in northeast Thailand were constrained by the lack of physical facilities such as electricity. The principals in the study spent only half their time in school because they were away at educational meetings or were busy attending to the local community responsibilities. Such practices took away the principals' supervision time at school and therefore, contributed to ineffective schooling (Harber, 1992, p. 166-167).

While the principals' work in the northeastern part of Thailand was constrained and affected by the economic and cultural factors, the principals in Ghana and Botswana had problems dealing with the lack of physical resources such as the supply of teaching materials, books, equipment, and even the most rudimentary of classroom learning tools, such as paper, pencils, and chalk! In Ghana, where the economic problems can hamper food supply, one head in the study reported by Harber (1992) claimed that more than 50 percent of his time was spent making sure the pupils had food to eat on time (Harber, 1992, p. 165). So, principals serving in the schools studied in sub-Sahara and Thailand were severely constrained by the poor economic and cultural conditions and contexts.

There are also other factors within school systems which could influence a principal's role. For example, Leithwood, Begley, and Cousins (1990), who did a comprehensive "stock-taking" review of original studies done between 1974 to 1988, identified a number of factors which seem to have influenced principals' performance at schools. They categorized four types of external factors which included the principal's role expectancy, the teachers' willingness to innovate, policies and procedures of the school system, and the

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principal's own training and socialization experiences. All of these factors, when they interacted with the principal's personal traits, knowledge and beliefs, values, attitudes, and skills, shaped the principals' practices (1990, pp. 21-22). The review makes it clear that principals' behavior does not happen in a vacuum; it is influenced by a number of variables external and internal to the principals. Therefore, such questions as what principals do, how they do it, and why they do what they do, can only be understood if their role is studied in the larger contexts in which principals function (Boyan, 1988; Leithwood, et al., 1990; Harber, 1992).

A framework for examining instructional management put forward by Bossert et al. (1982) also indicated that the principals' instructional management behavior is very much influenced and shaped by a number of factors which included personal characteristics, district characteristics, and the external social environment. First, he noted that personal characteristics included the person's sex, professional training to carry out the instructional management duties, and prior work experience in instruction. Principals themselves in some studies have suggested some shortcomings with respect to their training. Goldhammer and his associates (as cited in Bossert et al., 1982), for example, have noted that principals reported that they lack the training to deal with human relations problems in their schools and they would like more courses in communication skills.

Bossert and colleagues also noted district level characteristics that are said to constrain principals' work including the informal culture of the school district which often stresses maintaining a low profile, appearing to conform on issues, pleasing incumbent administrators, and maintaining a strong position in the informal network of relations rather than implementing creative management practices or innovative processes

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learned outside the district. Other aspects of the district characteristics which influence principals' behavior are the district rules and policies. The rules and regulations that come from the top often seem to govern the principals' activities and priorities more than the local needs at school.

A third source of influence on principals in the Bossert and colleagues' framework is the school's social environment. School characteristics such as community type and homogeneity, school size, student socioeconomic status, and school level have been found to influence how principals approach their jobs. Pressures from the parents, the community, and the emphasis on strong academic press, and so forth may also pose limits on principals' flexibility. At the same time, there are complex legal constraints on principals as well as numerous reporting requirements that generate paperwork and take time away from principals' instructional management activities. All these bureaucratic requirements and practices may constrain principals' work to a large extent (Bossert et al., 1982).

How does the literature on contexts of principals' work influence the design of my study?

While speaking about the important role of principals in teacher and instructional improvement, the literature also reminds us to pay attention to the influences of larger contexts on principals' work. Principals' work is not a unidimensional, straightforward, simple task. It is very much affected by numerous cultural, structural, and policy contexts in which principals operate. In the Malaysian case, while studying about the principals' role in supporting teachers work climate, I did not want to be oblivious to the factors which may inhibit or hinder principals' performance as instructional and transformational leaders. Operating in a centralized system of

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administration, there could be multiple factors causing tensions, dilemmas, and pressures on the principal to perform in a certain manner. Thus, this notion led me to ask what are the aspects of the larger policy, organizational, and social contexts that facilitate or constrain principals' efforts to create a supportive work climate for instructional improvement in the Malaysian schools.

Summary

The review of related literature done thus far elaborates the main line of arguments of this study. Literature on educational reforms supports the notion that for the successful implementation of any curricular or instructional reforms, teacher learning is vital. Teachers need to have through grounding in their subject matter knowledge, knowledge of their learners and the contexts, and pedagogical content knowledge. In order to teach in new ways, teachers may need to recast their conventional beliefs about their students and the subject matter, and reconceptualize their ideas about the teaching-learning process. For many teachers, these needs entail a significant amount of unlearning and relearning, and these cannot be achieved through the kinds of in-service training methods now used most often in Malaysia. Teachers need on-going, well-sustained, school-based, teacher-centered professional development programs which encourage teacher learning through collegial interaction, technical collaboration and professional inquiry.

Evidence from the review of literature suggests that this kind of learning situation or work climate conducive for teacher learning can be created by building principals who assume responsibility for teacher development at the school level. Principals could play an instructional and

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transformational leadership role to assist teachers by mustering physical resources for instructional improvement and developing human resources for organizational building. But, unfortunately, principals do not work without constraints. Their performance may be hampered by various contextual factors which can divert their attention elsewhere or limit their performance.

My study originated in my personal experiences as a teacher in the Malaysian education system, and was enhanced by literature related to teachers, teaching, and policy. These two sources led me to construct the argument for my study, which addresses (i) educational reforms or changes in Malaysia, (ii) the aspects of teacher learning necessary to bring about these changes, (iii) ways to help teachers acquire that learning, (iv) how principals could play key roles in helping teachers learn, and (v) the influence of the larger policy, organizational, and social contexts on principals. So, my inquiry started with experiences and literature, which led me to ask questions, collect and analyze data, which in turn led me to seek out more literature and more insights. This process is discussed in more detail in the next chapter on methodology.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses how I conducted the study, including the research method, the research context and the methodology of data collection, data management and analysis.

Research Method

This used a qualitative case study method to analyze and compare two schools. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that qualitative, naturalistic, and interpretive studies help people understand the enormously complex problems of schools and the society, since other forms of research methods often fail to probe deeply into the intricacy of a problem. The particular qualitative approach used here is case study. Until the 1970s, the use of the case study was seldom considered to be proper educational research method. Currently it has become one of the most popular, and usually respected, forms of studying educators and educational problems. Stake (1997) noted that even though case studies have not found the solutions for education's problems, researchers and others have appreciated their deep, self-referential probes of problems.

For this study, I felt that qualitative research methods were appropriate because they allowed me to peer deeply into the heart of the issues surrounding principals. Quantitative surveys which claim to represent many principals' views typically extract composite accounts of key issues, and do not offer rich and comprehensive understandings of the 'perspectives' that

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principals bring to their work. In-depth portraits of a small number of individual principals would, however, provide much fuller access to their views across a range of issues (Gronn and Ribbinns, 1996). Therefore, in my study, I decided that the use of the qualitative case study design was the best method to discover, understand, and explain in an in-depth manner Malaysian principals' perspectives on their work, and the impact of contexts on their perspectives and performance.

Since an interpretation based on evidence from several cases can be more compelling than results based on a single instance, I decided to study at least two cases. Instead of studying one school, I studied two schools so that I could offer a cross-case analysis which may enable me make generalizations about what may constitute a supportive work climate for teachers (Lightfoot, 83; Merriam, 1988). Each case in this study was first treated as a comprehensive case in and of itself. Data were gathered to learn as much about the contextual variables as possible that might have a bearing on the case. And then the data of each qualitative case was analyzed. Later data from both cases were cross-analyzed to build a general explanation that fits each of the individual cases, even though the cases vary in their details (Yin, 1984).

Research Context

Selecting research sites

This study was conducted in two government-aided secondary schools situated in one of the west coast states of Peninsular Malaysia. These two schools were selected on the basis of recommendations given by the Director of the State Inspectorate. Initially, I wanted to study to what extent and how secondary school principals in Malaysia created supportive work climates for their teachers, and so I thought it would be appropriate to start with principals

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who were rated as 'good' in some ways. In order to select the 'good' principals, I had to use some credible method of selection. As a first step, I sought the advice of one of the directors in the Ministry of Education in Kuala Lumpur. He recommended that I speak with the head of the school inspectors of the state where I was planning to conduct my study. Since the inspectors division of each state is responsible for keeping the evaluation details and track records of each school in the state, I considered that to be a reliable place to start my selection process.

When I approached the head of the State Inspectors division of this particular state and explained the details of my study, he provided me with a list of six schools (see Table 3.1) with principals he considered to be "outstanding." According to him, the six principals whom he had recommended had shown "outstanding" efforts in creating and supporting a positive teaching-learning climate in their schools. Some of the criteria that he used to select the 'outstanding' principals were based upon the principals' focus in improving the teaching-learning process in their schools, the attention they paid to academic achievement and test scores, their strong emphasis on co-curricular activities, and their initiative in undertaking school development activities and projects (personal interview December 1997).

After obtaining the list of six schools with "outstanding" principals from the head of the state inspectors division, I had to shorten the list. Due to time constraints (I was given only three months by my scholarship provider to do my fieldwork) and the qualitative nature of my study, it was not feasible to carry out my research in more than two schools. In order to select two out of the given six schools, I had to come up with some form of

selection procedure to help me make the decision. As a first step, I laid down the different variables/features of the six schools as in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of Schools and Principals Sample

| School | Principal's background | Socio- economic status of students | Locality of school | Student population |
|----------|---------------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------------|
| School A | Ministry of Education | High | Suburban | single-sex |
| School B | Rank and file | High | Suburban | co-education |
| School C | Rank and file | High | Suburban | single-sex |
| School D | Ministry of Education | High | Suburban | single-sex |
| School E | Ministry of Education | Low | City outskirts | co-education |
| School F | Ministry of Education | Low | Urban | co-education |

I decided, first of all, to choose schools with contrasting features. As Sara Lightfoot (1983) had suggested, choosing schools with contrasting features is important because the diversity in their philosophies, resources, population, and socio-economic backgrounds will provide researchers with rich and interesting information. In my case, the contrasting features of the sites provided me with insights which may be helpful in understanding how schools with different contextual backgrounds influence principals' efforts to create conducive work climates for their teachers. On this basis, I selected the School A which from now onwards I shall call Seri Melati Secondary School and School E which I shall call Seri Wira Secondary School (all the names of both school and people used in this study are pseudonyms). These two

schools gave me a good contrast in terms of their socio-economic status, school locality, and student population.

Recruitment of the principals

As soon as the schools were selected, I visited them to seek the permission of the principals to conduct my study in their schools. I gave them a brief overview of my study. Very fortunately, principals of both schools agreed to participate in the study without any hesitation. This was the first success in the process of my research.

Recruitment of teachers at Seri Melati Secondary School

Next came the teacher recruitment process. I decided to purposefully select informants who would best answer my research questions (Creswell, 1994). So, as I entered the field, I had two criteria for selecting teachers to participate in my study. First of all, I wanted to make sure that the teachers whom I selected would contribute to my study by answering my research questions. Secondly, I wanted to have a diverse group which would include various grade levels, different subjects, and a range of years of experience. In other words, I wanted to purposefully select my informants so that I would have a wide range of informants who would likely provide me with rich data that would provide me with multiple and diverse perspectives.

Next came the question of "How do I contact teachers?" Since I started my first couple of interviews with the principal, I asked her to recommend one or two teachers who may be helpful in adding more information to whatever the principal's focus was. The principal introduced the head of the language department to me and asked her to provide me with the necessary help. Later on, this head of the department introduced the English language

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subject panel head to me. These two teachers were my first contact. Through them I came to know a few teachers. So, I would say that the first few teachers were picked using the 'snowball sampling technique' (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982) whereby the first person whom I interviewed introduced the next person and it went on like that. Later on, after securing a spot in the staff room, I randomly picked any teacher who was available, and willing to answer my interview questions. Even though the initial selection of teachers was through someone introducing the other, later on it ended up as random sampling.

This technique did not work very well with every teacher whom I encountered. While some willingly participated, there were a few who flatly refused to be interviewed. There was one very senior teacher who has been at Seri Melati for the past twenty years whom I thought would provide important insight for my study, but she simply had no time for me! When I approached her, she firmly stated that she is too busy and has no time for sitting and answering interviews. [Generally, teachers at Seri Melati gave me the impression that they were a group of teachers who were working very hard and were indeed looking as busy as bees]. Fortunately, there was one teacher who happened to be sitting in the seat next to my spot and was very accommodating and took interest in my study. She is quite a senior teacher with 25 years of teaching experience, and she has been working at Seri Melati for the past seven years. She became a resourceful person and a key informant at Seri Melati. Even after I came back to East Lansing, I still communicated with her over the e-mail to clear my doubts and to get more information about the school.

All together eight teachers from Seri Melati participated in the study (out of a faculty of 94). Details about these eight teachers are provided in

ei de vo pa po re ec ra he Table 3.2. Due to time constraints, I was not able to interview more than eight teachers. The group of eight included a good mix of people with two department heads, three subject panel heads, and three regular teachers who volunteered to participate in the study. Even though the number of teachers participated in my study only represent 8.3 percent of the total teacher population, I think the group of teachers I interviewed is a good representation of the faculty and is comparable in average experience and educational backgrounds. I selected teachers whose teaching experience ranges from less than three years to 28 years, regular teachers to department heads, teachers who are prominent and vocal as well as those who are more quiet.

Table 3. 2

Data of the Seri Melati Secondary School teachers who participated in the study

| Teachers | Subjects taught | Total number of years taught | Total number of years taught at Seri Melati |
|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---|
| Teacher 1 (Emily Choo) | English | 20 | 06 |
| Teacher 2 (Nordiana) | English | 12 | 05 |
| Teacher 3 (Anna Lee) | Mathematics | 25 | 07 |
| Teacher 4 (Lydia Nor) | Mathematics | 08 | 04 |
| Teacher 5 (Mimi Roy) | Physics | 13 | 05 |
| Teacher 6 (Kalsom) | Malay language | 03 | 01 |
| Teacher 7 (Miriyana) | Mathematics | 18 | 10 |
| Teacher 8 (Ratna) | Science | 22 | 07 |

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At Seri Melati Secondary School all the eight teachers except the two department heads were very vocal and expressed their views and frustrations without any hesitation. In contrast, the two department heads were quite reserved with their views, perhaps due to the nature of their job; they have to work in closer association with both the teachers as well as the principal.

Recruitment of teachers at Seri Wira Secondary School

The teachers at Seri Wira Secondary School were recruited more or less following the same procedure as in Seri Melati. First, I spoke with the principal and conducted an open-ended discussions with her. Through the preliminary investigative discussions, I found out the focus area of the principal for the year. At Seri Wira, 'Creative Designing' has been recently introduced under the pilot project of the Ministry of Education and it was being implemented very successfully at the school, according to the principal. Therefore, the principal suggested that I speak with the teacher in charge of this subject. Perhaps the principal was introducing a teacher who was closely aligned with her, but then this is how I could gain entry into the teacher circle. So, initially it very much followed the 'snow balling technique' where one person introduced the next and so on (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). Later when I had well established myself in the school, I met many more teachers and was able to pick any teacher who was available to answer my questions.

The teachers at Seri Wira Secondary School who participated in the study comprised one senior assistant (assistant principal), two heads of the departments, three subject panel heads, and three regular teachers. All in all, a total of nine teachers participated in my study at Seri Wira (out of a faculty of 63) and their details are given in the Table 3.3. Why nine teachers? There is nothing magical about this number; it just happened that I was introduced

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teac som to these nine teachers at different days and occasions and started my conversation with them. Since none of them turned down my request, and they were willing to spare their time to talk to me, I stayed with the nine. Therefore, in no way it means that the nine teachers are more special or significant than the other teachers who were not invited to participate in the study. Although the nine teachers represented only 14.2 percent of the total faculty, I think teachers who participated in the interviews were comparable in their teaching experience, academic and professional backgrounds, and in their attitudes towards their work. Every teacher who participated was in some ways or the other actively involved in school activities and held various positions.

Even though I wish I had interviewed more than nine, my limited time period (14 weeks shared between two schools) did not permit me to do so. It was also not easy to get hold of the teachers for they hold full teaching time-table where they teach seven or eight periods out of nine periods per day plus they are involved in many other co-curricular and non-teaching duties.

The only problem here was that half of the teachers (at least four out of nine) who were interviewed at Seri Wira were either unable to articulate well or did not feel comfortable to speak their opinions. I sensed some form of discomfort in them to openly express their views, and it was difficult to determine the cause for their discomfort. Thus, it was difficult for me to elicit much information from them in the interviews. (In a way, the very fact that teachers shared little verbal information is in itself data which may mean something about the culture of the workplace or the people).

Table 3. 3

Data of the Seri Wira Secondary School teachers who participated in the study

| Teachers | Subjects taught | Total number of years taught | Total number of years taught at Seri Wira |
|---------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|
| Teacher 1 (Nadia) | Creative designing | 10 | 06 |
| Teacher 2 (Kumalasari) | History | 22 | 16 |
| Teacher 3 (Sakinah) | English Language | 19 | 10 |
| Teacher 4 (Azlizah) | English Language | 05 | 05 |
| Teacher 5 (Normala) | Islamic studies | 18 | 6 |
| Teacher 6 (Rosmilah) | Physical Education, Creative designing | 10 | 08 |
| Teacher 7 (Daruzman) | Commerce | 16 | 08 |
| Teacher 8 (Zaiton) | Science | 17 | 09 |
| Teacher 9 (Rumaya) | Malay Language | 15 | 07 |

Characteristics of the Schools

Seri Melati Secondary School

Seri Melati Secondary School is one of the very long established secondary schools in the state. This school is situated in a suburban locality surrounded by an affluent neighborhood. Its student population exceeds 2000, and the strength of the teaching staff is close to 100 (school records, 1998). From a conversation with the school principal, I found out that a majority of the children who come here are from higher and middle income groups whose parents are mostly professionals and high ranking government officers. There are also a small number of students who come from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

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For many years in the past, Seri Melati maintained a reputation as one of the top ranking schools in the district and the state for its high academic achievements in terms of its test scores. The passing rate of the students in the Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM) examination has been always above 90 percent. (SPM is the Malaysian Certificate of Education which is equivalent to the British O levels). According to the principal and some of the teachers, the students at Seri Melati are also highly reputed for their outstanding performance in co-curricular activities. The students here have participated in several competitions, quiz, debates, and have won awards and certificates at district, state, and national levels. They have also exhibited their talents by producing and acting in their annual literary-night dramas and shows. They have also shown their dexterity in sports and music. In the past the school marching band has won awards for being the best in the state. From my experience as a teacher, I would say that such a high level of performance in both academic and co-curricular activities is not common for Malaysian secondary schools. There are schools which are good in both academic as well as co-curricular activities but they are very few in number.

Khatijah - The Principal of Seri Melati Secondary School

Khatijah is the fourth principal of the Seri Melati Secondary School. For the first 30 years since the inception of the school in 1958, Sister Henrietta Newman, a nun from the Franciscan Order, led the school. After her retirement in 1988, the Ministry of Education has appointed school principals from its pool of administrators. Since 1989 (in the past 10 years) two principals have come and gone and now there is Khatijah as the fourth school principal.

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In the Malaysian school system the position of a secondary school principal is considered as a higher level post which is commensurate with higher salary and perks. Under this system, senior teachers of good standing are promoted to become principals. Due to the shortage of promotional position for so many at the Ministry level, some of the senior officers from the various divisions of the Ministry of Education are also sent out as principals when they are due for promotion. Since this appointment is based on seniority, most of the principals appointed are over 45 or 50 years old and are in the last phase of their career. In Malaysia the retirement age for civil servants is 55. In the case of Seri Melati, the principals here must have been granted their promotion just three or four years before their retirement. This may explain the reason for the high turnover of the principals within the past ten years at Seri Melati.

Prior to her appointment as a principal at Seri Melati in 1995, Khatijah worked at different levels and areas of education under the Ministry of Education. For the first five years of her career she worked as a secondary school teacher teaching Science. After that she was employed by the Curriculum Development Center at the Ministry of Education where she was involved with the development of the Science and Mathematics curriculum for secondary schools. After serving there for about twelve years in various capacities, she was promoted to the Head of the Science and Mathematics department at one of the teacher training colleges in Kuala Lumpur. At the teacher training college she was involved not only in the administration but also in the teaching and preparation of pre-service teachers. After serving in the college for about eight years, when she was due for her next upgrading, she was promoted to the position of principal at Seri Melati Secondary School where she is currently serving.

Seri Wira Secondary School

Seri Wira Secondary School was established in 1982. This school is situated in the city outskirts surrounded by mostly working class society. It has a student population of almost 1500 and the teaching staff exceeds 70. The majority of the children who come here are from lower income groups with very few who are from the middle income group.

Even though, the majority of the students at Seri Wira are from lower socio-economic backgrounds, it has managed to achieve moderately good results in the major public examinations. In the past three years it has shown a continuous improvement in the examination results by achieving 65 percent and above passing rate. According to the principal, this rate of passing is considered as an achievement for this school because the very good students who are considered as the cream of the school are taken away at the lower secondary level (Grade 7 and 8) and are placed in boarding schools. This is the result of an education policy drawn to help talented students from lower socio-economic backgrounds by providing them with better educational facilities in well equipped residential schools. Therefore they are left with the academically low performing students to educate. In that sense the current rate of passers is a great achievement for this school.

The students' level of participation in the co-curricular activities can also be considered as good. Even though it cannot be compared with Seri Melati in terms of resources, Seri Wira still has managed to provide students with a number of co-curricular activities such as the 'police cadet', the 'girl guides', and the 'St. John Ambulance Brigade' and many more. Relatively speaking, it is functioning well and giving students opportunities to participate.

<u>Jamilah - The Principal of Seri Wira Secondary School</u>

Jamilah is the seventh principal since the establishment of this school in 1982. In 16 years there have been seven principals. Jamilah became the principal of this school in 1995. Prior to her appointment here, she worked at different levels and areas of education under the Ministry of Education. She started off her career as a teacher in a secondary school where she taught for almost six years. While she was teaching at this school she was also appointed as a key personnel to help the Curriculum Development Center train teachers to implement the new Integrated Secondary School Curriculum (KBSM). After working as a teacher for six years she became a lecturer at one of the teacher training colleges in Peninsular Malaysia. While she was serving at the teacher training college she was promoted to become the assistant director in the 'Testing and Evaluation' unit of the teacher training division. Later in 1991 she was promoted as the vice principal of another teachers training college. In 1993 she moved on to the Ministry of Education where she became the assistant director in the Teacher Training Division. After being at the Ministry of Education for slightly more than two years, in 1995 she was promoted to the position as principal of Seri Wira Secondary School where she is currently serving.

As I have mentioned earlier, in the Malaysian education system, not only the teachers but also the senior education officers from the various divisions of the Ministry of Education can be promoted as a school principal of a secondary school. Under the promotion system principal's position belong to the higher salary scale (DG2), and therefore it is highly desirable.

She has attended in a number of seminars, conferences, and participated in workshops, both locally and internationally. For example, in 1985 she has attended a workshop on Testing and Evaluation, Statistical

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Analysis and Computer Application at ETS (Educational Testing Services) at Princeton, USA. She also went to Australia in 1995 under the sponsorship of the Curriculum Development Center to learn up more about the teaching of the 'generic skills' or what is called the core competencies for the secondary school students. As far as the courses she has attended which are related to her current position as the principal, there are not many. She attended a course on school administration, and she has attended a few conferences and courses organized by the PKPSM (National Association of the Secondary School Principals).

Data Collection Procedures

The research proposal for the study was first submitted to the guidance committee in December, 1997. Upon its approval, I submitted my application to the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCHRIS). This is the review board which ensures that the rights and welfare of human subjects are protected in the research process, and obtaining UCHRIS approval prior to conducting any study is the standard practice at Michigan State University. My application for the UCHRIS permission was approved in December 1998 (refer Appendix A). During the same time period, I had written to the Education Policy and Research Division of the Malaysian Ministry of Education and obtained their approval to conduct my research in the selected Malaysian secondary schools (refer Appendix B).

The actual data collection started in mid-February, 1998, and continued until the end of May, 1998. The timeline and a comprehensive account of how my time was spent during the 14 weeks of research is given in Table 3. 4. Since my permission to visit the selected schools had already been granted by the Ministry of Education as well as the State Education Department, I was

able to start my first round of visits to the selected schools and do my preliminary level interviews within the first week of my arrival in mid-February.

I had only 14 weeks for data collection, which I consider as a very short period of time for a study involving qualitative methods. I decided to divide my time equally among the two schools, conducting my study simultaneously at both locations. This technique of simultaneous cross comparative study provided me with some ideas for comparing and contrasting the work climate, the physical facilities and resources, and the ethos at both of the schools. Therefore, every week I tried to spend a few days at one school and another few days at the other school, although some weeks I spent only in one school. This happened especially when Jamilah departed to fulfill her religious pilgrimage in Mecca. As I was not aware of this impending trip during my initial visits to the school, I was a little disappointed as I knew it was going to affect my study to a certain degree. I heard from Jamilah that she herself was not sure until the last minute that her leave would be approved.

Due to her absence, there weren't many activities going on at Seri Wira Secondary School which I could observe or sit in. Most of the meetings in that school were postponed until Jamilah came back from her pilgrimage. While this affected my plan to divide my time equally between the two schools, I did manage to spend 60 percent of my time at Seri Melati and the other 40 percent at Seri Wira.

Table 3.4
Time line for the 14 weeks of data collection

| | ' | |
|---|---|--|
| Time line | Seri Melati Secondary School | Seri Wira Secondary School |
| February 16 - February 20 | Got all the papers ready to visit the school. Called the schools to find out their exact location and address. | Got all the papers ready to visit the school. Called the schools to find out their exact location and address. |
| February 23 - February 27 | Visiting schools, meeting with the principal, making appointments for future meetings. Preliminary interview with Khatijah. | Visiting schools, meeting with the principal, making appointments for future meetings. Preliminary interview with Jamilah. |
| March 2 - March 6 | Interview with Khatijah. | Interview with Jamilah. |
| March 9 - March 13 | Interview with teachers. Observation in the staff room and cafeteria. | Interview with teachers. Observation in the staff room and the canteen. |
| March 16 - March 20 | Interview with Khatijah, Special event - 40 years celebration | Interview with teachers. |
| March 23 - March 27 | Interview with teachers, School sports event | No visits this week. (Jamilah went on religious pilgrimage for 5 weeks) |
| April 6 - April 10 (Visited IAB to interview the Ministry officials and for gathering more literature and policy documents) | School holidays. | School holidays. |
| April 13 - April 17 | Observation around the school, meeting teachers, indulge in informal conversations. | Interview with teachers. Observation around the school, meeting teachers, indulge in informal conversations. |
| April 20 - April 24 | Interview with Khatijah. Attended SPM exam analysis post-mortem session. | No visits this week. |

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| April 27 - May 1 (Made another trip to IAB for interview with two officers) | Interview with Khatijah. | No visits this week. |
|--|---|--|
| May 4 - May 8 | No visits this week. Postponed interview because Khatijah was busy. | Interview with Jamilah. Interview with teachers. Attended SPM exam analysis 'post-mortem' session. |
| May 11 - May 15 | No visits to school. Reflecting on my work done so far. Preparing for last round of interviews. | No visits to school. Reflecting on my work done so far. Preparing for last round of interviews. |
| May 18 - May 22 | Interview with Khatijah. Observation at school. | No visits this week. |
| May 25 - May 29 | Last interview with Khatijah. Attended teachers' day celebration. Had lunch with teachers. | Last interview with Jamilah. Collected more school documents. More observation in the staff room. |

Types of Data Collected

The data for this qualitative study was collected through extensive interviews, casual conversations, formal and informal observations, and various kinds of school and policy documents. The details of the various kinds of data collected are given below:

1. Interviews

A total of 32 semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were conducted and audio-taped for the purposes of this study (refer to Table 3.5). The interviews were bilingual in nature, conducted in both Malay Language as well as in English depending on the interviewees' ease and comfort with a particular language. All the formal interviews were audio tape-recorded, while the informal conversations were written down in my personal note book during and after my conversations.

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Table 3.5

Total number of interviews conducted and hours spent

| Interview participants | Number of interviews | Time in hours |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Principal of Seri Melati | 07 | 12 |
| 2. Teachers at Seri Melati | 08 | 12 |
| 3. Principal of Seri Wira | 05 | 10 |
| 4. Teachers at Seri Wira | 09 | 13 |
| 5. Ministry of Education officials | 03 | 03 |
| Total | 32 | 50 |

Since the principals are the main focus of this study, seven interviews were conducted with the principal of Seri Melati Secondary School, and five interviews were conducted with the principal of the Seri Wira Secondary School. Each of the interviews with the principals lasted approximately one to two hours. The interviews always started with some warming up conversation focused on family, my Ph.D. program, current educational issues in Malaysia such as 'smart schools' and so on, and then slowly built up into the research questions. This was helpful in getting both the interviewer and the interviewee some light/relaxed moments together before launching into the serious interview sessions.

The actual interviews for the principals were very much organized around the major research questions as stated at the beginning of the study. These major questions were further broken down into a number of subquestions (please refer Appendix C) which guided my thinking throughout the interview process. The major research questions and the sub-questions

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provided some broad guidelines to structure interview questions for the principals (please refer Appendix D). In addition to these questions, sometimes I did ask some other broader questions which I thought may be related to some interesting issues around the school which may in some ways connect to my research questions. Most of the time, the questions for the interviews kept building upon the responses given by the principals during the previous interviews and from the teachers' feedback. It was a process of continuous creation and evolution of questions.

Teachers in the schools were also interviewed to learn about their perspectives. A total of eight teachers from Seri Melati Secondary School and another nine teachers from the Seri Wira secondary school were interviewed. Interviews with the teachers in most cases lasted for about one hour, except in two cases where the interview went on for more than two hours. The teachers were mainly engaged in discussions related to the work climate at their schools and their perceptions of their principal's role in creating conditions necessary for their professional development (please refer Appendix E)

Interviews were also carried out with three high ranking officials from the Ministry of Education. These three officials are part of a group of officers in charge of principal training and leadership development at the National Institute of Management and Educational Leadership (IAB). Interviews with these officials were carried out during my several visits to the Institute in order to collect data and documents at their well-equipped resource center. The objective of these interviews with these officials was to get their perspectives as policymakers on issues related to principals' role in creating conducive work climate for the teachers, and other matters related to schools, principals, and teachers and their role in preparing principals to handle the

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numerous challenges at the school level (for interview questions refer to Appendix F). The interview with each one of the officials lasted for about an hour.

2. Participant Observation

During the 14 weeks of my research, in addition to conducting interviews, I was also able to attend a number of meetings and special events at the Seri Melati Secondary School. I tried to participate in as many meetings as possible. Some of the sessions where I sat through as a participant observer include the 'post-mortem' meeting for discussing the SPM examination results, a staff development course conducted on mastery learning, school annual sports, teachers' day celebration, schools' 40th year anniversary celebration, and science and mathematics week organizing committee meeting. I also sat through the regular school morning assemblies. in addition to sitting in meetings, I also conducted observation during the principals' evaluation of classroom teaching of teachers. Other non-formal observations included observation of teachers in their staff room, observation of teachers at the cafeteria, and general observations of the school building, school library, special rooms such as the overhead projector room (OHP), and the conference room. These observations are done to get a complete picture of the school's physical as well as cultural set-up.

At Seri Wira Secondary School, I also participated in some meetings and special events. Here too I had the opportunity to observe the principal and the teachers in action during the SPM examination results analysis 'postmortem' session, attended a subject panel meeting, a couple of morning school assemblies, and a pot-luck get together. I also spent quite a bit of time observing teachers while they are in the staff room, in the canteen, and also

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sat in the department heads' room and observed what was going on there.

During such occasions, I made notes about remarks by teachers other than the eight who participated in the formal interviews.

During all these observations, I kept a very low profile and tried to be as inconspicuous as possible so that I would not attract unnecessary attention from the school people. In all these observations I was looking for certain clues and signs which might indicate the kind of work climate created in the schools. For example, I paid attention to the principal-teacher relationship, principal tone of voice, principal's behavior towards teachers, the strategies used in the meetings, whether the meetings were conducted in the more conventional ways of the principal talking and the teachers listening or whether there was a different style of group dynamics, the amount of teacher participation and their voice in discussing the school issues, and the degree of freedom or opportunities given to teachers to talk and express their ideas and opinions.

While I was at the staff room and the cafeteria/canteen, I was listening to the kind of topics which become the subject of teacher talk. I wanted to find out what was the major focus of the teachers in their day-to-day discussions at school and how it contributed to teacher professional growth.

3. School and Policy Documents

In addition to conducting interviews and observations at both the schools, I also collected as many school and policy documents as possible. School documents include school magazines, special reports on school profiles, reports on school activities, minutes of the various subject panel meetings and staff meetings, school examination results and analysis, some background information on the students attending the schools, history of the

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school, and the principals' biographical information, work experience, academic and professional backgrounds, their duties at school, and a diary of their work showing their activities for any two weeks at school.

In addition to the school documents, I also collected relevant policy documents and directives from the Ministry of Education on school reforms, initiatives, memos to the principals from the Director General of Education, Malaysia. At the Institute Aminuddin Baki (IAB), the National Institute of Educational Management and Leadership, I collected conference papers and proceedings from various meetings, and gathered abstracts of the studies and research done in Malaysian schools related to principals, leadership, and school climate. I also obtained the latest research project report on Malaysian Educative Leadership plus some of the latest materials on the selection process, and the curriculum for the training and development of the effective and excellent principals for the 21st century.

