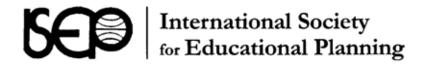
EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Vol. 18 No. 3





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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

A JOURNAL DEDICATED TO PLANNING, CHANGE, REFORM, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE Virginia Roach

This publication marks the end of volume 18 and the year. It also marks the end of the editorship of Linda Lemasters who has worked diligently over the past several years to revive and build *Educational Planning* to serve the needs of scholars and practitioners worldwide. Under the guidance of Dr. Lemasters, the journal has maintained a strong balance of articles focused on the many theoretical approaches to planning, the multiple ways in which planning is actually conducted, and a variety of other aspects related to educational planning. In this way, the journal serves as a forum and incubator of new ideas and theories related to planning. This edition of the journal reflects this emphasis.

As a forum for new theories Frierson and Lindahl have tested Eyal's Two-Dimensional Model of School Entrepreneurship. Eyal's model was first published in *Educational Planning* in 2008 and has implications for the theoretical foundations of planning for change via school choice. As the first test of Eyal's model, Frierson and Lindahl conducted a study of school entrepreneurship in a tri-county region in Central Alabama in the United States. Their study both supported the validity of the model and Eyal's contention that entrepreneurship does not necessarily foster "radical educational change" as proponents of school choice suggest. I challenge our readers to test this model in other communities and countries as a way to further develop and strengthen the theory presented in this journal.

Likewise, in their article "Planning for Culturally Responsive Leadership," Howley et al., posit a broader theory of culturally responsive leadership than that typically discussed in educational journals. Their study of school principals from exemplary schools suggested that theories of succession planning must take into consideration the degree to which the new leaders understand and related to the culture of the local community, in essence, looking outward, not only inward at the organization. Marina and Ellert also focus on the importance of leadership succession planning in their article, "Planning for Leadership with Army Education Services Officers." Just as Howley et al. studied exemplary principals, Marina and Ellert utilized the expertise of existing leaders in the organization to develop essential competencies for their successors. Marina and Ellert extend the Howley et al. notion of outward/inward focus by utilizing the expertise of leaders who are at the same time experts in U.S. Army personnel development, but not of the army as they are civilian personnel.

Donmez, in his study of internal migration and its impact on educational planning in Turkey, brings nuance to the discussion of the interaction between educational planning and migration. In this way, he reminds us that there is still much to learn about the variety of aspects of educational planning, the need for accurate data, and the variety of policy responses planning can invoke. Donmez's study highlights the impact of planning on the day to day lives of children in classrooms that can run as high as 48 pupils in a country where the official class size policy is 30 pupils on average per class.

This edition of the journal highlights the importance of the study of educational planning, its continued relevancy, and the need for new theories, models, and approaches to solve the myriad problems of practice. The journal has a 40% acceptance rate and has increased submissions from authors around the world. While this could not have been accomplished without the dedication of our organizational and editorial board members, reviewers, and guest editors who solicit articles and mentor and support authors, it is most certainly due to the exemplary work of our recent past editor, Linda Lemasters.

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A LOOK AT CENTRAL ALABAMA'S K-12 EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS THROUGH THE PRISM OF

EYAL'S TWO-DIMENSIONAL MODEL OF SCHOOL ENTREPRENEURISM

Jessie Robinson Frierson Ronald Lindahl

ABSTRACT

Educational entrepreneurship is a topic that has generated considerable interest over the past decade in the United States. Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman (1997) concluded that "the quality of schooling is far worse today than it was in 1955" (p. 342) and advocated the radical reconstruction of the system through the creation of a voucher system that would allow for competitive free enterprise to energize the system. Similar calls for the need for educational entrepreneurship have been voiced by Chubb and Moe (1990), Cuban (2006), Hess (2002, 2006), Hill, Pierce, and Guthrie (1997), Hunter (1995), Levin (2006), Lubienski (2003), Murphy (1986), and Smith and Petersen (2006), among many others.

Eyal (2008a) proposed a two-dimensional theoretical model of school entrepreneurship based on the extent of governmental regulation and the absence or presence of choice. That model is displayed in Figure 1. The purpose of this study was to examine the validity of that model as it relates to entrepreneurship of K-12 schools in a tri-county region of central Alabama.

		Governmental Regulation					
		High	Low				
	Absent	No	Radical				
Choice		Entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurship				
	Present	Manipulative	Popular				
		Entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurship				

Figure 1. Two-dimensional model of school entrepreneurship. Adapted from "A Two-Dimensional Model of School Entrepreneurship" by O. Eyal, 2008, *Educational Planning*, 17, 3, p. 30. Copywrite 2008 by the International Society for Educational Planning.

BACKGROUND TO EDUCATIONAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

With strong acknowledgment of Peter Drucker's work, Hess (2006) defined educational entrepreneurship as a "process of purposeful innovation directed toward improving educational productivity, efficiency, and quality" (p. 2). Smith and Petersen (2006) expanded on this, noting that "entrepreneurs have a vision for a better way of doing things, thinking beyond the constraints of current rules and resources. Perhaps more importantly, they have the passion and the sense of urgency that literally compels them to take the risks necessary to realize that vision" (pp. 22-23).

Why is entrepreneurship such an important issue in U. S. public education? Historically, according to Hess (2006), it has been most notable for its absence (p. 3). Yet, since the halcyon cry of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence, 1983), there has been a mounting concern that America's public schools are incapable of improving their performance and that new paradigms are needed (Hunter, 1995, p. 169).

Public schools are generally viewed as bureaucratic, monopolistic, dominating, inefficient, and sometimes corrupt (Murphy, 1996). Chubb and Moe (1990), Cuban (2006), Hess (2002), Hursh (2007), and Lubienski (2003) found public schools to be bureaucratic, to inhibit innovation, and to enforce uniformity. Economies of scale are developed through the use of highly standardized curricula (Lubienski). Hill, Pierce, and Guthrie (1997) noted that they face conflicting communities, values, individual moralities, and civic responsibilities, while needing to respect minorities, distribute economic opportunities, and produce competent graduates. To address these conflicts and challenges, Lubienski concluded that public schools adopt a one-size-fits-all approach. To combat this, the call is for greater

entrepreneurship and greater school choice (Boyd, 2007).

In addition, public schools have been underfunded for many years (Johnson, 2001). However, the absolute level of funding is only one issue. Coulson (1996) pointed out that funding per child was not equivalent to performance (p. 4). Henig (1994) explained that "public monopolies can be even more insidious than private monopolies" because they "obscure the relationship between price paid and value received" (p. 59). However, as Boyd (2007) noted, the high-stakes standardized testing mandated under *No Child Left Behind* has increasingly made school failures more apparent to the public, who, in turn, have demanded greater accountability for their tax dollars invested in public schools. These accountability demands spur calls for increased choice, e.g., voucher systems, magnet schools, and charter schools, surface as a primary means of school reform and improvement.

Although conclusive studies are lacking, proponents of school choice cite many potential benefits, primary based on the premise that only those operating in a competitive market system optimize their work (Murphy, 1996; Hill, Pierce, & Guthrie, 1997). Lubienski (2003) asserted that choice and competition lead to greater student achievement, administrative innovations, more options for parents, and new ways of educating students, particularly for those students traditionally marginalized in the public schools. However, McCombs' (2007) study found that in districts providing public school choices for students in chronically failing schools, it was the students with the highest scores in reading most likely to transfer and that White students were far more likely to transfer than Blacks.

Chubb and Moe (1990) posited that in order for private schools to attract parents despite their significantly higher costs than public schools, they must demonstrate improvements in such areas as personnel, incentives for staff, goals, leadership, practice, performance, the measurement of performance, and autonomy. They concluded that students in effectively organized schools achieve approximately one-year more over the course of high school than their peers in ineffectively organized schools. Lubienski (2003) expanded on this, noting that in entrepreneurial schools, the coherence of mission leads to an alignment of parental preferences. This may include reduced class sizes, innovative scheduling, new age or ability groupings, the use of technology, or the use of individualized education plans.

Yet, there are alternative positions on why entrepreneurial schools may be perceived to out-perform traditional public schools. As Hess (2002) and Hursh (2007) noted, when standardized exams are key measures of success, one means of demonstrating superiority is merely to select the most capable students and to leave the lowest performing students behind. Levin (2006) took this a step further, noting that "many charter schools set stringent requirements on student behavior, parental responsibilities, and daily and Saturday schedules that only the most dedicated parents and students will aspire to" (p. 172). When high tuitions, fees, and expenses are charged in private schools, yet another socio-economic screening factor is added.

As Mann (1974) questioned decades ago and Coulson (1996) questioned more recently in regard to the educational marketplace, there is considerable question about to what extent parents and students make rational, informed choices. Lubienski (2003) noted that the educational market is a quasi-market, not a pure market due to a lack of valid and reliable information on the school choices, which lead decisions to be made on matters of image (p. 426).

Best-selling business guru, Jim Collins (2001), asserted that "if you cannot be the best in the world at your core business, then your core business cannot form the basis of a great company" (p. 13). That does not apply to educational entrepreneurship, though, for K-12 education markets are almost exclusively local markets. Parents look to their own community, not even to neighboring communities, for the education of their children. Furthermore, unlike businesses, in which maximization of profit is generally assumed to be the primary underlying goal, schools may have varying primary goals. Admittedly, some may seek to maximize profit, but others may not. For example, a Catholic school might have access to greater profits if it became non-denominational; however, many choose to promote their religious identity over such profits. Even the tri-county region of this study cannot be considered to be a single market. Few parents are willing, or feasibly able, to transport their children to schools outside their immediate community. Beyond that, as noted previously, parental financial means may limit their access to many of the seemingly available choices. Against this social and educational background, the next task is to examine Eyal's theoretical model.

BACKGROUND TO EYAL'S THEORETICAL MODEL

Eyal's model is based upon Barabasi's (2003) network model, which posited that hubs link to a large number of nodes in a network and that the fitness of the nodes is a function of their ability to attract links. As applied to education, the hubs are the major values, concepts, or practices which underlie specific school choices. The schools are the nodes, which are competing to attract links (students). However, the model also recognizes the *Pareto* principle, which proposed that only 20% of the factors present have significant effects on the results, and the *Power Law*, which noted that "many small events coexist with a few large events" (p. 67). Consequently, it is important to identify the key 20% of the hubs and ignore the smaller effect hubs. Nodes are self-organizing around the high-impact concepts, values, or practices, in order to avoid chaos. Barabasi contended that many nodes may be removed without disturbing the system, but the removal of a few hubs can destroy the system. Consequently, this study's focus was on the key hubs, the shared values, concepts, and practices, rather than on the nodes (schools) or links (students).

Eyal's (2008a) model argued that "different levels of deregulation and the presence or absence of competition may interact to produce different niches that may inhibit or facilitate the emergence of radical school entrepreneurship" (p. 28) that is, autonomous schools with minimum state regulation (p. 33). Although Eyal intended deregulation and school choice to be measured on continua (p. 30), for conceptual clarification the model was presented as a two-by-two matrix (see Figure 1). That configuration was used as the data analysis schema for this study.

Of the four entrepreneurial niches of Eyal's model, the first was high governmental regulation with low choice. In the presence of high governmental control and low competition, the state limits responsiveness to consumer demands or preferences and works to maintain the status quo. In other words, the government determines and regulates the hubs, and little competition exists among nodes.

The second niche of Eyal's model posits low governmental regulation with choice, conditions which (2008a) equated with *privatization reform*, or the concept that free markets can best determine the appropriate hubs (values, concepts, and practices). The survival of the nodes (schools) is dependent on their alignment with specific hubs and on their consequent ability to attract links (students). Eyal posited that under such conditions, *popular entrepreneurship* emerges, where schools attach to those major values, concepts, and practices most desired by potential clients. These hubs would not likely be radical in nature.

The third niche of Eyal's model is where high governmental control co-exists with educational choice. Eyal (2008a) termed the entrepreneurial, bottom-up efforts in this niche, *quasi-market reforms*, where choice programs supplement decentralization efforts, which are accompanied by increases in standardization (p. 32). In this niche, parents pressure public schools to provide specific educational services and pedagogical innovations, but within the constraints set by governmental authorities, e.g., outcomes, financing, and regulations. Government-determined hubs continue to be attached to each school Eyal termed this *manipulative entrepreneurship*, again noting its constraints on radical innovation.

The final niche of Eyal's model is the intersection of low governmental regulation with low choice. Eyal (2008a) defined this niche as *communitarianism*¹, where the government cedes control of schools to local communities, with little state regulation, and cited the Amish schools in the U. S. as a prime example. Only in this niche is radical entrepreneurism likely to occur.