All of these documents are extremely crucial for my study because they are the official source of information from the Ministry and the State Education Department in printed form. Also, they indicate what has been done so far and what are the plans for the future. In a centralized administrative system such as in Malaysia, the policy documents from the top speak much about the national agendas and programs.

Data Management and Analysis Procedure

When I returned from my fieldwork with more than 30 interview tapes, some transcribed materials, field-notes, analytical memos, personal diary, and the various school and policy documents, I was totally overwhelmed and did not know where to start. Following the guidance of

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my dissertation director, I divided my work load into smaller and manageable tasks.

Task # 1: Cleaning up of data for both schools

As the first part of task one, I transcribed and indexed all the interviews. The indexing was done by assigning a unique code to each school and participants. Assigning codes for each transcript and each segment in the transcript was important in order to retrieve original data and to cross-reference information while writing and reporting. An example of indexing code which I have used is BP2I01-27/2(01). In this example, 'B' refers to the name of the school, 'P2' refers to the name of the interviewee, 'I' refers to interview , '01' refers to the interview number, '27/2' refers to the date of interview, '(01)' refers to paragraph number in the transcript.

As part of cleaning the data, I typed out all the field notes which I had scribbled in my note books and got all the observation notes in order. Next I categorized and classified the school documents and the policy documents separately and indexed them as well. The observation notes were indexed using 'O' and the fieldnotes were indexed using 'F'.

Task # 2: Wandering and wondering in the swamp

After cleaning up the data, I was faced with another monumental task: making sense of the data. As a first step in this process, I read my transcripts several times. As I read, I made notes to myself about my hunches, and my thoughts, and paid close attention to emerging themes and patterns. At the same time, I worked with my data with a focus on my sub-research questions (please refer to Appendix C) which guided my initial analysis. I looked at each piece of data, paragraph by paragraph, and identified which one or more of the questions that particular paragraph addressed. Then I marked it, numbered it, and categorized it according to the sub-questions. As I was going

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through all these transcripts, I kept a journal and wrote down my thoughts, captured some pictures which crossed my mind at that point in time. Later I tried to weave the thoughts, and the information I had to see whether I could come up with a bigger picture which may say something.

Task # 3: Coming out of the swamp

As I was trying to weave the information, I found that categorizing my data according to some bigger themes was very helpful. While reading the literature on educational organization and teacher learning, I came across a number of concepts which became helpful in organizing my data. For example, concepts such as congeniality-collegiality and bureaucracy-human relations-human resource development were helpful in categorizing and organizing my data. This process eventually led me to come up with certain assertions or themes which helped me make sense of my data. The major themes/assertions which I came up with are:

- 1. In these two schools, the principals and the teachers had differing views of what constitutes a supportive work climate in school.
- 2. At Seri Melati, the principal adhered strongly to bureaucratic practices while the teachers expected a more collaborative approach.
- 3. At Seri Wira, the principal encouraged congeniality among teachers while teachers expressed interest for collegiality.
- 4. The pressures for maintaining test scores (at Seri Melati) and upgrading the social-physical image of the school (at Seri Wira) are high on the principals' agenda, while the need for teacher learning is not given serious attention by the principals.

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The Evolution of Themes

Since I used the 'constant comparative method' of analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) which involves the combination of data collection with analysis, my preliminary analysis of the data started as soon as my fieldwork begun. In this method, analysis and data collection occurs in a pulsating fashion - first the interview, then the analysis and theory building, another interview, and then more analysis, and so on - until the research is completed (Bogden and Biklen (1992). In my research too, as I was collecting data interviewing principals, talking to teachers, and making observations, I was already looking for some patterns, recurrent issues, or themes which may be helpful in guiding my data collection. The recurrent issues and themes from the earlier interviews were very helpful in developing and organizing my questions for the next round/level of interviews. Such an approach of constantly comparing and analyzing my data as my study went along gave rise to new categories and themes. Therefore, the themes I saw emerging from my data analyses shifted and were reframed several times throughout the analyses process.

Initially, I started off doing this research with the idea that I was going to study a couple of "outstanding" principals and their "best practices" in creating a supportive work climate for their teachers. While I was in the field, after my first round of interviews (somewhere around the fourth week), I realized that I was not going to get what I wanted. Instead, I saw situations where there was tension and conflicting ideas about how supportive work climate at schools gets defined by different groups of people. This disappointing experience made me change my focus, and pay serious attention to the evolving issues and themes at my research sites. After my second round of interviews (somewhere around the eighth week), I saw the

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interpersonal relationship between the principal and the teachers and the low morale of the teachers to be the emerging themes. Towards the end of my fieldwork, as I was spending more time working with the principals and teachers, I realized that there were some other deeper structures of the school/education system which were contributing to differences in the way the work climate was defined at school. Thus, my focus eventually narrowed and became organized around larger policy and historical factors and how they influence principals' role in teacher development. This evolution of themes and my change of focus throughout the study is summarized in Table 3.6.

Table 3. 6
Data Analysis: How did my themes evolve?

| When? | What was the focus? | Why did this become the focus? |
|--|--|---|
| While I wrote my proposal From proposal dated 18 December, 1997 | My focus was to study the "outstanding" principals and their best practices in creating a supportive work climate for their teachers. | I was interested in studying "outstanding" principals for I thought they will provide me with a clean and neat profile of 'good' principals. |
| After the proposal meeting, just before taking off to Malaysia for data collection (This is part of a memo e-mailed to my committee to clarify my direction after my second proposal meeting in January 1998) | My initial focus was to study 'good' principals and the problems, issues, tensions, challenges they face in creating a supportive work climate. At this point I was trying to problematize my study by asking the question "To what extent, in what ways, and in what larger contexts do the selected principals influence their work climate. | At my proposal meeting my committee encouraged me to pursue the larger contextual issues, as they seemed to make more sense than the focus on the 'best practices.' |

| After first round of interviews Memo I wrote to my committee (March 1998) | My focus is now on the interpersonal relationships between teachers and the principal, and on the issues surrounding teacher morale. I was trying to study the school context (student SES, school establishment, etc.) that was causing these issues. | The issues that struck me most as I was collecting data involved the tension between the teachers and the principal. At that point I thought these were the larger contextual issues my committee was talking about. |
|--|--|--|
| After the final round of interviews and reading more literature on contextual factors. Analytic memo, (May, 1998) | My focus shifted further to include the influence of the both policy and historical context which may influence principals' behavior. Some of the issues here are: - School climate — What is the relationship among teachers, what does the principal promote and how Bureaucratic practices — Rules and regulations, hierarchical system, following standard operational procedures School history — Well-established school has its own culture and teachers here have different expectations of the principal. | These factors seem to make more sense in explaining the issues happening at the school because they include larger context of the centralized system of administration and the historical factors. |
| After reading more literature and having done the first round of analysis Discussions during weekly meetings with my chair Linda Anderson (October - November 1998) | Came up with assertions that frame my thinking: 1. principals and teachers hold different views of a conducive work climate. 2. principals encourage congeniality, while collegiality is not emphasized. 3. principals focus on the physical and social improvement of the school and not on teacher development. | After reading through all of my transcriptions and my observation notes, I saw these as recurring themes in the data. |
| After writing the cases of the two schools (December 1998) | My focus looks much clearer. Themes are organized around three areas: 1. Bureaucracy versus Human resource development. 2. Congeniality versus collegiality. 3. Physical-social image versus teacher growth. | I see that these three themes seem to encompass all the issues and can be used as the main organizing themes. |

| After doing the cross-case analysis and as I go into writing the findings (January 1999) | I see that my themes can be framed using the following framework: 1. Bureaucratic approach versus human resource development. 2. Human relations versus human resource development. 3. Technical mediation — affective emotional mediation — knowledge transformation. | These categories provided me with appropriate framework to discuss my data |
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Generalizability

Generalizability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of a study can be applied to other situations (Merriam, 1988). Is this study and the findings generalizable to other schools in Malaysia? I think it is possible because the findings are based not merely on one case but two cases. If I had studied only one case, then, it may be difficult for me to generalize and I may have to regard that as a limitation of the method. Since I have more than one case where the same phenomenon was studied, similar questions were asked, and specific procedures for coding and analysis were used, I think all these could enhance the generalizability of my findings (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1994).

Second, from my experiences teaching for twelve years in various school settings which included rural, urban, and inner-city backgrounds, I did not see any major differences in school administration except for the contextual specifics. Since they are all controlled by one central body — the Ministry of Education — they are exposed to the same larger policy and organizational contexts. Based on this, I would say that the two schools which I studied are not unusual or atypical compared to the rest. I am not claiming that these two cases are representative of every school in the nation, but they can be illustrative of similar situations in other schools.

Third, unlike the survey research which relies on statistical generalizations, case studies rely on analytical generalization where the investigator is striving to generalize particular set of results to some broader theory (Yin, 1994). Along these lines, I think the findings from my study of the two cases too may speak to some broader aspects and can be generalized to some broader theory on school organization, teacher learning, principal leadership, or work climate. In this way, a broader theory which may emerge from this study can become the vehicle for examining other cases in Malaysia or elsewhere.

Finally, I believe that even though the findings of this study are based only on two case studies, they contribute to the growing literature on Malaysian education. For example, in Wolcott's (1973) "The man in the principal's office,' the focus was the mesolevel - a particular school, but he saw the macro level significance of his ethnographic research as whole because Bell's school (the school which he studied) was one unit of a national system (Gronn and Ribbins, 1995). In the same way, I too feel that my microlevel study of the two cases are only two units in the national system, but in some ways these two cases can play a significant part in the instruction of the larger education system.

Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced the research method, research context and the school settings. I have also discussed the methodology of data collection, and described the data management, and the analysis procedure. Finally, I have added a section on generalizability of my findings.

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In the next two chapters, I present the results of data analysis in the form of two cases: Seri Melati Secondary School and its principal Khatijah in Chapter 4, Seri Wira Secondary School and its principal Jamilah in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS OF SERI MELATI SECONDARY SCHOOL

In this chapter I present the analysis of the data collected at Seri Melati Secondary School that addresses my three research questions. A number of interesting themes and patterns emerged during data analysis, and based on these themes and patterns, I make four assertions which highlight the situation at Seri Melati Secondary School with regards to the administration's role in creating a supportive work climate for teachers. Following a similar presentation of assertions about Seri Wira Secondary School in Chapter 5, I discuss in Chapter 6 how these assertions address the three research questions. Then, in Chapter 7, I discuss the implications of my study for the Malaysian education system.

Assertion # 1: The Principal and the Teachers at Seri Melati Secondary School Hold Different Views of What Constitutes a "Supportive Work Climate."

Overview: The principal and the teachers at Seri Melati Secondary
School had differing views about the meaning of the concept "supportive
work climate." Khatijah emphasized the importance of teaching and
learning as the core business in her exhortations to teachers. During the
course of the seven interviews which I conducted with her, at least four times
she mentioned that 'teaching-learning' is their 'core business' and therefore,
it is important that teachers understood this fact. This was clearly
emphasized in one interview where she said,

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One thing I always tell them is that your 'core business' is teaching and learning. The importance of teaching and learning interaction. I emphasize this from time to time in my normal talks and meetings. I keep telling the teachers, reminding them that the key thing is teaching and learning. Teachers are also aware of this. No matter they are helping in many other administrative activities, but their core business is teaching and learning. When you go into the class you should always make sure that your lesson is interesting. [AP1I2-5/3(02)]

She was very firm and clear about the major goal of the school, that is to improve teaching and learning. However, her definition reflected a technical view of this teaching-learning process, in that she thought the provision of physical amenities and facilities would create a supportive environment for teaching. For example, when she was asked how she provided supportive work climate for teachers, she emphasized physical aspects such as the teaching aids, resource centers and multi-media facilities and the creation of a comfortable and spacious work area, and a clean and beautiful landscape. She seemed to be associating a supportive work climate and effective classroom teaching with various kinds of physical facilities and resources. She did not say as much about other aspects which may be necessary for the success of teaching and learning at school. For example, the social well being of the teacher work force at school and their own learning and growth were not emphasized in her responses.

In contrast, the teachers at Seri Melati defined a supportive work climate as a place where there is appreciation and recognition for their work; a place where they could express their views freely, exchange ideas, and participate in the decision-making processes of the school; and a place where collegial interaction is promoted. In other words, they expressed their need for a work environment which would address human relations and human development needs, an organizational climate where the decision making

practices included everyone and established good communication patterns among the members of the school community. It seemed to me that they were seeking something to satisfy inner needs which go beyond physical facilities such as teaching aids, a clean and beautiful environment, etc.

The following sections elaborate this first assertion and provide data to support it.

A. Khatijah's view of a supportive work climate emphasized physical more than the social or intellectual aspects

Khatijah emphasized that her responsibility is to furnish the teachers with the necessary physical conditions which may enhance their teaching. Some of the major facilities which she described as part of a supportive climate for teachers during my interviews with her included the provision of teaching aids, the creation of resource centers, and a beautiful physical landscape.

Teaching aids

Among the various factors that Khatijah felt would help teachers improve their teaching, the provision of good physical facilities topped the list [AP1I01-26/2(05)]. The interview data indicated that she strongly believed that the teachers at her school could perform well if they were furnished with proper instructional materials and audio-video teaching aids in the classroom. Even the school documents such as the minutes of the staff meetings indicated the emphasis she placed on the use of the various kinds of teaching aids in the classroom teaching (2/12/95). For example, one of the teaching aids which she believed would help teachers do their teaching better is the overhead projector (OHP). During the course of my seven interviews

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with her, at least five times she mentioned the word 'OHP.' In the very first interview when she was asked whether there is a certain kind of work climate she would like to create at her school, she replied, "I think we should have sufficient facilities which is lacking at the moment. For example, I would like teachers to utilize the OHP room frequently. I want to see teachers using the video. These are the kind of things I would like to have." [AP1I01-26/2(05)] Once again in the sixth interview she elaborated the importance she placed on the overhead projector as a tool for effective teaching by reminding me that,

As I have mentioned the other day, an important teaching aid for teachers now is the overhead projector. When I came I looked at the school and said Good Lord there is a four storey block here and one there and the OHP is kept in one corner. Even if I were to be a teacher here I would not want to carry that heavy stuff up and down to the classroom. I will think twice about using it. So I told the teachers let's have one room which will be permanently fixed with OHP. Whoever wants to use it can bring their class down to that particular room and teach. And we made sure that the room won't be cluttered with chairs and desks, so ordered the lecture type of chairs with a armrest which could be used for writing. So soon I saw that the room has been heavily booked by the teachers who are keen on using the OHP. To me this is very important because teachers don't have to write everything on the board, they can just put the transparencies and explain. Even after finish teaching they can consolidate what they have taught by putting up the summary. [AP1I6-27/5(01)]

During one of my observations at the school, I had a chance to visit the OHP room. It was well remodeled with special chairs equipped with writing arm rests. According to Khatijah, she had to make special orders for such chairs so that she could remove the regular student desks which occupied too much space and replace them with this new space-saving chairs.

Unfortunately, this one room is not sufficient for a school as big as Seri Melati. From one of the teachers I also heard that the room is in great

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demand and teachers have to compete to get it. Since Seri Melati is a big school with a student population of more than 2000, having only one OHP room is considered insufficient. Anna Lee, one of the teachers, described the new OHP room and the difficulties in getting a chance to use the facilities:

Now they have the special room for OHP. But it is so heavily booked that I don't really have the chance of using it. It is not enough for such a big school. One other silly thing about this room is that we can only book one day ahead. I prepare my lessons at least a week ahead. So, what is wrong if I make the booking in advance. It is so silly. A lot of unnecessary friction comes about. And the principal also sends a circular around telling that we can only book the OHP room one day ahead. So what is she thinking about. It is too much tension on this. [AT3I-27/3(05)]

This statement supports the overall assertion that the teachers and principals held different views about what is supportive. Anna Lee's statement too suggests that while the teachers are aware of these differences, in at least the case of the OHP, which was very important to Khatijah, she was not aware of the teachers' difficulties/views.

Multi-media center

In addition to teaching aids such as the OHP, a multi-media center was also highlighted by Khatijah when she listed priorities which may contribute towards the creation of a supportive work climate. She said, "a very good library, a multi-media center with computers available for everyone" [AP1I01-26/2(05)] would be an important avenue for teachers to access information from multiple sources.

From my observations, I found the library to be a reasonably well furnished place for study. It has books ranging from fiction to non-fiction, all kinds of subject related textbooks, encyclopedias, dictionaries, books on general knowledge, literature texts and a good selection of school-related

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journals, magazines, and local daily newspapers. However, most of the reading materials found in the library except for a couple of magazines like the 'Times' and the 'Far Eastern Economic Review' were intended more for the students' use than for the teachers. It was not a common scene to see teachers doing work in the library unless they are accompanying their students for their library classes. In fact, teachers did not seem to have that much time at their disposal to be sitting at the library and reading or doing research!

Even though Khatijah mentioned that computers could be an important resource for teaching, at Seri Melati, teachers did not have access to computers. They did not have a special computer lab where teachers could have access to the Internet and other resources. There are a few computers owned by the student computer club which was specifically for student members' use. Khatijah wanted to provide the computer facilities for teachers at her school, but she was constrained by the lack of funds needed to buy such equipment.

The teachers did not mention a need for computers or any multimedia facilities for their teaching. During my interviews with the eight
teachers and also during my casual conversation with teachers in the staff
room and in the cafeteria, I did not hear any conversation about using
computers for their teaching. Maybe they did not consider computers to be an
indispensable teaching tool! Here again, one of Khatijah's priorities that she
expected to support teachers' work was not perceived in the same way by the
teachers, further supporting the first assertion.

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Teachers' work space

The third facility on Khatijah's list which she thought would help create a productive work environment was the reorganization of the teachers' work space and seating arrangement in the staff room. One way that she wanted to reorganize the seating arrangement was seating teachers according to their subject areas or departments. She felt this would provide more opportunities for teachers teaching the same subject to interact with each other more frequently. She brought this up when we were discussing of 'teamwork,' where she mentioned that,

I am also thinking of making the teachers teaching the same subject being seated together like in the teacher training college. At least a corner or few rows for each subject. This will make it easier for teachers to interact frequently. [AP1I6-27/5(03)]

According to Khatijah, the interaction among the subject panel members was limited and therefore, she believed that the dispersed pattern of seating in the staff room could be one reason.

From my observations, the staff room seemed to be very crowded and teachers hardly had any work space. I would say that every teacher had a work space of about two feet by four feet and that little space is shared with the lower secondary teachers who operate in the afternoon session!

Khatijah assumed that the teachers would be happier at their workplace if they were furnished with other physical facilities such as a coffee corner and a reading corner where they could relax and do some of their work during their off periods. She stated:

Two of the classrooms are becoming vacant. So I am trying to convert one into a teachers resting area or lounge where they could have their coffee corner, and reading corner. The second room, I am planning to convert into a better counseling room. The one which we have is too tiny and there is no private room where the student could talk to the counselor in private. So we

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These were all in Khatijah's forthcoming plans - to remodel a couple of classrooms and turn them into a larger work space where each teacher would have a larger area to work, rest, and relax. She wanted to expand the staff room because it was too small to accommodate over sixty teachers in the morning and another thirty teachers in the afternoon. Therefore, she would like to create more working space for them.

Physical landscape

Khatijah also believed that a cleaner and neat exterior work environment with beautiful landscaping would motivate teachers and enhance their productivity. At one point when she was describing what outsiders had to say about the school, she proudly stated:

To be honest with you even people from outside including those from the Curriculum Development Center have told me that this school has a conducive environment. Even my students from the previous school who came here for inter-school debate had said, "Puan. Khatijah this school really looks like a school." This can be attributed to the physical environment, the vegetation around, the vestibule where students and teachers can sit and discuss. [AP1I4-27/4(10)]

Describing further her plans to improve the work environment of the school she said that, "We also have our woodlands where there are some stone tables and chairs. I am going to make it a covered area where students and teachers can have a discussion area" [AP1I6-27/5(01)].

Personally speaking, compared to many schools which I have visited, I think Seri Melati Secondary School is a very well maintained school with well kept fields, and lawns. It is clean and neat and is adorned with beautiful plants and old trees. On the whole the physical appearance of the school is

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reasonably appealing to a visitor. But she has plans to further improve the physical appearance of the school.

B. Teachers' views of a supportive work climate refers to social and intellectual support rather than the physical support

Teachers at Seri Melati had a very different view of what a supportive work climate is supposed to be like. From their perspectives both these ideas of Khatijah's -- that is, to improve the instructional facilities and the physical conditions of the school -- did not match what they were looking for. Even though teachers did agree with the importance and improvement of these physical aspects, from the interview data it became obvious that teachers were expecting more. This point became clearer in their description of how a supportive work climate is supposed to be in a school. Instead of complaining and focusing on the lack of physical resources and facilities, teachers at Seri Melati saw the need for a more caring, sharing, and learning work climate. They perceived appreciation and recognition of their work, chances to participate in the school decision-making process, the promotion of collegial interaction among the members of the school, and better communication between the teachers and the administration, good interpersonal relationship between the boss and the subordinates to be the major factors which could help create a supportive work climate. All the eight teachers who participated in this study expressed either one or more than one of these aspects mentioned above to be what they would expect from the school administration in order to be more productive.

<u>Recognition</u>

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Recognition and appreciation

One of the aspects which four out of the eight teachers mentioned as an important aspect in their work climate is recognition and appreciation for their work and effort from their principal. Teachers at Seri Melati expressed that they are a group of people with ideas and asserted that the recognition of their abilities would contribute towards a better work climate. Mimi Roy expressed this by saying that, "the teachers here at Seri Melati come up with a lot of ideas and I think they must be given more positive support." [AT5I-23/3(07)] Teachers saw themselves as rich sources of information and ideas and as capable of thinking, planning, and contributing to the improvement of education in their schools. But they became frustrated when they realized that their work and effort was not being recognized, appreciated, and their ideas not acknowledged by the administrators above.

Lydia Nor lamented that she was loaded with tremendous amount of non-teaching duties which included clerical work as part of her duty at school. She said, "despite all these we still do it. But we expect her to appreciate our work. But that is not there. ... I am already so down, burdened with all these extra duties, and if you still do not show appreciation or some concern how can I work for you." [AT4I-23/3(04)] Another teacher, Miriyana when asked about a description of a supportive work environment, she said that, "It a place where teachers' best abilities are being tapped, where teachers made into resourceful personnel, where teachers' work is appreciated and positive remarks passed on teachers' efforts and creativity." [AT7I-25/3(NB)]

Anna Lee spoke of similar experiences when she recalled an incident when her students came out first in a national level quiz and she received no word of appreciation for all the months' efforts and hard work she had put in to help students achieve this success. She said it is very disheartening and

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demotivating to work under such leadership which never shows any appreciation or acknowledgment for their work (E-mail message 11/15/98).

Participation in school decision-making process

Talking about the necessity of a collaborative work culture between teachers and the administration, Emily Choo, a department head said that, "There is a friction between the administrators and the head of the departments on how things can be done. Things are not well communicated and there are a lot of differences in opinions about doing certain tasks at school." [AT1I-23/3(NB)] She felt that it would be better if the administration considered the ideas and inputs from the teachers, and encouraged participation. This idea of a work environment where more inclusion or participation is desired was also reflected in Mimi Roy's description of a supportive work climate. She thinks a supportive work climate is a work place where

We should be able to openly discuss our problems with our principals. That is very important. And she could consider certain suggestions we give. Since we are down there, I mean at the classroom level we know the situation better. There should be mutual agreement between the staff and the administration. It is important for two way interaction before decision making. [AT5I-23/3(09)]

This idea of the need for teachers' voice and participation in school decision-making was also found in another teacher Miriyana's words.

Miriyana, who is also the head of a subject panel, said that the "administration should allow teachers to share their ideas, accept their views, and consider other people's opinions. There need to be team work among the staff and the administration to come up with productive ideas for school improvement." [AT7I01-8/5(NB)] This teacher's views too indicated that

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These teachers' views are reflected in some other literature as well. For example, the literature on 'effective schools' says that the effective schools tend to have strong input from staff into the way the school is run. Rutter et al (1979) found that pupil success was greater in schools with a decision-making process in which all teachers felt that their views were represented and seriously considered. Mortimore et al (1988) also drew attention to the importance of teacher involvement in decision-making and the development of school guidelines creating a sense of 'ownership.'

Congeniality versus collegiality

In addition to collaboration between the teachers and the administration, teachers also requested more opportunities for the sharing of ideas and learning among colleagues at school. Anna Lee's description of a supportive work climate reflected this idea of collegiality among teachers. She strongly believed that sharing knowledge is key for teacher learning. She repeated this a couple of times during my formal interviews with her, and informal conversation over e-mail as well. In answering my question on how she would describe a supportive work environment, Anna Lee replied,

I would appreciate a very nice group of teachers where we could exchange ideas of how we are teaching the subject. Together plan out the best way or what works best. To have that we need feeder group to help that process continue. Then that particular subject and the teaching would be really enriched. Having discussions very often and voluntarily participate. The subject panel head is helpful, she is good. But what I want is a very rich professional working environment. A place where we could share our ideas. [AT3I-27/3(08)]

This quote reflects that this particular teacher's idea of a supportive work environment is a place where she and her colleagues could participate in creating a collegial work culture which will enable them to learn through sharing.

Another teacher, Miriyana, spoke along the same lines as Anna Lee, supporting the idea of sharing through group work. She described a supportive work environment as a place where there is professional relationship between the staff. According to her such an environment will give room for "group work, team work, a place where teachers could work as a team, accepting their colleagues ideas and learning from each other." (AT7I-8/5NB). She considered that the chance given to teachers to voice their opinions, ideas, and share their knowledge is an important exercise for their growth and self esteem.

These two teachers' views were further supported by Nordiana who describes a supportive work climate as a situation where, "... you are happy. You look forward to coming to school. You don't mind working the extra hour or going an extra mile. And there is sharing and people are not selfish in their knowledge. A lot of sharing that is important." [AT2I-23/3(02)]

Unfortunately, a culture of sharing around professioanal development at Seri Melati was not evident to me. There was some interaction among teachers, but it was not very well developed around collegiality. This idea was supported by Anna Lee, who reiterated:

But there is no real sharing of ideas. Even if you have some good ideas to improve the teaching of mathematics, and you want to share it, some would think that I am trying to show off my skills or knowledge. It is a very difficult situation. It is just that I want to share my ideas and get some feedback. You want to see whether somebody would want to pick it up. So that is missing here. But there is congeniality among the staff here. If one is faced with some classroom problems or family

problems then we console each other. [AT3I-27/3(02)]

Who could create this sort of an environment where every teacher could express their views and freely share their knowledge, ideas? Anna Lee felt that the principal could be a key person in creating a situation where teachers' ideas will be heard and respected. The person in authority has to make it happen, has to create the climate where people could share their views. Anna Lee expressed this wish of hers by saying that "If at all I am in a position of authority I would always get them together, talk about issues and get every one's ideas. That will be my approach." [AT3I-27/3(08)] This statement clearly reflects the need for teachers' involvement in collegial interaction and collaboration around practice. And also the role the principal could play in getting all these things together and providing the scaffolding necessary for teacher learning through sharing and team work.

In spite of these comments, there was evidence from my observation at Seri Melati and from some feedback from the teachers of a very good social relationship among teachers. Mimi Roy who has witnessed a caring relationship among teachers here says that, "One thing which is very obvious about the teachers at Seri Melati is that they are very caring. When we have personal problems, there are some teachers who are very close to you, they give so much support." [AT5I-23/3(03)] Another teacher, Lydia Nor, elaborates this point:

I am working here for seven years now. I like this school. Compared to my previous school, I see teachers here are very caring, teachers to teachers, teachers to students. When I entered into this school as a very young person without much experience about teaching or family life, there were these senior teachers who were very helpful. They talk, give good advice. I felt very good and I think I learned a lot after coming to this school. Each teacher I speak with give me so many ideas, suggestions about raising children, teaching my daughter at home. There is so much talk about teaching and learning, how

to make myself a confident person, how to dress up, how to carry myself in the public, in the classroom, if there is some kind of a problem how do I overcome it or how do I handle it. [AT4I-23/3(01)]

But the relationship described by Lydia Nor is more congenial than collegial. As Roland Barth (1986) defined it, congeniality refers to the friendly human relationships that exists among teachers and is characterized by the loyalty, trust, and easy conversation that result from the development of a closely knit social group. Collegiality, by contrast, refers to the existence of high levels of collaboration among teachers and between teachers and principal and is characterized by mutual respect, shared work values, cooperation, and specific conversations about teaching and learning. Based on the definition above, I would conclude that what I saw and heard at Seri Melati was more related to congenial aspects where teachers were very kind and helpful towards each other in sorting out their personal, family related issues and problems. At another instant, when Lydia Nor was asked what kind of talks that teachers at Seri Melati usually indulge in during their free periods, she replied that,

For me I talk about my own kids at home, how to help my daughter overcome her school problems. Since there are some experienced and good teachers among this staff I try to get some ideas from them. Being a young mother I become stressed out at home and I do not know how to handle my kids. This is the time the teachers here share their own experiences about child-rearing. I feel good to talk to someone like this and become a better mother. Other than this we also talk about the country's economic situation and current affairs. We also do talk about our students, any problems in certain classroom. [AT4I-23/3(07)]

When I posed the same question to another teacher, Nordiana, she confirmed this notion by adding that teachers at Seri Melati talk about "current topics, family issues, stock market, also about students, how good they are, any disciplinary cases. Actually the topics teachers talk about covers

a wide range. Buying and selling of stocks, government politics." [AT2I-23/3(04)]. Almost every teacher I interviewed agreed that most of the time the kind of conversations that went on between teachers at the staff room is very much either family, social, or government politics oriented. If at all they happen to speak about something related to their work, it is usually a complain or a grouse about the work load, academic pressure, student discipline and other school related matters.

While congeniality is widespread at Seri Melati, one situation that might promote collegiality is the subject panel meeting. So these were examined. During my interviews with some of the teachers. I raised questions about the subject panel meetings and their effectiveness as avenues for teacher sharing and learning. According to Miriyana, a subject panel head, it is more a coordinating and transfer of information activity than anything else. She says that,

Subject panel meetings are used more for the purposes of communicating information between the administration and the teachers, between the head of the department and the teachers, between the District education office and the teachers. It is considered as an occasion to gather all the teachers teaching a particular subject and discuss about the subject related curriculum and the syllabus given by the Ministry of Education. And also discuss about the setting of the examination questions for the monthly and the mid-year and the end-of-year examinations and assign duties of preparing and typing of questions to teachers. We also discuss some special functions like the 'Science and the Mathematics Week' and so on."

[AT7I-8/5(NB)]

It is obvious from the above quote that this particular teacher did not see the subject panel as a place where teachers could share their ideas. It is more of a communication facility. This was confirmed by Anna Lee's message on the role of subject panels where she says,

There has been no sharing of ideas as such to subject material. If I remember correctly, once we had a presentation of a method to teach the chapter on deduction under 'Logic.' One other time we had a demonstration on the usage of the computer but it was not productive as we had no basics at that time. The main points of discussion at these meetings would be stating who will be setting the tests, what topics to be included, analysis of the previous examination results. There has never been really a professional enrichment session except the one I mentioned earlier. [e-mail conversation, 19/11]

Two other teachers, Mimi Roy and Nordiana indicated that subject panels played important roles in getting teachers together but their effectiveness depends on how well they are run. Mimi Roy said that, "Actually if it is run actively, then it can be very helpful. It all depends on how well it is run. This is where all the teachers teaching the same subject get together. So we can discuss things related to our subject matter and clarify things." [AT5I-23/3(02).] Nordiana says, 'The subject panel can play an important role. But again it depends upon the head of the subject panel." [AT2I-23/3(04)] Another teacher, Lydia Nor elaborates further to clarify the role played by subject panels. When she was asked whether subject panel is an important avenue for teacher learning, she replied that,

I think so. In my case it has been very helpful. I think it also depends very much on the teachers. I see the new teachers who come in here do not seem to be making use of the subject heads and their expertise. If you don't go and ask, you don't get help. You have to make the first move, until then nobody is going to come to you or teach you. One other point is that the subject panel head should also know their subject well and be very strict about their job. Otherwise the academic part will be out. There are also some subject panel heads who do not work on their own. They only move when the directives or instructions come from the top. Otherwise they will wait. Even when some teachers are not sure of what they are doing and when they seek their help, they just say, "Never mind, just carry on." [AT4I-23/3(04)]

Lydia Nor raised a few interesting facts about the way subject panels

Operate. One, help is given only when it is requested. This means the subject

panels are not set up as places where teachers on a regular basis continue on their discussions of the matters related to their subject matter. Two, subject panel members do not work on their own initiative; rather they wait for instructions to come from above asking them to conduct meetings. Therefore it is not a voluntary move by the teachers to participate in such meetings and discuss their professional knowledge. It is done because it is a requirement from the Ministry of Education. They are a form of 'contrived collegiality' because they are controlled, regulated and enforced by higher authorities (Hargreaves, 1989).

From the interview data and from the minutes of the subject panel meetings, I learned that the subject panels usually meet only twice during a semester. In most of the cases these are the only occasions when teachers talk about their subject related issues. But even during these meetings what gets discussed are the topics such as the syllabus, the content that has been covered so far, assignment of duties for setting examination questions, and other related matters. They do not get deeper into the issues of teaching and learning of a subject matter or disciplinary knowledge. Teachers do not bring in their own creative ideas or share their wisdom of practice with the other members of the panel. It is most of the time a meeting to sort out subject related logistics and discussions about special course related activities such as the Science and Mathematics Week, English Week, History Week and so forth.

An important piece of information which did not get mentioned in any of the interviews related to subject panel meetings is the role of the principal in the meetings. The subject panel meetings are conducted by the subject panel heads and is attended by the respective department heads and the subject teachers. The lack of any mention of the principal attending the subject panel meetings indicated that Khatijah had little input in how subject panels worked.

Analytic summary

From the discussion thus far, it is clear that there is a difference in the description of a 'supportive work climate' by teachers and the principal. To the principal, a supportive work climate is a place which is neat, clean, and orderly, with sufficient physical facilities and amenities. On the other hand, teachers described a supportive work environment is a place where they feel that their work is acknowledged and recognized; a place where they can share their ideas with each other, involve in a more collegial interaction, and participate actively in the school decision-making process, have a professional working relationship, proper communication, and good interpersonal relationship between and among the teachers and the administration.

The discrepancies in the way a supportive work climate was defined by the principal and the teachers raises a number of questions: Why does such a difference exists in their perspectives/views? What does this difference in their definition of a supportive work climate reflect?

Assertion # 2: The Principal Adhered Strongly to Bureaucratic Practices While Teachers Desired a More Collaborative Approach.

Overview: In the first assertion I discussed the difference in the way the principal and teachers described a supportive work climate at school. In this section I will identify aspects of the principal's practices that also revealed different perspectives about what a principal should do to support teachers' work. While the principal and the other members of the school

administration were more oriented towards the bureaucratic approaches in their day-to-day dealings, the teachers were seeking a more human-based, collaborative approaches.

Khatijah, being the direct representative of the Ministry of Education and the State Education Department, believed strongly in following the rules and regulations handed down from the top very strictly. She also adhered to the standard operational procedures set forth by the State education department. In her efforts to satisfy bureaucratic requirements from the top, she failed to realize the more humane needs of the teachers and the discomfort they may have to go through in toeing the prescribed line. On the other hand, teachers who participated in this study expressed a desire for an administration that would be more sensitive to the teachers' human relations needs and a collaborative work environment where every member would be included.

A. Khatijah emphasized a more bureaucratic approach in her practices of principalship

Khatijah, in her approach towards teachers, emphasized clear written rules and regulations, standard operating procedures, hierarchical authority. To accomplish this she established a system of vertical communication and focused on the records and written documents. She wanted to be sure that she was following the requirements from above. At one point when I asked her about who exerted more influence on her decisions and activities, she agreed that the State Department had more influence on her than any other one group. She replied without any hesitation, "Oh definitely, it is the State Education Department. Because instructions from the State comes more like a directive. I have to follow even if I feel that it does not fit exactly with what

my school needs." [AP1I4-27/4(24)] This quote from Khatijah explains well her situation in a centralized system of education.

In response to another question regarding the effects of the centralized system of education on her work, she said that,

I should say that in many instances it is very rigid. When you want to streamline, standardize and everybody does the same thing at the same time. This is something which I am not for and don't feel comfortable with. I feel principals should be given a lot of leeway. I mean the situation in different schools differ. And only the principals know that. What has to be done, how it can be overcome, what can be done and so on. From that point of view I agree that it is very centralized and sometimes does get in the way of the progress of the school. [AP1I5-22/5(02)]

At another point when I asked her about the large amount of paperwork teachers have to do, she agreed that it is true and she is aware of the teachers' difficulties, but she has to fulfill the State Education Department and the District office requirements. She expressed her helplessness by saying that,

It is true that things are not well coordinated at the state department level. This person asks for something and after some time another person writes to you asking for the same information. That is how they function. So I tell my teachers to make copies and keep and just dish it out whenever it is asked for. That's all I can advice. We can't instruct how the State Department people should work. Its us who have to adapt. [AP1I5-22/5(12)]

The few instances in which Khatijah spoke about the influences the State

Education Department had on her activities are very helpful in

understanding her exact situation in the larger system and the kind of role

she has to play in order to stay in line with the higher authorities.

I asked questions to learn more about the practice of vertical

Communication and the level of teacher participation in school decision

making practices. I concluded that Khatijah followed a bureaucratic model in

which information from the bottom is conveyed to the principal and the orders from the top will be transmitted to the teachers at the bottom. When I asked Khatijah how she went about making decisions in her school, she explained the process in the following manner:

I do include my staff. Very often serious decisions are made after discussing with my senior assistants. If the decision is going to affect the whole staff then we get it through the head of the departments. They bring up the ideas and give the feedback from the teachers. Certain issues related to applying for extra school holidays for special functions we put it up in our regular staff meetings and take a vote and then decide on the dates and so on. In making certain decisions related to specific areas such as discipline, the school time table and so on, then we only include those teachers who are directly involved in those positions. Similarly for some other committees. It works that way. [AP1I4-27/4(28)]

What is clear from Khatijah's response is that there was a specific hierarchy at school - the senior assistants, the head of the departments, the subject panel heads, and finally, the regular teachers. Any decision-making at the school level was done by this core committee. So it looks like the regular teachers were not involved in the planning nor the decision-making but were expected to accept and follow instructions according to the outcomes of the core committee.

Even though there was an extensive hierarchy of people to take care of different things and be part of the communication network at school, Khatijah felt that it was not done well. She was upset with the way information has been transmitted to the teachers at school. She lamented that.

But here I had my meetings two weeks ago and some teachers don't seem to know what had gone on. I tell you it is not possible to call for a staff meeting for 100 people every month. It is the core committee meeting that we have every month. But things don't seem to be communicated well. I am very

disappointed and I need to see how we can improve the channels of communication. [AP1I6-27/5(12)]

She continued further with an example describing how one of the senior assistants failed to make the announcement of the teachers' day celebration which was decided at the core committee meeting. She said,

A week ago we had our planning committee where we decided about the teachers day celebration. But till today teachers do not seem to know about the celebration. So I called the senior assistant number two who is the chair for that committee and told her that she need not call for a meeting to inform this. One morning just before the classes begin she can simply call for the teachers attention and just inform briefly about it and can put up a piece of note on the teachers bulletin board. It is that simple. [AP1I6-27/5(02)]

As a result of all these ineffective systems of communication networks within school, Khatijah decided to meet up with the whole group of teachers herself on a more frequent basis. Describing the inefficient situation at her school, she said,

One big problem here is the channels of communication. Now I am thinking of cutting down on my planning committee meeting and meet up with whole staff every month. Another thing about the meetings in school is the number. I am really put off with the huge number people sitting in one meeting. It is not at all effective when the number is huge and I am unable to reach everyone. So the idea of splitting the morning and the afternoon staff and meeting them as two different groups may help. [AP1I6-27/5(12)]

So, Khatijah also found frustrating some aspects of the bureaucratic system within the school, as did the teachers, as described in the next section.

Khatijah's response was to try to make her bureaucratic approach more effective. In contrast, the teachers indicated their preference for a more human approach less focused on efficient rule following.

B. Teachers sought a more human-relations based, collaborative approach in their day-to-day activities at school

While Khatijah was more rule-bound and abided by established standard practices, the teachers at Seri Melati preferred a collaborative approach, a more cordial working relationships among the members of the school community. The teachers seemed unhappy with the way the administrators worked strictly by the prescribed rules and standard operational procedures in their day-to-day dealings with teachers. From the teachers' perspectives, in the process of implicitly carrying out these bureaucratic practices, the administrators seemed to have neglected the existence and the development of the 'people' aspect in their school. This is clearly reflected in the words of Mimi Roy who said, "But now I see that people at the administrative level are more rule abiding and in the process they may fail to see the human side of things." [AT5I-23/3(03)]

Other than the strict adherence to the written rules and procedures one other aspect of a bureaucratic practice which teachers at Seri Melati seemed to detest is the hierarchical system of operation. Teachers were bothered by the distance or gap between the principal and themselves in the day to day interactions. According to the teachers, one of the ways that an organization can effectively function is not by operating via a hierarchical system but by having people communicate directly with each other at the work place. Teachers at Seri Melati wished for their principal to interact with them as colleagues. At least five out of the eight teachers whom I interviewed mentioned the presence of a distance or a gap between the principal and the teachers at Seri Melati. Teachers felt that a supportive work environment is a place where there is interaction between teachers and the principal. This

situation is explained by Lydia Nor, who said that a supportive work climate is one where

The principal's relationship with the staff must be good. You are our boss we respect that. At the same time you should also come down to our level to talk to us. It is not that we should go to you every time. You can also come down to us. If we have that kind of an environment (where teachers and principal involve in collegial interaction) than a lot of things can be achieved. [AT4I-23/3(12)]

So it was Lydia Nor's belief that teachers could be more productive in terms of their work at school if there was a more collegial environment in which the principal and the teachers could freely mingle and interact with each other. So some teachers at Seri Melati saw the interpersonal relationship between the leader and the subordinates as a key factor in the establishment of a supportive work climate. Once this relationship has been developed a principal can resolve a number of issues through discussion and personal interaction with the teachers and win the support of the teachers.

Similarly, Mimi Roy thought that close interaction between the principal and the teachers was important to help the principal see the problems, issues and constraints with which teachers are faced. She said, "I think the administration should come down and get involved and see what are the real problems. Not just give orders without really understanding or noticing the things that are happening." [AT5I-23/3(07)] This statement indicated that the principal was not aware of a lot of things going on with the teachers because there weren't much interaction between the principal and the teachers. From the teacher's words it becomes clear that they felt a need for closer interaction between the administrators and the teachers.

However, during my twenty or more visits to Seri Melati Secondary School, only once did I see Khatijah coming to the staff room to see a teacher.

On several occasions she did pass by the staff room a couple of times during my observation but without passing any comments or greetings to the teachers. It seemed to me that the atmosphere was cold and there was no collegial feelings between the principal and the teachers.

Another teacher, Kalsom, commented on the way decisions are made at Seri Melati, and said with disappointment:

She does not seem to be discussing with the teachers. We see that all of a sudden something is coming up, something new is announced. Sometimes the students get the information even before the teachers know about it. How is this? If there is any holiday or some special school function the students seem to know before us. The class teacher and the students receive the circular but not the other teachers. Some teachers feel left out. [AT6I-24/3(06)]

So, it looks like the teachers were generally not included in the decision-making process at school, and there was no dependable flow of information to the teachers.

Analytic summary

From the discussion thus far, the principal's perspectives of organizational practices and the teachers' expectations of a supportive workplace organization differ in several important ways. While Khatijah either on her own or due to circumstances took the bureaucratic approach to organization, teachers expressed their dislike of a workplace organization that they felt controlled or coerced them with rules and regulations, standard operational procedures, and hierarchical practices. Teachers desired a more collaborative approach which would foster more informal interaction between the administrators and the teachers. This they believed would create better human relations and result in a collaborative work environment where every member would be included.

The difference between Khatijah's approach to organization (management philosophy) and teachers' desire for a more collaborative work climate raises a number of questions: Why is Khatijah practicing bureaucratic approaches, even though she herself was not in favor of these approaches? What factors are influencing her practice?

Assertion # 3: External Forces Exerted Considerable Pressures on the

Principal to Maintain High Test Scores and Fulfill Other Administrative and

Public Relations Duties, but not to Emphasize Teachers' Professional

Development.

Overview: Favorable student performance in the major national public examination is a top goal for some Malaysian schools. In a school such as Seri Melati which has a record as a high-ranking school in the district as well in the state, there is heavy pressure from the various sectors such as the State Education Department, the District Education Office, the local community, and the general public to maintain high and excellent results. As a result, as the principal of the school, Khatijah had to work hard and directed most of her energy towards helping students to achieve high test scores in the public examination. Therefore, she tried to provide support for anything which she perceived would support high achievement. In addition to the examination pressures, she also considered the amount of public relations work involved in her principalship as another area which Consumed much of her energy. The pressure to achieve public approval, especially for examination scores, could explain why staff development issues were not given as much energy or attention. The Ministry and State Education Department did not emphasize instructional, much less

transformational, leadership that would support teachers' professional development, and did not provide or encourage Khatijah's developing skills in these areas. She was not prepared herself to do more than respond to the immediate pressures for maintaining high test scores and good public relations.

A. Pressure to keep test scores high

As the principal of a well established secondary school, Khatijah faced many kinds of expectations and pressures from various sectors such as the Ministry of Education, the State Education Department, the District Education Office, and the community of parents. In particular, she felt tremendous pressure for achievement of a high percentage of passes in the major public examination such as the PMR (Lower Secondary Examination), the SPM (Malaysian Certificate of Education), and the STPM (Malaysian Higher School Certificate). Seri Melati has traditionally been recognized for its high academic performance. Therefore, the State and the District Education office had high expectations for exceptionally good results from this school. This precedent applied tremendous pressure to Khatijah. She had to be on her toes all the time keeping track of the curriculum and instruction and moving along in the direction of preparing students for the examination. The seriousness of the expectation on the examination outcomes was expressed by Khatijah as follows:

Test scores, academic achievement is a serious pressure. You know it is very high here. It is not easy to maintain it there or even to raise it to higher percentage. School image is another pressure. For your information the department does pull out the principals for questioning if the percentage drops. So can you imagine for a school like mine which is already that high and how difficult it can be to maintain it there and to raise it? [AP1I4-27/4(26)]

Khatijah found this issue of maintaining high academic results to be a huge assignment for her. She could not take this examination business lightly because it was considered as a high stakes outcome at Seri Melati. It must have felt like the whole world was watching over Khatijah by judging the performance of the students. She explained her precarious situation by saying that,

The problem is maintaining results. If the results go down the Director of the State Education Department writes to you asking for explanation. It is no joke. Do something even if it dropped 2%. Actually I had a serious problem. As soon as I came in here at the end of 1995, the following year when the results came out it was 2% down for SPM. It was not my work anyway, it was all done. Oh my God, what am I going to do, if it is going to go down and down. I really made it a point to visit classes. I was going from class to class. I tell you it is a very exhausting job. What I did was I made sure I signed all the report cards for all the classes involved. Where possible I go in to give it out to them, so that at least there is personal contact with the students. [AP1I2-5/3(03)]

From this it is clear that Khatijah spent quite a bit of time and energy on constantly watching the academic achievement of the students at her school. This made her tired and left her with no more energy to think of other "development" projects for the school or for the teachers. She expressed this weariness by saying that, "Well, exam results is one thing everybody keeps focusing and I become very tired of this." Therefore, this constant focus of Khatijah on academic pressures and high test scores may be one reason why she was not paying much attention to the human resource development aspects in her school.

Sometimes she pushed teachers to participate in her ambitious actions to achieve excellent student outcomes in the examination, although at least some teachers were clear that high scores were expected. For example, when asked what was the biggest expectation set forth by the school administration,

three of the teachers in the study gave very similar responses. Lydia Nor articulated this as, "They want 100 percent passing rate. That is the main thing they want." [AT4I-23/3(09)] Mimi Roy sounded very similar when she said, "The school's expectation is to produce good results, get more A's so that our school's name will fly high in the State Education Department." [AT5I-23/3(05)] Nordiana too added: "Maintaining high grades of the students. Our system is so exam oriented, so obviously that is the priority. The expectation is very high here. So we have to perform, we are accountable for the students' performance." [AT2I-23/3(07)]

But focusing on test scores was not an easy task for teachers in the midst of accomplishing so many things all at one time. Teachers here were not only involved with teaching their subjects and organizing various subject related activities, but they were also involved in different kinds of after-school co-curricular activities, plus the clerical, custodial, maintenance related non-teaching duties. Such non-academic duties took away much of their time and energy from the actual classroom teaching-learning processes. As Anna Lee said, "Administrators load us with too much of non-teaching duties to the point where our energy is sapped, that which is reserved for the classroom." [e-mail conversation, 11/17/98] Even though teachers found this to be frustrating, they had no choice but to carry out all these extra teaching assignments because the directives came from above - from either the Ministry of Education or the State Education Department. This situation was well reflected in Lydia Nor's complaint:

All these numerous 'Weeks' [e.g. English Language week, science and mathematics week, history week] filled with varieties of activities tend to take away much of our teaching time. We have to prepare students for exam and on the other hand such activities tend to take away our teaching time. It is such a dilemma. We rush to complete our syllabus on time.

In that rush we end up teaching not so well. In the end students do not really understand what has been taught. The administration follows the directives from the department so strictly but fail to realize the difficulties and time constraints faced by the teachers. They want everything - 100 percent passing rate and at the same time all these activities going on simultaneously." [AT4I-23/3(09)]

It is not only the co-curricular activities that steals teaching time from teachers, but there are many non-academic duties such as school physical maintenance and clerical jobs which frustrate teachers. Anna Lee'e quote describes this situation clearly:

Of course they also expect every teacher to do every other thing, which is not possible. We can't look after the maintenance of the school together with having the teaching to do. If we are assigned to do maintenance work, how much of time is wasted in getting the contractor. We feel that it is very unfair to ask teachers to do maintenance job. Sometimes the contractor comes in at the wrong time, while you are teaching, and you are called out. This hinders the lesson. ... These are the things which are very irritating. We feel that the administration should take care of such work completely. [AT3I-27/3(04)]

Why was the principal oblivious to the difficulties faced by the teachers? Why is she pushing non-teaching duties such as maintenance to the teachers? Didn't she understand the struggles of the teachers in the classroom trying to accomplish too many things? Or was she stuck in a helpless situation where she had no power to alter anything at school in order to ease the teacher work situation? The following quote from the same teacher Lydia Nor may help explain the reason for the principal's behavior and her helplessness in making teachers' work life more reasonable.

They always want 100 percent passing rate. ... The school administration alone cannot be blamed for such expectations. It is the state department who have set the targets for each school. The whole system need to be blamed for this. They want 100 percent pass but at the same time they load us with endless amount of paperwork and other non-teaching duties. We can't

cope. [AT4I-23/3(10)]

Anna Lee defends the school administration by noting that "Actually we can't blame the administration alone. It is the whole system which has too many loopholes and limitations." [AT3I-27/3(03)] So, it is clear that Khatijah alone was not responsible for whatever she was unable to do. There were other larger policy contextual factors which directed her to operate in a certain manner with specified priorities.

B. Public relations and other administrative duties

Other than the work related to maintaining and improving academic results, Khatijah also had to look into several other areas of work around the school. One major aspect of her job is communicating and dealing with people in and outside school. According to her,

The major pressure in my job is where I have to continuously attend to people. It could be the staff, the parents, department people, phone call. As a principal I am expected to look into so many aspects. Here again I think this is a constraint on the principal. I have noticed in the teacher training colleges the principal is strictly with the teaching staff, and when it comes to all other aspects it comes under an executive officer. Whereas here in school I am even responsible for my gardeners, all levels of staff. Need to attend to all sorts of problems. This is one of my serious pressures which I think I need to find a way out. It is a disadvantage trying to attend to all these varieties of stuff. [AP1I4-27/4(25)]

Thus, Khatijah's job responsibilities included being a manager, an administrator, executive officer, an instructional leader, a public relations officer and so on. The principal's job was not highly specified as one or two major areas such as instructional leadership like leading the teachers in instructional improvement activities or school administration which would focus more on human resource development. From my interview data and

my observations, I found that Khatijah's work at school was multi-faceted and demanding. She had to attend to matters ranging from school gardening to school maintenance and security. She also had to deal with people from different areas and handle over 100 teaching and non-teaching staff. Thus, her time and energy were dissipated in various directions. For example, she said, "I am dealing with a large population. It is not only the school but also the parents, the public, the community, and the District and the State Education Department". [AP1I4-27/5(27)] This heavy involvement in public relations may be one good reason for her failure to lead and guide the teachers in instructional and professional development matters. It may be difficult for her to decide which is the most important item on the long list of duties expected of the principals. Perhaps she was doing what she was doing -paying most attention to the examination results and test scores -- because that was how she and her school were evaluated by the higher-ups and the public. Under such circumstances, one learns how to survive and perform as an educational administrator by learning how to juggle the competing demands of the politics, organization, and practice (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988).

C. No pressure or support for staff development

As just noted, there was a huge amount of pressure to keep the test scores high and the co-curricular activities running well, but there wasn't much focus given to other dynamics of school improvement such as staff development. When Khatijah was asked about the job specification for the principals and if there was any mention of staff development as part of her job, she replied that,

There's no allocation of funds for that. Even if you try to bring it out, they will say that is not your... you know what I mean. In other words what they will say is call the teachers on a

Saturday, invite some speakers and finish it. But the very fact the school is not given an allocation - it indicates that they are not giving you any leeway then. Although in the KBSM (New Secondary School Curriculum) we have spoken about school-based training, school-based in-service courses but there is no allocation. I am getting allocation for every little things, but nothing for this. So this shows that they don't consider this as an important function of the principal. Right or not. [AP1I4-27/4(32)]

This statement indicates that there was no specific expectation placed on principals to do anything about teacher professional development. From the Ministry's point of view, according to Khatijah, it was not an important task of the principal. The very fact that no allocation of funds was put aside for staff development purposes seems to confirm the lack of seriousness the Ministry and the Sate Department have for teachers' growth.

The lack of attention given to teacher professional development by the Ministry or State Education Department is also portrayed in the principal job specifications document. In this document by the State Department, there were nine duties which had been identified to be part of principals' job. out of these nine, principals' work related to school administration and financial management were heavily emphasized, while staff development was under emphasized. Under staff development it is stated that, "Principals should plan and implement either in-house or external programs and courses for teachers and non-teaching staff" (please refer Appendix G). That was all. There was no further explanation or elaboration on this point. No specific directions were given for how to conduct staff development activities.

Another important dimension of staff development in Malaysia is that the Ministry of Education plans and organizes inservice courses for all schools in the nation. Whenever reforms are introduced and the Ministry of Education feels the need to make changes or introduce new developments in

curriculum and teaching strategies, various bodies under the Ministry and the State Department would plan, organize, and conduct inservice activities for teachers [MOE-10/5]. Since the ministry is involved in doing this, most of the time principals do not worry so much about staff development.

However, even though there wasn't much support or pressure from the Ministry of Education for staff development at the school level, in the very first interview, Khatijah did mention that she wanted to create a work climate where she could help teachers improve their practice is by "providing them with various staff development programs and the chances to participate in seminars and conferences without too much of a restriction" [AP1I1-26/2(05)]. However, she did not emphasize this point as much as she did providing physical and material resources. She did have some ideas about staff development and its importance to teachers, but other data suggested that she lacked knowledge and expertise for organizing and conducting effective staff development programs for her teachers.

Based on my interactions with her and the list of staff development activities that had been conducted in the previous years, I concluded that the kind of staff development offered to teachers in her school was far from what would provide effective teacher learning. For example, I observed a staff development program on "Mastery Learning" at Seri Melati, and concluded that it was probably not effective in helping teachers learn about this new concept of 'mastery learning', at least when judged by criteria established in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The inservice was more of an overview, an introduction to 'mastery learning' as a concept rather than actual guidance for practice in the classroom. Even during the course of the four hour talk by two Ministry of Education people, some teachers raised this point and challenged the relevance of such a concept in their classrooms. They were

asking for some sort of an hands-on, minds-on experience in actually handling this concept in their day-to-day practice, but it was not provided to them, nor to my knowledge was there systematic follow-up of this inservice.

My observation during this session was congruent with my earlier findings about in-service programs in Malaysian schools (Malakolunthu, 1997) in which teachers reported that inservice courses were brief and not sustained; most of the time there was no follow-up to check the effectiveness of the ideas or practices taught in the in-service program; very often inservice programs were not related to the individual teacher's needs; it was not context-specific but content-focused; it was not experience-based but theory-based; it did not provide an educative experience which could bring about a change in the teacher's habits or attitude; and it was mandated, therefore, sometimes becomes non-value adding and counter-productive. This list outlining the inadequacies of the current form of staff development in the Malaysian schools is similar to the description given by Matthew Miles on teacher professional development in the United States. He said that current staff development programs can be defined as a learning environment which is "radically underresourced, brief, not sustained, designed for "one size fits all," imposed rather than owned, lacking any intellectual coherence, treated as a special add-on event rather than as part of a natural process, and trapped in the constraints of the bureaucratic system we have come to call as "school"."(Miles, 1995, p. vii).

Asked about the induction program for new principals and whether there had been any mention of this notion of developing the teachers at school, Khatijah said that, "I wouldn't say that it was given such a focus where I could say yes. It was mentioned here and there but not given much focus." [AP1I4-27/4(33)] So this is the situation with regards to staff

development in the Malaysian school contexts. There is no pressure or support from the central system and predictably, therefore little sustained effort in schools that resembles the portrait of effective professional development provided in the literature.

D. Insufficient principal professional preparation to lead teachers

Professional preparation of a principal to take over the role of a school leader is extremely crucial in determining the success of that principal. In Khatijah's case, she did not have access to many courses related to becoming an effective principal. She was not well exposed to theories of management or organizational behavior. She felt that her knowledge of school management and in particular human resource development was inadequate to lead a school. While she had attended and participated in numerous seminars, conferences, workshops, regional and national level curriculum meetings prior to becoming a school principal, after taking over the principal's position at Seri Melati in 1995, she attended only five short courses related to school principalship and management. When asked about whether she had been given sufficient training in running an effective school, she said,

After becoming a principal I was given a few courses. Like one on managing school finance, another on school discipline, one more on teacher code of conducts. There was a course on general school management issues. So what I have learned so far is very much from my on the job experience and from our informal talks and interactions with other principals. I think I picked up most of it on my own. [AP1I5-22/5(07)]

An examination of the list of courses she has attended after becoming a principal reveals a gap in her professional development as a principal. There were very few in-depth courses related to school principalship or leadership

offered to her. She has a wide experience working at the different divisions and levels of the Ministry of Education, but she was not thoroughly prepared in school instructional leadership and human resource management and development. There are multiple organizational processes in which a principal as a leader of the school needs to be involved. For example, Bolman and Deal (1991) outline a frame for effective principal practices which include planning, decision-making reorganizing, evaluating, approaching conflict, goal setting, communication, meetings and providing motivation. In Khatijah's case, it was evident that she was not thorough in implementing all these processes in such a way which would help teachers 'develop' in their profession.

One example in particular illustrated her lack of preparation in instructional leadership. She conducted a classroom observation to evaluate a teacher, and I was present for the observation and the conference afterward. During the observation, she strictly followed the one page check list provided by the district education office and filled in the comments as required. After the observation she had a very brief post observation conference where she asked a few questions and then left. The dialogue between the teacher and the principal during the post-observation session went as follows:

Principal: Any specific problems that you face in teaching

mathematics?

Teacher: No, I think everything is okay.

Principal: At the subject panel meetings or at the department

meeting do you discuss about resources for teaching

mathematics?

Teacher: No, we don't spend time talking about this.

Principal: Can you come up with some ways of actively engaging

students in the classroom? Like breaking them into smaller groups and so on. Have you tried this before?

Teacher: The class is too big for me to break them into smaller

groups. There is no space to move the desks and chairs

around. Very crowded.

Principal: You may ask the students to turn their chairs around and

face the students behind for group activities.

Teacher: Okay. [AMyO-31/3]

In my opinion the post-observation conference was very brief and I did not see much input given by the principal. It seemed to me that there were a lot of areas where the teacher needed help and guidance. For example, she needed help in making her teaching more student-centered, asking students to explain reasons for both right and wrong answers, and using more manipulatives or real life examples in explaining the mathematical concepts. But neither the principal nor the teacher were really discussing these issues openly. There was no exchange of ideas for instructional improvement. It was more like a formal meeting done for record-keeping purposes and to fulfill the State Education Department and the district level requirement. It was not seen as a process aimed at helping out a teacher know her weak points and giving suggestions and demonstrating ways to improving her teaching.

When I talked with Khatijah after the classroom observation, I realized that Khatijah was not familiar with the concept of post-observation conferencing. She was not aware of the important role such conferences could play in helping teachers improve their practice. She did not see this as an opportunity to induce teachers' reflection on her own teaching and thinking about the subject matter. If she had assumed a position as an instructional leader, she could have used this classroom observation process not merely for evaluation purposes but also to encourage the development of the teachers. This evaluation process could have provided the opportunity for the principal to work closely with the teacher and understand her problems, but apparently was not viewed by either party as serving those purposes. Some literature suggests that one reason behind a lack of input or

sharing may be that such observations are considered merely as a way to distribute rewards or penalties and control teacher performance, and not as a process for helping individuals grow and improve their teaching (Bolman and Deal (1991).

Analytic summary

Principals have to play multiple roles daily at school. Among her numerous competing job duties, Khatijah focused more attention to fulfilling the orders and directives from the Ministry and the State Education

Department. Since examinations are a major element in the educational system and Seri Melati was well known historically for high test scores, the principal was under heavy pressure to keep the scores high. In the process of paying so much attention to the expectations of these higher authorities, and in maintaining good public relations with the education officers, the parents and the community members, the principal neglected staff development. However, her choices appeared to me to be quite rational given the pressures to emphasize test scores and corresponding lack of pressure and lack of preparation to work on teacher professional development and instructional improvement.

Assertion # 4: The History of Seri Melati Played an Important Role in the Way Teachers Perceived Their Needs and the Principal's Response to Them.

Overview: Knowledge of the history of a place or an institution helps us understand why certain things happen in certain ways and why people behave in a certain manner. Seri Melati's long established culture and the feelings of nostalgia which it created may help explain some people's behavior

and expectations. In particular, teachers at Seri Melati had very positive, constructive experiences with a previous principal who paid a lot of attention to the teachers' inner needs and acknowledged and showed her appreciation for their efforts. According to the teachers, she had very good interpersonal relations with the staff and provided an environment where they felt they were treated like professionals. In addition, they did not have to get involved in the non-teaching duties and the unnecessary paperwork, and they had the luxury of indulging totally in teaching and spending more quality time with their students. With changes in the educational structure as well as changes in the principal, the teachers find it hard to erase the past from their minds, and they perceived that things today are worse than in the past. This perception contributed to teachers' feelings of alienation from the principal.

A. Long established culture

Seri Melati Secondary School is one of the very long established secondary schools in Malaysia. This school is very highly reputed for its high academic achievement in the major public examinations. For many years in the past this has been one of the top ranking school in the district and the state for its high academic performance. The school profile shows that its passing rate has averaged over 90 percent in the past several years.

Other than their high academic performance, the students at Seri Melati are also highly reputed for their outstanding performance in co-curricular activities. According to the principal and some teachers, there is a tradition in the school where students voluntarily participate in school activities and they try to have a balance between the academic and the co-curricular activities. Elaborating on this point Khatijah added, "I think there is something unique in our school which is also part of our school culture - our girls are very

involved in many other activities other than academic subjects. We have our Seri Melati spirit, where the girls do carry out activities to show that they are caring, which is one important component of an all rounded, well developed students." [APIII-26/2(03)] Admiring the ability of the students at her school and the unique culture which exists at Seri Melati where students take their own initiative to do things and participate in various kinds of educational activities, Khatijah reiterated further,

Our students are still maintaining their active participation in some of these clubs and games. It is still there. It has not dropped. They are maintaining their status in many activities, and winning in many competitions. Cheerleading in our school is one of the best. It is an American concept. They are doing very well and all on their own without very much of teacher leadership, they do on their own. It shows initiative on the part of the girls. So, this is part of the culture we are still maintaining, I don't think it has dropped. [AP1I2-5/3(03)]

Most of the students here not only perform well in their academic subjects, but they too actively participate in various co-curricular activities. From my experience in the past as a teacher, I would say that such high level of performance in both academic as well as in co-curricular activities is not common in Malaysian secondary schools. There are schools which are good in both academic as well as co-curricular activities but these are very few in number.

Since this school is considered as a very "successful" educational institution in terms of its academic performance and high examination scores, the teachers and the students feel very proud of their school. They feel great to be part of a school whose culture and heritage is considered to be outstanding by the public and the state education department. So it is not surprising that the feeling and spirit of being a member of the Seri Melati community is very high in both the students as well as in the teachers. On a

couple of occasions I witnessed their high spirits and their involvement with their school. During those special school events such as the annual sports day and the teachers' day celebrations, both the students and the teachers reflected their love and enthusiasm for the school by creating and participating in activities in variety of forms [AMyO-20/3]. Even Khatijah agrees that she was amazed when she first came to Seri Melati a few years ago. She was impressed with the students who are very capable of taking their own initiative to do things and the teachers who are dedicated and caring in guiding the students in their learning and extra curricular activities. Her amazement was reflected when she said, "Oh my God, I really appreciate this. This is really a conducive environment for teaching and learning. Seri Melati has a rich tradition and a long established culture." [AP1I-26/2(02)]

Teachers of this school attribute the success of this school and the high spirits of its members to its historical background and the tradition established by the Sisters of the Franciscan Order. Since its establishment more than forty years ago, there has been an organizational culture with values and a belief system unique to Seri Melati with which the teachers identify. Since some of the teachers here have worked at Seri Melati for an extended period of time, they cherish the memories of the good old days and share them with the newer teachers. In this manner the myths, the stories, and the rituals of the past have been carried on to the younger generation of teachers at Seri Melati, and are reflected in their perceptions of the current principal and how she contributes to a supportive working environment for them.

B. Inner needs

The glory of the past and its myths and practices still linger in the thoughts and minds of the teachers at Seri Melati. Anna Lee said that she has heard from the senior teachers here that, "During Sister Henrietta's time, there was personal contact and genuine concern of the administration for each member of the staff. This created a happier working environment." (E-mail conversation, 11/16/98). This statement indicated that teachers experienced some degree of freedom, shared ownership, recognition, caring and trust under the past administration which they seemed to be missing under the present headship.