METHODOLOGY

Communitarianism is a philosophy that critiques Rawl's liberal individualism by countering that individuals are social creatures and shaped by their communal identity (Bell, 1993; Caney, 1992). A communitaristic community is a distinct and cohesive community with shared values due to a common heritage, culture, language, and/or religion, and its educational system usually promotes and protects the family or in-groups and community goals (Arthur, 1998; Etzioni, 1993; Etzioni, 1995). Schools serve the communitaristic community as model "small societies" (Lee, Bryk, & Smith), 1993). (Eyal, 2008, p. 33)

Reconciling data from local telephone directories, the Alabama State Department of Education (2008), and the United States Department of Education (2008), the first step was to identify all the relevant nodes, the public, private, and church-related K-12 schools within the tri-county region of central Alabama. For each school other than traditional public schools, the next step was to obtain their promotional and recruitment materials; in most cases, these were web-based materials. The three researchers independently reviewed each school's materials to determine which specific educational, administrative, and social elements (hubs) were being featured to attract students and parents (links). They then formed a consensus matrix of their findings (see Table 1). This process was similar to a thematic analysis conducted by qualitative researchers. The main themes (hubs) that emerged included: parental involvement; small class size; athletics; religion; demanding academics; safety and discipline; arts, music, and theatre; nurturing, positive culture; accreditation; innovative curriculum; selective admission; and teacher efficacy and motivation. The researchers examined each school's materials to detect emphasis on any of these hubs. The hubs were then ranked by order of importance or emphasis each school placed on particular values, concepts, and practices. Next, the hubs were divided into primary and secondary hubs. The hubs with the highest ratings of importance were considered primary hubs; those hubs with lower ratings were considered secondary hubs. The researchers first examined the materials from the magnet schools, followed by those of the private schools. This matrix, in turn, was examined through the lens of Eyal's model, with the purpose of determining the extent to which the study's findings confirmed or failed to confirm that model. No school names are reported in this study.

OVERVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN CENTRAL ALABAMA

The two dimensions of Eyal's (2008a) theoretical model are the extent of governmental regulation and the absence or presence of educational choices. In central Alabama, the responses to these two dimensions vary greatly between public and private educational institutions. Further, it must be noted that access to private schools, including church-related schools, is generally restricted to the financially advantaged portion of the population, as tuition, fees, and books represent significant expenses per child, generally approaching, and in several cases exceeding, \$10,000 per year. For public schools, there is high governmental regulation and very little choice available. For private schools, there is very low governmental regulation and considerable choice.

As with all U.S. states, Alabama's public schools are highly regulated. For example, the State controls the length of the school year, the certification of teachers and administrators, the curriculum, textbooks, school safety regulations, and the annual minimal progress goals on the State-mandated standardized examination that each school is expected to attain. Many of these regulations do not apply to private schools, particularly if those schools are church-related. There are two types of private schools in Alabama - church-related schools and non-church-related schools, known as independent schools. Church-related schools are required to register with the State Superintendent of Education's office and to record both enrollment and attendance. Teachers in church-related schools are required to participate in in-service training on drug abuse prevention and to include this issue in the curriculum. Other than these requirements and some safety regulations, church-related schools are essentially free of State governance. Independent schools are subject to these regulations and others, including the requirement for all teachers to be State-certified, for their curricula and length of the school year to correspond to those of the public schools, for instruction to be offered in English, and for all students to meet State immunization requirements. In addition independent schools are required to conduct monthly fire drills and have outward-opening doors, to adhere to building code requirements specific to schools, and conduct mandatory sex crime screening for all employees. Independent schools are not required to participate in the State's standardized testing program, nor are they subject to State-enforced annual performance goals (U. S. Department of Education, 2000).

Choice is very limited in the public schools of this region of central Alabama. Alabama is one of the 10 remaining states in the U.S. that does not allow charter schools (Alabama Policy Institute, 2009). Charter schools are public schools that exist through a contract with either the state or local school district, but which basically maintain autonomy over their operation and freedom from most public school regulations (Alabama Policy Institute, 2009).

The only semblance of public school choice found in this region, are in the eight magnet schools, all of which exist in only a single school district. Magnet schools are public schools with specialized curricula. They were originally developed in the 1960s and 1970s to help achieve voluntary racial desegregation of the schools, rather than forced busing to desegregate. Some magnet schools are based on student test scores, whereas others are based on student interest and choice (U. S. Department of Education, 2004, p. 1). Magnet Schools of America (2009) asserted that:

Specific achievements in magnet schools include: improved academic achievement; diverse student enrollments; higher attendance rates, and lower drop-out rates. Magnet schools boast more parental involvement, more personalization through theme-based education, and specialized programs providing a safer environment for learning. Teachers are better prepared through planned professional development. (n.p.)

All eight magnet schools in the area were examined in this study.

The most frequent form of entrepreneurial education in this region of Alabama is private schools, the majority of which are church-related. Private schools began to emerge strongly in this region approximately 50 years ago, largely as a reaction to the abolishment of separate school systems for Black and White students. Although some vestiges of segregation continue to exist in some of the private schools, many of them have now effectively become integrated. It was noted that all the private schools in this study advertised a non-discrimination admission policy. However, the past and current flight of White students to private academies and public schools with higher-socio-economic status is consistent with many parental motivations, including quests for better schools and the avoidance of full racial integration. The researchers have no way of determining if parents are practicing continued racial segregation in this region.

As indicated, the majority of the private schools in this region are church or religion-related. In some instances, these schools operate under the direct egis of a specific church or religious denomination. In others, they merely feature the value systems of a broad range of denominations, e.g., "Christian" schools. A total of 33 private and religious-based schools were examined in this study.

Alabama does not recognize home schooling as a legitimate educational option. Consequently, homeschoolers in Alabama must enroll in private, generally church-related *umbrella* schools, which allows home schooling families to comply with the very benign State regulations pertinent to such schools (State laws and regulations, 2009). Because some of these umbrella organizations are essentially bureaucratic shells with little to no influence on the curriculum or instruction, homeschooled children and their umbrella schools were not included in this study.

One key aspect of the governance structure of public and private schools is school accreditation. Although accreditation agencies are non-profit organizations in which membership is voluntary, they assume governing roles for many aspects of the schools they accredit. All of the public magnet schools are accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) (2009), the regional accreditation organization approved by the U.S. Department of Education and by the State of Alabama for accreditation of public schools. SACS accreditation for private schools is only one option among many. Another option is the Alabama Independent Schools Association (AISA) (2009). AISA requires that schools seeking its accreditation be simultaneously accredited by SACS. In addition to providing oversight to academics and accreditation, AISA also provides an athletic association. AISA-accredited schools must subject themselves to State regulations for private schools, but must also follow the SACS requirements for annual standardized testing (in Alabama, this is generally the Scholastic Aptitude Test - 10). Some Alabama private schools are accredited by the Association of Classical Christian Schools (ACCS) (2009). This association promotes, establishes, and equips schools committed to a classical approach to education in light of a Christian worldview grounded in the Old and New Testament Scriptures. It advocates the use of the Trivium philosophy of education, based on the three cornerstones of learning: grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. A fourth accreditation body choice is the Alabama Christian Education Association (ACEA) (2009). Schools accredited through ACEA prefer not to be SACS-accredited, but must undergo annual standardized tests. ACEA is a strong lobbyist for Christian education but does not maintain specific, strict regulations for its schools. Some of the private schools in Alabama are accredited by the plethora of private school accreditation agencies that exist nationally. Some have virtually no

guidelines and others are more rigorous. Finally, some private schools in Alabama are not accredited by any accrediting body.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The results of the data analysis are presented in Table 1. The "x"s indicate that the school advertised this item as one of its key hubs (Barabasi, 2003) in an effort to attract students. Under the accreditation column, the numbers presented indicate the primary accreditation agency to which the school belongs. Many of the schools also belong to secondary accrediting agencies.

The overall results appear to confirm the validity of Eyal's (2008a) conceptual model. The magnet schools conform to the *manipulative entrepreneurship* category. The primary hubs advertised by these schools are strong academic programs and curricula that differ from the typical public schools of the region. Secondary hubs for these magnet schools include increased school safety and discipline, curricular offerings in technology, art, and music, and selective admission policies. These hubs clearly respond to the predominant concerns of parents of public school youth in the region.

The private schools of the region appear to correspond to the *popular entrepreneurship* category of Eyal's (2008a) model. The primary hubs advertised by these schools were: an emphasis on religion; strong academic programs; increased school safety and discipline; a positive, nurturing school climate; and a more innovative curriculum than exists in the typical public schools of the region. Secondary hubs included: small class sizes, the potential to participate in athletic programs, and curricular offerings in art and music.

This region is noted for its strong religious focus. It is also noted for its emphasis on athletics, especially at the secondary school level. Because public secondary schools in the region tend to be very large, participation on their athletic teams is limited to a small, select portion of their population. Because the private schools are much smaller, a greater proportion of their student body is able to participate in competitive athletics, which is a major positive factor in recruiting students.

Yet, when the hub of *school accreditation* is examined, a new pattern emerges, giving further validation to Eyal's (2008a) model. All of the magnet schools are accredited by SACS and by the Alabama State Department of Education. In addition, SACS is the primary accreditation agency for 11 of the private schools in the region. However, this figure understates the importance of SACS accreditation on the private schools in this study, for 11 additional schools maintain SACS accreditation as a requirement of their accreditation by AISA. In short, 54% of the private schools and 100% of the magnet schools are SACS accredited. Because SACS is generally recognized in the region as the gold seal of approval for academic quality, this represents a significant hub.

Of the non-SACS-accredited schools in the study, three are accredited by ACCS, one by ACEA, and six by miscellaneous other agencies. Of these, only the ACCS accreditation seems to be a significant hub in relationship to Eyal's (2008a) model. The parents and students in these schools are pursuing a highly specific educational curriculum not available elsewhere.

When the strong hub of accreditation is examined in relation to Eyal's (2008a) model, the pattern of entrepreneurship in this region's schools becomes somewhat more complex. Magnet schools and those schools jointly accredited by AISA can be classified as manipulative entrepreneurship schools. They are somewhat independent but are under a double layer of governmental regulation, either by the Alabama Department of Education and SACS or by both AISA and SACS. Because AISA follows all general Alabama Department of Education requirements except some of the teacher qualification requirements (but including the standardized testing requirements), regulation of these schools is relatively stringent. The parents selecting these schools are looking for some aspects of the curriculum to be different or more rigorous than the general public schools, but they are expecting many of the curricular and co-curricular offerings of the general public schools, e.g., athletics, spelling bees, science fairs, technology classes, student government organizations, and formal staff development. This meets Eyal's criteria of being choice programs which supplement decentralization, but which have substantial standardization.

Those private schools whose primary accreditation agency is SACS are largely exempt from some of the public school regulations and are not under the strict scrutiny of AISA. As such, they have moderate governmental oversight, but some choice. These could be placed somewhere on the continuum between

popular entrepreneurship and manipulative entrepreneurship.

There is a small, but discernable set of private schools that move further along the continuum, with less governmental oversight and more radical entrepreneurship. These do not by any means approach the epitome of Eyal's (2008a) radical entrepreneurship model. They include the ACCS-accredited schools featuring the Trivium curriculum, a Montessori school following the multi-age group philosophy of Maria Montessori, a religious school with a curriculum designed to develop "the whole being" for "the whole period of existence possible to man," and an academy designed to serve the unique educational needs of bright children with unique learning differences which cause them not to be successful in typical public school classrooms.

In addition to providing some validation to Eyal's (2008a) theoretical model of educational entrepreneurship, these results also confirm Lubienski's (2003) premises that parents express preferences for strong academic programs (see also Hess, 2002, and Hursh, 2007), reduced class sizes, and innovative curricula. Unlike Lubienski's premise, the hubs advertised by the private and magnet schools of this region gave relatively low emphasis to the increased use of instructional technology.

This study also confirmed the concerns of Coulson (1996), Lubienski (2003), and Mann (1974) that education is a quasi-market, because there is a lack of valid and reliable information on school choices. Although a few of the private schools had extensive, informative web sites, surprisingly limited academic achievement data was available on the majority of the private and magnet schools. Most of the information available was promotional in nature.

Finally, this study confirms Eyal's (2008b) contention that educational entrepreneurship is more likely to yield products that closely resemble the status quo rather than offering radical innovations. Citing Cibulka (1997), Adnett and Davies (2000), and Lubienski (2005), Eyal posited that even entrepreneurial schools are likely to adopt conservative, well-established practices. The complex system components of all entrepreneurial and non-entrepreneurial schools, e.g., stability, redundancy, and degeneracy, hinder radical change. Consequently, even the greater freedom of choice and competition introduced into Alabama's educational system by magnet and private schools has not produced radical differences among schools. Parents' desire for stability leads them to choose hubs such as strong academic programs, including the Trivium and Montessori curricula, and school accreditation, especially by the established regional accrediting agency (SACS) and the even more rigorous AISA. This has caused these hubs to become very resilient, thereby helping to institutionalize much of the education system.