Inspite of all their good feelings and pride for the school and the students, the teachers whom I interviewed seemed to have a lot of grievances in their hearts. They felt several disappointments about their work climate. They were highly reputed for their hard work and commitment at school which Khatijah herself agrees by saying that, "I feel that they are a very committed lot. On their own they take the initiative to do their work, doesn't matter whoever the principal is and whatever the constraints may be. Definitely more than half of the teachers are like that - who are committed to their profession." [AP1I5-22/5(05) In spite of this reputation, they expressed some regrets, disappointments, and frustrations with the present school administration. As described earlier, from the interview data it was obvious that they yearned for some form of freedom of expression, better human relations, and professional growth. They wanted the people at the administration to see and understand their inner needs. Mimi Roy's view may explain what the teachers at Seri Melati were looking for and expected the administration to provide them with. She says,

I heard from the veteran teachers here that now things are changing here at Seri Melati. From what I have heard from my colleagues the staff here use to be much closer and were very caring towards each other. It seems in the past a lot of things were done for character-building among the staff as well as among students. Sister Henrietta Newman was such a charismatic person that she was able to lead the school very well, very free. But now I see that people (principal) are more rule abiding and in that process they may fail to see the human side of things. This is what I hear from the senior staff. [AT5I-23/3(03)]

This expression for the recognition and the fulfillment of their inner needs are also seen in a couple of other teachers' interview response.

C. Excessive non-teaching duties

As I mentioned earlier, in the past teachers at Seri Melati were exposed to an earlier school administration which did not involve them in any other non-teaching activities. All they had to do was direct all their energy into the teaching and learning process. As a result, they felt good about the quality service they were able to provide for their students and felt justified about their position as 'teachers'. But at the time of my study, the situation was very different.

Both my observation notes and the teacher interview data revealed a tension in the relationship between the teaching staff and the school administration with regards to excessive non-teaching duties such as school maintenance, contacting the contractor for plumbing, waiting for the electrician, keeping and constantly updating the data of each and every teacher in the school, taking care of missing chairs, broken furniture and so on. According to one teacher,

During Sister Henrietta's time teachers were not given any nonteaching duties, they were not involved in the maintenance of the school building or what so ever. We report if anything needs to be fixed and our job stops there. Nowadays we take over maintenance including ringing up for the contractors, negotiating with them the price, then reporting back to the principal for her agreement. If she is not satisfied then the teacher in-charge has to get back to the contractor and this goes on and on. Why can't the administration deal with it after we have reported it to them? (e-mail conversation, 11/16)/98)

Another teacher, Lydia Nor, continues along the same line, where she says,

This year I am given this new duty - data teacher. I have to keep track of all the teachers going out and those who are coming in. Keep their records and give updated information about the teachers in my school every month to the State Department. And also the data concerning students, the subjects they are offering for their major exams, ethnicity and so on. ... At first I was told to take care of the teachers' data only. Later the students' data was added on. And now I also have to keep records of the labs and so on. It is ridiculous, but I do. At the same time my subject head also pushes me to get the exam questions prepared on time and get the students grade ready by certain date. Besides all these I am also a class teacher for Form five and I have to keep the class register, record book, students' report cards, prepare the students' testimonials, leaving certificate because it is the final year in school. I am also an advisor for students' clubs. [AT4I-3/3(05)]

Teachers at Seri Melati felt very bogged down with all these nonteaching duties and were disappointed with the administration for assigning them so many 'special duties.' Nordiana added on to this issue by saying:

Because of all these other things which bog us down and steal our time away, it becomes frustrating at times. There are too many things you as a teacher have to look after and which you are responsible for. Despite the fact that teaching is our top priority but we see all these other things coming in. For example, I am in charge of broken chairs and desks and have to look around for new chairs and desks to replace the broken ones. Instead of using my free periods to prepare my lesson or grade my students' books, I am busy running around looking for things. I have to carry my work home and take care of all the non-academic work at school... Other than being the secretary of the English language for the whole district, where I need to organize meetings, call up this person, arrange for workshops, organize inter-school debates and so on, I also hold five other portfolios at school. I am in charge of the

school inventory, I am also the English language subject panel head, I am the secretary for the working committee for the district level, teacher advisor for one of the clubs, ... on top of these when students don't have chairs they come looking for me! [AT2I-23/3(06)]

So these non-teaching duties of teachers seemed to be an endless struggle for teachers who had to juggle for time between classroom and the 'other special duties'. In a situation where teachers were already struggling to cope with their increasing classroom duties, these extra, non-teaching duties have become an added nightmare. When Anna Lee was asked to talk about some of the demotivating factors at school, she said,

Demotivating? Yea. It is just the environment. There is a lot of unnecessary pressure of having to do so many things. So many other duties that teachers have to take over. It is not comfortable and there is no time to enrich yourself. You have to keep doing everything the school demands you to do. There is no self enrichment. [AT3I-27/3(1b)]

In stark contrast to these teachers' views, Khatijah found it hard to understand why teachers are not willing to accept such 'special duties'. She considered such duties to be an opportunity for them to learn about organizing and managing things. She felt it would be good for their resume. She said,

I notice that teachers are really not willing to take on anything extra. When I say extra, it may not be exactly teaching-learning kind of thing. It might be little bit administrative. They are not even keen on that. Oh well this is some kind of a challenge, so let me take it up and see how I can do it. I call the teachers and talk to them and say about taking up a certain responsibility. But they will say I don't have the time, too much work and so on. I say "Look you should take it upon as a compliment. I have chosen you, that means you have got some ability. Please remember you are going to learn along the way. And this will put you on a good stand. Even when you leave all these experiences will come with you. When I give them something to do they feel it as an extra burden. I don't know whether it s because they are not motivated, their self-esteem is not good. I am not sure. This

is what I use to advise them. One, you should take it as a compliment. You have been identified as a responsible person. Two, you are going to learn a lot along the way. So it is not just getting the job done, but you are developing yourself for your future. [AP1I4-27/4(15)]

This quote suggests that Khatijah was not aware of the existing work load of the teachers. Furthermore, it indicates the way the principal and the people at the State Education Department and the Ministry level understand the nature of teaching. It is no wonder that the teachers wished for the return of a time when they felt that administrators wanted to protect their teaching time and energy.

D. Unnecessary paperwork

One other thing about Sister Henrietta's administration was that there were not much paperwork for teachers to do. Speaking about the time when the missionary/church controlled the school, Anna Lee noted:

The District Education office nor the State Education Department did not bother the school with so much written reports and date lines to meet. But nowadays more structured paperwork is pushed on to the school and the teachers, ... we just have to toe the line. This drains us of our energy. Teaching in class may go unnoticed but not passing up the paperwork for the Department. It is NOTICED. So on paper teaching in Malaysia is enriching and everything is great!" (E-mail conversation-11/17/98)

This is an important point to consider. When the government took over the school from the church, then all the bureaucracy started to follow. All the extra duties, paperwork and so on are characteristic of the government-run school system. It is not Khatijah who is solely responsible for all the extra work and special duties assigned to teachers, but it is the State and the District education people who are pushing for tons of paperwork to be completed. Elsewhere in this chapter, Khatijah has explained her helpless situation in a

bureaucratic system which requires her to push papers all the time. Here, the additional information is that the teachers' response to Khatijah on this matter is strongly colored by their perspectives of a better past.

Analytic summary

At Seri Melati I see the myths of the historical past and the current system of bureaucratic system of administration being played out side by side. The experience of the past has become an important point of reference for the teachers, while the present principal is operating from a different dimension. The teachers value the past principal Sister Henrietta's techniques of human relations, and the ideal teaching climate, while Khatijah is busy fulfilling the bureaucratic needs of the current larger policy system. Thus, the principal and the teachers appear to be judging the current state of affairs with reference to different contexts and positions. In other words, their frames of reference seemed to be different.

In this case of Seri Melati, I see that both the teachers as well as the principal are at two very different positions and they view their job and needs from where they stand. The issue here is that the standpoint of the principal and the standpoint of the teachers is not the same. Their perspectives differ according to where they are and what their experiences are.

Conclusion

From the analysis of data I see a need in the Seri Melati teachers (who participated in the study) to be treated differently. There is a difference between how the teachers want to be treated and how they are being treated by the current school administration. It looks like they want to be part of a school culture where they could openly voice their opinions and express their

views. At the same time they would like the administration to appreciate and acknowledge their hard work. They want school administration to come down to their level and try to understand the exact situation under which they operate and accordingly provide them with the necessary support. At the same time teachers feel that they have plenty of good ideas to share and therefore they would like more involvement in the school decision making processes. They also want a more collaborative work culture where they could learn from each other through sharing. But the existing bureaucratic system of administration is very rigid with its rules and regulations and do not seem to be giving teachers much leeway for creative thinking and practices at school. This is in line with what Darling-Hammond (1990) says about the bureaucratic model and the way teachers are treated in such systems. She says,

In the bureaucratic model, teachers are viewed as bureaucratic functionaries rather than well trained and highly skilled professionals. Little investment is made in teaching preparation, induction or professional development. ... Little time is afforded for joint planning or collegial consultation about problems of practice. Because practices are prescribed outside school setting, there is no need and little use for professional knowledge and judgment (1990, p. 30).

But, the teachers at this school are a bunch of highly committed, responsible, and hard working group of people, they expect more than what is being offered. They did not like the idea of being treated like non-professionals or third class citizens at the place where they work. Based on theories of organizational behavior it looks like this group of teachers at Seri Melati are not in favor of the bureaucratic style of management which is very confining and rigid. They seem to be more inclined towards the human resource development approach to management which emphasizes using the conscious thinking of individual persons about what they are doing as a

means of involving their commitment, their abilities, and their energies in achieving the goals for which the organization stands (Daresh and Playko, 1992; Owen, 1991; Sergiovanni, 1991).

On the other hand, the principal is not aware of the teachers' needs for professional development and growth. Instead of establishing a work culture based on norms of collegiality and professional inquiry, she was focused on improving the physical facilities and resources for teaching. In addition to this, she adhered to bureaucratic practices which were too rigid and hindered human relations. She responded well with the demands of the higher authorities and spent most of her energy on maintaining high test scores, but not aspects related to teacher learning or instructional improvement.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS OF SERI WIRA SECONDARY SCHOOL

In this chapter, I present the analysis of the data collected at Seri Wira Secondary School. As with the Seri Melati case, my initial analysis yielded several interesting themes which I used to support three assertions. To facilitate cross-case comparisons, the Seri Wira assertions parallel the Seri Melati assertions in terms of topic, though not necessarily in content. Thus, the first assertion is about principal and teachers' views of supportive work climates; the second is about the principal's practices and teachers' views of them; and the third is about external influences on the principal's priorities.

Assertion # 1: The Principal and the Teachers at Seri Wira Do Not Hold Identical Views of a Supportive Work Climate.

Overview: The description of a supportive work climate by the principal and the perceptions of the teachers of what a supportive work environment is supposed to be were not similar. Jamilah considered a 'happy' and 'family-like' environment to be key for a supportive work climate that would enable teachers teach better. In other words, Jamilah thought that if teachers were happy at work they would do a good job in teaching and learning. Because of this, she said that one of her major roles as a principal was to create the conditions that would make teachers happy.

In addition to the happiness factor, she also emphasized a cordial, congenial relationship among teachers as another important characteristic of

a supportive work climate. According to Jamilah, teachers would be most happy in a school where they worked together like family members helping each other. She also believed that a lot of praise, appreciation and a 'pat on their shoulders' would help motivate teachers.

In contrast to Jamilah, the teachers whom I interviewed did not refer much to the 'happiness' factor. Some of them made positive comments about Jamilah and the social environment which she had created at Seri Wira. However, some of them also expressed a need for a work climate which was intellectually stimulating and professionally rewarding. These teachers said they needed a learning environment that would stimulate them intellectually and help them learn new ways of integrating curricular reform ideas. They did not mention anything about a happy nor a friendly environment as the main factors they were looking for in their work environment.

A. Jamilah views a 'happy' and a 'family-like' environment as a supportive work climate for teachers

Jamilah views a supportive work environment to be a place where teachers would be happy and work together, helping each other like family members.

Happy environment

Throughout the five interviews with Jamilah, I frequently heard phrases and words related to family such as 'home,' 'school as a family,' 'family members,' 'sisters at work.' The first two interviews especially showed me how and to what extent she envisioned her school as a family

where all teachers happily worked together. Indeed, that was the overarching theme of her talk about a supportive work climate.

In the first interview, when Jamilah was asked what was her idea of a supportive work environment for her teachers, she replied, "By creating an environment where they will feel that the school belongs to them. Teachers plant flowers at school, like their home. Make them feel like part and parcel of a big family. ... Teachers need to understand that they are 'sisters at work. And I am not their boss. I supervise, contribute, lead, but don't demand" [BP2I01-27/2(02)].

During the second meeting with Jamilah, when I asked her to describe the work climate at her school, she described it as an environment where teachers are 'happy':

The teachers must be HAPPY. A lot of problems crop up if teachers are not happy. They have to keep themselves happy, I don't keep them happy. Of course I always give the positive stroke, a pat on the back, and acknowledge whatever good they have done. I mention and make sure that the other people know whatever good they have done. Compliment my staff a lot. Even if a nice dress they wear, I make sure that I pass a good remark. That goes a long way in terms of relationship. [BP2I02-3/3(02]

In yet another interview, she emphasized the importance of teachers' 'happiness' as the key issue at school. While answering one of my questions about how she was strategically working to create a supportive work climate at her school, she started off by replying "I don't know." Then she continued her conversation by saying,

I think teachers' happiness is the key issue. A lot of praise, appreciation of their work, a pat on their shoulders, all these help motivate teachers. Include them in decision making. Make them express their thoughts, what they think about certain projects, how do they want to go about doing it. It is not what I think, but I make them think what they want to

do. Inother words they come up with suggestions. When directives come from the department, I ask them whether there are any other ways of doing this or approaching a given directive from the top. I encourage them to come up with different or alternative plans and ask them to choose whichever is the most suitable to their needs and given situations. I give them the chance to give their ideas, inputs and choose an option from the list which they have identified. Most of the time I too add on my ideas to theirs and make it richer. But in the end I make it look like their own. This gives them the feeling of ownership, being part of the whole process. I do plant a lot of ideas and contribute ways of going about doing things either directly or indirectly but eventually it will look like theirs. They feel proud. [BP2I05-19/5(11)]

Thus, she saw a number of ways that she personally contributed to teachers' happiness, such as giving praise, encouraging them to talk about their special projects, and adding on her ideas to theirs. However, she did not assume all of the responsibility for teachers' happiness. In order to perform their duties well, teachers also needed to understand the school situation in which they were working and adjust and adapt themselves. She said,

I do not believe in a group that complains. If we have a problem I ask teachers to analyze the problem and really think about it. I certainly don't want them to become a part of the problem. They must be part of the solution, not part of the problem. And also we have a happy kind of an environment, the "happiness". Teachers must be happy, and in order to be happy they must understand the situation. Some are transferred from residential (boarding) schools. It is like coming from a bungalow to a hut. So they need to understand. [BP2I02(03)]

This quote suggests that Jamilah believes that "happiness" can be achieved even when conditions are less than ideal, but under such circumstances teachers may need to take active steps to be happy and work under constraints without complaints.

School as a family

Jamilah also described a supportive work climate to be a condition where the teachers are not only happy but function like a family.

School as a family. The senior teachers help novices adjust. Senior assistant, head of the departments provide the new teachers with briefing sessions, orientation so that they could understand the school culture. Brief them on curriculum and syllabus, where can they get materials, teaching aids, what can they can contribute towards creating a conducive teaching-learning environment. Everything is done in a less formal way. [BP2I01-27/2(01)]

According to Jamilah teachers in her school were active members of the 'family club' (formerly called the staff club) in which they supported each other not only by dealing with professional issues but also by discussing family related concerns. She is very proud of their active participation in the school family club. She said that, "They have their own staff club which is functioning quite well. It is quite active. They support each other, professionally as well as a family. I would call them as 'sisters at work.' Young mothers need someone to talk to" [BP2I1-27/2(02)]. So Jamilah saw the family club as a sort of social network for the teachers at this school.

Teachers were also encouraged to plant flowers in their school garden so that they will feel that it is their home and become part and parcel of a big family. Jamilah felt that all these arrangements at her school would help create a work environment where the teachers would feel a sense of belonging, and make their teaching life more interesting and happy.

B. While teachers' at Seri Wira acknowledged that Jamilah supported them and helped them learn about organization, some envisioned a supportive work climate as a space where they would have opportunity for intellectual stimulation and professional growth

Teachers at Seri Wira who participated in the study did not list a 'happy' or 'family-like' environment as the most important factors of their work climate. However, some of them did highlight the support they received for their work and the opportunities given to them to learn about workplace organization, and they saw these contributions as beneficial to their work and professional development.

Learning about organization of school activities and projects

When asked about how Jamilah contributed to teacher learning, two out of the nine teachers said that they have been provided with the opportunities to learn about organizing school activities and projects.

Normala said that she was really happy working under Jamilah's principalship because she had learned a lot about organizing projects and special events in the school. According to Normala, Jamilah was an excellent resource person for getting contacts with the outside world to secure sponsorship and funds and support for special events. Normala elaborated on her professional development experiences:

I think in terms of professional development, personally for me, I think there is a lot of growth. I have learned about administration, organizing school activities and so on. Since I am an Islamic Studies teacher, I am expected to organize functions during the religious days. Last time I did not know how to do because the principal at that time asked us to do all by ourselves without much guidance or advice. When it comes to funds, she asks me to find on my own. It was difficult. But the current principal is the opposite. Jamilah gives ideas of how to go about carrying out such functions in a large scale, she also gives the name of persons or organizations whom I could contact for sponsorship. She discusses with me and ask me for ideas for going about doing things in a certain way. I have learned quite a lot about forming committees and conducting meetings from her, not directly but in many indirect ways through observing her, her ways of dealing with people.

[BT5I-19/3(01)]

Another teacher, Kumalasari, also agreed that since Jamilah came to this school she had learned how to organize events better at school. Since Jamilah was very particular about doing things in a certain manner, Kumalasari said that she had learned the minute details about organizing activities and special functions at school. Kumalasari expressed this by saying:

At least now I am learning how to organize official functions. Jamilah teaches us the ways to arrange the chairs for the VIPs, the honorary guests. She also explains why we have to do certain things in certain ways. Last time I did not know about all these different ways of doing things for official functions. Since she is very particular about carrying out certain things in specific ways, I too have to learn. [BT2I-15/3(11)]

Positive relationships

In addition to sharing her knowledge of planning and organizing school functions, Jamilah had motivated teachers by showing them her appreciation of their work, recognizing their efforts, and by sharing general information. Azlizah, a subject panel head, was full of praise for Jamilah's appreciation and acknowledgment of their work, the recognition she provided, and the encouragement she gave. Azlizah described Jamilah's efforts:

She appreciates our work, praises when good work is done. She makes sure that our work is acknowledged. Last year we had our English Week in a different format than the previous years. We had different kinds of competition, quiz, treasure hunt games and so on. It was very interesting and the student participation was also good. So she made sure that all the English language teachers were congratulated for their efforts. She gave us due recognition. She also volunteered to be one of the judges for our competition. The students also felt very good because their principal was also there participating with them. [BT4I-19/3(02)]

Support through advice, funds and resources

Another contribution noted by teachers was that Jamilah helped them find funds and resources for their projects. Azlizah confirms this point by saying that,

We also get funds needed for our language activities. We are only allocated 300 ringgit per year. This is definitely not sufficient. So when we approach with our project plans for the year, she does approve some money from other sources like the PTA. So most of the time we do manage to get support from her in different ways. She also provides us with advice on matters related to administration, and also teaching and learning, language society activities. [BT4I-19/3(02)]

Another teacher, Sakinah, was happy with the ways that Jamilah provided support both in the form of an open door policy when teachers needed to talk, and funds to carry out certain projects. Jamilah also provided information such as lists of people whom teachers could contact for conducting some training courses. Sakinah said the following about resources Jamilah provided to teachers:

She shares what ever information she gets from the Ministry or the State Education Department. She advises on whom to contact for running in-house training. When we have some problems or concerns, we are always welcome to go and see her. I see that she is always trying to help us in whatever ways that she could. She also provides us with financial support. Sometimes she even gives her personal entertainment allowance for us to have some snacks during our in-house training. She also supports our application for financial help from the PTA funds. [BT3I-6/3(03)]

In addition to providing funds and giving advice on various matters, Jamilah shared her knowledge and information gathered from attending seminars and conferences. This was appreciated by a teacher - Nadia who said, "After attending any seminars, conferences she shares with us what she has learned, and brings us brochures and other materials" [BT1I-11/3(20)].

Teachers need professional growth

While some of the teachers were pleased with Jamilah's ways of creating positive relationships and supporting teachers' work by mustering resources, funds, and advice, some also expressed a need for more intellectual stimulation in their profession. For example, Azlizah said:

The school management should be understanding about our need for professional growth. It will be good if from time to time we can be sent for some courses. There are so many innovative ideas coming from different sources and we would like to be exposed to such things in order to make our teaching more interesting. There are so many courses being conducted in this city itself, but we don't have access to participating and learning from those. At least, if we could attend such things once or twice in a year it will help us refresh our minds and receive more inputs. [BT4I-19/3(05)]

This teacher's view indicates that there is a desire to learn and improve her skills in teaching. She wanted more input so that she could expand her existing repertoire of knowledge. In other words, she believed that professional growth of teachers needed more attention.

Similarly, Sakinah felt that the teachers at Seri Wira needed more support in the area of professional learning. According to Sakinah, Jamilah was very ambitious with big vision and plans for the school. She liked to introduce new ideas into the existing curriculum and instruction. Anything that struck her as innovative, she liked to introduce at school. For example, when the Ministry of Education offered this new subject called 'Reka Cipta' (Creative Designing), Jamilah volunteered to try it out at her school as a pilot project. She also accepted the idea of the Curriculum Development Center of the Ministry of Education to integrate the 'Generic Skills' across all subjects. (Generic Skills refer to a set of core competencies such as communication skills, problem-solving and decision-making skills, interpersonal skills, numeracy, information gathering and data analysis, organizational skills, etc.)

These innovations arrived on top of other on-going projects such as higherorder thinking skills, and remedial and enrichment programs introduced by the Ministry of Education. So, there are several new approaches to curriculum and teaching that have recently been introduced into Seri Wira Secondary School. Sakinah described the teachers' responses:

Oh yes, she is all out for the 'generic skills.' She is very much for this idea of integrating generic skills into the school curriculum. Our school is also one of the schools under the pilot project for implementing generic skills. Actually the integration of the 'thinking skills' was introduced only about three years ago and teachers are still grappling with that and trying to grasp the idea. Here she is now with another new idea insisting on every body doing the generic skills stuff in their classes. Teachers resent this and it is too much pressure on them. There are too many things teachers are expected to do in the class, cover the syllabus, the content, we have to worry about the examinations, the moral values, the thinking skills, and here she is with the generic skills. Just with one in-house training she expects the teachers to be fully equipped with the knowledge to teach generic skills. Thinking skills for the entire nation, but this generic skills is only for our school. It means teachers here at this school have more to prepare and write in their record books. Teachers resent this very much. I do sympathize with the teachers because they do not know where they stand. Too much work. [BT3I-6/3(05)]

According to Sakinah's account, Jamilah's introductions of innovations follow a pattern: she introduces all these new concepts, explains the importance of the various reform ideas such as the generic skills, higher order thinking skills and so on, and tells and expects teachers to teach according to reforms. However, she has not provided the support that teachers feel that they need in order to learn to teach in new ways. She has not equipped the teachers with the rich understanding of the innovative ideas and the chance to practice and receive feedback on their teaching techniques.

Sakinah described a situation where teachers were not given a deeper understanding and an opportunity to learn about new approaches with regard to teaching generic skills,

Yes this is the problem. She usually gives out some materials or hand-outs to read. Maybe she could give us a video tape of some teachers doing this, and we could watch, observe and learn from there. Or she herself could teach a class and ask the teachers to go and observe her integrating generic skills into her lesson. But no. It is more of theory and not practical. We are still having problem with the integration of the 'thinking skills' stuff. The Ministry thinks it is so easy. They just pass down the directives, and they send us for one or two days course, we are all set for it!!! It does not work that way. For example when we prepare our comprehension question now, it has to be done differently than last time. Students have to be taught to think and the questions have to be designed in such a manner that it makes the students think. So it is not easy without proper learning on the part of the teachers. Just with one short course they expect us to be well equipped to handle the concept of integrating thinking skills. [BT3I-6/3(07)]

Another teacher, Daruzman, added to this point about teachers' learning to cope with the changes in the curriculum. According to him, the principal should be more sensitive to teachers' needs for adjustment and growth. He said, "It will be good if she can be open to our ideas, if she can accept our views. If she comes with something new, then she should also give leeway for teachers to adjust ourselves with the new ideas and accommodate to our environment." [BT6I-16/3(17)]

The comments of Azlizah, Sakinah, and Daruzman indicated that teachers at Seri Wira did have genuine problems with their learning to teach according to the changes and reform as handed down from the top, and that Jamilah was not aware of those difficulties. According to them, she underestimated the learning that is required by teachers to learn new practices. As Zaini said, this was the major problem with Jamilah's principalship. [BT3F-6/3(03, 04)] This indicated that Jamilah was not

providing teachers with the kind of help needed to support their work in instructional improvement per se.

Development of individual teacher's talents

One teacher spoke forcefully about another aspect of a supportive work environment for him: the recognition of individual abilities, creativity, and talents. Daruzman wanted a workplace where the principal would be more supportive of and receptive to teachers' ideas and more open to their points of view. He described a supportive work climate as an environment in which he would be encouraged to contribute effectively and creatively to the accomplishment of worthwhile school objectives. Daruzman was unique among the Seri Wira teachers I interviewed because he held another position in addition to teaching. He also served as a key personnel for KSK (teachers' self support group) introduced by the curriculum Development Center of the Ministry of Education. Comparing his experience working at school and serving as a part-time key personnel for CDC (Curriculum Development Center), he said:

The administrators should know how to motivate people under them. We have frustrations and disappointments. I am not expecting the administration to give me rewards and then tell me that I want you to do all these and these. It will look very hypocritical. What I am saying is "Look at my natural resources, look at my potential. At the school level my motivation to perform is very low. But I work well, excellent at the district and State Education Department because I agree with their leadership. People at the district and state level are very good at motivating me, encouraging me. They listen to my ideas, they ask me how to do this or how to do that. At the school level, if there are any disappointments there is no backing from the administrators. [BT6I-16/3(15)]

Daruzman also criticized the bureaucratic practices of the school administration and its dependancy on higher authorities -- the State Education Department and the Ministry of Education -- for any improvement or changes to be made at the school level. He felt that teachers were capable of doing innovative things at school and they shouldn't have to wait for instructions from above. According to Daruzman, if Jamilah wanted to convert Seri Wira into a 'smart school' where all students will be computer literate and able to use information technology, there was no reason to wait for mandates to come from above. He explained this situation by saying,

We always wait for the Ministry of Education to tell us what to do, the Curriculum Development Center to give us instructions. Actually we don't have to wait. We can go direct and do it ourselves. We can have access to ideas from any country, from any part of the world. We can take an idea from these sources and start doing it, implementing it, and then the Ministry can come to know about it from us. Why not? That will be good isn't it? [BT6I-16/3(17)]

My interviews with Daruzman left me with the impression that he was asking the school organization to explore and tap into the resources that teachers already have. He wanted to participate more in school decision making, and play a more active role in school improvement. He was frustrated that he could not do this.

Analytic summary

There was some match but not a complete match between Jamilah's ideas of a supportive work climate and the teachers' view of an ideal place/space for their work and growth. While some teachers appreciate Jamilah's efforts to create a workplace with positive relationships, educating teachers about organization, and supporting their work with funds, some teachers noted the absence of learning opportunities that would help them in

their professional growth. They especially articulated the need for professional development related to curricular reforms. Finally, one teacher strongly expressed his desire for a workplace where his voice, abilities, and creativity were recognized and utilized.

In contrast to Seri Melati, the principal and the teachers at Seri Wira are in agreement about the importance of the human relations component of the work environment. But similar to the case at Seri Melati, the Seri Wira principal did not emphasize teacher learning and professional development as significant aspects of a supportive work climate.

Assertion # 2: Principal Philosophy Reinforces Congeniality Which is Very Evident at School: However, Collegiality With Respect to Professional Issues is Not Emphasized.

Overview: Jamilah's emphasis on creating a happy, family-like environment was apparently accomplished among the teachers at Seri Wira. Her actions were congruent with her stated priorities about supportive work climate. She focused on human relations among teachers characterized by loyalty, trust, and open communication. She thought such relationships among teachers would create an environment that would make them feel like part of a big family where the members would share ideas and teaching resources. But such friendly relationships do not guarantee a work culture in which teachers share work values, cooperate, and engage in specific conversations about teaching and learning (Barth, 1986; Sergiovanni, 1991).

While Jamilah promoted positive human relationships, some teachers expressed a desire for a more collegial relationship with true sharing and learning for the improvement of their work at school. One arena which

some teachers had found effective in promoting collegial interaction is the KSK - the teachers self support group. But unfortunately, at the time of the study it was dying a slow death at Seri Wira without much support from the school administration.

Congeniality but not collegiality

Jamilah believed that she had a good interpersonal relationship and strong friendship bond with her teachers. When she was asked to describe the interpersonal relationship, she said:

We respect each other. we try to build up a bond, a strong friendship. Ask about their children, their family. This is important. Each person is different and we have to respect the individual differences. I am both action oriented as well as people oriented as well. I have to adjust. We have a business to do here and at the same time we also have to care for our staff. [BP2I04-4/5(09)]

It is clear that Jamilah was trying to motivate the teachers and tackle the 'people factor' at her school by creating a more congenial work environment.

Teachers whom I interviewed agreed that the environment at Seri Wira was more congenial than collegial. Eight out of nine teachers involved in the study agreed that they engaged in more talk about their family and personal stories than they did about professional issues. When Nadia was asked about the common subject of conversation at school, she said, "It is about family stories, food, fabrics, dressing. Only in the subject panel meetings they discuss all the profession related issues" [BT1I-11/3(19)]. This was further confirmed by Sakinah's comment about the conversation topics in the teachers' room. She added,

Usually their talk revolves around social aspects, like family stuff, direct selling business and so on. Talking social aspects is not so bad because it helps them release some of their tensions or problems at home. But 'direct selling' talks are not at all helpful. I just hate teachers indulging into those stuff. When teachers are so busy involved into direct selling, they do not have the time to talk about their teaching and discuss issues related to classrooms and school subjects. They don't really sit down and discuss professional issues. The most they talk about is maybe about a particular student and may go saying, "Oh you know that boy, he was doing this today."

[BT3I-6/3(11)]

Sakinah's comment reflected my own observations and field notes. The Seri Wira teachers did not engage in talks related to professional issues. Instead, they talked about social stories or engaged in direct selling business activities during school hours. (Direct sales businesses are like Avon or Amway in the U. S.)

Daruzman agreed that the teachers' discussions at Seri Wira usually revolved around social aspects. According to him:

It is mostly social aspects. Teachers involving in professional discussions is very little. It usually revolves around subjects such as marriage, love, dressing, cars. Teachers who talk about KSK, implementing higher-order thinking skills, critical thinking are still few. These are not a common topic among the teachers. It is mostly about family, children, husband. I read about emotional intelligence and when I wanted to share with my colleagues, they do not seem to be interested in these kind of stuff. Not in the same wave length, I suppose. I read books on emotional intelligence and found out that IQ contributes only about 20% towards an individual's success. The other 80% comes from the emotional intelligence. But there is no one to share such knowledge and information with. [BT6I-16/3(21)]

So from such comments and my observations of staff room and teachers' discussion, I would hypothesize that the practice of congeniality was the norm among the teachers at Seri Wira Secondary School.

While Jamilah was supportive of congenial practices, there was no evidence of her promoting collegiality. For example, during an observation of a meeting focused on the analysis of SPM (Malaysian Certificate of

Education) examination results, Jamilah praised and acknowledged teachers' effort and hard work in helping students produce improvements in their examination results. She congratulated teachers for their performance and she asked teachers' views and suggestions for doing things differently and better next year. However, the meeting ran more like a semester administrative meeting than a session on the analysis of examination results. Jamilah asked the senior assistant to read out the analysis and after that she congratulated the teachers involved. But she did not ask teachers to explain the reasons behind the percentage increase or the strategies that they used which enabled the students to perform well. I personally felt that the explanation by the teachers of strategies they used would have been more valuable to the other teachers who may want to learn or know from their success stories. She did ask the teachers whose subject results had dropped quite a lot to explain why it dropped and what happened, but the discussion did not lead to shared ideas about teaching. In other words, there was no conscious effort on the part of Jamilah to lead her teachers into discussion and sharing of ideas.

KSK (Teachers self support group)

In one of the interviews when Jamilah was probed about teacher collegiality, she said, "They work together with their colleagues. They share ideas and I think they are collegial" [KSI04-4/5(08)]. But as I noted above, Sakinah (and others) said that teachers at Seri Wira hardly indulge in collegial interaction, although a mechanism existed to promote such interaction:

They don't really sit down and discuss professional issues. The most they talk about is maybe about a particular student and may go saying, "Oh you know that boy, he was doing this today."