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of the promotional materials of the private and public sector entrepreneurial schools of a tri-county region of central Alabama supports the validity of Eyal's (2008a) model of entrepreneurship in education and his contention (2008b) that educational entrepreneurship does not provide appropriate conditions for radical educational changes. Under conditions of high government regulation and limited choice, the entrepreneurial (magnet) schools greatly resembled their non-entrepreneurial counterparts but gave emphasis to a very limited range of parental interests and concerns. For the private educational sector, characterized by low government regulation and presence of a relatively wide choice of schools, the entrepreneurial schools focused on a selected set of hubs attractive to parents and students. Predictably, these schools differed relatively little from their non-entrepreneurial counterparts in the public sector other than offering a focus on religion. Entrepreneurial schools showed considerable similarity among themselves and even with their non-entrepreneurial counterparts, with the major shared hubs being strong academic programs and adherence to meaningful accreditation guidelines. Although not a focus of this study, the schools demonstrating the most radical entrepreneurship were some of the umbrella schools providing services to homeschool families. These schools sought to fill highly specific needs which those families might incur, e.g., on-line instruction in core high school subject areas, tutorial and testing services, and even athletic programs. Further study into these schools could shed further light on Eyal's theoretical work in the area.

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Table 1

Key Hubs of Entrepreneurial Schools in a Tri-County Region of Alabama

	Parental Involvement	Athletics	Religion	Demanding Acade-mics	Safety and Discipline	Arts and Music and Theatre	Nurturing, Positive Culture	Accreditation	Innovative Curriculum or Structure
				Magnet S	Schools				
School A				X				1	X
School B				X	X			1	
School C				X				1	
School D	X				X	X		1	X
School E								1	X
School F				X	X	X		1	X
School G		X		X				1	X
School H		X		X		X		1	X
			Private S	chools (No	t Religiou	s-Based)			
School I		X		X	X	X	X	1	X
School J		X		X	X	X	X	1	
School K	X					X		1	X
School L	X	X		X			X	2	
School M		X		X	X	X		2	
School N		X		X	X		X	2	
School O	X	X					X	2	X
School P				X	X		X	5	X
School Q	X				X			5	X
School R	X						X	6	X

Note: Accreditation Codes are: SACS = 1; AISA and SACS = 2; ACCS = 3; ACEA=4; Other = 5; None = 6

Key Hubs of Entrepreneurial Schools in a Tri-County Region of Alabama

Table 1 (continued)

		Athletics	Religion	Demanding Academics	Safety and Discipline	Arts and Music and Theatre	Nurturing, Positive Culture	Accreditation	Innovative Curriculum or Structure
			Private	Schools (Re	eligious-b	ased)			
School S		X	X	X	X		X	1	
School T	X	X	X	X	X	X		1	X
School U			X	X	X		X	1	
School V	X	X	X	X		X	X	1	
School W		X	X	X		X	X	1	
School X		X	X	X	X		X	1	
School Y	X	X	X			X		1	
School Z	X	X	X	X	X	X		1	
School AA		X	X				X	2	
School AB	X	X	X		X		X	2	X
School AC		X	X		X	X	X	2	
School AD	X	X	X		X		X	2	X
School AE	X	X	X	X	X			2	X
School AF		X	X	X			X	2	X
School AG	X	X	X			X	X	2	X
School AH	X		X	X				3	X
School AI			X					3	X
School AJ			X	X				3	X
School AK			X	X	X			4	
School AL			X		X		X	5	X
School AM			X		X		X	5	X
School AN			X					5	X
School AO			X		X			5	X

Note: Accreditation Codes are: SACS = 1; AISA and SACS = 2; ACCS = 3; ACEA=4; Other = 5; None =6

PLANNING FOR CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE LEADERSHIP: INSIGHTS FROM A STUDY OF PRINCIPALS OF EXEMPLARY SCHOOLS

Aimee Howley Arlie Woodrum Larry Burgess Megan Rhodes

ABSTRACT

As local school boards plan for the employment of effective leadership teams, they may address different concerns than those articulated by state and national reformers. In particular, they may seek school leaders whose values and practices fit closely with the community's cultural expectations. Nevertheless, the cultural responsiveness of school leaders may turn out to be more complex than simple alignment of values and practices with prevailing cultural norms. This study provided insight into such dynamics by illuminating the ways principals negotiated school reform in the context of four quite different rural cultures. In particular, the principals did not simply adhere to cultural norms, but instead deployed a combination of culturally resonant and culturally dissonant practices. Community culture in these districts tended to circumscribe leadership by rendering certain practices as intelligible and other practices as discordant. Principals who made use of intelligible practices, however, cultivated trust and gained community support—conditions that, ironically, gave them scope to use more innovative leadership than these traditional communities might otherwise accept. The study's findings suggest that local planners (e.g., boards of education) might want to adopt a broad view of cultural responsiveness when they prepare for leadership succession or seek replacements for key administrators.

INTRODUCTION

Effective school leadership is a concern of policy makers at national, state, and local levels although the specific concerns of planners at the different levels may vary considerably (e.g., Dutro, Fisk, Koch, Roop, & Wixson, 2002; Elmore, 1993). Notably, the focus of national and state policy makers and planners on widespread adoption of particular reforms differs—and in some cases differs sharply—from the focus of local school boards (e.g., Labaree, 2000; Lee, 2002; Moss, 2004). Charged with stewardship over educational services in their community, school board members, particularly in some districts, pay more attention to providing education that is consonant with cultural expectations and with the community's perceived needs than to addressing national needs and priorities or positioning the district for improved performance (e.g., Labaree, 2000; Lutz & Merz, 1992).

Arguably, an important part of the planning undertaken by a school board focuses on the selection and support of the leadership team that will shape the district's future in ways that are attentive to the community's best interests (e.g., Gratto & Little, 2002). Indeed, according to some educational writers, the selection of the superintendent is the most important function of a school board because it links the board's vision of educational aims with a mechanism for realizing those aims (e.g., Glass, 2001). At the same time, recent evidence suggests that the entire leadership team in a district plays a significant role in determining its direction and ultimately influencing its performance (e.g., Parrett, 2005; Phillips & Phillips, 2007). The involvement of the board in the selection of principals and supervisors as well as the superintendent therefore represents a critical part of their efforts to position the district for its future.

In the exercise of this function, moreover, school boards inevitably respond to (and interpret) the interests of their local communities (Lutz & Merz, 1992). In an important sense, then, school boards represent the starting point for culturally responsive leadership. In addition, as an emerging body of literature suggests, the legitimacy of school leaders depends on their ability to navigate a course between state and national pressures for accountability and responsiveness to local culture and context (e.g., Dutro et al., 2000; Labaree, 2000). This ability represents the perspective on "culturally responsive leadership" to which the findings of our study speak.

This view of culturally responsive leadership, however, differs considerably from what many

theorists mean when they use the term (e.g., Bolman & Deal, 2003). In particular, many leadership theorists view cultural leadership as primarily being directed inward to the culture *of the school* rather than outward to the culture *of which the school is a part*. Recommendations for the practice of school leadership do incorporate the dictum that superintendents and principals ought to cultivate parent and community involvement, but rarely is this taken to mean that school leaders ought to shape leadership practices in consideration of community norms and aspirations.

Some researchers and theorists in the field of educational administration, however, have explored cultural leadership in this wider sense. Notable among these is Philip Hallinger. In the late 1990s he and various colleagues began to consider the relationships among leadership practices, the culture external to the school, and performance outcomes. In particular, these researchers focused on school leadership in non-Western countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia. A few studies in the United States have also investigated the influence of community culture on principals' leadership, but this emerging thread in the literature is still relatively limited. The current study contributes to the emerging literature by exploring ways in which leadership provided by principals in four rural schools resonated and contrasted with cultural assumptions of the communities in which the schools were located.

Although the study explores these dynamics in the rural context, its fundamental premise—that cultural leadership inevitably encompasses community as well as school culture—may have much wider applicability. One of the authors, for example, examined the implications of a principal's culturally dissonant leadership practices in an inner-city school, and his findings led to conclusions quite similar to those reported here (Woodrum, 1996).

RELATED LITERATURE

The research reported in this paper draws on insights about educational planning and leadership that are neither well elaborated nor widely understood. In fact, as we suggested above, when the term "cultural leadership" is used (e.g., Glanz, 2006), it often refers to a set of practices that attend only to the organizational culture of the school. A few theorists and researchers, however, have used literature about cultural differences to argue that leadership needs to be attentive not only to school culture but to community culture as well (e.g., Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Heck, 1998).

This idea, while relatively novel, is not particularly new. Getzels and his associates, for example, introduced this concept in the 1960s, almost 30 years before any educational research was conducted to examine its applicability and implications (Getzels, Lipham, & Campbell, 1968). Somewhat later, work in the field of organizational sociology also focused on the relationship between the culture external to organizations and the culture of those organizations (e.g., Sadler & Hofstede, 1976).

Theoretical Insights

Situating schools within local communities as well as within broader state and national communities, Getzels and associates (1968) drew attention to the important relationship between communities' cultural values and the thought processes and actions of their educational leaders. According to these authors, a school functions best when its educational administrators plan, enact policies, and deploy practices that are responsive to the culture of the community in which the school is located. This insight prompted Getzels and associates to challenge fellow educational administrators to undertake systematic studies of the relationship between culture and school leadership as well as to develop and use culturally responsive leadership practices.

In the years following these initial insights about culturally responsive leadership, some researchers responded to Getzels' challenge, and currently an emerging body of empirical work addresses the issues Getzels and his associates raised. Studies conducted by Hallinger and his colleagues represented forerunners among these investigations. These researchers drew not only on the ideas presented by Getzels and associates but also on constructs developed by Geert Hofstede (1983, 2001), an organizational sociologist whose empirical work focused on cultural differences among employees of one large, multinational corporation.

Through this work, Hofstede identified five dimensions of cultural difference: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and long-term orientation (e.g., 1983). According

to Hofstede, "power distance" reveals the extent to which hierarchical power relations are accepted by a culture. In cultures with high power distance, all members—including less powerful ones—accept the fact that power is distributed unequally. Hofstede defined "individualism" as the extent to which members of a culture concern themselves with their own needs and interests and those of people in their immediate families. In contrast to this orientation, members of highly collectivist cultures focus on the needs and interests of a wider kinship or community group. According to the typology developed by Hofstede, "masculinity" refers to the ways in which roles are distributed between genders, with masculine societies having clearer differentiation of such roles. In masculine cultures, moreover, community members tend to value assertive and competitive behaviors more highly than they value nurturing behaviors. "Uncertainty avoidance," in Hofstede's typology, refers to the extent to which members of a culture are uncomfortable with ambiguity and risk. And "long-term orientation," which is manifested as perseverance or thriftiness, relates to the value a culture places on delayed gratification.

Although Hofstede focused attention on the way cultural dimensions influence the organizational environment and communication within an organization, he did not explicitly consider their influence on leadership. The significance of the linkage between community culture and leadership was, however, a major point made in works by Hallinger and Leithwood (1996, 1998a, 1998b). In fact, these authors claimed that leadership theory was incomplete because it failed to consider community culture. From their perspective, adding culture to leadership theory represented an important and timely contribution especially because schools and other organizations were becoming increasingly diverse and therefore culturally complex.

The work of Hallinger and his associates has prompted others to speculate further about the connection between community culture and school leadership. Walker and Quong (1998), for example, argued that Western leadership practices are often exported to countries throughout the world without consideration given by planners and policy makers to the cultural characteristics of those countries. In fact, these authors claim, funding agencies often pressure school leaders in non-Western countries to adopt Western management practices even when these practices run counter to indigenous cultural beliefs about how schools should work. In these situations, school leaders confront the difficulty of responding to pressures to adopt Western management practices while at the same time meeting the expectations of their local communities. According to Walker and Quong, however, pressures from funding agencies are misguided. From their perspective, school leadership is most effective when it acknowledges and responds to the cultural values and norms of particular communities.

Wong (1998) also considered the impact of culture on school leadership, describing differences in leadership practices between East Asian and West Asian principals. He suggested that cultural differences between East and West Asia significantly influence the leadership practices of school principals in those regions of the world. To support this claim, Wong drew on the work of Hampden-Turner and Thompenaars (1997), which distinguished between Western and East Asian leaders. According to these authors, Western leaders value competition, goal-directed activity, and compliance with explicit rules, while East Asian leaders value community-building, cooperation, and consensus. Nevertheless, Hampden-Turner and Thompenaars claimed that East Asian managers tend to be more adaptable than their counterparts in the West, primarily because they receive training at Western universities and must find ways to fit the management practices they learn into the cultural traditions of their own countries.