This is where I feel the KSK (teacher self-support group) should come in. There is no point complaining and criticizing students. As teachers we have to sit together and discuss why a student is like what he/she is. what is causing the problem? How is he/she behaving in other teacher's class. Is he behaving like this only during English language lessons or is he like this in all the classes? We need to spend time finding out and identifying problems. What is causing the problem? Is the subject too difficult for him and that is why he is restless and not responding positively in class? We should go further on this. This is what I feel teachers should involve with when they are meeting other teachers at school. [BT3I-6/3(11)]

KSK (Teachers' self support group) was a teacher self-support group introduced by the Curriculum Development Center of the Ministry of Education. The aim of this group was to help teachers work together to solve their day-to-day problems related to teaching and learning, and to enable teachers to handle their own local school-related problems. This could be done by collaborating with fellow teachers and by participating in doing action research. It was intended as a move towards better performance through teacher collaboration and empowerment. The key idea behind this concept of KSK was teacher learning through sharing.

When Jamilah was asked about KSK and its effectiveness at Seri Wira, she offered a mixed review of KSK. First, she acknowledged its potential:

If I develop a test, I will share it out with all my teachers. If I teach using a certain method and find it effective and time saving, then I will share it out. Then the other teachers can refer to me. For teaching a particular topic at a particular level. Can refer to each other. It does not mean one person is the expert and the other person is not. No. But for one other particular area I might refer to you. Say teachers try out different strategies, say if a particular method works out then she can share with the others. We support each other." [BP2I03-5/3(06)]

But then she went on to point out difficulties with KSK and implied that she didn't see it as likely to be effective: KSK is difficult to implement. Because it cuts across different areas and disciplines. So I suggested that it is limited to subject panels. The concept will be shared by one of our teachers in charge - Sajoli, and the actual implementation will be done by the subject panels... But I'm not sure about its effectiveness. I think it is about 5 years old program. Not new. A lot of these ideas got side tracked because of the introduction of the 'Smart School' concept introduced by the Minister of Education. KSK is a group of people cooperating with one another, willing enough to share out, and this is harder to try out. There are only very few schools which are practicing this. Just because Sajoli is here - one of the key personnel for KSK, we still hear this word in this school. [BP2I03-5/3(06)]

It was interesting to me that Jamilah was aware of the potential benefits of KSK, but apparently was not taking any special initiative to sustain KSK at her school. Why wasn't she personally taking the initiative to support KSK? Did she not see this as a good avenue for teacher collaboration and teacher learning? Did she not see this as part of her duty as a principal? Was she waiting for someone else like Sajoli or the Ministry of Education to take care of it directly? In order to learn more about KSK and congeniality at the school, I asked the teachers about their perspectives.

According to Sakinah, KSK was a very good idea for bringing teachers together in an informal way to identify and discuss issues related to teaching and learning. It was an opportunity for teachers themselves to form this group and work collaboratively to improve their practice. Instead of getting instructions from above, they could act on their own in the direction which they think will benefit them the most. This is something opposite to the usual top-down model of operation. She said that,

I personally feel that teachers should be enthusiastic about this group. This is where they study their own professional problems, they identify their own problems, and together they work to overcome these problems. This is something which arises from their own initiative and not from the directives given from above. But the problem is that many teachers are not aware of the benefits of KSK and how it could help them improve their profession. Teachers have to come to a point where they themselves should feel the importance of such self-help groups and not think that this is another waste of time activity. They think they can handle all by themselves and don't see the need to work together. This is the kind of attitude they have. It will take time I think for them to realize the importance of such groups, I guess. [BT3I-6/3(01)]

Unfortunately, this concept which Daruzman and Sakinah thought was really fantastic for teacher growth and professional development, was slowly vanishing from the scene for a number of reasons. First of all, the idea of KSK got sidetracked with the introduction by the Minister of Education of the "smart school' project. 'Smart school' is a place where learning will be self-directed, individually-paced, continuous and reflective. And this will be made possible through the provision of multimedia technology and worlwide networking (Ministry of Education, 1997). Second, the conversations and interviews with teachers revealed that there was no direct support and supervision from the principal or the administration for teachers to continue with KSK. Third, based on my observations and interviews with the teachers I have concluded that most teachers here at Seri Wira were either not interested or did not fully well understand the benefits of KSK. They were not very familiar with the ideas of collaboration or collegial interaction which is the basis of KSK. Perhaps this was due to the lack of support or encouragement from the administration. The principal may have encouraged teachers to involve themselves in teacher 'self-support group activities, but without support and guidance from administrators the teachers may not have been adequately prepared to handle such new ways to interact. The teachers had been long accultured into conventional ways of doing things around the school, and were very much used to bureaucratic, top-down practices. Thus, without principal leadership, they were not

independent enough to initiate and keep working on their own through the KSK. Consequently, the teachers' self support group was not sustained at Seri Wira.

The gap between the principal and the teachers

Another point to note with regards to collegiality at Seri Wira is Jamilah's own relationship with the teachers. Jamilah mentioned a lot about cooperating, sharing, and teamwork among her teachers, but in spite of a friendly style, she maintained a certain amount of distance between herself and her staff. Almost every teacher whom I interviewed mentioned the gap, the distance which Jamilah maintains in her relationship with her teachers. She was friendly and positive, but they did not view her as a friend.

Jamilah said, "I work on a collaborative approach. Team spirit is better, help one another, share, more open, they are willing to discuss their problems. If they have problems they can come to me. They are not shy. We work together" [BP2I02-3/3(08)]. She added that,

In education we must also know what other people are doing, and learn from the others, and share what they know with the others. Even CDC (Curriculum Development Center) people don't plan in isolation. If you plan for Malaysia, you must know what Australia is doing, what all the other neighboring countries are doing. We think we are so good. We do not know what other people are doing. Do not plan in isolation. We think we are progressing, but we do not know at what rate the other people are progressing. [BP2I02-3/3(07)]

Despite Jamilah's emphasis on sharing and planning as a team, her own actions and behavior towards the teachers did not reflect these ideals.

Almost every teacher whom I interviewed described Jamilah as a person who adhered strictly to protocol and authority. Consequently, she maintained a distance between herself and the teachers. Even though teachers could

appreciate Jamilah's praise and support, some teachers found this distance or the gap as hAnjaniahnce for a collegial and constructive relationship between themselves and the principal. When Sakinah was asked to describe Jamilah's kind of leadership at school, she says,

She is more of an authoritarian and she doesn't really involve herself in whatever we are doing. Teachers feel that she does not really know what is happening at school. Teachers feel that she does not understand the school culture well... One other concern is that our principal spends most of her time in the office and seldom goes round the school to check on things. Teachers even say that she monitors the school by remote control. So teachers are not very happy. [BT3I-6/3(04)]

This teachers' view of Jamilah's leadership contradicts what Jamilah said about her relationship with teachers. Jamilah believed that her teachers can be made 'happy' by creating a family-like environment among the teachers. But teachers believed that they would be happy if the principal would freely interact with them and behave more like a colleague.

Another teacher, Azlizah, said that, "Jamilah likes to follow the channel, she goes through the head of the departments, then the subject panel heads and then it comes to the teachers. She follows protocol" [BT4I-19/3(01)]. Similarly, Nadia said, "Jamilah is a more protocol-oriented person. We have a gap with Jamilah" [BT1I-11/3(15)].

When Che' Zaiton was asked "How would you describe Jamilah's interpersonal relationship with teachers here?" she replied,

I think she has a clear cut boundary. What I mean is that if teachers have some problems or any concerns to discuss about she expects them to go to the senior assistant/her deputy # 1 and sort it out. If it is needs more attention that we can go to her. So she follows the hierarchy at school. Otherwise, personally she is very nice. But she doesn't mix around so much with us. Even during major dinners or any special functions she will keep herself to the main table.

[BT8I-4/5(07)]

Commenting on the topic of the principal's relationship with the teachers, Normala said,

Her communication with the public is wide. Only with the teachers she maintains certain amount of gap. When we have potluck in the staff room, she does not join us. I don't know why this is so. May be this could be due to her family background. I heard that she is from the royal family. And I personally feel that it is good that she maintains the gap between herself and the rest of the staff. Because in Islam, the teaching says that there should be some distance between the boss and the subordinates. This is the same with students and teachers. [BT5I-19/3(03)]

This aspect of her personal relationship with teachers is intriguing. She encouraged her teachers to have a friendly and family-like atmosphere. She wanted them to care for each other and interact with each other and have pot-lucks once in a while to build close relationship among themselves. In fact Kumalasari said, "Jamilah suggested about pot-luck. In passing she mentioned that teachers are very busy and they too need time to enjoy themselves." Jamilah encouraged all these different activities in order to create a happy and friendly environment, but she did not participate in those activities herself. She did not mingle with them freely or sit with them for dining. This may have indicated her adherence to a bureaucratic, hierarchical system of leadership while at the same time she cared about teachers' happiness and their need to feel appreciated.

Analytic summary

From the discussion above, it is evident that the principal invested her energy in encouraging congenial practices -- creating 'happy' and family-like social environment -- but not much in developing collegiality among teachers. Jamilah seemed to believe that if teachers are provided with a friendly and sociable environment, they will be satisfied with their workplace

and thus be productive in their teaching. She could have also encouraged positive social relationships among teachers, thinking that teachers with good relationships will be helpful to each other and share ideas about teaching and learning.

None of the teachers who participated in the study spoke much about congeniality. Instead, some of the teachers expressed their needs for a collegial work environment which would allow them to share and discuss issues directly related to teaching and learning. For example, some of these teachers spoke about KSK (teachers' support group) and wished that it was sustained by the school administration. They found the teachers' support group to be a potentially effective avenue for their sharing of ideas and learning about instructional practices in a less formal way. Some teachers pointed out that there is a distance between themselves and the principal. And they felt that collegial interaction is not only needed among teachers, but it is also important that they have a good collegial relationship with the principal.

Assertion # 3: External Forces Exerted Considerable Pressures on the

Principal to Improve the Physical and Social Image of the School and Fulfill

Other Administrative and Public Relations Duties, But Not to Emphasize

Teachers' Professional Development.

Overview: Improving the physical and social image of school can be an important agenda in the improvement plans of some schools. In a school such as Seri Wira which does not have a reputation for high academic achievement, the principal may work hard to establish a good image for the school. Being the principal of such a school, Jamilah may be expected by the

State Education Department to do whatever she could to upgrade the status of the school. It is likely that the evaluation of her performance as a principal would be partly based on her efforts to improve the school in tangible ways. Perhaps this may be the reason why there is such a focus for the improvement of the physical conditions and the social image of the school. She too introduced special projects such as the 'community brigade,' 'information technology,' and the integration of 'generic skills' concepts. Since these projects are recommended by the Ministry of Education, Jamilah pays special attention to them. Success in these projects may mean recognition and appreciation from the higher authorities. On the other hand, there may be less pressure from the Ministry of Education on teacher professional development or human resource development. Jamilah was not provided with the professional knowledge necessary to lead and direct teachers in their professional learning and development. This lack of pressure as well as professional development opportunities may explain why she may not be paying much attention to these aspects at her school.

Physical and social image

Seri Wira School is not in good physical condition. When Jamilah first came to this school, she had culture shock. Kumalasari, one of the senior members of the school said, "The first day she came she could not even find the sign board of the school. She was lost. Finally when she arrived here she saw a school with broken window panes. She was shocked" [BT2I-15/3(17)].

Jamilah herself explained that one of the major challenges for her was the maintenance of the physical facilities of the school. She said,

When I first came in I saw broken window panes, broken chairs, desks; teachers did not have proper working space, not enough of class rooms. Science labs were not well maintained. The

resource center is very poorly equipped, the number of books are very limited and very old. Very limited reading materials. The resource center really worries me. It takes a lot of money and also a lot of effort to get it done the way I want it. Supporting reading materials is very important. We cannot rely just on chalk and board. My first priority was to take care of the physical problems - toilet, rest rooms, window panes, broken chairs and desks. I can't take this. For me the environment must be right. The learning environment. How can they learn in such an environment with poor facilities. With all the broken things all around them. What I did was, I wrote to quite a number of people, including JKR, JPNS -- the state bodies -- asking for help. Go round asking for help, "a professional beggar" I became. [BP2I02-3/3(02)]

So, physical facilities were really an issue at Seri Wira. As the head of the school Jamilah had to work hard to get all the basic facilities installed. She considered this as one of the major challenges of her job.

Other than improving the physical conditions of the school, she was also strongly motivated to raise the image of this school in the eyes of the public. As Kumalasari said,

She wants this school to have a good image. She aims to make this school a 'sekolah bestari' (a smart school). Maybe she wants to make this school as one of the excellent schools in this district. Up till now when the public hear the name Seri Wira Secondary School, they somehow get the impression that this school is low graded. So she wants to improve the image of this school. She wants to feel proud of this school. [BT2I-15/3(11)

Consequently, Jamilah started numerous projects as recommended by the Ministry of Education to upgrade the physical as well as the social image of the school. These included the school-community brigade, information technology, and generic skills.

<u>Community Brigade</u>. The Community Brigade was regarded as a great idea by the teachers and the principal. Jamilah said,

One of my project in this school is the establishment of the Community Brigade. I try to involve the political body, police

personnel, local mosque, Texas Instruments, residence association chairman, the area committee, head masters of the three neighboring feeder schools, the district education officer, Islamic religious department, PTA committee members, a few school teachers and a few other significant members of the community. [BP2I01-27/2(020]

She considered the community members as 'rakan kongsi' (sharing partners) who are asked to get involved with some of the school activities and help ease problems related to student discipline. She felt that parents are true partners who can work with their children at home. She said,

This year I introduced the concept of "partnership in education." I want to put parents also equally responsible through the "Rakan Kongsi" (sharing partners) concept. Partnership in education in every sense of the word. Even in teaching and learning the teachers can teach at school, the parents can do the reinforcement at home. Of course they don't have a blackboard and these kind of things. But they can look at their children's exercise books, text books, and ask about the topics that they have done. May be they can by providing extra reading materials for their children. I don't expect them to have a library at home, we haven't reached that stage in this country. But parents at least together with their children, they come to like certain things, may be they like reading junior magazines, whatever. Now they have plenty of useful reading materials in the market. This is what I call as partnership. Keep track of your children's progress. So this will eliminate a lot of these disciplinary problems. [KSI02-3/3(01)]

The principal and teachers reported to me that the community members have worked to help Seri Wira overcome some of the disciplinary problems at school and create some special programs which may help the students. For example, the multi-national companies such as Texas Instruments were involved in organizing projects for the students to participate in their plants and get some hands-on experience about working in manufacturing industries.

<u>Information Technology</u>. Another venture to improve Seri Wira was the introduction of Information Technology (IT). According to Kumalasari,

One of the most striking ventures under Jamilah's principalship is the wide implementation of the computers in education. Earlier we had only one computer which was donated by the Parents Teachers Association. Now we have the computer lab with 20 terminals. This school was almost selected to be under the 'smart school' program by the Ministry of Education. If this school had been selected under the 'smart school' project we would have gained a lot more physical facilities. [BT2I-15/3(06)]

Jamilah had been trying to improve the school facilities by getting into the 'smart school' project. Even though she had not yet been successful, she did manage to get 20 terminals for the computer lab by opting to join the pilot project for the introduction of the 'Reka Cipta' (Creative Designing through computers) as a new subject in her school. When asked to explain the reason for her efforts to lead the school into computers and Information Technology, she replied,

To me IT connects us to the world and the concept of Global Village where we can share information with people throughout the world. We are no longer isolated from the others and we cannot plan anything in isolation, that is my principle. So if we want to know what other people are doing how can we do it without communicating with others. So we need IT. We need to lead the students into the world of the information super highway so that they would not lag behind the others. They need the knowledge and skill to do so. [BP2I05-19/5(07)]

According to Jamilah, this new elective will be a good move for her school. It should lead to more help and assistance from the Ministry of Education not only to teach the students from the poor homes the use of computers but also to give the teachers access to the internet and so on. Since the Ministry of Education has been encouraging the use of computers in teaching subjects like mathematics, English and the Malay language, Jamilah thought it was a timely to join the pilot project.

Generic skills. Another innovative idea of Jamilah led to the introduction of the generic skills into the school curriculum. The idea originally came from the Ministry of Education. Since she was a member of the committee which developed the generic skills at the Curriculum Development Center, she wanted to implement it at her school. She felt that integration of the generic skills across subjects is a good approach specifically for a school like Seri Wira. Since many of the students in this school are not academically inclined, it would be good for them to learn a more competency based curriculum for their future occupations. According to Jamilah, the best of the students at Seri Wira are taken away to the boarding school leaving behind the less academically inclined students. So, she said,

I have to pay attention to the good science classes and also to the weaker classes. This is where I bring in the integration of the generic skills into everyday teaching and learning process. Even if these students do not manage to get first grade in their public examination, with the generic skills they would still be able to apply for jobs. We try to open the job market for them. Even during our career talk we open the scope for them. For example like hotel industry, food catering, tourism, the technical side, construction, repairing, mechanical work and so on. [BP2I04-4/5(05)]

She was very concerned about the kind of students she has at Seri Wira and accordingly she tried to introduce specific skills which she felt would benefit the students in their future work life.

No pressure form higher authorities to develop teachers

As noted earlier, some of the teachers were unhappy about integrating generic skills because they were over burdened with too many curricular changes and new approaches to instruction. And they had not been provided with the opportunities to learn how to integrate the new set of generic skills

into their subject matter teaching. Sakinah explained this situation by saying that,

Oh yes, she is all out for the 'generic skills.' She was sent to Australia once to observe on the implementation of generic skills in schools there. Since then she is very much for this idea of integrating generic skills into the school curriculum. Our school is also one of the schools under the pilot project for implementing generic skills. Actually the integration of the 'thinking skills' was introduced only about three years ago and teachers are still grappling with that and trying to grasp the idea. Here she is now with another new idea and insists on every body doing the generic skills stuff in their classes. Teachers resent this and it is too much pressure on them. There are too many things teachers are expected to do in the class, cover the syllabus, the given curriculum content, we have to worry about the examinations, the moral values, the thinking skills, and here she is with the generic skills. Just with one in-house she expects the teachers to be fully equipped with the knowledge to teach generic skills. Teaching of the thinking skills is for the entire nation, but this generic skills is only for our school. It means teachers here at this school have more to prepare and write in their record books. Teachers resent this very much. I do sympathize with the teachers because they do not know where they stand, too much work. [BT3I-6/3(05)]

Jamilah was very eager to implement new skills which she viewed as potentially helpful for the students at Seri Wira. But she did not place heavy emphasis on teachers' learning of these skills. In other words, her main focus was the students and their success, and not how teachers could learn new ways to teach. When I asked Jamilah to speak about her role in teacher professional development at her school, she did not respond directly to my question. Instead she diverted her topic to speak more about her philosophy of teacher professional development. She spoke more about the meaning of professional development, what teachers should be doing and reading in order to improve themselves [BP2I02(07)]. She did not say anything concrete about her efforts to develop teachers, nor did she mention any specific teacher

learning projects at her school. I assumed that these omissions indicated few teacher development activities at Seri Wira Secondary School.

While Jamilah expressed that she felt pressure to implement various curricular approaches to teaching and to raise the social and physical image of the school, there was not much pressure from the Ministry of Education or the State Education Department expecting the principal to get involved in teacher learning activities. For example, when I questioned Jamilah with regards to the curricular changes and her role in helping teachers learn new skills, she said,

When new curriculum such as the mastery learning or higherorder thinking skills were introduced, the CDC will send their resource personnel to train the state level or district level selected teachers. And these teachers will in turn conduct the in-house training in their respective schools. As for principals, whatever changes or reforms the Ministry does, they will give us an overview of these changes. So the principal will have a general understanding of these things and how to implement them at the school level. [BP2I02-3/3(04)]

In Malaysia, the Ministry or the State Department did not expressly encourage principals to be directly involved in teacher learning or staff development. The principal was merely given an overview of the curricular changes. Either the Ministry of Education or the State Education Department played the role of designing inservice training programs, and, therefore, the principal was not held responsible or accountable for teacher learning at the school level.

Insufficient principal professional preparation to lead teachers

Based on several casual conversations and semi-structured interviews with Jamilah, I learned that she had not been given much preparation in instructional or transformational leadership. There were no structured training programs as such which prepared her to take up the role as a school

principal. Therefore, she was not exposed to many current theories in organizational management and development. According to her, she picked up knowledge here and there as she went along. When she was asked to describe her professional training to assume the job as principal, she said,

We do have some leadership training given by the Ministry of Education but not given in a package like that. Whenever we have courses we are told about this here and there. So we pick up as we go along. And also my involvement with a uniform unit like the St. John Ambulance is helpful. It is a structured organization with very highly structured rules and regulations, and it demands that we are very well prepared with our tasks. So that has provided me good training in leadership. Other than that I have not attended any course on leadership per se. No. At IAB (Institute Aminuddin Baki) I attended a few courses on motivation and some general administrative stuff. [BP2I04-19/5(11)]

She had added that this is the first time she has been a school principal and she does not have thorough grounding on school administration. At another time when I asked her whether she was provided with sufficient training to run an effective school, she said, "No. Managing a school, this is my first experience. IAB conducted some courses but they were mostly trying to cover some general aspects of principals' role and duties" [BP2I05-19/5(10)]. This quote from Jamilah offers no indication of thorough professional preparation to perform as an instructional and transformational leader. Even the few courses provided for her were about general administrative matters. There was no specific mention of developing teachers or helping teachers learn how to teach more effectively.

Analytic Summary

From the analysis above, I concluded that Jamilah was responding directly to the pressures from above, and was very much involved in doing

what was expected of her by the higher authorities. She responded to the directives given by the Ministry of Education by implementing new projects and introducing new skills into the curriculum. She was motivated to implement these activities because she thought they would benefit the students. But in the process of fulfilling these expectations from the top, she tended to overlook the existence and the importance of teacher learning and the 'human resource development' aspects of her work. She tried to help teachers learn about better ways of organizing activities, she mustered resources and funds for teaching and learning purposes, and she provided teachers with advice to carry out school projects. But there was no sign that she tried to create a collegial environment where teachers could interact with each other discussing issues related to teaching and learning, observing each other's teaching, giving and receiving feedback on their teaching. Research literature from the united States says that teachers learn best by studying, doing, and reflecting; by collaborating with other teachers; by looking closely at students and their work; and by sharing what they see (Darling-Hammond, 1998; Ball and Cohen, 1998). In the case of Jamilah's principalship, I did not see any signs of these opportunities being created for teachers to learn and grow in their profession.

Conclusion

From the analysis done thus far, I see that the views of the principal and the teachers (who participated in the study) with regards to the supportive work climate is not identical. But there is a certain amount of overlap in their accounts of what constitutes a supportive work climate. While the principal thought that a happy and family-like environment will make teachers productive in their work, teachers whom I interviewed did not

all feel that way. Some teachers were content that Jamilah provided them with the resources and funds for their teaching-learning activities, showed them how to organize school projects, and provided them with advice when necessary. At least three teachers expressed their desire for a school climate in which there would be opportunities for their intellectual stimulation and professional growth. They expressed a need to learn and develop their teaching skills according to the changes in the school curriculum. They wanted help to cope with the changes and demands they faced in their day-to-day teaching.

Among the teachers who participated in the study, one teacher strongly expressed his wish that the principal recognize teachers' potentials, talents and resources. His emphasis reflects the human resource development theory which says, "The majority of teachers are capable of exercising far more initiative, responsibility, and creativity than their present job or work circumstances require or allow; and these capabilities represent untapped resources which are currently being wasted" (Sergiovanni, 1975, p. 12). This theory also espouses that "The administrator's basic task is to create an environment in which teachers can contribute their full range of talents to the accomplishment of school goals. The administrator works to uncover the creative resources of the teachers" (Sergiovanni, 1975, pp. 12-13).

Another area in which the principal differed from the teachers was her philosophy regarding a congenial work climate as contributing to an effective work environment leading to higher teacher productivity. Jamilah saw a friendly and congenial work climate as necessary for teacher interaction which would result in sharing, caring, and helping each other. On the other hand, eight out of nine teachers who participated in the study articulated that the kind of social environment they have at school consists of discussing

family, business, political affairs and it is not helpful in improving their teaching. Such an environment does not stimulate intellectual growth nor does it encourage teacher collaboration for instructional improvement. Some teachers would prefer opportunities for collegial interaction with their peers rather than celebrating congenial relationships among themselves. Especially in these times of constant curricular reforms and heavy demands to change their practices, teachers would definitely need a work culture which would help them participate in serious learning and professional development activities.

Finally, the kind of pressure the principal faced from the ministry of Education also determined where the principal focused her attention and energy. Since the principal's performance may be evaluated with regard to what she has done for the school in quantifiable terms, she spends her time in the areas which may help project a good image of the school and thus of her leadership. Since Seri Wira Secondary School is situated in a low income group area with poor facilities, the improvement of the physical and social image becomes the top priority on Jamilah's agenda. While she carried out all the additional special projects such as the community brigade, information technology, and generic skills to project a good image for the school, she did not pay much attention to teacher development and teacher learning. Since there is no pressure from the Ministry or the State Education Department requiring principals to improve teacher learning at the school level, there is no effort on Jamilah's part to work on this area. The principal's own lack of knowledge of teacher development and instructional leadership helped push this idea of developing teachers to the bottom of the list of priorities.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF DATA AND CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

In Chapters 4 and 5, data from each school (principals' and teachers' views) was presented in the form of assertions regarding consistent patterns in the data. In this chapter, I focus on the discussion of the cases and a crosscase analysis. First, for each case, I will present a review and discussion of findings, organized around my three research questions:

- 1. What are principals' perspectives with regard to their part in creating work climates that support teachers' classroom instruction and instructional improvement?
- 2. What are the teachers' perspectives with regard to their principals' efforts to create supportive work climates?
- 3. What factors contribute to principals' perspectives about creating supportive work climates? In particular, what external factors -- policy, organizational, and social -- facilitate or constrain principals' efforts to create supportive work climates for teachers in their schools?

Then, I will discuss ways in which the two cases are similar and different and suggest how these two cases illuminate important aspects of Malaysian education. Implications for policy and practice are then discussed in Chapter 7.

Seri Melati Secondary School: Review and discussion of findings

Research Question 1: What are Khatijah's perspectives with regard to her part in creating work climates that support Seri Melati school teachers' classroom instruction and instructional improvement?

Khatijah, the principal of Seri Melati, a school well-established and well-known for its academic excellence, saw herself as very focused on improving teaching and learning, as her core business. When questioned about how she defined a supportive work environment in which this could happen, she focused on descriptions of a work environment that would help teachers engage in the teaching-learning process. Among the various factors she specified was the provision of good physical facilities and teaching aids. For example, in the very first interview, she said:

I think we should have sufficient facilities for teachers which is lacking at the moment. For example, I would like teachers to utilize the overhead projector and I would like them to use the overhead projector room frequently. I want to see teachers using the video. A very good library, a multi-media center with computers available for everyone, so teachers too can access information. These are the kind of things I would like to have. [AP1I1-26/2(05)].

Across several interviews, Khatijah indicated that teachers at her school would be able to perform well if they were furnished with proper instructional materials and teaching aids in the classroom. Thus, in her definition of a supportive work climate for teachers, she referred primarily to the provision of physical facilities such as teaching aids, resource centers, and multi-media facilities. She also believed that a comfortable and spacious work area in the staff room along with a clean and beautiful exterior landscape would add to the physical environment that would enhance teachers' work.

While Khatijah emphasized the importance of physical facilities, she did not say much about the importance of teacher learning or teacher

professional development as crucial elements of a supportive work climate for teachers' instructional improvement. In one of the interviews she did mention about staff development strategies including seminars on personal development and leading a healthy lifestyle as part of a supportive environment for teachers. But she did not mention helping teachers to learn new ways of teaching as being a part of a supportive work climate. Neither did she speak about collegial interaction nor technical collaboration among teachers as an important avenue for teachers' learning about new practices.

In addition to providing physical resources to teachers, Khatijah perceived the maintenance of high test scores and the public image of the school as important parts of her role as a principal. She spent a lot of time and energy performing administrative and managerial duties as required by the State Department and the Ministry of Education. She did not relate these aspects of her work directly to creating supportive work climates, but certainly viewed them as central to her work.

In short, Khatijah's perspective with regard to her part in creating work climates that support teachers' classroom instruction was mainly focused on the provision of physical facilities and resources, and did not include aspects related directly to teacher learning and instructional improvement per se.

Research Ouestion 2: What are Seri Melati teachers' perspectives with regards to Khatijah's efforts to create a supportive work climate?

The interviews and observation data showed that Seri Melati teachers viewed a supportive work climate in a very different manner than did the principal of the school. Unlike the principal, the teachers' emphasis was not so much on the improvement of the physical facilities around the school. Instead, teachers at Seri Melati viewed a supportive work climate as an

environment that would encourage and develop positive social relationships between teachers and their principal, and encourage collegial interaction among teachers. Teachers also defined a supportive work climate as a place where their work would be appreciated, acknowledged and recognized. According to teachers, a supportive school administration would establish clear communication with the teachers, and would encourage shared planning, encourage teacher voice, and allow teacher participation in school decision-making processes.

Teachers were unhappy about Khatijah's bureaucratic practices that adhered strictly to rules and files, and felt that the standard operating procedures were rigid and did not offer much flexibility for teachers' work adjustments. The vertical communication system created additional work for teachers that took away from their focus on teaching. Such a system added to the teachers' workload with non-teaching duties and paperwork. Teachers were generally unhappy about having to do non-teaching duties and wished they could return to "the good old days" under Sister Henrietta's administration which, according to them, did not impose too many non-teaching duties and gave them the luxury of focusing their energy on instruction alone.

While teachers at Seri Melati emphasized the need for leadership which would create positive social and human relations at their workplace, they did not mention much about the physical aspects as important elements of a supportive work climate, nor did they say much about professional development, learning to teach for problem solving by adopting new practices, etc., as crucial aspects of a supportive work climate. This lack of mention about the need for professional development -- need for their own learning to teach in new ways -- indicated that teachers have their own

limited perspective about what a supportive work environment could be like in order to improve instruction.

Research Question 3: What factors contribute to Khatijah's perspectives about creating supportive work climates? In particular, what external factors - policy, organizational, and social -- facilitate or constrain Khatijah's efforts to create a supportive work climate for teachers in Seri Melati Secondary School?

The Seri Melati data revealed a gap between what teachers and the principal at Seri Melati considered to be important aspects of a supportive work climate. Not surprisingly, the teachers who were interviewed did not portray Khatijah's efforts as creating a very supportive work environment. While the teachers' description of a supportive work climate referred to an environment with leaders who appreciated teachers' work, used collaborative, inclusive structures in the decision-making processes, and encouraged collegial interaction among the members of the school, the principal defined a supportive work climate primarily in terms of the physical facilities and the material aspects of school.

At this point, I offer speculations about factors underlying the principal's perspectives and why she held such a different view than her teachers, and why her (bureaucratic) administrative practice made sense to her even though the teachers found several aspects of it to be unsupportive. As Leithwood and colleagues have said, "What principals do - their "practices" - is most directly a consequence of what they think - their mental processes. Such mental processes are a function of certain characteristic ways of understanding applied to the environment in which they work" (1990, p. 5). The interviews provided direct data about some aspects of Khatijah's

thinking. In addition, data collected about the expectations, job definitions, and professional development for principals in general in Malaysia provided further information about factors that helped explain Khatijah's perspectives on her practice.

The discussion is organized around three questions that the data raised for me.

a. Why did Khatijah emphasize physical facilities so much?

When asked directly about the most important aspects of a supportive work climate for her teachers, Khatijah focused most on the provision of physical facilities and resources, such as teaching aids, a multi-media center with computers, a spacious work area, and a clean and beautiful landscape in the school. While it is true that teachers need adequate and comfortable physical facilities in order to carry out their duties well, I wondered why apparently Khatijah thought that a work climate furnished with appealing physical resources and facilities was the most important factor to emphasize. I also wondered why did she not recognize that her teachers' morale was not strong and that they wanted changes in their social work environment rather than their physical environment.

Two possible reasons occurred to me. The first is related to her central focus on student achievement on tests and public examinations. Since this was her main focus, she may have been thinking only of those aspects of teaching which she believed would directly help teachers improve students' outcomes in the public examinations. This in turn raises questions about what kinds of teaching she believed would lead to high test scores.

Several aspects of Khatijah's narrative and practice suggested that she thought that students' learning was mainly memorizing facts in order to

score high on the examinations, and that teachers' duty therefore was to make sure that the content given in the syllabus was transmitted to the students in an efficient and thorough manner. If so, then she may have focused on teaching aids because they help teachers convey content in forms that aid memorization of details. If, instead, she had considered learners as active, constructive problem solvers, and consequently, learning as a learner-mediated process, she might have thought of teaching as a process in which teachers transform their own knowledge in ways that fit students' current understanding, and then provide the necessary learning opportunities for students to make sense of the content. This transformational view of teaching stands in contrast to a transmissional view, in which the teacher is merely a conduit for the information, which is transmitted unchanged (Shulman, 1987).

Physical facilities and resources may have come first to her mind, then, because they are tools which help teachers transmit content. In other words, she may have equated good physical facilities and proper teaching resources with effective transmission of information which leads to higher student test scores. Based on this belief, it made sense to her to consider physical facilities as critical characteristics of a supportive work climate for her teachers, and to try to provide teachers with the necessary teaching resources. It also made sense to her to ignore teachers' needs for professional development that supports more transformational teaching, such as opportunities to talk with colleagues about new ways of teaching, and opportunities to observe and discuss new practices.