The theorists whose ideas were presented in this section argued for a new approach to leadership that is culturally responsive, and they identified the need for empirical work that further investigates the connections between culture and school leadership. In addition some educators who write about the principalship also claim that deep understanding of cultural context is a necessary basis for planning school initiatives and leadership approaches that are likely to gain traction in the face of local circumstances (Howe & Townsend, 2000; Howley, Pendarvis, & Woodrum, 2005). Nir (1999) cautions, however, that excessive responsiveness to community concerns may cause principals to seek rapid solutions to problems rather than taking the time needed to analyze complexities and develop careful plans.

An emerging body of literature focuses on the view of cultural leadership represented in the theoretical literature discussed above, and many of the relevant studies concern school leadership in countries other than the US. For example, a set of case studies of principals' leadership of educational reforms in three Thai schools provided some evidence of the connection between community culture and school administration (Hallinger & Kantamara, 2000, 2001). Drawing on Hofstede's work, these researchers identified the characteristics of traditional Thai culture as high power distance, collectivist attitudes and behaviors, high level of uncertainty avoidance, and high feminism. Their study found that these cultural characteristics conflicted to some degree with the progressive educational reforms that the principals were trying to implement. In order to handle the mismatch between the values underlying Thai culture and those supporting the educational reforms, the principals found it necessary to adapt the reform practices. Each was able to modify the educational reforms in ways that made them acceptable to Thai teachers and community members.

Studies of the confluence and contradictions between school leadership and community culture also have been conducted in Botswana (Pheko & Linchwe, 2008), Canada (Foster & Goddard, 2002; Jules, 1988), Mexico (Cisneros-Cohernour & Merchant, 2005), and Singapore (Bolman & Deal, 1992), as well as in racially, ethnically, and geographically distinct communities in the United States (e.g., Capper, 1990; Dwyer, 1985; Kushman & Barnhardt, 2001; Lomotey, 1987; Porras, 2003; Woodrum, 1999).

Whereas many of these studies support a perspective similar to that put forth by Hallinger and Kantamara (2000, 2001) in which effective school leaders mediate between school expectations and community culture (e.g., Bolman & Deal, 1992; Dwyer, 1985), other studies conclude that effective leadership primarily embraces cultural expectations (e.g., Jules, 1988; Kushman & Barnhardt, 2001; Lomotey, 1987). From this perspective, cultural responsiveness not only entails attentiveness to local views about what schools should accomplish, but it also involves the use of leadership practices and advocacy of educational practices that make sense within the framework of the local culture.

METHODS

This study was conducted under the sponsorship of a Midwestern state's department of education, which sought information about a group of schools that served communities with large numbers of economically disadvantaged students (40% of the school population or more), yet were achieving high pass-rates on the state's accountability tests. Our research team selected rural schools in which math achievement was considerably higher than what might be expected based on demographics alone.

Spending approximately five days in each of the schools, team members conducted semi-structured interviews and classroom observations. Interviews included one-on-one conversations with adult informants (administrators, teachers, parents, and community members) and focus-group discussions with students. Approximately 24 interviews (lasting from 30–90 minutes) were conducted at each site. All interviews were transcribed, and transcripts were prepared for analysis with Atlas-Ti software.

Initial coding made use of four leadership codes for principals—autocratic practices, democratic practices, transactional practices, and transformational practices. We coded all examples of "top-down" leadership as *autocratic*. We coded as examples of *democratic* leadership quotes in which the principal was described (or described him or herself) as sharing governance, distributing leadership among staff members, or delegating authority. Very few quotes were coded as *transactional*, suggesting that this type of leadership (which involves the use of rewards and sanctions to accomplish organizational purposes as well as the use of practices associated with "management-by exception") was not often used in these high-performing schools (Bass & Avolio, 1994). By contrast, the code *transformational* was applied more often, with quotes exemplifying many of the practices (e.g., individualized consideration, idealized influence) typically associated with the term. We also identified one emergent code that related to school leadership. We used *student-centered leadership* to characterize the many occasions when participants talked about principals' direct efforts to provide support and encouragement to individual students. With data coded in this way, it was possible to develop a picture of each principal's approach to leadership.

The second round of coding made use of inductively derived codes relating to the culture of each community. We examined the features of each culture by rereading all interview data for each of the schools. Examples of codes relating to culture are: "egalitarianism," "agrarian tradition," "dependency

relations," and "religiosity." Interpretation of coded data permitted us to compare and contrast the communities and thereby to develop at least a partial picture of the salient features of their cultures—their norms and values as well as their expectations for leaders.

The final step in the analysis involved examining the leadership of each principal in consideration of the cultural features of the community in which he or she was working. This process allowed us to identify those leadership practices that seemed to resonate with cultural expectations and those that seemed to conflict.

FINDINGS

The schools were located in four distinct rural communities, which differed in terms of their economic circumstances as well as their cultural features. For example, one community was more dependent on agriculture than the others, and it had less economic stratification. Another community, where timbering was the only business, had a large proportion of families in extreme poverty and a sharp economic divide between rich and poor. Its culture was more clearly Appalachian than that of any of the other communities.

As the descriptions of the schools and communities reveal, the local culture of each place did seem to influence expectations for the practice of school leadership. Nevertheless, in some of the communities, principals were using leadership practices that challenged prevailing norms at least to some degree.

Hilltown

The high school in Hilltown served children from the town as well as those living in the surrounding countryside. Historically a farming community, Hilltown recently began to attract some families from nearby suburbs and even some from a city at some distance from the town. Adults from these families typically commuted to the city to work, and their values differed from those of the long-time residents. A third group also lived in the community: low-income "transplants"—families who had come to the town in order to take advantage of low rents and subsidized housing. The middle-class commuters and the long-term residents (some of whom were teachers in the local schools) tended to be critical of the values and lifestyles of the low-income transplants.

These three groups lived side by side, but they shared only some values and cultural practices. Although members of all groups interacted, the long-term residents and middle-class commuters seemed to have forged an amicable coexistence. Both groups viewed the low-income transplants as unwelcome additions to the community, and both groups seemed to see the school as a place for socializing the children of these residents to accept a set of middle-class values and aspirations.

Because of these dynamics, we found it useful to view the community's culture as a palimpsest in which an older agrarian culture remained partly visible through the overlay of the cultures of the community's current residents. Although commercial farming was no longer a viable enterprise in the Hilltown community, many residents of the town and surrounding countryside still maintained ties to the community's agrarian past. Older members of the community, for example, continued to farm. Some of the younger adults—long-term residents who had grown up in Hilltown—worked in small businesses or taught in the community's schools or in schools in surrounding communities. Others lived in the Hilltown vicinity and commuted to the city.

The cultural values shared by many long-term residents and associated with the community's agrarian heritage included respectfulness, industriousness, frugality, Christianity, and a concern for safety. These values were associated with the practices of neighborliness, helpfulness to others, and routine church attendance. Long-term residents and middle-class newcomers described the community as close-knit, and they viewed the school as an important community institution and source of community pride. Comments from numerous informants illustrated these values and practices. A statement from a teacher who grew up in a neighboring community but had lived and worked in Hilltown for almost 20 years concisely summarized what we heard widely: "I learned respect and I learned hard work, and I learned values."

To some degree these cultural values were shared by middle-class commuters, many of whom had moved to the community because of its "hometown" feel. Several respondents, for example, talked about

Hilltown as a "good place to raise children." The commuters, nevertheless, also held certain middle-class values that long-term residents did not typically share. For example, they appeared to be more willing to exhibit their affluence—building large, expensive houses and driving new sports utility vehicles. They also expected the schools to cater to their children by focusing on college preparatory work. One long-term resident—a professional who was familiar with several of the middle-class commuters—described them in this way:

There are several of those families in the area. And they demand more from their library, they demand more from the school system. It's not a bad thing. They don't go along with the status quo. They don't go along with a lot of the people who have lived here forever.

The third group in the community included low-income residents, whose cultural values and practices were not well understood and certainly not endorsed by members of the other two groups. Only a few participants in our study were from this group, so our understanding of their culture primarily came from the accounts of long-term residents and middle-class commuters. These accounts, moreover, were mostly negative, portraying the low-income transplants as uneducated, unstable, transient, drug-using malcontents.

School practices at the high school reflected the traditional values of long-term residents. Educators taught students to be respectful of adults and expected them to get along with and help one another. As observers, we picked up on the consequences of these teachings right away: The school had a friendly, organized, easy-going, and productive ambiance.

Many of its teachers had been working in the district for 20 or more years, and most lived in Hilltown or neighboring rural communities. These teachers honored traditional ways of doing things, and they appeared comfortable with hierarchical authority relations so long as they were congenial. The following comment made by one of the teachers illustrated the widely observed preference for directive leadership: "I try to always make sure that I do what the administration tells me to do."

Culturally resonant and dissonant leadership. Mr. B., the high school principal, was new to the job although he had been an assistant and head principal for several years in other districts before coming to Hilltown. Based on self-disclosures provided in the interview, Mr. B. seemed to have a clear sense of his own approach to leadership, which teachers were still in the process of evaluating. One aspect of his approach—student-centeredness—seemed to fit with local expectations. As one teacher noted, "I think he's more involved [with students] than our principal last year."

Students had consistently positive things to say about Mr. B.'s student-centered approach. From the perspective of one student, "He's everywhere. Really, he is. And it's really awesome because you get a sense of security." According to another, "He knows every student that comes his way, and he'll, if you're upset or something, he'll pat you on the back and say, 'Have a good day,' or something. He's just really awesome."

Other features of Mr. B.'s approach to leadership seemed to mesh less readily with local expectations. In particular, what Mr. B. described as his "relational" leadership style was less directive than the teachers and some community members seemed to prefer. He mentioned the need for negotiation between his preferences and community norms as well as expressing some frustration with the time required to engage in such negotiation. And his espoused goal was to work within the existing organizational culture in order to change it. Nevertheless, his strongly held views about leadership made it difficult for him to believe that staff members would see legitimacy in a directive approach. The following excerpt, which makes reference to a peer mediation program that he wanted to institute, provides evidence of his assumptions.

Well, I'd much rather persuade than be directive . . . I'm much bigger on "buy in." . . . You can't insure the successful implementation of a single idea unless you have staff who agree with you and think it's a good idea and are willing to do whatever it takes to have ownership of it, to make sure it works. And I know, if I start out with a—let's say I pushed that peer mediation through, over the objections of the guidance officer here, who doesn't have buy-in on it then, she has no real incentive to make that work because she has no skin in the game.

Flint

A small 7-12 secondary school, Flint was located in a rural district which figures among the largest in the state. Parents and community members described Flint as a quiet, caring place to live, removed from big-city problems such as drugs and gangs. Flint High School was also an important fixture of the community. As one parent reported, "Flint has always been a school that parents took a lot of interest in. Pride in community: I think that is what it is."

The larger rural community, of which Flint was a part, upheld traditional small-town values, such as self-reliance, support for neighbors, and interconnecting relations that tied individuals together. The school was one of the fundamental institutions in the community, enabling these values to be put into practice.

The strong and long-standing bond between school and community had contributed to a high level of trust between parents and educators. Although educators recognized the challenges that some parents faced, they were generally appreciative of parents' attitudes and efforts to seek the best for their children. Parents and community members also identified their on-going connection with the school as important. Many talked about attending ballgames and helping their children with homework.

Being a part of a large county-wide district, however, had created frustrations for many residents, as well as for some educators. In fact, remembering a time when the present county-wide system consisted of several smaller districts, some members of the Flint community were seeking to reestablish local control. Another community in the district had already succeeded in forming a separate, "deconsolidated" district, and Flint residents were hopeful that they too would be able to win the right to have a separate board of education and administrative staff.

Interestingly, despite interest in local control, the community had not interfered with educators' efforts to change the curriculum at Flint High School so that it better matched the academic content standards adopted by the state. Perhaps because community members trusted the teachers and administrators at the school, they did not seem to want to play a direct role in shaping curriculum content or instructional practices. Apparently, the bid for greater local control appeared to relate less to the practices at the school itself than to practices district-wide. According to community members who supported "deconsolidation," the county-wide district had become too large, impersonal, and unwieldy to be responsive to their concerns.

Members of the high school community unanimously agreed that leadership played an important role in their efforts to improve the school's performance. As many participants explained, a former school administrator, Mr. R, had been the one to start the process of instituting changes. He had initiated the change process by increasing the consistency with which discipline problems were handled. Before Mr. R's employment as an administrator at the school, inconsistent responses to students' misbehavior had failed to curb, and perhaps had even added to, students' disruptiveness in classrooms. Once student behavior was under control, Mr. R turned to other features of the school such as organizational climate and student and faculty motivation.

Mr. R's successor, Mr. J., continued the practices of his predecessor but also instituted more inclusive approaches. Mr. J. described his role as follows:

My role . . . is to empower the teachers that are in the content areas. It is not to go and tell them that I know more than what they know. It is to take their expertise and channel it in to what we as a group know we have to cover. . . . So my job is to keep [the teachers] on task and meet with them and communicate all the time with data.

Culturally resonant and dissonant leadership. Flint was a conservative rural community that strongly valued order, discipline, and direct and transparent governance. Many of these values were exemplified in the story of Mr. R, who during his time in the district, first as assistant principal and then principal, instituted a discipline policy that brought consistency and order to the behavior of students. Once these changes had been made, the school was then able to turn to issues of curriculum, pedagogy and academic achievement. It was clear that teachers were most appreciative of Mr. R.'s work, and some parents—those who were looking for consistent and fair discipline for their children—were also appreciative. Even the students, albeit grudgingly, admitted that the changes in school climate enabled them to concentrate on their work. The continuation and expansion of these measures during the tenure

of Mr. J., who followed Mr. R., provided evidence that they resonated with the values of the wider community culture.

Another example showed how the wider values of order and fairness affected school practices. In this case, the practice involved a change in the way the school administration assigned faculty members to teach particular courses. Instead of allowing those staff members of longer tenure to "own" the more advanced courses, leaving the less advanced courses for younger faculty, the principal restructured the schedule such that each faculty member would teach some advanced and some less advanced courses. The new system redistributed the talents of the faculty, giving all students a mixture of experienced and less experienced teachers. But additionally, it offered a fairer distribution to teachers of what were perceived to be the "best" classes.

Like many rural areas where the school lies at the heart of the community's identity and comity, Flint valued greatly the direct and even intimate relations and contact between parents and school personnel. But through consolidation measures in the past, those relations had become strained. At the time of our study, schools in the county-wide district appeared to act independently of one another, and this situation threatened the community-held value of interdependence and closeness. Although district leaders had tried to meet the needs of individual schools while also maintaining the involvement of families, this effort had not been entirely successful. And perhaps it was impossible, given the size of the district, to embrace the community's desire for closeness. As a result of these tensions, some parents and community members were taking steps to establish an independent school district.

Lumberville

Lumberville High School was housed in an impressive, new building located in a rural Appalachian region of the state. Like many schools in rural areas, Lumberville loomed large in the economic, historical and cultural life of its community. Administrators as well as classroom teachers wore many different hats (the principal, for example, was also the varsity basketball and track coach). Several of the teachers had attended Lumberville when they were students and returned to teach there.

Parents from wealthier segments of the community as well as school staff often described the school and its community as "just a big family." These parents, by-and-large, expressed the view that teachers were working hard to help their children, and they in turn supported the teachers and judged them to be "as good as you'd find in a lot of big towns."

The school complex served as the geographic and cultural center of the community. Speaking of the extraordinary level of community support for the levy that had financed the building of the new high school (the levy was approved by 83%), one community member said,

I think it's just because people here really love and support their kids. They feel the [kids] should have the best they can afford. And they appreciate what the school and the teachers do for the kids.

Employment was scarce in the Lumberville district. Graduating students typically found work in the local logging industry, in farming, or they were obliged to travel considerable distances to find employment in more urban areas. Teaching was one of the few professions through which local students might aspire to a middle-class life.

Both citizens and educators agreed that the strong sense of community was one of the most important features of the Lumberville culture. In discussing education in the area, parents and community members often related experiences that tied them to the high school: their participation in sports during their years in school, the prom, beloved teachers. Asked to name the ways they were engaged with the school, established community members tended to cite attendance at sports events, meetings with teachers outside the school, support for construction of the new school buildings, and friendships with educators with whom they had attended school as youngsters, or with whom they maintained good relations now.

Only recently, with families moving into the district from neighboring urban areas had the values of close personal relations and mutual support come under challenge. "When I came here," the superintendent explained, "and for the first probably better than 20 years, it was really good because everyone grew up here and stayed...and everyone knew everyone." In the last 10 years, however, "we now have the urban type kids that will have gangs," the superintendent continued. "This last fall we

really worked hard and I expelled eight outside kids that were starting a gang."

Lumberville educators expressed pride in their work to serve the needs of local students from working-class homes, largely because these students and their families subscribed to the community's cultural values of self-reliance, responsibility, and close interpersonal relations. But working-class parents were not convinced. They believed that the school gave more attention to children from elite families than to other children, and they worried the school's educators were overlooking the needs of children growing up in more modest circumstances. According to one citizen,

People in this community are basic people. They love their kids and want what's good for them. But they don't always know what that is. They depend on teachers and the school to tell them, and that doesn't always happen.

Unlike the working-class families to whom educators perhaps paid insufficient attention, the impoverished families newly entering the Lumberville community were actively disdained. Educators described them as having little "work ethic," a reliance on "government hand-outs," and no regard for the value of education. Teachers spoke of poverty as a limitation, not only on the individual child's prospects, but also on his or her experiences in life. And they saw the problems associated with poverty as intractable. As one teacher concluded, "We feel like we're fighting a losing battle where we are dealing with parents and generational welfare."

Overall, then, the culture at Lumberville High School focused on respect for authority, compliance, and care for people with long-standing ties to the community. Its organization enabled teachers, students, and staff to have their issues and concerns voiced and addressed. The lines of authority were present at every level: individual teachers created expectations for their classes, and these were prominently displayed in every classroom. Expectations of teachers were spelled out in detail in the *Faculty Handbook*. The principal explained,

I have certain rules that I expect teachers to enforce at the building level. Obviously, the district has more policy that I have to follow. So it is. I mean it's a chain of command; it goes down.

Culturally resonant and dissonant leadership. Mr. H., who was in his first year as principal, claimed that "the single most important role I perform here is to make sure that we . . . I provide an [atmosphere] conducive to learning in terms of discipline." Mr. H. was born and had grown up in Lumberville and seemed to find general support for his no-nonsense approach to education. According to one parent,

I've seen schools where the classes were rowdy, and students pretty much ran things. I don't see how kids can learn in places like that. I expect my son to act at school the way he acts at home. And I expect his teachers to hold his feet to the fire.

Teachers might sometimes chafe at the expectations placed on them by the principal, but by-and-large, they found that he was supportive of their work and respectful of them as individuals. A teacher commented,

You might not always agree with him but he's certainly not wishy-washy. I most appreciate the way he handles discipline here: if you've got a problem with a kid then he's right there. He's strict but fair. Discipline doesn't get in the way of teaching... He keeps the lid on.

Paddling was still a feature of Lumberville's—and Mr. H.'s—disciplinary policy. Students were paddled only if their parents had given written permission, and Mr. H. reported that up to 50% of the parents had done so. "I think it's important for them to know," he says, "that there are consequences to their actions."

The close-knit, mutually-supportive fabric of Lumberville's community seemed to be under threat. With increasing numbers of what the superintendent termed "more urban families" moving into the district, leadership appeared unable to address the looming conflict in values. Simply labeling children "gang members" and kicking them out of school did not seem to be an approach that would work for long, even though it was supported and even applauded by many long-term residents of the community.

Amishtown Elementary School

Amishtown Elementary served a rural community where many families were engaged in farming and related businesses. Also within the school's attendance area was a large population of Amish. In fact, 40% of the students who attended the school were Amish. Like most members of this sect, the Amish in

this school community were reserved, respectful, industrious, religious, and quick to offer assistance to their neighbors—both Amish and "English."

The Amish students who attended the school exhibited the qualities valued by their culture. The children—especially the girls—were more reserved than their "English" counterparts. They showed high levels of respect for adults and were quick to help one another. This cultural norm of the Amish children was observed to have some influence on the non-Amish children as well. According to a sixth grade teacher, "I think the Amish children help our English students learn about tolerance and acceptance." When asked about the influence of the Amish children, teachers and parents agreed their presence made a positive contribution to the school overall. Moreover, the values of the community as a whole seemed to reflect the Amish influence. As one community member reported,

We are a farming community with simple values. We believe in helping one another, being honest and trustworthy, and having respect for one another. I think you can see that in most of our students. The Amish are certainly a factor.

Reflecting and responding to community expectations, Amishtown Elementary School developed a culture of cooperation and supportiveness. The correspondence between school culture and community culture apparently had existed in the more distant past, but it was not always evident. Notably, according to most accounts, the principal prior to the current one sought to impose a "professional" distance between the school and the community.

Nevertheless, for the past four years under new leadership, the older approach has resurfaced. The school has made a concerted effort to act in accordance with the mission: *United Effort, United Responsibility, United Success*. We observed educators encouraging children to help one another, and we often saw children working in pairs or small groups to complete class projects and assignments. In fact, throughout the school, the spirit of cooperation seemed pervasive. Teachers were willing to share ideas with and provide help to one another. The family-like ethos of the school matched community norms as one community member's characterization indicated: "We are a very close knit community—almost like a very large family. People are generous with their help."

The community's culture, moreover, supported cooperation across groups. Amish families helped "English" families and vice versa. As a consequence, students saw examples of cross-group cooperation at home. Many of the teachers, moreover, were native to the community and surrounding area. They, too, had "grown up" with this example.

Culturally resonant and dissonant leadership. The collaborative, democratic leadership style of the current principal seemed to fit in well with the cultural norms of Amishtown. For example, the vision statement adopted under Mrs. A.'s leadership appeared to reflect the cultural values of the community. As a result, it worked to link norms of school practice with norms of community life. For example, just as families helped one another in this agricultural community, teachers helped one another with instructional planning and classroom management. According to a third-grade teacher, "Last year was my first year here. Everyone went out of their way to help me get started on the right foot." A first-grade teacher echoed this sentiment, "We share a lot here. We try to help each other. We feel good about what we've been able to accomplish together, as a team."

Because the school was so open to the community, moreover, parents observed and endorsed teachers' shared vision and cooperative spirit. As one parent put it, "there is a real unity among the staff. Everyone seems to work together and you can see them outside the classroom, even sharing things." Students also seemed to feel comfortable with the school's vision because it supported practices that fit with community norms. A sixth grade student summed up this perspective, "We all work together. You don't single yourself out from everybody. And they [i.e., teachers] don't single just one person out. Everyone works together as a group."

One important way that Mrs. A. provided culturally resonant leadership was to institute programs that addressed needs of the community. For example, she established a special class for Amish seventh and eighth graders. Customarily, Amish children either attend their own parochial schools or attend public schools up through the sixth grade only. Because the Amish parents felt comfortable about allowing their children to attend Amishtown Elementary and because Mrs. A. realized that children would benefit from education beyond the sixth grade, she was able to convince the board and administration to establish the

special class. Enrollment in this class has increased each year for the past three. At the time of our visit to the school, 22 Amish children were in attendance. The parents of the "English" children, however, preferred that their children move on to the junior high school after sixth grade.

Another leadership practice that resonated with community values was the involvement of parents and community members in the daily life of the school. Parents were welcome to visit and provide support to the school, and many volunteered to help teachers in the classroom. Others helped in the kitchen and cafeteria. Parents of children who were having difficulties were routinely included as members of the Intervention Assistance Team, which met monthly. The educators made a special effort to communicate to Amish parents in particular that they were welcome to participate meaningfully in school events, decision-making, and social activities. Leadership that fostered transparency and openness helped build confidence and trust among all members of the school community.

A fund-raising program that Mrs. A. instituted also seemed to resonate with cultural values. Shortly after becoming principal, Mrs. A. organized a group of parents and teachers to figure out how to tap into an already established part of the local culture—the auction—as a way to raise money for the school. They decided the auction would replace the many "fund raisers" at each grade level, which no one really liked and which brought in little money. Mrs. A. and others involved in setting up the auction asked local merchants to donate items. Parents, especially the Amish, donated canned goods, quilts, home-made jellies and desserts. The school auction, held each May on the front lawn of the school, had become institutionalized by the time of our visit, and it attracted hundreds of local citizens and tourists each year. In 2005, the auction raised just over \$25,000 for the school.

Like the residents of many conservative agrarian communities, Amishtown's parents and citizens were skeptical about change, especially when it was perceived as coming too rapidly. One critical incident demonstrated how leadership of a curriculum change conflicted to some extent with community values.

Early in Mrs. A.'s tenure as principal, the district adopted a new math program that made use of the constructivist approach favored by reformers. Teachers were involved in the decision to adopt the new program, but parents were unaware until a new school year began with a totally new (and different) math program. Parents suddenly began to experience difficulty when they tried to help their children with math homework. They shared their concerns with one another, and eventually with the school board.

Mrs. A. took a responsive approach to the incident, and she was quick to admit that more should have been done to prepare the parents. Nevertheless, Mrs. A. also expressed the belief that sometimes leadership needs to expose communities to new ideas, rather than slavishly responding to community traditions. Mrs. A. and the teachers saw the new math program as beneficial to students; and because of its focus on cooperative problem-solving, they also saw it as consistent with cultural values. But parents saw the program as unfamiliar and therefore frightening.