A second reason for Khatijah's focus on improving physical facilities and amenities may be related to her background working at the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) of the Ministry of Education. Her background

experience working at CDC, developing curriculum could have exposed her to the ideas of using teaching aids as integral part of curriculum implementation. Even though people at CDC are directly not involved in developing teaching materials, they could have perceived teaching aids and other multi-media resources as something that should accompany instruction for effective curriculum implementation. Therefore, Khatijah may have been influenced by this assumption.

Another aspect which could have influenced Khatijah's emphasis on improving the physical environment at Seri Melati could be the comfortable and luxurious work setting at CDC. As a teacher, when I attended a couple of courses at CDC, I found the place to be very comfortable and well kept. So, coming from such an environment, she may want to recreate a similar situation at Seri Melati. This may explain her emphasis on creating a spacious work area, coffee corner, and beautifully landscaped exterior at Seri Melati. So, Khatijah's focus on providing teachers with rich physical resources and beautifully landscaped environment may be related to her previous work exprience at a well-kept, well-furnished place like the CDC.

b. Why did Khatijah adhere to bureaucratic practices in her management?

Khatijah maintained a hierarchy, established and maintained a vertical communication style, followed the written rules and procedures sent down by higher authorities, and expected teachers to adhere to the plans and schedules drawn up by people above. This approach was considered by the teachers to be rigid and uncollegial. It did not give much leeway for their participation in decision making processes of the school, nor did it encourage teachers to be creative or do things differently. In times of rapid change and reform, teachers need flexibility to plan and adapt in ways that may be suitable

to their situations. Unfortunately, everything at Seri Melati school was very neatly planned by someone else and tightly controlled with directives and rules. As Karl Weick (1982) has said, such a 'rational bureaucratic' model of management may not suit the needs of the loosely coupled system of schools where the link between each level is not strongly established. Therefore, Weick suggested that, "Leaders in loosely coupled systems have to move around, meet people face to face, and to do their influencing by interaction rather than by rules and regulations" (1986, p. 10). In contrast, Khatijah tried to manage teachers by closely monitoring their performance, making sure that all things happened as prescribed by the rules and regulations, and following standard operating procedures. But this bureaucratic-authoritarian model of management was not accepted by teachers, especially those who had experienced the more democratic style of the first principal (Sister Henrietta) of the school. According to some researchers, bureaucratic controls are at odds with the development of productive work relationships among professionals. (Darling-Hammmond and Wise, 1985; McNeil, 1986).

Where did Khatijah get her ideas of a hierarchical system of management and why did she adhere to the standard operational procedures which the teachers found to be unhelpful? Perhaps Khatijah's approach was a reflection of the practices of the State Education Department and the Ministry of Education. In a highly centralized system of administration such as in Malaysia's, tight control from the top is attempted, with directives starting from the Ministry level and flowing down to the schools. Khatijah, being an administrator in such a system, followed the practices emanating from the top. Thus while teachers wanted a collaborative approach instead of the existing bureaucratic one, it was not easy for Khatijah, who was sitting at one tail end of the big system, to do things differently.

Furthermore, Khatijah mentioned that as a principal, she did have limited power to resolve some small issues at school, but she had no control over decisions made by the State Education Department or the Ministry of Education. Under such circumstances it might not be easy for a principal to introduce innovations such as a collaborative approach to decision-making at the school level. She is in a difficult position, caught in between the bureaucratic system above and the teachers who want changes below. I see tension in her role as a principal and it is obvious that she is trying to survive in her position by juggling the competing demands of politics, organization, and practice (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988).

c. What other factors may have kept Khatijah from paying attention to issues such as teacher collegiality and other aspects of teacher development?

One issue raised by teachers regarding their work climate was the lack of opportunities for teachers to engage in collegial interaction. Two reasons may explain why Khatijah did not pay attention to these needs of the teachers. First, Khatijah was faced with a number of pressures at school. One of the major pressures in her list was maintaining high test scores in the major public examinations. As I mentioned elsewhere, Seri Melati was a very well established school with a track record for high achievement. As a principal, Khatijah could not take her eyes off such a matter. Therefore, most of her attention, energy, and concentration went to the students' achievement in the examination. As she was so wrapped up in this issue -- which received attention from the community as well as the State Department -- she did not pay as much attention to other aspects such as teacher professional development.

One consequence of the focus on test scores was that teachers were seen merely as instrumental in the whole process, as a cog in the machine, and not as intelligent members of the educational system whose knowledge needs to be continuously developed. So, what is clear here is that teachers' needs and their development are not at all brought to the center stage. Teachers' ability, creativity, and the development of their resources were not given much attention by the principal, the State Department nor the Ministry of Education.

Perhaps Khatijah did not perceive all these other needs of the teachers because she had never learned herself to see those aspects as important elements of a work climate. In particular, the content of her professional education didn't consider teachers' morale or professional development to be key issues. When asked whether she was given sufficient training in running an effective school, she replied:

After becoming a principal I was given a few courses. Like one on managing school finance, another on school discipline, teacher code of conducts. There was a course on general school management issues. So what I have learned so far is very much from my on-the-job experience and from our informal talks and interactions with other principals. I think I picked up most of it on my own. [AP1I5-22/5(07)]

The lack of professional development in the areas of teachers' development and instructional leadership could have kept her ignorant of teachers' social and professional needs. During my observations and interviews, teachers at Seri Melati said that they felt dissatisfied with the way things were organized and carried out by the administration. However, the principal said that the teachers were a highly motivated, hardworking group of people, implying perhaps that she need not worry about issues such as

teacher motivation, job satisfaction, or morale. In fact, at one point, when she was asked how she would describe the teachers' morale, she said:

I think it is okay. Their morale is all right. If their morale is not good, they won't help maintain our high achievement rate. Definitely it will affect the students' performance. But, the very fact that we are able to perform in our co-curricular activities and in the organization of district level, state wide activities, and running it well indicates that our teacher morale is good. Our academic achievement is also good. This cannot happen without the high morale of the teachers. If their morale is affected, certainly, it will also affect their performance and student improvement. So, I take it as okay. [AP1I4-27/4(21)]

Since the teachers were able to perform well and help students to achieve in academic and co-curricular activities, Khatijah assumed that their morale must be high. In other words, as long as students were achieving on tests and were actively participating in extra-curricular activities as required by the State Education Department and the Ministry of Education, Khatijah believed that everything was in good shape. Thus, there was a discrepency between her assessment of teachers' morale and needs, and the teachers' own assessment of their morale and perceived needs.

The insensitivity towards teachers needs was not just Khatijah's but was also demonstrated by the central administration and its hierarchy. In the later part of this chapter, the discussion about Ministry documents (e.g., principals' job description) will show how the decisions and focus of the higher authorities in the hierarchical system could influence principals' thinking about teachers and their professional development.

From the discussion thus far, there are a number of factors -- internal as well as external -- which seem to have influenced Khatijah's perspectives about how to create a supportive work climate. Internal factors included Khatijah's beliefs about teaching and learning, and about what good teaching practice entails. External factors included the bureaucratic nature of the

organizational system in which she was functioning. Aspects like the pressure from the State Department to maintain high test scores, Khatijah's lack of professional development in terms of understanding and leading teachers, and the absence of any Ministry emphasis on teachers and their development are some of the salient factors which may have constrained or limited Khatijah's efforts to create a supportive work climate at Seri Melati.

Seri Wira Secondary School: Review and discussion of findings

Research Ouestion 1: What are Jamilah's perspectives with regard to her part in creating work climates that support Seri Wira school teachers' classroom instruction and instructional improvement?

Jamilah, the principal of the Seri Wira Secondary School, considered the creation of a 'happy' and a 'family-like' environment to be key for a supportive work climate. Jamilah believed that happiness was the key factor in teachers' effective performance, and one way to achieve this was to establish a strong social support system among teachers. Thus, she focused on creating a work environment in which her teachers would help and interact with each other like family members and be happy at school. For example, as part of her effort to create a happy, homelike workplace climate, she invited teachers to grow flowering plants at school. She said that such a practice would help her teachers feel that the school belonged to them, and this feeling of 'belongingness' would motivate them to work better. In other words, Jamilah's philosophy was that a friendly and warm environment creates happy teachers, and happy teachers produce effective teaching and learning.

In addition to emphasizing a strong social bond among teachers, Jamilah also believed that she could keep her teachers happy through appreciation and praise. This point was made clear when she said, "I think teachers' happiness is the key issue. A lot of praise, appreciation of their work, a pat on their shoulders, all these help motivate teachers" [BP2I5-19/5(11)]. The bottom line for Jamilah was that her teachers must be happy. According to her, a lot of problems cropped up if teachers are not happy. She said that a positive stroke, a pat on the back, and acknowledging, complimenting, and passing on good remarks went a long way in terms of positive relationship between herself and her teachers. So she practiced all of these positive reinforcements in order to make her teachers 'happy' and 'productive' at school.

She also paid a lot of attention to improving the physical and social image of the school. Since Seri Wira Secondary School was situated in the outer limits of the city with students from a lower socio-economic status community, it had a relatively poor image in terms of its students' achievements, discipline, and physical appearance. Since Jamilah became the principal of the school, she has been working extra hard to get the help of the community and the district office to upgrade the school in whatever way she could. One of her strongest accomplishments has been the establishment of a 'community brigade,' through which she has brought together prominent community members (e.g., religious leaders, police, retired army personnel, and parents) to work together to reduce the school's disciplinary problems. Through the community brigade she has also been successful in marshalling resources from various multinational corporations, semi-government bodies, and community members to develop the school. Such activities have made the school look alive and active and created a positive image of the school.

While Jamilah made efforts to improve the social and physical image of the school, she did not pay much attention to promoting collegial interaction and professional development of the teachers. Teachers had difficulty coping with new instructional mandates such as higher-order thinking skills, generic skills, but there were no constructive ways of helping teachers learn new ways of integrating these elements into their daily lessons. She did not emphasize developing the human resources of her teachers as much as she emphasized human relations aspects.

Due to the kind of students who attended Seri Wira, the pressure to maintain high test scores was not as strong as at Seri Melati. While Jamilah still had to meet an expected rate of passing for Seri Wira, it did not appear to be a big pressure for her. But there seemed to be some form of self-imposed pressure or more indirect pressure for her to upgrade the social status and the physical quality of the school. Jamilah was working hard towards making Seri Wira a 'smart school' which would help upgrade the overall image of the school in the district. While the situation at Seri Wira exerted pressure on Jamilah to pay attention to improving the physical and social image of the school, there was no internal or external pressure to develop teachers and help them to improve their instructional practices. Neither did Jamilah realize the importance of her teachers' learning nor did the State Department apply any pressure on Jamilah to focus on teacher professional development.

Research Ouestion 2: What are Seri Wira teachers' perspectives with regards to Jamilah's efforts to create a supportive work climate?

Teachers at Seri Wira in general were appreciative of their principal's efforts in helping them learn about organizing activities, special school projects and functions such as the annual speech day, school sports events

and Islamic religious functions. Some teachers said that they had learned a lot about administration and organization under Jamilah's principalship. One teacher said, "I think in terms of professional development, personally for me, I think there is a lot of growth. I have learned about administration, organizing of school activities and so on" [BT5I-19/3(01)].

In addition to sharing her knowledge about planning and organizing school functions, Jamilah also cultivated a positive relationship between herself and the teachers by motivating them through showing appreciation for, and acknowledgment of, their work. She recognized and praised teachers' efforts and provided them with encouragement to proceed with their work. As one teacher said, "She appreciates our work, praises when good work is done. She makes sure that our work is acknowledged... She gives due recognition" [BTI4-19/3(02)]. All the appreciation and acknowledgment from Jamilah made teachers feel good and made them feel happier at work.

Jamilah also provided them with guidance, ideas, and financial as well as moral support in running school-related activities. She helped teachers find funds and resources for their special projects, and furnished them with contact information and advice for carrying out their duties. She also practiced an 'open door' policy where teachers could go to her office any time to talk or discuss matters with her.

Most of the Seri Wira teachers interviewed expressed satisfaction with certain aspects of Jamilah's principalship. Positive social relationships developed and practiced by Jamilah were appreciated by some of the teachers who participated in the study. Teachers appreciated the ways in which Jamilah acknowledged, motivated and encouraged teachers' work, and provided them funds and information regarding organizing projects at

school. Teachers appreciated Jamilah's efforts to make the teachers feel "at home like family members."

While teachers in general appreciated Jamilah's efforts to create a positive social environment, some teachers expressed other needs that were related to the improvement of their own knowledge about teaching and learning, subject matter, and most importantly about the infusion of the higher order thinking skills and the integration of generic skills into their day-to-day teaching. Since various kinds of curricular reforms and innovative ideas continuously flowed from the Ministry of Education, teachers had to be constantly prepared to learn about all of these changes and to cope with the implementation of new practices. Such changes were hard, especially when they didn't receive support in learning new skills. Teachers at Seri Wira found the principal to be enthusiastic about bringing in changes and introducing new skills into the existing curriculum, but a few expressed resentment at the fact that there was little or inadequate preparation to handle these changes. One senior teacher, Sakinah, who found all the integration of the new skills into the teaching to be overwhelming commented:

Oh yes, she is all out for the 'generic skills.' She is very much for this idea of integrating generic skills into the school curriculum. Our school is also one of the schools under the pilot project for implementing generic skills. Actually the integration of the 'thinking skills' was introduced only about five years ago and teachers are still grappling with that and trying to grasp the idea. Here she is now with another new idea insisting on every body doing the generic skills stuff in their classes. Teachers resent this and it is too much pressure on them... Just with one in-house training she expects the teachers to be fully equipped with the knowledge to teach generic skills. [BT3I-6/3(05)]

Teachers' learning of the new skills and the pedagogical knowledge needed for effective implementation seemed to be the major issue here. As the principal of the school, Jamilah passed on the mandates from the top or initiated new projects that fit with national priorities, but she did not provide teachers with the right kind of understanding about the new additions to the curriculum nor did she prepare them well to handle the changes. As Sakinah said, the major problem with Jamilah's principalship was that she is not able to provide specific assistance or guidance to help teachers learn new ways to integrate generic skills or higher order thinking skills into their daily lessons. This feeling of inadequacy and a lack of understanding about how to integrate new skills into the teaching of subject matter was very frustrating to some teachers at Seri Wira.

Some of the teachers noted that Jamilah's philosophy and practices of creating a family-like environment encouraged and reinforced congeniality among teachers at Seri Wira but not collegiality. She focused a lot on friendly, human relations among teachers which was characterized by loyalty, trust, and easy conversation among a closely knit social group. But such relationships did not guarantee a work culture where teachers were able to share their ideas for professional improvement. While there was a lot of talk about family issues and other social, economic, and political affairs, there was no evidence of shared work values, cooperation, or engagement of teachers in specific conversations about teaching and learning (Barth, 1987; Sergiovanni, 1991).

So while Jamilah was promoting better human relationships and strong friendship bonds among the staff, some teachers expressed their desire for collegial relationships where there would be true sharing and learning for the improvement of their work at school. Some teachers thought that the KSK - the teachers self support group -- could be effective in promoting collegial interaction among teachers, but they did not see it as very well supported and enacted at the school. Comments by two teachers, Sakinah and Daruzman suggested that there wasn't a collegial environment or a culture of professional sharing and learning among teachers at Seri Wira which would lead to deeper analysis and discussion of their instructional practices.

Research Question 3: What factors contribute to Jamilah's perspectives regarding supportive work climates? In particular, what external factors -- policy, organizational, and social -- facilitate or constrain Jamilah's efforts to create supportive work climates for teachers in Seri Wira Secondary School?

The Seri Wira data revealed that Jamilah's views about the work climate were not identical to the teachers' views. Jamilah focused on the creation of a happy and a family-like, friendly environment where congeniality prevailed. Most teachers indicated their appreciation of Jamilah's praise and support, and they liked the friendliness of the school. But some teachers expressed their needs for a work environment which would be more intellectually stimulating and help them improve their professional development. Some teachers pointed out that congeniality was indeed present while collegial interactions where teachers could talk about their teaching, and share ideas about improving their practice was lacking. Jamilah took a lot of care to improve the physical and the social image of the school by introducing a number of innovative ideas, including new curriculum and teaching strategies, but she did not seem to pay much attention to teachers' human resource development.

As I did with the Seri Melati case, here I suggest why Jamilah's perspectives and practices developed as they did, organizing the discussion around three questions raised by data.

a. Why did Jamilah emphasize the creation of a happy and family-like environment?

Jamilah stated that she believed that a happy and a family-like environment would help teachers become productive. Even though the reasoning behind Jamilah's logic for creating a 'happy' and a 'homey' environment sounded good, it was not very clear from her remarks how she thought such an environment at school was related to the improvement of teaching and learning. Specifically, it was not clear how the provision of a 'happy' and 'friendly' environment might equip teachers with the skills needed for the integration of innovations she advocated like generic skills and the infusing of higher order thinking skills in day-to-day teaching.

However, I did find literature that was helpful in explaining Jamilah's thinking. Jamilah's focus on keeping her teachers happy is in line with the human relations approach to administration (McGregor, 1960; Owen, 1991; Daresh and Playko, 1992). Daresh and Playko (1992), explain this perspective in this way:

If people are happy, they will be productive. This is the fundamental premise of this era, and this is the key ingredient of any approach to managerial practice that endorses fulfillment of human needs. If we truly believe that happy employees will be better, more effective employees, then the primary task for administrators must be to focus on whatever they determine are the needs and interests of the workers. Educational administrators must then spend a good deal of time seeking input from teachers and staff members concerning working conditions and other issues related to the quality of life in the organization.

Human relations administrators frequently go out of their way to make workers more comfortable (1992, pp. 7-8).

The human relations advocates believed that emphasizing the happiness of an organization's employees would almost automatically guarantee that those employees work harder, thereby increasing the overall effectiveness and productivity of the organization. The principal duty of the educational administrator, then, would be to ensure that the conditions of employment guaranteed that workers would be content and satisfied with the workplace, and would therefore want to work much harder in the future. When I place Jamilah against this backdrop given by Daresh and Playko, there is a match: she believed that providing a happy environment would make teachers work better, and as a result, they would be more effective teachers.

b. Why did Jamilah encourage congeniality but not teacher collegiality which could help teachers improve their professional practice?

Since she was an advocate of a family-like relationship among teachers, it seemed reasonable that Jamilah's practices at school were inclined towards creating congenial relationships between teachers. But as some teachers have mentioned, congenial practices among teachers do not by themselves bring productive results in terms of teacher learning or professional improvement. When interactions during school hours are all about family affairs and business dealings, how could they contribute to teachers' professional development?

In Jamilah's case, she may not have seen an alternative to congeniality. Since she was not prepared thoroughly in the area of instructional leadership she may have not been aware of the powerful learning outcomes that

collegial interactions could provide for teachers. When Jamilah was asked whether she was given sufficient training in school leadership, she replied:

We do have some leadership training given by the Ministry of Education, but not given in a package like that. Whenever we have courses we are told about this here and there. So, we pick up as we go along.... Other than that I have not attended any course on leadership per se.... At IAB I attended a few courses on motivation and some general administrative stuff. [BP2I4-4/5(11)]

The lack of professional development in the areas of instructional leadership could have kept her ignorant of teachers' need to learn through collegial interaction. Since she had never been exposed to the idea of collegiality, she did not see it as an avenue for teachers' learning. It is possible that she equated congeniality with collegiality. As Roland Barth has said, there is a lot of confusion in these words and many people make mistakes in differentiating between these two concepts (1990). So in Jamilah's case, she may have been under the impression that congeniality alone would contribute to teachers working together and helping each other. If so, it is possible that she had not been exposed to these ideas and had not been prepared to know the differences between the two concepts.

c. Why was the improvement of the physical and the social image of the school such a pressure for Jamilah while the human resources aspects were not?

For Jamilah, the improvement of the physical and the social image of the school was very important for a number of reasons. Since Seri Wira was located in a lower income group area and had a bad reputation for its students' lack of discipline and poor academic achievement, she wanted to change this negative image. For her it was a matter of personal pride to convert the school into a reputable school in the district. Also, because these matters were emphasized by the State Department and the Ministry, and because a principal's performance might have been evaluated based on success in improving the physical and social image of the school, it was important for her to upgrade the external aspects of the school. Jamilah mentioned in a couple of interviews that one of the major pressures of her job is to improve the physical appearance and the social image of the school, so she focused on things that would help bring about improvement of the physical and social aspects. Since Jamilah considered this to be an important part of her job, this is where much hard work was directed.

On the other hand, Jamilah did not seem to pay much attention to the improvement of the human resources at school. Since human resource development was not specified as one of her duties as a principal, and it was not considered important by the Ministry of Education and the State Education Department, (to be further discussed in the next section), Jamilah did not pay much attention to it at school. People tend to focus in the areas where they feel pressure. In Jamilah's case, there appeared to be little pressure from the Ministry of Education, the State Education department, and the district education office to work on human resource development at school. But there was pressure to improve the physical and social image of the school, and this is where Jamilah excelled.

Components of the principals' and the teachers' perspectives

The principals' and teachers views of a supportive work climate and the discussion of the results thus far is listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1
Components of a supportive work climate as described by teachers and principals

| Perspectives | Seri Melati Secondary School | Seri Wira Secondary School |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Teachers' | 1. Appreciation, and | 1. Appreciated Jamilah's |
| views of a | acknowledgment for their work. | acknowledgment and recognition |
| supportive | Recognition of their abilities. | for their work, and her support in |
| work climate | | proving funds and coaching them |
| | 2. Shared planning, participation | about organization of school |
| | in decision-making processes, | activities and projects. |
| | teacher-principal collaboration. | |
| | | 2. Opportunities for intellectual |
| | 3. Collegial interaction among | stimulation, learning, and |
| | teachers (sharing of ideas, | professional growth. |
| | exchanging views, planning work | |
| | together, | 3. Collegiality to be promoted |
| | rich professional working | instead of congeniality. |
| | environment. | |
| | | 4. Recognition of the teachers' |
| 1 | 4. Do not want to be managed | potential and accordingly giving |
| | with tight rules and regulations. | them the chance to share their |
| | Want more freedom to express | ideas and views. |
| | their views and ideas. | |
| | | 5. Do not like the gap or the |
| | | distance between the principal and |
| | 5. Like more interaction and direct | the teachers. Want a closer |
| | communication with the principal. | working relationship with the |
| | Do not like the 'gap' between | principal. |
| | themselves and their principal. | |
| | | |
| | | |
| Principals' | 1. Better physical facilities- multi- | 1. Happy and a family-like work |
| perspectives | media resources and teaching aids. | environment. |
| of a | 2. Spacious and well furnished | 2. Good, positive human relations |
| supportive | work area. | practices. |
| work climate | 3. Clean and a beautiful exterior | 3. Multi-media, information |
| | landscape. | technology facilities. |
| | 4. Staff development which | 4. Community brigade involving |
| | includes seminars on personal | parents and other prominent |
| | development, leading healthy | members of the community. |
| 1 | lifestyle and so forth. | |
| | <u> </u> | I |

Comparison of the two cases

The perspectives of the two principals regarding what constitutes a supportive work climate reveal two constructs that can be used to compare and contrast the principals' perspectives. They are: (1) approaches to work/organization, and (2) conceptions of teaching and learning. After discussing the two cases in terms of these two constructs, I will examine contextual factors (both internal as well as external) that influenced principals' efforts to create supportive work climates for teachers in their schools.

1. Different approaches to organization

Literature on organizational theory has outlined three different approaches to organization. These three approaches refer to the bureaucratic model, the human relations model, and the human resource development model. The perspectives of the two principals and the teachers from both schools can be compared and contrasted in terms of these three approaches to management and school organization.

a. Bureaucratic approaches to organization

Max Weber's concept of bureaucracy suggests that bureaucratic organizations have fixed and official jurisdictional areas which are generally ordered by rules; they have strict hierarchical systems of authority; their administration is based on written documents; and their management follow general rules (1946). In order to control and coordinate the behavior of people in organizations, the bureaucratic approach emphasizes firm hierarchical control of authority and close supervision of those in lower ranks, establishes and maintains vertical communication, develops clear written rules and

procedures to set standards and guide actions, promulgates clear plans and schedules for participants to follow, and adds supervisory and administrative positions to the hierarchy of the organization as necessary to meet problems that arise from changing conditions confronted by the organization (Owen, 1991, p. 44). Bureaucratic leadership practices emphasize hierarchy, rules, and management protocols and rely on bureaucratic linkages to connect people to work by forcing them to respond as subordinates (Firestone and Bruce, 1985).

b. Human relations theory

Human relations advocates posit that if people are happy, they will be productive. It is assumed that the happiness of an organization's employees would almost automatically guarantee that those employees would work harder, thereby increasing the overall effectiveness and productivity of the organization (Tannenbaum, 1966). Thus, the principal duty of the educational administrator is to ensure that the conditions of employment guarantee that workers would be satisfied with the workplace, and would therefore want to work much harder in the future. When administrators believe that happy employees will be better and more effective workers, then the task of administrators is to focus on improving working conditions and other issues related to the quality of life in the organization (Daresh and Playko, 1992).

The human relations perspective has been criticized as being manipulative because of its assumption that an administrator, by being nice to employees, can make them "buy into" organizational goals. In human relations administration, satisfying peoples' needs is an immediate goal, and organizational effectiveness is a by-product (Daresh and Playko, 1992). This approach also assumes that all workers in an organization share a common

set of needs - to belong, to be liked, and to be respected. If these needs are fulfilled, then workers will cooperate and comply with organization goals. Therefore, the administrators' basic task is to make each worker believe that he or she is useful and an important part of the team. By satisfying the workers' basic needs for belonging and for individual recognition, teachers' morale will be improved and the principal will be able to reduce resistance to formal authority (Sergiovanni, 1975, p. 12-13). Such an approach is used by principals to manipulate teachers to comply with what is basically a highly directive leadership - in the guise of "good human relations" - and is not found to be credible (Argyris, 1971; Owen, 1991; Sergiovanni, 1975).

c. Human resources development theory

Human resource development theories are relatively newer and are considered to be the predominant approach in organizational development theory today (Daresh and Playko, 1992; Owen, 1991). This view has not only incorporated the basic assumption of human relations management — that people in an organization hold the key to more effective management — but it has taken a few steps further to develop skills of the individuals. Human resource development suggests that the most important activity of an administrator is to help people within an organization — its 'human resources'' — to become as skillful and effective as possible. The organization will be improved because its most important resources — its employees — will be more effective (Sergiovanni, 1975; Owen, 1991).

Human resource development emphasizes using the conscious thinking of individuals about what they are doing as a means of involving their commitment, their abilities, and their energies in achieving the organization's goals. The central mechanism through which the

organization exercises coordination and control is the socialization of participants to the values and goals of the organization, rather than through written rules and close supervision. Through this socialization process the participant identifies with the values and purposes of the organization and is motivated to see the organization's goals and needs as being closely congruent with his or her own (Owen, 1991).

According to Sergiovanni (1991), human resource leadership practices emphasize the creation of supportive work climates, the development of interpersonal skills, and reliance upon psychological linkages to motivate people to work by getting them to respond as self-actualizers. Under such leadership, leaders and followers are united in pursuit of higher-level goals that are common to both. Both want to become the best. Both want to shape the school in a new direction. Their separate purposes become fused and transformation occurs. Initially transformative leadership takes the form of leadership by building. Here the focus is on arousing human potential, satisfying higher-order needs, and raising expectations of both leader and follower in a manner that motivates both to higher levels of commitment and performance (Sergiovanni, 1991, p. 126).

Khatijah's bureaucratic approach to management

Certain aspects of the work climate which teachers from both schools disliked were the bureaucratic style of management and the related gap or distance which the principals maintained between themselves and their teachers. This issue was especially evident at Seri Melati where the teachers openly admitted that they disliked being controlled by rules and regulations, standard operating procedures, and the vertical communication patterns. Teachers found these bureaucratic practices to be too rigid, and found that

they did not help develop teachers' resources and potential. This type of system was not appreciated by the teachers because it did not encourage the free flow of their intellectual energies or expression of their abilities, and it did not include them in the major decision-making processes so that they could contribute to the accomplishment of school objectives.

Literature about educational organization supports these teachers' criticisms. Strong adherence to the bureaucratic style of school management cripples teachers' energy and creative force to make changes and move forward. For example, speaking about the ill effects of the bureaucratic model and the way teachers are treated in such a system, Darling-Hammond (1990) says,

In the bureaucratic model, teachers are viewed as bureaucratic functionaries rather than well trained and highly skilled professionals. Little investment is made in teaching preparation, induction or professional development....Little time is afforded for joint planning or collegial consultation about the problems of practice. Because practices are prescribed outside school setting, there is no need and little use for professional knowledge and judgment (1990, p. 30).

Since a bureaucratic model of school management does not create situations in which teachers and principals are able to interact freely as professionals, there needs to be an alternative model which may be helpful in remedying the current situation in the Malaysian educational system.

The bureaucratic model reflects the assumptions of McGregor's Theory X which posits that the average human being has a natural dislike of work and will avoid it if possible. Because of this inherent dislike of work, most people must be persuaded, rewarded, punished, controlled, coerced, and directed in order to get them to put forth satisfactory effort toward achieving work goals. The average person prefers to be directed, lacks ambition, wishes to avoid responsibility, and wants security above all. In contrast, McGregor

proposed "Theory Y," which assumes that people have integrity, will work hard towards objectives to which they are committed, and will respond to self-control and self-direction as they pursue their objectives; the capacity to exercise a high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely distributed among people; the average person under proper conditions is not only capable of accepting, but will seek, responsibility; and work is as natural to an adult as play is to a child and under proper conditions he or she will respond to work with similar joy, vigor, and enthusiasm (McGregor, 1960).

When I consider the expressed needs of teachers at Seri Melati and their perspectives on supportive work climate, I see that they are congruent with "Theory Y" or human resource development (Sergiovanni, 1975) which considers people as creative beings capable of developing their skills and potential. The bureaucratic practices used by Khatijah seem more like "Theory X" where teachers have to be pushed to do work in a certain expected manner without paying much attention to what they have to offer or contribute in terms of ideas for decision-making. Instead of asking teachers to participate and providing opportunities to develop their potential, Khatijah got the teachers to comply with rules without giving much consideration to their local needs and constraints. The demands and pressures to carry out the expectations from the higher-ups do seem to be an issue at Seri Melati. From the teachers' perspective, the bureaucratic style of administration was not helpful in tapping into the potential of teachers and indeed had crippling effects on the overall development and growth of the teachers.

Jamilah's human relations approach to management

While Khatijah, the principal of Seri Melati, managed teachers with rules and regulations and was labeled as a bureaucrat, Jamilah tried to manage teachers through the creation of positive human relations, focusing on social interaction needs and congeniality. This approach reflects the 'human relations' theory of management, which assumes that a positive social work climate will make individuals happy and satisfied and thus it will make them productive workers who will work harder and be easier to work with, lead, and control (Daresh and Playko, 1992; Tannenbaum, 1966).

While most teachers appreciated the positive social environment created by Jamilah, some defined a supportive work climate as much more. They expressed a desire for an environment which would give them opportunities to tap into their capabilities and resources, create conditions under which collegial interaction and teacher learning could thrive, support the existing teacher support groups (KSK), and allow them to exercise far more initiative, responsibility, and creativity than required in their present work circumstances. Their desires describe a workplace that fits the human resource development model.

Here is the tension between the principal's human relations approach and the teachers' desire for a human development approach. The human relations approach to management is described by Chris Argyris (1971) as a model which involves a good deal of persuading, "buying" compliance from subordinates, benevolent paternalism, or so-called good human relations. Such an approach was labeled as "Theory X, soft" by Sergiovanni (1975). Sergiovanni called this as "Theory X, soft" because it almost resembles Theory X which disregards the developmental aspects of the human factor but then, he calls it 'soft' because it does give some consideration to the importance of

human happiness, comfort, and certain degree of participation. But, then, it is not good enough to be categorized under Theory Y which is focused on developing the full potential of the people and allowing full participation of people in decision-making. Therefore, the human relations approach (i.e. Theory X, soft) falls somewhere in between Theory X and Theory Y put forth by McGregor (1960).

When I reflect on the practices and the perspectives of a supportive work climate as described by Jamilah, I think her approach to organization is very close to "Theory X, soft" category. While she did pay attention to teachers' needs -- to belong, to be liked, to be respected -- and she included teachers in planning and making decisions on routine matters, coached, and guided teachers to carry out small scale school projects, she did not go further to develop the skills and potential in teachers for self-direction or self-control which may lead teachers to demonstrate greater insights and ability. There was no conscious effort on Jamilah's part to help teachers engage in continuous learning and professional development.

Teachers' need for the human resource development approach

While Khatijah took a rational-bureaucratic approach to management, and Jamilah took a human relations approach, teachers' descriptions of an ideal supportive work climate more closely reflected the characteristics of the human resource development approach. Every need expressed by the teachers was in some way or another related to aspects of their professional development: intellectual growth and stimulation, opportunities for expressing their creative abilities, collegial interaction for better learning and sharing of ideas, teacher participation and involvement in school decision making processes, and a democratic system of administration which would

give space for teachers' voice and opinions (McGregor, 1960; Sergiovanni, 1975; Daresh and Playko, 1992).