Mrs. A. viewed the "disconnect" between educators and parents as unproductive, and she sought to rectify the situation by involving parents in the process of change. Through a series of meetings during which parents were introduced to the new math program, Mrs. A. was able to admit the error of not involving parents from the start while working to re-establish parent involvement in school decision-making. Eventually, these actions restored the community's trust in her leadership.

INTERPRETATION

In all of these school communities, principals were seeking to make educational improvements primarily by using leadership practices that were understandable and acceptable to community members. In two of the school communities—Lumberville and Flint—traditional values supported hierarchical authority relations and therefore tended to foster directive leadership. Equally traditional, but in a somewhat different way, values in the Amishtown community emphasized equality, cooperation, and respect. Leadership there, while directive, was also more collaborative. Hilltown seemed to be in transition. Whereas there was clear evidence among educators and long-term residents of hierarchical practices, newly arriving residents—some relatively affluent and others quite impoverished—were changing community dynamics and providing school leaders with both a wider range of options and at the same time less clarity about the leadership practices that would be considered acceptable.

The differences in expectations can be illustrated by using three of Hofstede's categories of cultural difference. Both "power distance" and "individualism" seemed to distinguish Amishtown from the other three communities. Influenced by agrarian and Amish traditions, members of the Amishtown community did not seem to tolerate much of a power differential across community groups. Rather, respectfulness seemed to pervade relationships and to be bi-directional. Those with more reason to claim a power advantage because of age, wealth, or position still showed respect for those with less reason to claim such an advantage. Furthermore, Amishtown appeared to be far more collectivist than the other communities. Individual achievement tended to be subordinated to group achievement, and the school's official mission reflected this perspective.

With its influx of suburban commuters, Hilltown differed from the other communities in terms of "uncertainty avoidance." Recent suburban residents, as well as some new teachers and administrators, were interested in adopting school practices that went beyond tradition. Comparison of the way discipline was handled at the three high schools, for example, revealed a somewhat more innovative focus at Hilltown. While suspension, expulsion, and paddling were part of the discipline regimes at Lumberville and Flint, a benign form of in-school suspension, where time-out from the regular classroom was coupled with academic support, was being used at Hilltown.

In several of the communities, principals seemed also, on occasion, to promote changes or to use practices that community members saw as too discordant to be immediately acceptable. For example, parents and community members in Amishtown perceived the change to an innovative mathematics curriculum as so abrupt that many of them became uncomfortable, and the complexities of the large district size appeared to make leadership in Flint more impersonal than the residents would have preferred.

These illustrations of cultural dissonance also provided some clues about how community members reacted when leadership practices ceased to fit in with their expectations: through the means they had available to them, they tried to put pressure on school leaders. In Amishtown, the principal responded to such pressure by inviting community members into the school to talk about and work out the problem. By contrast, in Flint, school leaders were resisting community pressure to "deconsolidate" the schools and were in the process of fighting with community members for control.

As these examples suggest, critical incidents in which leadership deviates from community expectations gives school leaders a choice. Like the principal at Amishtown, they can negotiate with the community in an effort to make their own motives and methods intelligible. Or, as was the case in Flint, they can dig in their heels and attempt to prevail despite community resistance. Views of schools as extensions of community and as critical institutions for community-building are likely to support the former approach in all but the most toxic communities.

Findings from this study add to insights about culturally responsive leadership that were represented in earlier work contributed by Phillip Hallinger and his colleagues (Hallinger, Bickman & Davis, 1996; Hallinger & Heck ,1998; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1998a; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1998b; Hallinger & Kantamara, 2000; Hallinger & Kantamara, 2001) as well as several others (e.g., Bolman & Deal, 1992; Dwyer, 1985). In general, our findings, like those of these earlier researchers, positioned "cultural responsiveness" as a negotiation between community culture and organizational culture. In order to be effective, leadership had to fit within a schema that was comprehensible to members of the local culture. But once this kind of "fitting in" (i.e., cultural resonance) led the community to acknowledge the legitimacy of the principal, he or she had some leverage to offer perspectives and advocate practices that the community did not immediately read as culturally consonant (see Useem, Christman, & Boyd, 2006 for a discussion of leadership legitimacy in educational organizations). In other words, the community's determination that the principal was culturally responsive actually enabled the principal to work in opposition to those cultural values and practices that he or she saw as unproductive.

The finding that culturally responsive principals mediate between local cultural expectations and their own educational "visions" suggests that boards of education might be well advised to challenge and perhaps alter their tacit assumptions about the characteristics of effective leaders. Notably, when they engage in succession planning or seek to fill key leadership positions, boards might want to make sure their

criteria are not so narrow as to effectively exclude school leaders with relevant cultural competencies. Nor should boards assume that experience in the district necessarily represents good preparation for leadership there. Instead, they might want to attract applicants who appreciate and understand the local culture, exhibit flexibility and negotiation skills sufficient to enable them to be effective "border crossers" (e.g., Alston, 2004), and articulate views about educational aims and strategies that take the community's best interests to heart.

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PLANNING FOR LEADERSHIP WITH ARMY EDUCATION SERVICES OFFICERS AND LEADERSHIP COMPETENCIES

Brenda Marina Robin Ellert

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify which leadership competencies future U.S. Army Continuing Education System Education Services Officers will need to better structure leadership development within that organization. A Delphi survey was sent to 13 Southeast Region Army Education Services Officers (ESOs) and consisted of three rounds. Nine critical competency components were identified in six core areas. The information obtained from this study can provide a framework to assist Army leaders, Garrison Commanders, and hiring officials when reviewing applications for future Education Services Officers. Current Army Continuing Education System professionals can also use the data from this study to ensure they have sought out and received the necessary training and development in each competency area and are fully qualified to meet the demands of working as future Education Services Officers.

PLANNING FOR LEADERSHIP

The struggle to define leadership and identify leadership competencies has been researched from a variety of perspectives in a multitude of organizational disciplines (Bennis, 1998; Burns, 1978; Fiedler, 1997; Northouse, 2004). Research studies that have produced definitions and theories related to the phenomenon of leadership have evolved over time, culminating in studies emphasizing leadership as a transformational activity (Bass, 1997). A number of well known researchers that have produced seminal works in the field of leadership received grants for their initial studies from the U.S. Army (Sorenson, 2005). Stogdill, Fiedler, and Bass are just a few of the notable researchers that benefited from U.S. Army research grants during the World War II era (Sorenson, 2005).

Leadership and leadership competencies required to sustain transformation in the U.S. Army training environment are an acknowledged aspect of professional development for military and civilian leaders (Garcia, Klingel, Mull, Summers, & Taylor, 2006). Research studies focusing on the competencies required by future military leaders have determined that the current competencies are ill defined and may not apply to future leaders (Army Training and Leader Development Panel, 2003; Garcia et al., 2006; Horey et al., 2004). One finding common in a number of major research studies is the link between lifelong learning and leadership competencies (Army Training and Leader Development Panel, 2003; Garcia et al., 2006).

Leadership competencies are a means to define and communicate leadership requirements in organizationally relevant terms (Gayvert, 1999). A leadership framework that encompasses competencies provides a common platform for leader development (Goldstein & Ford, 2002). As with values, competencies can be applied across time, at varying levels of authority and responsibility, and in unforeseen situations (Workitect, Inc., 2006). While individual situations or organizational requirements might indicate the use of different components or behaviors, leadership competencies as a whole are enduring regardless of job description, assignment, and time (Newsome, Catano, & Day, 2003). While values can shape the character of leaders, competencies can be used just as well as a guide to leader behavior (Horey et al., 2004).

The most current U.S. Army leadership guidance is presented in *Field Manual 6-22, Army Leadership: Competent, Confident, and Agile* (2006b). The manual defines leadership for the Army, establishes the foundations of Army leadership, describes the linkage between military and civilian leaders, and also presents a four-chapter section devoted solely to competency-based leadership principles. The *Field Manual* provides a very clear road map to Army expectations of its professional leaders. Perhaps the single most important underlying factor in the development of leadership competencies in the Army is the incorporation of lifelong learning into a leadership development plan (Army Training and Leader Development Panel, 2003).

One organization within the U.S. Army that deals almost exclusively with lifelong learning and

education is the Army Continuing Education System (ACES). ACES was created in 1972 by the Department of Defense (DoD) to manage educational services for active duty soldiers, and has been instrumental in piloting military education programs since its inception (Sticha et al., 2003). The ACES mission is to promote lifelong learning opportunities to "sharpen the competitive edge of the Army by providing and managing quality self-development programs and services," (Department of the Army, 2006a, p. 18). One of its strategic goals is to provide lifelong learning opportunities to "enhance job performance. . .for the Army and its future leaders," (p. 19). Within Army leadership are those members who have been charged with bringing Army Education into the 21st century and beyond: Education Services Officers (ESOs).

The title of ESO identifies the most senior ACES person working at the individual installation level (ACES Training and Professional Development, 1999). The ESO is responsible for the complete continuum of program offerings as well as for the operation of the Army Education Center and any satellite centers, if they exist (Anderson, 1995). As the Army is a mobile force, with its soldiers and families typically moving every 3 years, the Education Centers throughout the world offer similar programs and follow similar guidelines so that any soldier taking courses or working on academic programs at one installation is not subject to a new process or program as a result of a mandated move. Except for the size of the installation itself and the local partnerships that may have been established, all Army Continuing Education System Education Centers are virtually identical in program make-up and ESO program oversight.

Due to personnel cuts mandated by DoD, however, the number of ESOs has dwindled from 113 to 42, and of those remaining 42 positions, fully two-thirds of those employees are eligible to retire within the next decade (Installation Management Command, 2007). In order to present a better idea of how the Army Continuing Education System would be viewed in the civilian sector, it can be compared to a state Board of Regents. Under a state Board of Regents, there are various state universities and colleges. The ACES equivalent to those schools would be the Army installations with ACES offices and employees present and performing actions. The university or college president equivalent would be the Education Services Officer at that installation (college).

Education Services Officers are experts in the field of Army education. They not only must be aware of the "traditional" academic requirements that are available to the public at large, but they must also be specialists in military protocol and community partnerships. While ESOs are not Active Duty soldiers, they must also be conversant in the Army Personnel system to be aware of how academic preparation plays a role in soldier promotion, and be able to deploy to remote sites at the request of their chain of command. They represent their installation to the Headquarters offices and defend their budget and programming needs based on their daily experiences and interactions with soldiers and community partners. In short, ESOs are the general officers of the ACES organization and their field expertise must be practical, strategic, and theoretical in nature.

A comprehensive review of the literature suggests the need for study in the identification of leadership competencies that will be required for the success of future ESOs (Army Strategic Communications, 2003; Army Training and Leader Development Panel, 2003; Garcia et al., 2006; Horey et al., 2004; United States Army, 2004). Ensuring that all military and civilian Army leaders have the required leadership competencies to be effective and meet their job objectives now and into the future is a critical readiness issue for DoD and throughout the government (Department of the Army, 2006b). Beginning in 2008, per one of the President's Management Agenda initiatives, all Federal agencies are now required to report the results of a competency gap analysis for their current leadership, and then develop a plan for closing those identified gaps (Office of Personnel Management, 2006). There are certain competencies that may be critical to future ESOs who are assigned to steer an ever-changing and evolving organization that will lose much of its institutional knowledge through attrition and retirement. The gap in current literature lies in the specific role of ACES and the ESO in the Army's transformation plan, and the decided lack of studies that address the vital importance of having relevant leadership competencies for such an important Army civilian leader.

Importance of the Study

Collectively, the leaders of an institution possess a deep understanding of that establishment in a way that outsiders or newcomers simply cannot replace. To preserve this resource, new leaders must be trained in competencies determined to be vital to the preservation and accomplishment of the ACES mission. While there are several studies addressing the need for leadership competencies for government civilians (Army Training and Leader Development Panel, 2003; Garcia et al., 2006; Horey et al., 2004), no studies specifically addressed the identification of future leadership competencies required of ESO successors.

Successful leadership competencies among future Education Services Officers represent an area of inquiry that requires the collection of data based on perceptions and imprecise definitions that are subjective in nature. The primary research question this study sought to answer was, "What leadership competencies will be needed by future Education Services Officers in the Army Continuing Education System?" The following related sub-questions were also addressed in this study:

- 1. Which identified competencies are critical for future Army Education Services Officers?
- 2. How are the leadership competencies identified by the Education Services Officers different from or similar to those identified in *Army Leadership Field Manual 6-22*?

This research is important to individuals as they plan to address the skills needed to prepare for future Education Services Officer positions within the Department of the Army. A study such as this will offer Army Leadership a snapshot into the long-range training and education requirements that its future education leaders are going to need. These individuals must have the tools to be able to determine the competencies that will most significantly impact their success or lack thereof as an ESO. The future ESO will be able to utilize this study to determine a path for career advancement through personal use of the identified skills and competencies.

The ACES workforce, an integral piece of the Army mission, is dwindling. As more and more of its functions are automated, the Department of Defense has, by budgetary necessity, determined that the organization must be downsized. The challenge facing future leaders in the Army education realm is to fill the leadership gap that will be created through the aging of the ACES organization and the fiscal pressures from the global war on terrorism requiring the Army to institute significant personnel cuts.

METHODOLOGY

In order to discern a consensus on opinion on needed competencies, the Delphi technique was the chosen methodology for this study. The Delphi technique was introduced in 1958 through *Project DELPHI* directed by the RAND Corporation to predict alternate national defense futures. It is a procedure to "obtain the most reliable consensus of opinion of a group of experts . . . by a series of intensive questionnaires interspersed with controlled opinion feedback" (Dalkey & Helmer, 1963, p. 458). The method used to achieve this study's goal was that of an online, modified Delphi study. Data collected through three rounds of questionnaires utilized the expertise of those who are currently holding the position of Education Services Officer within the Army Continuing Education System. The study followed the basic guidelines for conducting a Delphi study as indicated by Turoff and Hiltz (1996): iteration with controlled feedback, statistical representations of the group response, and anonymity.

Due to the limited timeframe of the study and geographic separation of the panel experts, this study necessitated the use of a method that would allow the chosen experts to participate from their respective locations (Ludwig, 1997). All data was gathered via the Internet and e-mail was the primary mode of communication. For the purposes of this study, the sampling frame consisted of people currently serving as Education Services Officers that had held the post for at least 2 years. To create the panel of experts for this study, experts who held the desired characteristics were contacted by an e-mail containing two attachments: a letter to potential participants; and an informed consent agreement to be part of the study. The preferred number of research participants was determined to be between 8 to 13 Education Services Officers, representing a heterogeneous group, based on the research sampling literature relating to the Delphi methodology (Prest, Darden, & Keller, 1990).

Thirteen Education Services Officers were invited to participate and of those 13, 11 panelists returned informed consent forms, for a response rate of 85%. The panel size of 11 fits within the generalized guidelines recommended for Delphi studies.

Instrumentation

The first pass, titled Round One, consisted of a listing of all the competency components identified by the *Army Field Manual 6-22* and revised as a result of the pilot study (Riggs, 1983). The panel of experts was asked to select, by indicating Yes or No, which of the 56 components they felt best represented requirements of future Education Services Officers, as well as to answer the two open-ended questions and demographic data that was requested (Raskin, 1994). Frequency distributions were used to summarize the responses to this round (Hahn & Rayens, 2000). Demographic data was also collected during the Round One phase. Of the 56 components, 49 components received unanimous agreement in Round One.

The second iteration, titled Round Two, presented the panel members with those competency components that had at least one No response in the previous round, thus giving the group a chance to reach a consensus. Only those competencies that did not reach 100% consensus in Round One were included in Round Two (Murphy, 2002). The second round also gave the panel members a chance to add or delete components that were added as a result of Round One's open-ended questions (James, Lisa, & Anna, 2003). Experts were asked to confirm their original determination from Round One and were also presented with the results from the first round. This process made the panelists aware of the range of opinions and allowed them to see where their response stood in relation to that of the entire panel (Williams, 2000). Round Two included 22 competency components, 15 of which were newly added as a result of Round One and 7 of which did not receive complete consensus in Round One. There were also two open-ended questions in order to solicit qualitative feedback. Frequencies and percentages were used to finalize the responses to this round.

The final round of the Delphi was created to allow the expert panel an opportunity to rate the importance of the competency components selected. They were able to rate each competency using a five-point scale ranging from Least Important to Critical. The scale rating was used to determine the level of importance assigned by the panel as to the inclusion of the competency in a comprehensive list required by future ESOs (Raskin, 1994). Ranking percentages were used to evaluate this round's responses. There were 69 components listed as a result of the previous two rounds' outcomes, along with one open-ended question to solicit feedback about the survey in general.

In a Delphi study, panel experts must reach a consensus or "result stability" before moving on to the next round of questions (Fitch et al., 2001). The approach to measuring consensus is the least-developed component of the Delphi method (Crisp, Pelletier, Duffield, & Adams; 1997), and it varies from study to study. Before beginning the study, consensus for Round One was defined as having been reached when every participant answered Yes to a competency component (Murphy, 2002). Data was reported using frequencies of response (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996; Hahn, Toumey, Rayens, & McCoy, 1999). For Round Two, consensus was achieved when the group reached a 67% response rate in either the Yes or No category (Ludwig, 1997). Round Three was used to rate the agreed-upon competency components, and the frequency distribution was used to determine its ranking in importance to future Education Services Officers.

ANALYSIS

This study was undertaken to answer one overarching research question: What leadership competencies will be needed by future Education Services Officers in the Army Continuing Education System? Based on the responses to all three rounds of the Delphi, a competency component list was generated via a panel of Army Education Services Officers that contained 67 items. After final analysis of the data, the overarching research question can best be addressed by discussing the findings for each sub-question.

Sub-question one asked which identified competencies are critical for future Army Education Services Officers? Of the 67 competencies identified by Army Education Services Officers, 9 were

considered Critical for future ESOs. Competencies were deemed Critical if 67% or more of the panel rated the competency as such. Those items were: (a) maintains and enforces high professional standards; (b) balances requirements of mission with welfare of followers; (c) builds trust; (d) listens actively; (e) fosters teamwork, cohesion, cooperation, and loyalty; (f) executes plans to accomplish mission; (g) leads by example; and (h) maintains an in-depth knowledge of Army Continuing Education System. Of those 67 competencies, 13.4% were considered Critical, 65.7% were rated Very Important, 19.4% were referred to as Important, 1.5% were considered Somewhat Important, and none were rated as Least Important.

Sub-question two asked how the leadership competencies identified by the Education Services Officers were different from or similar to those identified in Army Leadership *Field Manual 6-22*? This particular question was subjective in nature and best answered using responses from the openended questions. Most respondents felt that the basic competencies were the same for all Army leaders regardless of what job or service was being performed. One respondent stated, "There is an ongoing trend throughout the military whereby civilians are increasingly tasked with performing duties once associated only with leadership managed by the active forces. These civilian leaders often report to a military authority. That military authority should have a benchmark for the evaluation of civilians in a leadership role. That benchmark should be generic competencies for civilians in leadership positions within the Army."

There were also a number of participants who indicated that while the basic premise of a competency framework should be applied across the Army, each job series should have its own set of specialized competencies established by the leadership in that field. According to one panel member, "The specialized competencies required to operate in an educational setting are unique to that setting and changing at a rapid pace." While there was an acknowledgment that ACES is a decidedly separate segment within the Army, the majority of the respondents felt that those competencies identified in *Field Manual 6-22* were similar to those required for future Education Services Officers and applicable to all Army civilians regardless of the type of work being performed.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In *Field Manual 6-22*, *Army Leadership*, core leader competencies represent the roles, functions, and activities of what leaders in the Army do (Department of the Army, 2006b). The goals of the Army core competencies are: to lead others, to grow the organization and its component members, and to accomplish the mission (Horey & Falleson, 2003). This study was used to determine whether the competencies and their associated components in *Field Manual 6-22* were similar or different from those that existing experts determined were important to future Education Services Officers. Also determined were which of the selected competencies the panel deemed critical for future ESOs.

Table 1
Nine Critical Competency Components within Six Core Areas

Core Competency	Item
Leads Others	Maintains and enforces high professional standards
	Balances requirements of mission with welfare of followers
Extends Influence Beyond Chain of Command	Builds Trust
Chain of Command	Negotiates for understanding, builds consensus, and resolves conflict
Leads by Example	Leads by example
	Maintains an in-depth knowledge of the Army Continuing Education System
Communicates	Listens Actively
Creates a Positive Environment	Fosters teamwork, cohesion, cooperation, and loyalty
Gets Results	Executes plans to accomplish mission

Note. Critical rating was assigned as highest percentage of response.

Leads Others

Several current and previous Army leadership doctrines addressed the need to be able to effectively Lead Others (Department of the Army, 2006b; 1999a; 1993; 1987; & 1973). Within this core competency, there are six components that include: (a) establishing clear intent and purpose, (b) using influence to energize, (c) conveying the significance of the work, (d) maintaining high professional standards, (e) balancing the requirements of the mission with the welfare of followers, and (f) creating a shared vision for the future (Department of the Army, 2006b). As evidenced by the responses from the panel of experts, all of these components will be necessary for future Education Services Officers. Of those competencies that were added by the Delphi panel members, two related to this core: (a) leads with flexibility, and (b) evidences adaptive leadership ability.

Two of the eight competency components were rated as critical for future ESOs: (a) maintains and enforces high professional standards, and (b) balances requirements of mission with welfare of followers. Throughout the history of ACES, it has always been on the leading edge of academic trailblazing, due in large part to its expectation to set the standards in its field (Anderson & Kime, 1990). This was reflected in the Education Services Officers' panel of experts that ranked setting and following high professional standards as a mandatory component for future ESOs. These results are consistent with a situational leadership study by Corbett (2000) which found that leaders needed to be astute at scanning their environment, setting high workplace standards, and keeping abreast of the welfare of their subordinates. By suggesting that subordinate welfare is crucial to the effectiveness of future ESOs, the current study participants confirmed the Army's priority of this aspect of leadership (Sticha et al., 2003).

Extends Influence beyond the Chain of Command

Bergman (1996) found that each person that works in the Army, be they civilian or military, is part of a chain of command. Within this core area of Extending Influence beyond the Chain of Command, there are four competencies: (a) understanding sphere of influence and limits of influence, (b) building trust, (c) negotiating to build consensus and resolve conflict, and (d) building and maintaining alliances (Department of the Army, 2006b). The group of Education Services Officers in this study believed that the four components were needed for future ESOs. The Delphi panel members added two additional competencies to this category: (a) use tact and diplomacy in all interactions, and (b) encourage innovation, for a total of six components in this core.

Two of the six competency components were rated as critical for future Army Education Services Officers: (a) builds trust; and (b) negotiates for understanding, builds consensus, and resolves conflict. A recent study (Workitect, 2006) stated that in order for leaders to be effective, they needed to have a trusting relationship with their employees and employers, and have the ability to manage conflict. This finding is supported by the information reported by the Delphi panel. Building trust has always been viewed as a critical leadership component, but it is especially important to current and future ESOs as they must establish relationships between all stakeholders: Army, other services, colleges, soldiers, Department of the Army civilians, and the local community (Anderson, 1995). Negotiating, consensus-building, and resolving conflict are also viewed as critical pieces to being a successful ESO due to the broad nature of the job responsibilities (Workforce Compensation and Performance Service, 1974).

Leads by Example

Aconfident, purposeful Army leader is always, and in all ways, an example to those being led (Wong, et al., 2003). Within this core competency, there are seven components that include: (a) displaying character and modeling the Army values, (b) exemplifying the "warrior ethos," (c) demonstrating commitment to the Nation and Army, (d) leading with confidence despite adversity, (e) demonstrating technical and tactical knowledge, (f) understanding the importance of critical thinking and modeling that to others, and (g) seeking diverse opinions (Department of the Army, 2006b). The panel reached a consensus on all of the competencies except for "exemplifies the warrior ethos." All of the other components were identified as necessary for future Education Services Officers. There were three additions made by the panel members that are similar in nature and would be categorized under this core area: (a) understands the role of the Army within the Department of Defense, (b) maintains an in-depth knowledge of the Army Continuing Education System, and (c) has knowledge of Army-specific structure. These three components were combined into two and titled: understands Army structure within the Department of Defense, and maintains an in-depth knowledge of ACES, for a total of eight components in the core area "leads by example."

Only one of the eight competency components in this core area was rated as critical for future ESOs (not including leads by example as that is also the title of the core): maintains an in-depth knowledge of ACES. This is not surprising as this study is focusing on the Army Continuing Education System. These results are consistent with the Sticha et al. (2003) findings that ACES is a critical component in allowing soldiers to be functional in many tactically-relevant areas and Education Services Officers must also be conversant in varied methods in order to be effective in their positions. It is noteworthy that while the component of "exemplifies the warrior ethos" did not make the final competency list, it was passionately defended by one Education Services Officer who believed that the warrior ethos was what makes ACES and ESOs different from most organizations and leaders in the Army and in education.

Communicates

Leadership studies have consistently found that communication is one of the keys to a successful organization (Garcia et al., 2006; Newsome, et al., 2003; Northouse, 2004). Within the theme of Communicates, there are six components that include: (a) listening actively, (b) determining information-sharing strategies, (c) employing engaging communication techniques, (d) conveying thoughts in such a way so as to ensure understanding, (e) presenting recommendations so others understand benefits,

and (f) being sensitive to cultural factors in communication (Department of the Army, 2006b). The study respondents indicated that all of these components will be necessary for future Education Services Officers, although the component of "determining information sharing strategies" did not meet initial consensus in Round One. None of the competencies added by the Delphi panel members fit within this general theme.