Some teachers had a desire and a need for continuous learning and growth in their profession. Some sought full participation as shareholders in the affairs of the school. They wanted leadership that would recognize their professional and intellectual needs. Some teachers especially at Seri Melati believed that they had reached full potential and just wanted to be appreciated and relieved of paperwork and extra non-teaching duties so that they could concentrate fully on instruction. Most teachers at Seri Melati had a desire and a need to participate as shareholders in the affairs of the school and they were prepared to work very hard on behalf of the school, for the sake of the students if given the opportunity to do so.

Taking the teachers' descriptions of a supportive work climate together, it seems to fit well with the Theory Y concept of McGregor and the human resources development approach to school management. The underlying assumption states that "In addition to sharing common needs for belonging and respect, most people in our culture, teachers among them, desire to contribute effectively and creatively to the accomplishment of worthwhile objectives." (Sergiovanni, 1975).

So what are the implications of the different approaches to organization?

Khatijah, Jamilah, and the teachers portrayed three different approaches to organizational management that would support work climates for the improvement of teachers' work. Khatijah, adopting the bureaucratic approach, may think that teachers' work would be in order when they are controlled and directed by rules and files. Jamilah with her human relations approach may think that teachers would be productive when they are kept

happy and contented. The teachers from both schools may think that they would be able to perform well and be productive when they are provided an environment which not only appreciates and acknowledges their work and effort, but is a climate which would tap into their resources, potential, and establishes a culture of sharing and collegial interaction among teachers and principals.

The different approaches to organization indicate that the two principals and the teachers who participated in the study did not hold similar views or perspectives with regards to what would contribute to supportive work environments. In order to successfully implement a program, all participants need to have similar views about the process and work in synchronization. In these two schools, there is a need for the principals and the teachers to have a common understanding of what is necessary in order to create a supportive work climate that would lead to teacher's professional development and instructional improvement. The professional literature strongly supports the human resources development approach as an effective strategy to increase teacher productivity. Therefore, it is important to bridge the principals' perspectives with those of the teachers. Bringing together the perspectives of all the parties is the first step to establishing a supportive work climate which may help improve instructional practices. This means that not only the teachers but also the principals will have to learn about new ways of teaching and become knowledgeable about the kind of support they could provide in order to help teachers improve their instructional practices. Principals need to become aware of their style of management and approach to organization, and be sensitive to the needs of their teachers in order to adjust their organizational approaches.

2. Different conceptions of teaching and learning

The other construct which helps explain the different perspectives held by the two principals is the different conceptions of teaching and learning. There is no strong evidence or concrete data that support this hypotheses, but this high inference is made based on U. S. literature on teachers, teaching and learning.

Khatijah's view of teaching as technical-mediation

Khatijah seemed to believe that the provision of better physical facilities and resources at school was one of the major avenues which would help improve the teaching-learning process. Her emphasis on providing physical resources indicates the importance she gives to the technical aspects of the teaching-learning process. This technical orientation also reveals something about her conception of the teaching-learning process. It looks like she is treating teaching as a mere knowledge transmission activity and learning as a knowledge accrual process (Anderson, 1989). Given such a conception, she may consider teachers' role as automatic and mechanical and therefore try to support them with the technical assistance and physical resources needed to perform their knowledge transmission tasks.

Jamilah's view of teaching as affective, emotional-mediation

On the other hand, Jamilah's emphasis on creating better human relations and social interaction among teachers assumes that happy teachers in turn will create happy and productive learning environment for their students. She seems to view learning and instruction as emotionally-mediated activities which can be fulfilled through the creation of good social interaction and positive human relationships. Therefore, she worked hard

on developing the affective-emotional domains of her teachers by encouraging congeniality and a family-like environment at school.

So what are the implications of the different concepts of teaching and learning?

From the comparison of the data, it is obvious that both the principals are operating on different modes. Khatijah's emphasis reflected the technical-mediation mode, that means she perceived teaching as a technical activity, and therefore, she tried to furnish her teachers with teaching aids and other forms of physical resources. And Jamilah's focus on creating a 'happy anf friendly' environment reflected an affective, emotional-mediation mode. Both these conceptions of teaching and learning are narrow in their views and do not help teachers face the challenges of the reforms for instructional improvement. Providing teachers with physical facilities and resources might help them transmit knowledge or information in a better way, but it does not help teachers to transform their own understanding of the content they are teaching. Creating a work climate in which teachers enjoy positive social relationships and congenial interactions might provide teachers with a homey and friendly environment, but this in no way guarantees a learning environment where teachers share their ideas and learn to improve their instructional practices. So, while both the provision of physical facilities and the creation of a friendly, social atmosphere can contribute to better teaching, neither is sufficient to bring about changes in teachers' knowledge and help them improve their classroom instruction.

Effective teaching requires teachers to transform their own content knowledge and make it teachable. This means teachers themselves have to learn to represent and formulate the content in different ways so that it

becomes comprehensible and meaningful to students. This process of knowledge transformation involves preparation through critical interpretation and analysis of the texts, representation of the ideas in the form of new analogies, metaphors, demonstrations, etc., selecting the appropriate methods and models of delivery, and adapting instructional materials and strategies to suit students characteristics and contexts (Shulman, 1986, 1987). This process of knowledge transformation is not an easy one and it involves a lot of learning on the part of the teachers. It means teachers may need more support than mere physical facilities and positive social interactions in order to learn new ways to teach.

External Factors that influence principals' behavior and their work

The data from the study reveals that principals' practices and perspectives were influenced by both internal and external factors. Among the factors internal to the principals which may influence their actions and perspectives are their beliefs and knowledge about teaching and learning. Similarly, their beliefs and knowledge about how administrators influence teachers, also discussed in the preceding section, affect what they do. In this section, I highlight external factors that influence principals' behavior.

Why is it that the principals did not see and provide what teachers in their school considered to be important elements of a supportive work climate? What are the pressures, tensions, and constraints faced by the principals which may have prevented them from focusing on aspects related to teacher learning or development?

There are a number of external factors which may have influenced the principals' actions and organizational practices.

1. Principals' lack of professional development

Principals in this study had little professional preparation to guide teacher learning/development at their schools. They were not formally prepared to help teachers improve their instruction, tap into their creative abilities and potential, and develop their human resources. They did not reveal an in-depth understanding of knowledge or theories related to teacher professional development. This shortcoming in their preparation was not due to their individual failure to seek more knowledge. Instead, it was due to systemic shortcomings.

For example, the 1998 training program brochure by Institute
Aminuddin Baki (IAB), the National Institute of Educational Management
and Leadership (which is responsible for principals' training and
development), shows a wide range of very impressive courses offered to
principals throughout the year. The courses range from short term certificate
level to diploma level. It covered a broad area ranging from school
management and leadership, internal quality auditing, training and
development, community education management, quality management
(TQM), self development, team building, school-based evaluation,
organizational communication leadership, and many others. But there were
not any courses directed specifically towards developing principals'
instructional leadership per se. There were not any courses to help principals
learn about the ways and means of developing teachers' knowledge and skills
and supporting teacher development (Ministry of Education, Genting
Highlands, 1998b).

In such a situation where the principals were not provided with the professional knowledge about teachers and teaching, and the special knowledge which could help them orient their role in a specific direction

according to their own will, the principals relied extensively on their previous experiences, beliefs, and become very dependent on the directives provided by the State Education Department and the Ministry of Education.

2. Influences of the larger policy contexts

Principals in Malaysia are controlled by the centralized educational administrative system. This system governs almost every aspect of the school and practices top-down administration which does not really take into account the views of people at the grassroots level. It expects the principals and teachers at school to abide by the directives and instructions that come from above. Such a system puts principals in a bind where they have to follow the expected behaviors even if they think other actions are more appropriate. For instance, commenting on the centralized system of administration and how it influences her work, Khatijah said,

I should say that in many instances it is very rigid. When you want to streamline, standardize and everybody does the same thing at the same time - this is something which I am not for and don't feel comfortable with. I feel principals should be given a lot of leeway. I mean the situation in different schools differ. And only the principals know that. What has to be done, how it can be overcome, what can be done and so on. From that point of view I agree that it is very centralized and sometimes does get in the way of the progress of the school. [AP1I5-22/5(02)]

This centralized system of administration played a key role in determining what is right and what is good for people in their system, thus reducing the powers of the principal to a mere administrator of their policies.

One area which receives much attention in the Malaysian education system is the student performance in the major public examinations. It is given such a focus that the attainment of good grades and producing high percentage of passes has become the major aim of every school management.

And it has also become the yardstick with which the performance of schools are measured and the performance of the principals are evaluated. This is very obvious in Seri Melati Secondary School which has a history/track record for high performance and good grades. This placed tremendous pressure on Khatijah and she was virtually keeping tap on the preparations for the examinations and closely watched teachers' work towards achieving this goal.

So, it is all about testing and scoring - teachers have to teach to the tests, and students learn for the tests. When testing became the key factor at schools, then everything else became secondary. In an education system where testing is given such an importance and is considered a high-stakes business, obviously principals chase after higher test scores and not the content of what is being taught and how it is taught. When principals do not have to worry about the quality of the content being taught, they will think little about the quality of the teachers' knowledge required to teach the students. And also when principals are caught in this rat race for high test scores, they hardly have the time and the mental capacity to focus on teachers and their learning.

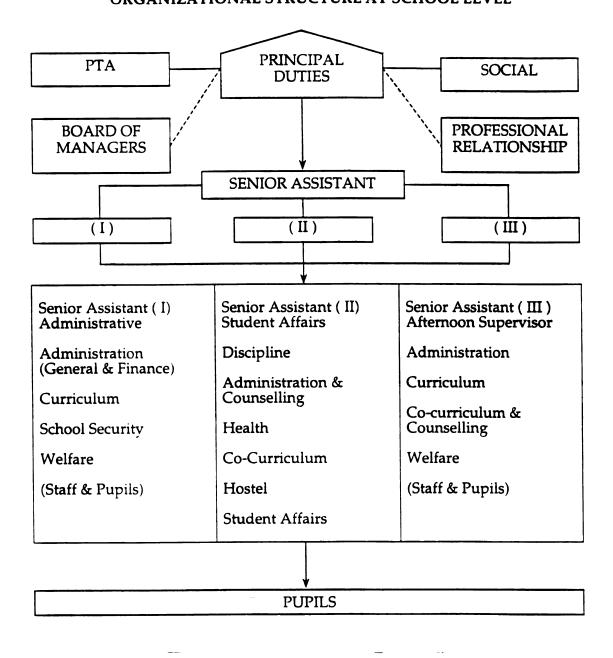
Another standard which is considered important for a principal to meet is the physical and social image of a school. The way in which the physical and the social image of a school is maintained was something which was easily observed and heard by the public and the District or the State education personnel, and therefore it is given special attention by the principals. This special focus given to the maintenance of the public image was obvious in both schools and more so at Seri Wira Secondary School which had a poor physical appearance and reputation. Since the quality of the school management may be revealed by the these factors (physical, social

image), principals may want focus their attention on the improvement of the physical details of the building and ways to upgrade the overall image of the school.

While aspects like the maintenance of test scores and physical and social image are in the forefront of principals' minds and actions, little attention is given to aspects related to the improvement and professional development of the key actors in educational improvement -- teachers. Teachers are not at all in the main focus zone of either the school organization nor the larger education system in Malaysia. One good example which reveals the low degree of importance accorded to the teachers in the Malaysian educational system is the chart on the organizational structure at school level in the Education in Malaysia handbook prepared and released by the Educational Planning and Research Division of the Ministry of Education Malaysia in 1993 (Refer to Figure 1). This chart shows every member involved in a school system - the principal, the PTA, Board of managers, the senior assistant (1) for administration, senior assistant (2) for student affairs, and senior assistant (3) who acts as the afternoon supervisor. And finally comes the pupils. What is missing in this organizational structure are the teachers! The people at the Ministry of Education omitted the teachers from the school organization chart. So where is the teachers' place, and where are they supposed to be in this whole big educational system of Malaysia? If the Ministry of Education itself has forgotten the teachers, then how do we expect others down the line -- like the principals -- to pay attention to teachers and their development?

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AT SCHOOL LEVEL

Figure 1



(Source: Education in Malaysia, Educational Planning & Research Division, Ministry of Education 1993)

Another document which illustrates the degree of importance given to teacher learning and professional development is the principals' job specification circular released by the State Education Department (please refer Appendix G). According to this document on job specifications for the principals, there are nine duties which have been identified to be part of principal's job around school (Table 6.2). They include administration, finance, school physical development, staff development, principal's classroom teaching, curriculum, co-curriculum, student affairs, and supervision of teaching and learning.

Table 6. 2
Principal's job specification and their sub-categories*

| Principal's job specifications | Number of sub-categories under each duty * |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a. administration | 17 |
| b. finance | 13 |
| c. school physical development | 04 |
| d. staff development | 01 |
| e. classroom teaching | 01 |
| f. curriculum implementation | 09 |
| g. co-curriculum | 03 |
| h. student affairs | 05 |
| i. supervision of teaching | 04 |

^{*} The sub-categories may reflect the amount of emphasis placed on the various duties of the principal.

What is evident from Table 6. 2 is that principals are expected to perform nine duties. Out of these nine, their work related to school

administration and financial management was given much emphasis, followed by curriculum implementation, student affairs, school physical development, supervision of teaching, and co-curriculum. Finally comes staff development with the minimum emphasis in the principal's job list, equal to principal's classroom teaching. The one sub-category under staff development says that "Principals should plan and implement either inhouse or external programs and courses for teachers and non-teaching staff." This limited view of staff development may be taken as an indicator of the importance given to teachers and their professional development by the State Education Department and the Ministry of Education.

When Khatijah was asked whether in the job specification for principals there was any mention of teacher development as part of her job, she responded by saying that,

There's no allocation of funds for that. Even if you try to bring it out, they will say that is not your... you know what I mean. In other words what they will say is call the teachers on a Saturday, invite some speakers and finish it. But the very fact the school is not given an allocation - it indicates that they are not giving you any leeway then. Although in the New Secondary School Curriculum we have spoken about school-based training, school-based in-service courses but there is no allocation. I am getting allocation for every little things, but nothing for this. So this shows that they don't consider this as an important function of the principal. [AP1I4-27/4(32)]

Since principals adhere closely to the directives that come from the top, they only focus on those aspects which are considered to be serious by the authorities above. Therefore, this may in a way explain why neither of the principals in this study were focusing much on teacher learning or their professional development.

The factors (both internal and external) which influence principals' practices are given in the Table 6.3.

Table 6. 3
Internal and External Influences on principal practices

| Influences on principal practices | Seri Melati/Khatijah | Seri Wira/Jamilah |
|--|---|--|
| Internal factors: Personal beliefs and conceptions of teaching and learning | a. Physical facilities such as teaching aids and spacious work area will enhance teachers' work and productivity. b. A clean and a beautiful work environment will motivate teachers to perform well. c. Principal sees teachers as knowledge transmitters and not as knowledge generators/mediators. | a. Positive human relations and a happy and friendly environment will enhance teacher productivity. b. Congeniality will create the feeling of family-like environment among teachers and make them happy workers at school. c. Principal sees teachers as Affective, emotional - mediators and not as knowledge generators. |
| External factors: 1. Lack of professional development | a. Principal is not prepared to lead and guide teacher learning at school. No special knowledge to orientate the principal's role in a desired direction. Therefore, she relied heavily on the guidelines provided by the higher authorities. And perhaps models after other principals in the district/state. | a. Principal is not prepared to lead and guide teacher learning at school. No special knowledge to orientate the principal's role in a desired direction. Therefore, she relied heavily on the guidelines provided by the higher authorities. And perhaps models after other principals in the district/state. |

- 2. Influence of the policy, organizational, and social contexts (Ministry of Education, the State Education Department, and community)
- a. Expectations from the top such as high test scores places pressure on the principal to focus on this aspect.
- b. Bureaucratic practices from the top is carried out by principal at the school level. Top-down model is implicitly practiced.
- c. There is no attention paid by the policy community asking principal to focus on teacher development.
- d. Students' learning and their academic achievement are the top priority.

- a. Expectations from the top such as overall school improvement places pressure on the principal to pay attention to upgrading the physical and social image of the school.
- b. Bureaucratic practices from the top is carried out by principal at the school level. Top-down model is implicitly practiced.
- c. There is no attention paid by the policy community urging principal to focus on teacher development.
- d. Students' exposure to multiple skills and disciplines (such as generic skills, information technology) are the top priority.

From Table 6. 3 it is obvious that principals' practices are influenced by three major factors: the personal beliefs and knowledge held by the principals, the lack of their special professional knowledge, and the influences of the larger policy contexts and its expectations. All three factors/variables play important roles in shaping the principals' mental processes and thus their actions. It is in line with Kenneth Leithwood and his colleagues theory says, "What principals do - their "practices" - is most directly a consequence of what they think - their mental processes. Such mental processes are a function of certain characteristic ways of understanding applied to the environment in which they work" (Leithwood et. al., 1990, p. 5). Elements of this environment or the contexts may be interpreted by principals in many

ways, and certain elements turn out to have much greater impact on their thinking than other elements. Among the three factors, the expectations of the larger policy contexts seem to have a stronger impact on the two principals' thinking and their practices. Their lack of professional preparation in developing teachers too seem to be another key issue here. Principals without special knowledge seem to rely extensively on the guidance provided by central office staff and are not able to act according to their will (Leithwood et al, 1990). So, both the principals' work in creating some kind of a supportive work climate at their schools for improving the teaching-learning process was very much constrained by the external influences. Their patterns of practice in which they engage too seem to be shaped by how they think about their work. Therefore, an understanding of the interaction of the principals' personal beliefs, knowledge, and the influence of the larger policy contexts on their thinking may explain why these two principals do what they do.

CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

Overview

Malaysian schools are inundated with several curriculum reforms which require changes in teacher knowledge and practices. Some of the reforms which are challenging to teachers include the integration of higher order thinking skills, generic skills, teaching of creative and critical thinking, and the inculcation of moral values across curriculum. But successful implementation of these reforms is not possible without serious learning on the part of teachers who are directly involved in the practice. Teachers have to understand the key concepts behind these reforms and learn different ways of incorporating these new ideas in their teaching. Traditional, episodic inservices are not effective in helping teachers learn and change their practices. Teachers need long-term, well-sustained, professional development to understand and learn new practices as outlined by the curriculum reforms.

At the school level, principals could play key roles in guiding and facilitating teacher learning. Principals as instructional leaders could create supportive work climates for teachers by providing learning environments that foster norms of collegiality, collaboration around practice, and professional inquiry. Through all these avenues, principals could facilitate effective teacher learning outcomes.

In two schools in this study, the Malaysian principals' roles at school were not currently focused on improving teachers' instructional practices.

There are several factors internal and external to the principals which influenced their practice. Principals' beliefs and knowledge about the teaching-learning process, their lack of professional preparation in instructional and transformational leadership, and the influences of the larger policy, organizational and social contexts constrained and impeded principals' role in creating supportive work climates for teachers.

In this chapter I will begin with the discussion of why principals' views or perspectives about creating supportive work climates in the ways they described made sense in the contexts in which they worked. Next, I move on to show how policy, administration, and practice are interdependent; all three dimensions will need to be synchronized to effect positive changes in Malaysian education. Following this, I present an argument about some policy implications. Finally, I suggest some questions for further research which may enhance our understanding of the issues related to reform and teacher and principal professional development in Malaysia.

Why did Principals' Views in the Study Make Sense?

The two principals in the study, while they worked hard to manage well the day-to-day functioning of their schools, were not doing much along the lines of creating supportive climates focused on teacher learning and development. They did provide certain forms of support which they believed would be helpful for the general improvement of the teaching and learning process. But their efforts were not well focused on teacher professional development or instructional improvement per se. For example, Khatijah, the principal of Seri Melati Secondary School spoke much about the importance of teaching and learning and described it as their core activity. And she did provide physical facilities and material resources to support this

core activity. But she seemed to be oblivious to the professional and social needs of the teachers — the key actors — who determine the successful implementation of the core activity. She did not seem to recognize the low morale of her teachers and their professional needs at their workplace.

Why was Khatijah well focused in improving the physical and material aspects of the school, but not aware of her teachers' needs for professional development and social recognition? A number of internal and external factors could explain these dynamics. First of all, she did whatever she did based on her personal knowledge and past experience. Khatijah's past work experience at the Curriculum Development Center and her own knowledge about teaching and learning could have influenced her to believe that the provision of teaching aids and other physical facilities were the most important elements of a supportive work climate for teachers.

The other factor which could have had a strong impact on her thinking and practices is the pressure from the District Education Office and the State Department of Education to maintain high test scores in the major public examinations. The high expectations placed on her to keep working on test scores could have influenced her in a number of ways. Since major portion of the questions in the PMR (Lower Secondary Examination) and the SPM (Malaysian Certificate in Education) public examinations are still in the multiple choice format which tests students' knowledge through recall and memorization, it may not require teaching which may involve serious knowledge transformation. Teaching to such tests can be best achieved through the traditional content transmission approaches. Based on this assumption, I would gather that Khatijah who is under pressure to maintain high test scores would have seen physical facilities and teaching aids as the important tools for effective transmission of information, and thus higher

student test scores. It also could have made sense to her to ignore teachers' needs for professional development that supports more transformational teaching, such as opportunities to observe and discuss new practices.

Khatijah too maintained a hierarchy, established and maintained a vertical communication style, followed strictly the written rules and procedures, and expected teachers to adhere to the plans and schedules drawn by the people from the top. This heavy bureaucratic practices were considered as too rigid and uncollegial by teachers. But Khatijah maintained these practices anyway. Where did Khatijah get these ideas of bureaucratic practices and why did she adhere to the standard operational procedures which teachers found to be unhelpful and unproductive? Perhaps Khatijah's approach was a mere reflection of the practices of the State Department of Education and the Ministry of Education which themselves employ the rational-bureaucratic model in their organizations.

Third, Khatijah did not pay attention to teachers' professional development and social needs; and she did not perceive the other higher needs of teachers beyond the physical and material resources because she was not provided with proper professional preparation to understand organizational dynamics and the importance of acting as an instructional and a transformational leader. The lack of her own professional development in the areas of teacher development and instructional leadership may explain why she was oblivious towards teachers' social and professional needs.

Just like Khatijah, Jamilah, the principal of Seri Wira Secondary School too was not focused on creating a work climate which would support teachers' professional needs. While Jamilah was successful in improving the physical and social image of the school through variety of constructive activities such as the establishment of community brigade; and created a

positive social support system, she did not consciously work on creating conditions that would promote teachers' intellectual stimulation and instructional improvement.

Why did Jamilah paid much attention to the improvement of the physical and social image of the school, but did not respond well to the teachers' needs for professional and intellectual growth? Since Seri Wira Secondary School was not in a good physical shape, and was reputed for poor student discipline and academic achievement, Jamilah attended to improving these aspects. She did a great job of pulling community resources together to work on school improvement plans. All these were important to her because they reflected on her management and school leadership. Also because these matters were observable by the District Education Office and the State Department of Education, and the principal's performance may be measured or evaluated based on the physical appearance and maintenance, these could have applied pressure on Jamilah to improve the physical aspects of the school. In her case it also looked like it was a matter of personal pride to convert the school into a reputable school in the district.

Jamilah too paid special attention and care to create a positive relationship among teachers and herself. She appreciated, and acknowledged teachers' efforts, and recognized their good work. She tried to keep her teachers happy and contented at workplace. But she did not seem to pay much attention to the human resources development aspects at school. There was no conscious efforts on her part to encourage collegiality which may help teachers improve their professional practices. There was already an existing avenue for teacher collegial interaction -- KSK (Kumpulan Sokongan Kendiri) or the teachers self support group -- but Jamilah did not see it as a way to help teachers' professional development. Why did Jamilah

not see KSK or teacher collegiality as a productive way to improve teacher learning and instructional improvement? I would attribute this to the sheer lack of professional preparation on the part of Jamilah. Since she was not well exposed to such ideas as collegiality and its impact on teacher development, she did not encourage or pursue this idea among her teachers. Furthermore, there was no pressure from the State Department or the Ministry of Education asking Jamilah to work on improving teachers' learning or professional improvement. Since there was no pressure from the top, obviously Jamilah did not focus her attention or energy on teacher development.

So what is obvious from these two cases is that they responded well to those areas (such as the maintenance of test scores and the physical and social image of the school) which received much pressure from the top, and neglected the other areas such as teacher professional development which was not emphasized by the Ministry of Education or the State Department of Education. They merely responded to the call and expectations from the top. In a way these two principals acted like puppets in the hands of the higher authorities, and therefore, it would be unfair to hold principals accountable for not doing what they are supposed to do.

One of the documents which shows the low degree of importance given by the Sate Education department on teacher development is the principals' job specifications memo. In this document it is very clear that aspects like teacher/staff development is given minimum attention by the State Department of Education. Out of 10 duties, staff development is given one tiny slot in principals' job list. Another interesting piece of evidence which indicates the poor recognition given to teachers is the chart from the 'Education in Malaysia' book published by the Ministry of Education in 1993.

In this school organizational chart everyone is there -- starting from principal to students -- except the teachers! This chart simply points out how the key actors called teachers are left out from the entire organization! All these pieces of evidence say something about the position of teachers and the way they are treated in the Malaysian education system in general. If this is how the Ministry of Education and the State Department of Education is viewing teachers and their development, how on this earth can one expect principals to focus their energy on teacher learning and development. This explains the point why the two principals in the study did not focus on teachers or their professional development.

Even though the literature in the United States and Canada speak much about the important roles principals could play as instructional and transformational leaders in bringing about change and improvement, it is not clear how this could be translated into the Malaysian setting which has a centralized system of organization. The central body -- the Ministry of Education and the State Departments of Education -- have strong control and influence on what principals do. Under such a system where almost everything is remote controlled, it is not surprising if principals do not really engage in activities which are not considered as important by the higher authorities.

What Needs to Happen?

If we expect principals to act as instructional leaders focused on aspects like teachers' professional development or instructional improvement, or as transformational leaders working on building a school culture based on shared vision, or to move towards school-based management as recommended by the Director-General of Education, much more has to

happen simultaneously at the various levels of the education system. Changes has to happen at all levels — national and state policy, school administration, and classroom practice — to effect changes in student learning at which reforms are targeted. It is a systemic problem, and therefore it deserves systemic reforms. It is not only principals who need to change or think differently than before, but also the people at the policymaking level who need to reassess and reevaluate their priorities and focus. Unless and until there is an awareness at the Ministry or the State Department level to pay serious attention to the aspects of teacher learning and teacher professional development, it is hard to expect any substantial changes to occur at the school and classroom level.

Policy, administration, and practice - a tridimensional issue

Education works through the interdependence of policy, administration, and practice. Educational reform is, in fact, a single but significant part of a much larger communication among education policy, administration, and practice that must occur for the educational system to function effectively (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988). One of the basic elements which determines the success of any educational reform is the understanding, cooperation, and learning of all three parties involved in the educational improvement triangle. Principals will have to learn how to facilitate new ways of teaching and learning in schools, and organize professional development activities for teachers. Teachers will have to rethink their knowledge of teaching and learning and their new roles in classrooms. Policymakers will have to understand the processes involved in successful implementation of reforms, and learn to think differently about "what it takes" to enact reforms (Wilson et al., 1996).

In addition to the learning component of all those who are involved in the reform process, successful implementation of reforms also involves the issue of sharing the vision, shifting authority, and distributing leadership (Bolman and Deal, 1997; Elmore et al., 1990; Leithwood, 1992, 1994). In other words, educational reform is not only a matter of passing down mandates or furnishing people down the line with technical knowledge, but in a deeper sense it is also about sharing power among all those who are involved in the system. Merely passing down knowledge about the reforms or making changes without providing the local actors with some degree of power or control over what they want to do and how they want to do it according to their local contexts will not be fruitful. In Malaysia, as elsewhere, if we want the local actors to carry out self-management, become accountable, and take initiative to make changes, then it is important that the power to make the changes are also bestowed upon them. If we want the current emphasis on the bureaucratic model and the tight control of the centralized system of management to be replaced with more local control and site-based management, as the Malaysian Director General of Education has suggested (Abdul Shukor, 1998), then it is crucial that the people in "power" put themselves last instead of first and allow the space for the less powerful people in the system (principals and teachers) to come forward and act (Chambers, 1997). Unless the people in power not only understand but also practice the collaborative approaches to management and distribute leadership and authority among every member of the education community, then the proposals put forth by the Director General of Education in Malaysia stand no chance of success. Therefore, it is imperative that the people in power respect the local actors and their local knowledge, and give due recognition to their abilities and intelligence. With more local control and

participation, the resistance towards accepting and implementing changes may be reduced or lessened (Scott, 1985).

Putting the first last

People at the policymaking level often operate under the assumption that "reforms" are discrete entities which would happen by themselves (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988). In reality reform is more complicated and connected to many other areas and aspects of the educational system. Failure to understand the complexities involved in the implementation of educational reforms has resulted in the failure of reforms (Tyack and Cuban, 1995). One of the major reasons for the failure of reforms is the ignorance and short-sightedness of the reformers to see the crucial role played by the teachers and principals in the reform implementation processes. Too often they seem to forget the presence of the key actors at the school level and try to produce either "teacher-proof" policies or "principal-proof" policies. Tyack and Cuban (1995) strongly recommend that the policymakers recognize that practitioners are the major change agents, and therefore their pedagogical past and their experiences should be taken into account while planning reforms. Teachers have their own "wisdom of practice," therefore their knowledge should be recognized and allowance should be given for adaptation as well as adoption.

Reinventing or reforming the existing system of schools by outsiders (policymakers) is hard when they fail to recognize that there is such a thing as a culture within such institutions. Just like any other culture, schools have their own grammar, ways of setting up and doing things in certain predictable manners. It is not an easy task to penetrate the existing patterns, routines, standardized behaviors, and norms which have been preserved for so long

and have come to be accepted as what a "real school" should be like. Any disturbance or penetration into the existing culture may be considered as an intrusion, and this can make people become very defensive, uncooperative, and resistant toward reform efforts (Chambers, 1997; Scott, 1985). If policymakers want their reforms to be implemented, then they have to make an in-depth survey of the teachers and the principals and understand local school culture. They have to feel around for the local sensitivities and their needs and accordingly make suggestions for change. Therefore, it is suggested that it will be good to think of reform plans not as clearly mandated policies, but as concepts to be evaluated on the basis of their practical effects, positive and negative aspects and then reframe accordingly (Tyack and Cuban, 1995).

One way in which policymakers can bring about successful changes in the local practice is by putting themselves last and allowing the local actors to come to center stage (Chambers, 1997). Instead of the usual ways of giving directives and passing mandates, it is suggested that policymakers should put forward their reform ideas in the form of hypotheses and allow space for the "hybridization" of the reforms with principals' and teachers' local practice (Tyack and Cuban, 1995). After all, practitioners do already have a set of ways for doing things and they do not start from scratch in putting instructional or pedagogical reforms into practice. Such efforts take place within a context framed by previous reforms (Cohen and Ball, 1990). Therefore, it is important that people with power -- the policy makers -- stay in the background but facilitate and provide the scaffolding necessary for the change process to occur in a smooth manner. In fact, it would be helpful if they could hand over the stick, initiate participatory processes, and then step back, listen, and observe, without interrupting (Chambers, 1997).

Implications For Policymakers

In the centralized system of administration as in Malaysia, almost every decision related to education is determined and orchestrated by the policymakers at the Ministry of Education and the individual State Departments of Education. Since they are in a position to decide and enact policies, it is important that they understand teacher learning, teacher professional and intellectual needs, and the importance of principal professional development. And it is also important that the Ministry of Education realizes the needs of the local actors and it focuses its attention on facilitating and building the infrastructure needed for local capacity building and sustenance.

Some ways by which the policymakers could effect changes and ensure successful implementation of educational reforms at the school level and help develop a more productive work culture of the schools follow:

1. Shift from passing mandates and incentives to actual capacity-building and systems-change. This may enable, empower, and allow for site-based leadership to flex according to contextual needs and increase their commitment to professional values.

In the Malaysian context, where education is highly centralized, one of the steps to improve teacher development would be to decentralize the professional development activities. Currently, there are too many mandates being passed from the central body that are controlled tightly with too many rules from the top. Almost all the decisions with regards to staff development and teacher learning are decided by the special unit of Teacher Education Division of the Ministry of Education. Some of the programs are passed down to the State Education Department, while some are directly

conducted by the Ministry of Education through the Curriculum

Development Center and other divisions of the Ministry. Such a planned,
controlled, and channeled approach from the top is not flexible and does not
give allowance for the local needs. When the local people like the principal
and teachers are not involved in the planning and decision-making processes
in deciding what would work for them best, the policies or reform ideas do
not get well implemented at schools.

Research in the U.S. has vividly shown that reforms have failed again and again when they have failed to take into considerations the views, ideas and input of the actual key actors involved in putting the reform ideas into practice (Cuban, 1990). Therefore, the policymakers need to recognize the fact that the principals and the teachers are the major change agents at the implementation level and give due respect for the experiences they carry and their wisdom of practice (Shulman, 1987). It has been said that teachers' pedagogical past is a strong influence and they do not start from scratch in putting the pedagogical reforms into practice (Cohen and Ball, 1990). Therefore, allowance should be given for local adoption, adaptation, and hybridization of any reforms (Tyack and Cuban, 1995). Under such circumstances, any policy changes and policy planning authority cannot be monopolized by the policy elites alone, but it must be done on the basis of shared planning and consultation with the principals and teachers as well. In other words, Tyack and Cuban (1995) suggested that it will be useful to think of reform plans not as clearly mandated policies but as concepts to be evaluated on the basis of their practical effects, positive or negative, and reframed accordingly.

Since policy alone cannot mandate what matters, and the capacity and will of practitioners become the key factors in deciding the policy outcomes

(McLaughlin, 1991), policy people can no longer rely solely on the traditional policy instruments such as the centralized reform mandates to effect changes (Sergiovanni, 1996). Mandates are rule-bound and require all individuals and agencies involved to comply, regardless of their differing capacities and needs. But such an approach follows a total top-down model which does not seem to take into account the local people's will and capacity to change according to the reforms. Therefore, policymakers have to think of alternative policy instruments which may provide the necessary resources and authority to the local people to make their informed decisions and plans for their own improvement.

McDonnell and Elmore (1987) have suggested capacity building of an organization as one of the alternative instruments which may bring about the changes in the local actors. Capacity building is a long-term endeavor but it is constructive and developmental for it enables and empowers teachers and principals by increasing their skills and commitment to professional values. Under the capacity-building approach, the central agency such as the Ministry of Education and/or the State Education Department may act as the agency for transferring money and other resources for the purposes of developing the material, intellectual, or human resources at schools. And this will allow the school educators to plan and decide what would be needed for their school. In this way the teachers and principals will become more empowered and take charge of the change process at school. This will eventually lead to sitebased management where the teachers and the school administrators will have more flexibility to carry out initiatives and innovations which may best suit their local needs. This may also hold the school educators accountable for producing change and meeting outcome objectives, which in turn may expand both their professional knowledge and their creative energies to

finding the most effective ways possible to do so, relevant to the specific conditions in which they work (Smith and O'Day, 1990).

One other policy instrument which is recommended when the existing institutions working under existing incentives cannot produce results that policymakers want is the system-changing approach. One of the assumptions of this instrument is that changing the distribution of authority changes what is produced, therefore, authority is given to a new agency (McDonnell and Elmore, 1987). Even though this sounds like a possible alternative to bring about changes, it is not without its problems. First of all, it would be hard to imagine the Ministry of Education relinquishing its control and authority to some other agency. This can not be simply done in a national administrative system for it may result in various political and economic implications. Second, a totally new system replacing the existing one may mean too many changes and too much of adjustments to be made by the people involved at every level of the system. This can be hard for people to move away from something which they were familiar to something that is entirely new. This can affect people's emotions and sentiments. Third, there is a huge problem to this system-change approach for the new agency may raise new problems of mandates, inducements, and capacity, starting the vicious cycle again (McDonnell and Elmore, 1987). So it is not clear to what extent any new agency that takes over from the Ministry of Education will be able to do a better job than before. Based on these assumptions, I believe that instead of the system-change approach, capacity-building would be a more appropriate approach to bring about effective changes in the Malaysian education system. Capacity-building approach is less threatening to the present centralized system for it does not have to relinquish its power and authority, and for the

people at the grassroots level it can be constructive and productive for it may tap into their human resources and expand the capacity of the people.

2. Acknowledge the need for teacher learning, and view teachers as adult learners who learn better in the company of like-minded colleagues with similar purposes and problems - through reflection, observation, conversation, and dialogue.

It is not sufficient that policy makers only produce directives; they should also look into how the actual implementers learn and understand the policy. In this case the teachers who operate at the grassroots level need to have thorough understanding of the curricular reforms and also the knowledge of instructional practices needed by the reforms. This is not a simple process and it requires strong and powerful teacher learning interventions.

Currently, the Ministry of Education and the State Education
Department are working under the assumption that the short inservice
training which they provide for teachers will take care of their learning needs.
I would say that the inservice training is rather a very simplistic solution to a
huge issue. New curriculum emphasizing higher order thinking skills and
the teaching of creative and critical thinking require that teachers change in
the ways they think about their subject matter and the way they are going to
present it to their students. As described in Chapter 2, such changes in their
thinking and practices cannot be achieved in the current in-service training
or in-house training which is very theoretical and not context-specific.

Research done in the U.S. shows that teacher learning best happens when they are able to sit and discuss with their colleagues who have similar interests and share their ideas and thinking, observe each other's practices

and give feedback, plan their work together and so on (Little, 1982). In other words, teachers learn well through collegial interaction and collaborative practices. In such practices, teachers themselves become the object as well as the subject of learning. They are motivated to participate because they see their own problems and jointly seek solutions through cooperative learning and professional discussions.

If collegial interactions and collaborative practices are conceived as some of the best ways for promoting teacher learning, then the policymakers at the Ministry of Education and the State Education Department have to find alternative means and ways to support and facilitate such learning conditions for teachers at school. Instead of short and episodic inservice training, they may want to look into creating opportunities for extended practice with ongoing feedback. Some of the ways in which this can be done is by encouraging peer observation, and also by introducing the idea of observing in a master teacher's classroom. Such observations can then be followed up with postobservation conferencing and dialogue sessions to give and receive feedback. An example of teachers' learning through observation is the concept of the resident teacher-visiting teacher concept introduced collaboratively by the New York Community School District 2 and the New York University. Together they established a program that combines classroom visitations with extended classroom follow-up. Under this program the District identifies a set of experienced, competent Resident teachers who volunteer to allow other teachers to come in to observe their teaching. They also pick Visiting teachers who wish to improve their teaching. The Visiting teacher spends about three weeks at the Resident teacher's classroom observing and talking to the Resident teacher, then tries out some of the new practices under the supervision and observation in the Resident's classroom and receives

feedback. Then the Visiting teacher returns to her classroom and tries out what she has learned with her own students. Later in the year, the Resident teacher visits the Visiting Teacher's classroom for further coaching and development (Elmore, 1996 as cited in Sykes, Floden, and Wheeler, 1997).

This model of the Resident-Visiting teacher is considered good for it allows the Visiting teacher to spend an extended amount of time in observing and discussing teaching practice. Thus, this extended time frame allows the Visiting teacher to understand and also to internalize the Resident teacher's practice. But on the other hand, this is also reported to be a very time consuming activity and therefore, requires long-term planning and implementation policies. This model may also call for a reorganization of the time schedule and the arrangement for substitute teachers for the Visiting teachers' classrooms. All these would mean a need for lot of support from the Ministry of Education in terms of restructuring schools, and reorganizing resources.

But in Malaysia there are already a few existing avenues such as the subject panels which are built in the school system and can be utilized to promote teacher learning. Subject panels are a great place where teacher learning and teacher professional development can be promoted in a more constructive manner. But in the two cases which I studied and from my personal experience as a teacher worked in several schools, I have found the subject panels to be under-utilized and were functioning merely as information disseminating channels. So, with the instructional and transformational leadership of the building principals, these subject panels can be converted into incredible learning arenas where teacher collegiality and professional discourses around instructional improvement can become the norm.

Another promising area which can lead to the creation of a culture of sharing and learning among teachers in Malaysia is the KSK or the teachers' self-support group. Even though this concept has only been introduced in very few schools as a pilot project, it has high potential to grow into teacher learning and professional networks around subject matter or areas of special interests. But it would be helpful and more productive if these teachers' self-support groups are not made into formal set-ups like the subject panels where they are being watched and checked by the higher authorities. Instead they should be encouraged and allowed to function as informal units run by the teachers for teachers in a manner which they think would best suit their interests and needs.

3. Develop the infrastructure for teacher learning in and out of school, and provide the support and resources for smooth implementation of teacher professional programs.

In addition to models such as the Resident teacher-Visiting teacher to facilitate extended observation and feedback through conferencing among practicing teachers, other forms of infrastructure also enhance teacher learning in and out of school. Sykes et al. (1997) define infrastructure as the full set of organizations, institutions, and conditions that can be made available to support teacher learning. In the U. S. and in many other countries, one of the important infrastructural elements is the existence of a set of professional teacher associations organized around a wide range of areas/topics. For example, there are teacher associations organized around subject matter like the NCTM (National Council for the Teachers of Mathematics), NSTA (National Science Teachers Association), NCSS (National Council of the Social Studies), around skills like the IRA

(International Reading Association), around children like the Council for Exceptional Children, around approaches to teaching such as the Council for Basic Education, and many others (Sykes et al., 1997; McDiarmid, 1995). These organizations in the U. S. are non-governmental, represent the voice and professional views of teachers, sponsor teacher training, develop and set standards for good teaching, and generally champion enlightened positions on good teaching. Sykes et al. (1997) suggest that once such associations become active, enjoy a strong membership and begin to shape the professional identity and commitments of teachers, then governments may collaborate with them in a variety of ways to support progressive instructional practice.

Other than the teacher professional associations, another powerful avenue for improving teacher learning in the U. S. are professional development schools. These are collaborations between schools and universities that have been created to support the learning and teaching of prospective teachers and experienced teachers while simultaneously restructuring schools. In the professional development schools, teachers and university colleagues collaborate on new approaches to teaching and teacher education and new forms of practice-centered research. Here teachers serve as mentors, teacher educators, curriculum developers, and decision makers, problem solvers, change agents, and researchers engaged in knowledge building. While involved in all these processes teachers as individuals can transform the knowledge base, reflect on practices, and generate new knowledge. These actions allow teachers to own and produce knowledge rather than being controlled by it (Darling-Hammond, et al. (1995).

In Malaysia, professional development schools have already been introduced but on a comparatively very small scale (personal interview with

Malaysian participants at PDS exposure program, MSU, 1997). The Ministry of Education could initiate many more professional development schools in collaboration with the numerous teacher training colleges which are situated all over the country. Since this is a good way to get teacher educators from the colleges to work together with the teachers at schools to enhance both novice as well as experienced teachers' learning, it can be a great avenue for teacher development in general.

In Malaysia, another form of infrastructure that could be a pillar of teacher learning support is the newly formed UPSI (Sultan Idris Teachers' University). This is one of the oldest teacher training colleges which has been upgraded to the status of an university in 1997. Being the premier teaching university, this can be developed into a center which can act as the supporting teacher learning organization which could provide special advisory and consulting services for teacher learning, action research and inquiry.

4. Create professional development programs where principals could learn about the new kinds of teaching and learning that underlie the reforms and how best to support teachers in changing their practices.

Many accounts of schooling suggest that principals are powerful agents of school reform and they can be the key agents of teacher change and teacher learning at the school level. If this is the case, then the principals who are going to lead and direct teachers' learning need to be fully aware of the reforms and their implementation, and they also need to have some form of professional development programs which may help them understand the way teachers as adults learn best. Principals should have a thorough grounding in andragogical methods and assumptions which suggest that meaningful education for adults is experiential, life-centered, and self-

directing. Research also indicates that adults will respond well if their learning is problem-centered, mutually collaborative, informal, based on negotiation and mutual planning, and inquiry-based (Knowles, 1990). So, a principal needs to be aware of all these characteristics required by adult learning and prepare appropriate situations and contexts for their teachers' learning.

Principals also need to understand ways to lead that would help develop teachers' potential and tap into their human resources. Principals in this study are currently employing either bureaucratic management methods or human relations concepts in their day-to-day management of their teachers. But as the world view about human values is evolving, and people are looking more for liberal and democratic treatment at their workplaces, teachers' views of how they should be treated is also changing. Teachers no longer are willing to be treated like low-status workers where they are considered as "things" and not as "people" (Chambers, 1997). When they are considered as "things," teachers are controlled and managed with ready made blue-prints, directives, rules, and pre-set, closed goals prepared by someone else. Instead, teachers need to be treated as people who possess local knowledge and have ideas and thinking which can be of some importance in informing policymaking. Such an approach may enable and empower teachers in the true sense and consider them as partners and true actors rather than as beneficiaries of the system. Such thinking about teachers as people will also give allowance for the growth of teachers' diverse capabilities, and give them a chance to participate and socialize into the evolving goals of the organization.

With all these expectations of the teachers for their professional growth and human development, principal thinking and management style need to

change. Principals need help in understanding and practicing the alternative model of human resource development in leading their teachers. According to Malcolm Knowles, "If the work climate is not really conducive to learning, if it doesn't convey that an organization values human beings as its most valuable asset and their development its most productive investment, then all the other elements in the process are jeopardized" (1990, p. 124). Therefore, it is imperative that attention is paid to principals' learning and their focus on developing human resources at school.

In order to help teachers in their learning and instructional improvement, principals also need the knowledge of curriculum and instruction. They need to have some theoretical knowledge as well as practical experience about curriculum development and implementation. This is especially important for those principals who have come to the principal's position not through rank and file but promoted from different divisions of the Ministry of Education. Since these group of principals were not in touch with the teaching and learning process at school for a long period of time, they may need some special learning on curriculum and instruction before they set their feet in schools.

Another important issue related to principals' role in improving teacher learning is the change required in the principals' job expectations. If principals are expected to act as instructional and transformational leaders, then the Ministry of Education needs to reevaluate the job specifications for the principals and readjust their priorities. Unless the Ministry makes the necessary changes in the job expectations it will be hard to expect the principals to focus on teacher learning or professional development. This may also mean that principals are provided with the necessary professional preparation to help teachers improve their instructional practices.

Finally, it is also important that principals are not promoted towards the end of their career cycle but are given the principalship at a much earlier age. When they are much younger, they may have the energy and the enthusiasm to learn and contribute towards the betterment of the school system. It also gives them more time to commit themselves to learn new ideas, implement innovative projects, and make substantial positive changes at their workplace. The current plans by the Ministry of Education to abolish the late-career promotion and hire principals at a much younger age and provide them with thorough professional preparation is timely and crucial for overall school effectiveness and educational improvement in Malaysia.

Suggestions For Further Research

This research is limited in its scope in many ways. But the limitations indicate some areas which can be pursued for further research:

- 1. The two cases in this study were selected from urban settings. So it would be interesting to select other cases from rural areas to know whether there are other internal and external factors which influences principals in different parts in Malaysia.
- 2. Both the principals in this study have served in various divisions of the Ministry of Education prior to their appointment as principals in these two schools. Sine they came from the Ministry of Education and teacher education colleges, their internal factors and the way they perceive and respond to the policy directives may be different from other principals in some ways. Therefore, it would be enlightening to study those principals who have become principals through the rank and file system. Since the principals who have come through the rank and file system have been teachers and have worked in the school settings throughout their career, they

might have a different set of internal factors (but not so much difference in terms of external factors for they too operate under the same centralized Ministry of Education) which may influence their perspectives of creating supportive work climates for their teachers.

- 3. Due to time constraints, the data was collected within a very short period of time (14 weeks). Therefore much of the data was collected mainly through interviews and there was not much time left to engage in lengthy observations. Thus it turned out to be more of an attitudinal study reflecting principal's perceived views and perspectives. It would be helpful if some other studies can be designed in such a manner that more time can be spent in observations per se and explore principals' practices. More data based on observations could provide us with insights about the social psychological aspects of the principals and their work.
- 4. There were some provocative patterns that emerged from this study which indicated that principals have different conceptions of teaching and learning. Since I did not pursue any specific questions which may have highlighted this interesting conceptions about teaching and learning, I ended up making high degree of inferences not based on evidence. So this leaves behind a potential line of study which could explore the reasons behind principals' views on providing physical facilities and material support (as in Khatijah's case) or the reasons for creating a happy and friendly work atmosphere (as in Jamilah's case). The reasoning by the principals may help others understand their ideas behind their behavior. It will also clarify the conceptions they have about teaching and learning process.
- 5. Much data for this study came from the principals and the teachers, and very little was obtained from the policy community. Since this study points out the importance of systemic changes and the importance of the

policymakers working together with the local actors/practitioners, it would be interesting to gather data from the policymakers and find out what their perspectives may be with regards to creating supportive work climates for instructional improvement and teacher professional development. In this way it may be helpful in understanding the policymakers' thinking, mental processes, and the reasons for their actions and decisions they make. This may also help in putting the pieces together from all three levels -- policy, administration, and practice -- and see the similarities and differences and understand the complications behind the policy alignment issue.

- 6. Another line of interesting study which may branch out from this study is the exploration of effects of teachers' work climate or professional community on students' achievement. There may be some schools that measure high on professional community among teachers but do not measure high on students' achievement. There could be high degree of collegiality among teachers but it may not translate well into classroom teaching (Shouse, 1996). But there could be some other schools that may measure low in professional community and yet may still produce high test scores. Such a situation may say something about the kind of standardized testing and its quality in testing more complex student outcomes. But at any rate, the general assumption would be that a school high on professional community should produce more complex students' learning and outcome. Based on this, some studies could be carried out to test these hypotheses.
- 7. As an extension from this study, there is a possibility to carry out more research related to the curriculum for principals' professional preparation. One way to approach this is through focus groups where principals themselves participate and give ideas for their learning. Instead of the usual top-down decision-making, this alternative approach of having

principals participate in discussion and interaction can help bring local knowledge brought to center stage. In other words, principals' views with regards to what they would consider as the most critical areas where they would need help or support will be stated by them. They would be given a chance to decide how they would want to plan and design their learning activities, and when and where they would want to learn. In this way, the conversations and interactions among principals in the focus groups would be participatory in nature and can involve them in action research. The focus group meetings can be recorded, audio-taped, and documented for analysis and further research and development.

APPENDIX A

MICHIGAN STATE

March 4, 1998

Linda M. Anderson TO:

116-G EH

RE: IRB#:

TITLE:

AN EXPLORATION OF INSTRUCTIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLE OF PRINCIPALS IN STAFF DEVELOPMENT: A MALAYSIAN

CASE

REVISION REQUESTED:

CATEGORY: APPROVAL DATE:

02/10/98 1-A,C,D,E 12/04/97

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project and any revisions listed

RENEWAL:

above.

UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/

CHANGES:

Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517)355-2180 or FAX (517)432-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D. UCRIHS Chair

DEW · bed

cc: Suseela Malakolunthu

APPENDIX B

BAHAGIAN PERANCANGAN DAN PENYELIDIKAN DASAR PENDIDIKAN (BPPDP), KEMENTERIAN PENDIDIKAN MALAYSIA Paras 2,3 & 5, Blok J PUSAT BANDAR DAMANSARA. 50604 KUALA LUMPUR.

Ruj. Kami: KP(BPPDP) 13/15 Jld.48(2)(%)

Telefon: 03-2583204

Faks: 03-2554960

Tarikh : 24 Disember 1997

Pn. Suseela Malakolunthu, 3, Lorong 18/22A, 46000 Petaling Jaya, Selangor.

Puan.

Kebenaran Untuk Menjalankan Kajian Di Sekolah-Sekolah, Maktab-Maktab Perguruan, Jabatan-Jabatan Pendidikan Dan Bahagian-Bahagian Di Bawah Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia

Adalah saya dengan hormatnya diarah memaklumkan bahawa permohonan puan untuk menjalankan kajian bertajuk:

"An Exploration Of Principals'Instructional Leadership In Staff Development: The Case Of Malaysia" telah diluluskan

2. Kelulusan ini adalah berdasarkan apa yang terkandung di dalam cadangan penyelidikan yang puan kemukakan ke Bahagian ini. Kebenaran bagi menggunakan sampel kajian perlu diperolehi daripada Ketua Bahagian/Pengarah Pendidikan negeri yang berkenaan.

Sekian untuk makluman dan tindakan tuan selanjutnya. Terima kasih.

"BERKHIDMAT UNTUK NEGARA"

Saya yang menurut perintah,

(DR. ABD. KARIM BIN MD. NOR)

b.p. Pengarah.

Bahagian Perancangan dan Penyelidikan Dasar Pendidikan.

ralma

Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia

APPENDIX C

Sub-research Ouestions

- a. What do principals advocate (or want to see teachers in their schools practicing)?
- i. Do they advocate or want to create a certain kind of work climate?
- ii. What kind of work climate do they advocate?
- iii. How do they go about creating such a work climate?
- iv. What is the larger context that influences what they say and do?
- b. What are the practices employed by principals?
- i. Do they employ certain practices that would affect the work climate in their schools?
- ii. If so, what are the practices that they employ?
- iii. How do they go about employing these practices?
- iv. What is the larger context which influences what they practice?
- c. What are the directives, resources, and support provided by principals?
- i. Do they provide directives, resources, and support that would help develop the work climate?
- ii. What directives, resources, and support do they provide in order to develop the work climate?
- iii. How do they provide the directives, resources, and support in order to create the work climate?
- iv. What is the larger context that influences the kind of directives, resources, and support that they provide?

APPENDIX D

| Level | Topic | Purpose | Comments |
|-------|---|---|--|
| | - | | |
| # 1 | 1. Seeking general information on school history, student background, and teacher population. | To elicit socio-economic, and historical background of the school and its people. | This is for logistics purposes, and also to know where the principal is coming from — in terms of beliefs, values, knowledge, etc. |
| | 2. Work experience | To know principal's professional background. | This will inform me of her previous workplace. |
| | 3. Principal's vision, mission, and philosophy. | -To understand whether the principal has her own guiding principles for her school other than the national education philosophy given by the Ministry of Education. | This will show me what she values most or what is her priority. |
| | 3. School culture. | —To get some glimpses of the work climate, and ethos of the school. | |
| | 4. Teaching-learning as the core business | To understand the steps taken by the principal to help improve the teaching-learning process at school. | Any specific activities for teachers? I can counter-check this with teachers. |
| | 5. Supportive work climate | To understand principal's ideas of a supportive work climate for teachers. | Her perspectives of a supportive work climate for instruction. |
| | 6. Staff development | -To understand the current form of staff development available for teachers. | General information on staff development. |

APPENDIX D

| Level | Topic | Purpose | Comments |
|-------|--|---|--|
| # 2 | 1. Principal's focus area/major project at school, and how she is supporting it. | To know the area where the principal is focusing, so that I could build up my discussions and questions around it. | This prompted me to look into the principals' activities/roles in the different subject panels. |
| | 2. Teachers' level of cooperation in these projects. | To know how well the principal and teachers work together. | This also allowed me to probe into principals' specific projects which would become my sites for observation of principal practices. |
| | 3. Major challenges, tensions faced by the principal in implementing projects at school. | -To understand the contextual factors that may influence principals work. | It gave me a rough idea of the tensions or pressures for the principal. |
| | 4. Principal's definition and description of a supportive work climate at school. | To learn more about principal's understanding of a supportive work climate. | This gave me an opening to talk and verify with the teachers and get their perspectives on supportive work climate. |
| | 5. Principal's ways of creating a supportive work climate. | To know more about the factors she is emphasizing in her description of a supportive work climate, and what she is doing along these lines. | |
| | 6. Resources/ support provided by principals to improve teachers' instructional practices. | To know the kind of support/resources she provides to help teachers' improve teaching and learning. | This led me to counter check these facts with teachers. |

APPENDIX D

| Level | Topic | Purpose | Comments |
|-------|--|--|---|
| #3 | 1. Major challenges and pressures, such as maintaining high test scores and physical, public image. | To know to what extent the principal is affected by these external pressures and expectations. | High test scores is big deal at Seri Melati. Raising the physical and public image is critical at Seri Wira. |
| | 2. Other forms of pressures from some other sources. | - To understand whether there are any other sources of pressures which cause the principal to act in a certain manner. | |
| | 3. How do all these various pressures affect the principals focus on instructional improvement. | -To know how much principal is pressured to follow the expectations of the state/Ministry of Education. | |
| | 4. What are principal's efforts in supporting work climates? | To know what are the principal's specific practices in creating a supportive work climate | |
| | 5. Principals' role in subject panels. | To find out the kind of support (physical, moral, professional) she provides in the effective running of the subject panels. | Teachers did not mention active principal participation in the subject panels. So, I wanted to find out what the principal has to say about this. |

APPENDIX D

Major area of focus for the interview protocol for the principals

| Level | Topic | Purpose | Comments |
|-------|--|---|---|
| #4 | Principal's description of her role as a principal. Principal description of her style of leadership at school. | -To understand the priorities of her job. What is important and what is left outTo understand how she treats her subordinates and what is her relationship is like with the teachers. | This is in response to teachers' complaints of a 'gap' or distance between teachers and the principal. |
| | 3. Dilemmas and tensions principal faces with regards to teachers. | To understand the principal's expectation of the teachers, and what seem to irritate her. | |
| | 4. Teachers involvement in the school decision-making processes, and the channel of communication at school. | To understand the level teacher participation and the hierarchical system of administration. | Teachers mentioned their need for more participation and shared planning. |
| | 5. The interpersonal relationship between the principal and the teachers. | To Understand how closely the principal interacts with the teachers. | I sensed a poor interpersonal relationship between the principal and the teachers, So, I wanted to find out what the principal has to say about this. |
| | 6. Professional development plans for the teachers at the school level. | To know the principal's views and efforts towards teacher professional development. | Teachers mentioned that they do not have ongoing professional development. So, I wanted to compare notes with the principal based on teacher input. |

APPENDIX D

| Level | Topic | Purpose | Comments |
|-------|--|--|--|
| # 5 | 1. Centralized system of administration and the amount of power/autonomy given to principals | -To understand the rigid, bureaucratic nature of the education system. How much freedom the principal hold to bring about any positive changes. | I wanted to know the pressures principals face in performing their duties. |
| | 2. Influences of the State/Ministry | To know the power and influence of the higher authorities on principal actions. | |
| | 3. Teachers complain about excessive paperwork and non-teaching duties. | To know principal's views and her justification for the excessive paperwork and nonteaching duties given to teachers. | Teachers had many complaints with regards to excessive non-teaching duties. So, I wanted to find out the principal's perspectives on this. |
| | 4. Discussion about teacher learning aspects at the principal meetings or training programs. | To know how much importance and focus is given to teacher learning and teacher development by the higher authorities. | |
| | 5. Principal learning and professional development. | To understand how well principals are trained to run a school effectively, and what are the components that were given importance. This may reflect what is expected out of the principals by the Ministry of Education. | One of the officers at the principal training center told me that they offer a variety of courses and programs for principals. So, I wanted to get principals' perspectives on this. |

APPENDIX D

| Level | Topic | Purpose | Comments |
|-------|--|---|--|
| # 6 | 1. Principal mentioned earlier that supportive work climate is extremely important for better teacher performance. | To find out how strategically or consciously the principal is creating a supportive work climate at school. | Repeat question: Teachers did not seem to be satisfied with the kind of work climate at school. They did not perceive it to be supportive of their practice. |
| | 2. Collegiality among teachers. Team work as the theme of this year's teachers' day celebration. | To find out to what extent and how collegiality is promoted at school. And why team work is recommended by the Ministry of Education. | My observation and teachers' feedback informed me that congenial interaction is prominent at school. So, I wanted to know principals' perspectives on this. |
| | 3. Subject panels and their role in teacher learning. | To understand principal's views on the usefulness of the subject panels as teacher learning avenues at school, and how effectively are they being carried out. If not very successful, why not? | Repeat question: Teachers' responses indicated that subject panels function merely as avenues for dissemination of information and assigning duties for the respective subject teachers. |
| | 4. Principal's ideas for instructional improvement. | -To obtain more information form the principal on their ideas and views of what they think would help teachers' instructional practices. | I wanted to confirm certain views of the principal. |

APPENDIX E

Main area of focus for the interview questions for teachers from both schools who participated in the study:

- 1. How long have you been teaching? And how long in this school?
- 2. What are your professional experiences as a teacher in the past three years in this school?
- 3. What are the challenges/tensions you face in teaching?
- 4. How does the principal help you in facing the challenges?
- 5. What sort of help does the principal provides in supporting your teaching?
- 6. How do you cope with the teaching of innovative ideas such as higherorder thinking skills and so on?
- 7. What sort of help does the principal provide you with in learning how to teach new ideas such as the higher-order thinking skills/generic skills and so forth?
- 8. Can you say something about the in-service training?
- 9. What is the role of subject panels, what do you all do during a typical subject panel meeting?
- 10. How helpful is the subject panels in helping teachers learn new ideas?
- 11. What do you think will be helpful in supporting you to develop professionally?
- 12. How is the relationship between you and your principal?
- 13. How is the teacher morale in this school?
- 14. How is the relationship among the staff in this school?
- 15. Tell me about your colleagues and the kind of topics that become the major area of talk among teachers here?
- 16. What are the factors which are important to you as a teacher that will motivate you to perform better?
- 17. As a teacher what kind of expectations have been set for you by the principal?
- 18. How are you faring with regards to the expectations?
- 19. What difficulties are you encountering in meeting the expectations?
- 20. How would you define a supportive work climate for teaching-learning?

APPENDIX F

Interview questions for Ministry of Education officials who are involved with the task of school leadership and educational management:

- 1. How do you envision principals' role with regards to school effectiveness?
- 2. What is the role of principals in developing teachers or helping in their learning?
- 3. What are the major duties of a principal at school?
- 4. What are the main areas of emphasis in principals' training/development?
- 5. What are the kind of courses that your office conduct for the principals short-term, long-term, in-service?
- 6. How much autonomy do the principals have in running the schools the way they want?
- 7. What are the major dilemmas and tensions principals face in doing their jobs?
- 8. To what extent do they practice instructional leadership?
- 9. What is the significance of a supportive work climate for teacher performance?
- 10. What are the characteristics of a supportive work climate for better teaching and learning?
- 11. What is the role of principals in staff/teacher development?
- 12. How could principals help raise teacher morale in their schools?
- 13. Do you advocate any specific organizational theory to be practiced by the principals in school management?

APPENDIX G

<u>Job Specifications For Principals</u> (translated from Bahasa Malaysia)

1. Administration

- 1.1 Directly responsible for the administration of the teaching and non-teaching staff.
 - 1.1.1 Conducts the appointment and confirmation procedures.
 - 1.1.2 Conducts promotion appointments to a higher position.
 - 1.1.3 Conducts procedures related to resignations, suspension from services, and retirement.
 - 1.1.4 Ensure the intake and in-service courses.
 - 1.1.5 Take specific actions with regards to taking leave.
 - 1.1.6 Create organizational structure to ensure teaching and non-teaching staff duty.
 - 1.1.7 Prepare duty list for teachers' and non-teaching staff
 - 1.1.8 Maintain personal records of teachers and other staff
 - 1.1.9 Prepare annual performance appraisal/special confidential report/special performance appraisal.
 - 1.1.10 Ensure proper filing system
 - 1.1.11 Approve application to use school building and other facilities.
 - 1.1.12 Plan and implement school calendar.
 - 1.1.13 Ensure that the returns are prepared as scheduled.
 - 1.1.14 Act as the chairperson for the School disciplinary board.
 - 1.1.15 Act as advisor in the Parent Teacher association.
 - 1.1.16 Chair specific meetings at school.
 - 1.1.17 Attend meetings at the Ministry of Education, State Education Department, District Education office, and in other government departments.

2. Finance

- 2.1 Prepare school budget.
- 2.2 Handle percapita claims and other grants.
- 2.3 Make sure collection (fees and rentals) and other form of income is managed properly.
- 2.4 Plan and utilize all expenses and payments.
- 2.5 Manage and fulfill salary payment.
- 2.6 Manage Cash Book for government accounts, private bodies, and hostel (if there is).
- 2.7 Prepare for school accounts auditing.
- 2.8 Handle all accounts related to student scholarship.

- 2.9 Chair the school tender
- 2.10 Ensure that the stock book is up to date
- 2.11 Approve all kinds of travel claims, examination claims, over time allowance, miscellaneous payment.
- 2.12 Ensure that stock taking is done in a satisfactory manner.
- 2.13 Act as the secretary for the school finance committee.

3. Physical and School Development

- 3.1 Supervise the physical conditions of the school.
- 3.2 Take actions to maintain the school building and its compound.
- 3.3 Plan and implement small scale school development projects.
- 3.4 If necessary plan for school expansion.

4. Staff Development

4.1 Plan and implement in-house training or external courses, programs for teaching and non-teaching staff.

5. Teaching

5.1 Teach nine periods per week.

6. Curriculum

- 6.1 Ensure the implementation of National education policy
- 6.2 Ensure the implementation of the school syllabus as outlined by the Ministry of Education.
- 6.3 Plan and ensure that curriculum implementation is carried out well.
- 6.4 Determine the electives.
- 6.5 Establish subject panels/Curriculum Committee, and any other committees which are considered as necessary.
- 6.6 Chairing the subject panel meetings if necessary.
- 6.7 Ensure that resource centers and plan its development.
- 6.8 Implement the school 'Blue Print'.
- 6.9 Plan and implement tests and examinations.

7. Co-curriculum

- 7.1 Ensure the establishment of various societies, clubs, sports and games, and uniform units.
- 7.2 Make sure the proper implementation of co-curricular activities.
- 7.3 ensure the development of student potential and the field listed in 7.1.

8. Student Affairs

- 8.1 Establish Student Disciplinary Board.
- 8.2 Establish school rules and regulations.
- 8.3 Establish a student prefects board.
- 8.4 Make sure that the activities listed out in 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 above is

- implemented well and in a just manner.
- 8.5 For the sake of student comfort and welfare, services listed below should be implemented well:
 - 8.5.1 Counseling and guidance
 - 8.5.2 Health
 - 8.5.3 Scholarship
 - 8.5.4 Recreation
 - 8.5.6 Guardian system/Mentoring

9. Supervision

- 9.1 Principal supervises teaching and learning.
- 9.2 Principal takes care of all duties from 1-8 mentioned above.
- 9.3 Principal is responsible for guiding Senior Assistant 1, Senior Assistant (student affairs), and the afternoon supervisor in their work, and guide teachers in their teaching and other non-teaching staff in their work.
- 9.4 This supervision is for evaluating the performance of the staff.

10. Hostel Supervision (if there is one)

- 10.1 Appoint hostel warden.
- 10.2 Ensure housing facilities.
- 10.3 Ensure balanced menu.
- 10.4 Ensure safety procedures for the hostel residents.
- 10.5 Provide recreational facilities.
- 10.6 Provide a prayer area/mosque.

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