Out of the six components included here, one was considered critical for future ESOs: listens actively. These results are consistent with several leadership studies that have reported listening skills to be of utmost importance in any leadership interaction (Fitton, 1993; Fiedler, 1997; van Maurik, 2001). Education Services Officers will certainly need this skill, now and in the future. Due to the varied nature of the responsibilities that encompass work performed by ESOs, the ability to actively listen is essential to excelling in the position. An ESO must plan, develop, coordinate, administer, and evaluate the installation's continuing education program (Workforce Compensation and Performance Service, 1974). In order to perform those tasks, the ESO must show the ability to correctly interpret and take action on information that is provided.

Creates a Positive Environment

In their 2006 research study on transformational leadership, Garcia and his team discussed the importance of a positive environment with regards to competencies. Other studies have consistently found that the health of the surrounding environment offers a positive correlation to effectiveness (Bass, 1985; Department of the Army, 1999a; Horey et al., 2004). Under this topic, there are nine components that include: (a) fosters teamwork, (b) encourages initiative, (c) creates a learning environment, (d) encourages open communication, (e) encourages fairness, (f) demonstrates caring, (g) anticipates people's on the job needs, (h) sets high expectations, and (i) accepts reasonable setbacks and failures (Department of the Army, 2006b). Respondent answers indicated that all these components will be necessary for future Education Services Officers, although the components of "anticipating people's on-the-job needs," and "accepts reasonable setbacks and failures" did not meet initial consensus in Round One. None of the competencies that were added by the Delphi panel members were added under this particular topic of creating a positive environment.

The panel of experts deemed only one component to be critical out of this grouping, "fosters teamwork, cohesion, cooperation, and loyalty." Researchers (Corporate Leadership Council, 1998; Spencer, McClelland & Spencer, 1990) have acknowledged that teamwork and loyalty play a significant role in all aspects of leadership, ranging from business to academia. Future Education Services Officers must, along with other Army leaders, incorporate teamwork and engender loyalty from their team. In order for an ESO to effectively lead the installation education programs and administer those services, it is crucial for that individual to have a strong, cohesive group that understands the mission and provides the ESO with the structure that promotes success (ACES Training and Professional Development, 1999).

Prepares Self

The core area of Prepares Self refers to leaders who ensure they are fully educated on their own strengths and limitations and continue with lifelong learning to better themselves (Department of the Army, 2006b). This area includes eight competencies that encompass: (a) maintaining mental and physical health; (b) maintaining self awareness and recognizing impact on others; (c) incorporating feedback from others; (d) expanding knowledge of technical, technological, and tactical areas; (e) expanding interpersonal capabilities; (f) analyzing information; and (g) maintaining relevant cultural and geopolitical awareness (Department of the Army, 2006b). In this study, respondents indicated that all but one competency – "maintains relevant geopolitical awareness" – should be included as needed by future Education Services Officers. Three of the additional competencies that were added by the Delphi panel members can be added under this particular topic: (a) utilize strategic planning and decision making methods; (b) conversant in data and information analysis; and (c) open to [learning] technical, virtual, and Internet-based systems. All of the above areas relate strongly to the guidance in the *Army Transformation Roadmap* (United States Army, 2004). Williams (2000) stated that lifelong learning (i.e. self-preparation) is a cornerstone upon which leaders must develop.

Develops Others

There are seven components included in the core competency area of Develops Others: (a) assessing current developmental needs of others; (b) fostering job development; (c) counseling, coaching, and mentoring; (d) facilitating development; (e) supporting formal development opportunities; and (f) building team or group skills (Department of the Army, 2006b). Several current and previous Army leadership doctrines addressed the need to be able to effectively develop others (Department of the Army, 2006b; 1999a; 1993; 1987; & 1973). In order to be fully effective, formal development plans of employees or subordinates should be linked to strategic planning and goal-setting exercises (Garcia et al., 2006). The study participants reached a consensus that all of the components in this core area will be necessary for future Education Services Officers. This topic area was also one that the panel of experts felt did not include any competencies critical to future ESOs. None of the competencies that were added by the Delphi panel members were added under this particular topic as they do not fit the theme of the topic.

Gets Results

A leader's ultimate goal is to accomplish positive organizational results. Horey and Falleson (2003) state that leadership requirements can be described in either behavioral or attributional terms, but that the ultimate test of accuracy lies within the results derived from leadership actions. Within this core competency, there are 10 components that include: (a) prioritizing tasks for teams or groups, (b) identifying and accounting for group commitments, (c) designating and clarifying roles, (d) identifying and managing resources, (e) removing work barriers, (f) recognizing and rewarding good performance, (g) seeking and taking advantage of opportunities to improve performance, (h) making feedback part of the work process, (i) executing plans to accomplish the mission, and (j) identifying external influences and adjusting as needed (Department of the Army, 2006b). The panel of experts reported that all components in this core area are important to future Education Services Officers, although "identifies and accounts for individual and group capabilities," and "commitment to task" did not reach full consensus in Round One. The Delphi panel members added two competencies to the category: (a) understand budget development and fiscal planning, and (b) identifies personnel and contracting requirements and understands both systems. With the two additions, there were 12 components in this core.

The expert panel rated one of the 12 competency components as critical for future ESOs – "executes plans to accomplish mission." While many leadership competencies are necessary, the bottom line in each organization is that there must be something produced or completed to realize an actual measure of success (Newsome, et al., 2003). The Army certainly feels that mission completion is of the utmost importance (Department of the Army, 2006b), and the panel of ESOs who participated in this study backed up that sentiment by selecting this component as critical to future ESOs.

CONCLUSIONS

The Army appears to be correctly interpreting the need for an updated leadership competency framework that can be applied across organizations within its purview. This study found that Education Services Officers within the Army Continuing Education System agree with almost every core competency and leadership component that is listed in *Field Manual 6-22, Army Leadership*. As determined through the Delphi technique, Army Continuing Education System Education Services Officers understand the need for a complete, detailed list of leadership competencies, both for the Army and for ACES. Their participation in this study helped to confirm that the Army has created a solid foundation of core competency requirements that can be adapted by ACES to assist in its leader development and training efforts with future Education Services Officers. The findings of this research are consistent with the study by Horey et al. (2004) that concluded the majority of the competencies discussed were agreed to be of importance by other Subject Matter Experts in relation to Army civilian and military leadership.

Utilizing a competency framework should provide measurable actions and behaviors that are associated with leadership functions (Department of the Army, 2006b). One respondent stated that, "It

is useful for the Army to create generic competencies of its civilian leaders because it affords the Army greater flexibility/mobility within the workforce and for professional upward mobility opportunities. It also provides strategic linkage for grooming future leaders." Another felt that, "You have to know where you have been to know where you are going. Without standards there is no means to measure performance."

The results of this study suggest that current Education Services Officers have a clear understanding of what the Army Continuing Education System needs, both now and in the future. There was only a slight variance between the competencies in *Field Manual 6-22*, *Army Leadership*, and those that achieved a consensus rating in this research study, and that variance consisted almost entirely of ACES-specific topics that related to the organization rather than leadership as a whole. While it is possible that prior exposure to *Field Manual 6-22*, *Army Leadership* may have impacted the participants' selection of the critical components, it is also believed that: (a) selecting those critical components makes sense for any leader, regardless of organization, and (b) that *Field Manual 6-22* is on target and should be used by ACES as a foundation from which to establish measurable outcomes with regards to leadership competencies.

The information obtained through this study should demonstrate to Army leadership and current Education Services Officers that the Army is in fact keeping up with current trends to ensure sustainability. Army *Field Manual 6-22* can assist ACES and other Army organizations in continuing to seek ways to strengthen their civilian and military leaders. The results from this study could also have implications outside of ACES and the Army. Given that leadership in non-school educational settings has limited research available, the findings could be applied to many leadership positions in large corporations, non-profit organizations, prison education programs, and other non-traditional settings.

Prospective Education Services Officers will be able to utilize the findings from this study to prepare for their chosen career path. Further, application of the research findings can provide potential ESOs with a roadmap for competency development. Garrison Commanders and Human Resource Specialists within the Army who will be evaluating and hiring ESOs in the future will be able to utilize the information to more effectively choose new ESOs, and to evaluate their on-the-job effectiveness based upon competency and component descriptions outlined in the study.

Current Education Services Officers who wish to supplement their knowledge base and become eligible for leadership opportunities elsewhere will be able to use this information to improve and build upon skills and knowledge needed for future ESOs within the field of Army or military education. The final list of competency (see Table 1) components provides a foundation for successful leadership development of future ESOs and is applicable to Education Services Officers throughout the Army. Headquarters ACES can also work on an ESO training program that looks specifically at those components deemed critical by the panel of experts and provide special training just in those areas.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The researchers have suggested the following recommendations:

- 1. Further research should be conducted in other Army organizations such as the Directorate of Logistics or the Directorate of Public Works using a similar method to see if the competencies are consistent across the spectrum of Army offices.
- Future studies should include Education Services Specialists and Guidance Counselors (GS-11's and below) to see if the competencies remain the same at differing pay-grades and/or ranks.
- 3. Army Field Manual 6-22, Army Leadership, should be used to strategically plan and coordinate a competency framework course for Education Services Specialists currently within ACES, and supplement that course with ACES specific training as recommended in this research study.
- Studies that evaluate leadership competencies for ACES Regional and Headquarters offices should be included to measure whether the same competencies are needed for staff work as well as field work.
- 5. The study should be replicated in the future to determine if ACES leadership competency

requirements remain the same after time has passed and a different set of Education Services Officers are assigned.

The Army Continuing Education System is changing at a rapid pace; with drawdowns, budget cuts, advanced technology, and a requirement to learn new technology rapidly, it is sometimes difficult to remember that ACES is, at its foundation, an organization that strives to prepare students for an uncertain future. The current research shows that ACES and the Army are moving in a positive direction with regards to its leadership.

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AN ANALYSIS OF ADEQUATE SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM NUMBER ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF POPULATION MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

Burhanettin Donmez

ABSTRACT

Migration and education are two interrelated terms. There is a long-standing concern in both academic research and public policy over the impact of migration in educational settings. Most educational studies and population analyses have aimed to explore the links and/or relations between education and migration, and the effects of migration on education and/or the effects of education on migration. Internal migration has been a feature of almost all societies and it has various effects on education and school systems. As a result of internal migration, insuring that an adequate number of schools and classrooms are in place is one of the important subjects at the very centre of internal migration and education issues. Internal migration is an important subject that educators and educational planners, therefore, should consider when it is deemed necessary to project adequate school and classroom numbers. This study aims to explore the adequacy of schools and classrooms in the light of internal migration in Turkey as a means of understanding the issues and implications involved, especially for those engaged in developing new policies and evolving plans for the Turkish educational setting. This paper analyzes the shortages in the numbers of schools and classrooms, a problem which is among the most important in Turkish education

INTRODUCTION

Human migration involves peoples' leaving their homes to go to a new place or residence, for different reasons and with different effects. The term human migration denotes any movement by humans from one locality to another, sometimes over long distances or in large groups. Humans are known to have migrated extensively throughout history and prehistory. The movement of populations in modern times has continued under the form of both voluntary migration within one's region, country, or beyond, and involuntary migration such as the slave trade and ethnic cleansing (Wikipedia, 2008).

Migration may turn upside down social life in all its aspects. Several studies in the social and health sciences, for example, have shown that there have been important consequences resulting from human migration. The subjects of those human migration studies, which have investigated human migration include, but are not limited to, psychological distress among immigrants, urbanization, impacts in deprived neighborhoods, women's experiences as immigrants, the impact of migration on families, depopulation, the adaptation of immigrants, and the assimilation of immigrants. These also include the impact of international migration on economic growth and the reverse, as well as the impact of the global economy on migration. The flows of remittances - the money that migrants earn working abroad and then send back to their countries of origin and so on are also problems of concern (Bailey & Livingston, 2008; Beauchemin & Bocquier, 2004; Biao, 2005; Chen, 2005; Chiang & Yang, 2008; Edwards & Ureta, 2003; Gale & Heath, 2000; Koc & Onan, 2004; Li & Zahniser, 2002; Picot, Hou & Coulombe, 2008; Portes, 2007; Rye, 2006; Sanderson & Kentor, 2008; Stewart, 2007; Taloyan & et al., 2008, Wong & Song, 2008).

Migration and education are two interrelated terms, especially for social scientists. There is a long-standing concern in both academic research and in public policy over the impact of migration in an educational setting. Most educational studies and population analyses have aimed to explore the links and/or relationships between education and migration.(Alfred, 2003; Bhatti, 2006; Corbett, 2005; Deumert & et al., 2005; Fry, 2007; Iredale & Fox, 1997; King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Kristen, Reimer & Kogan, 2008; Levy & Wadycki, 1974; Pérez & McDonough, 2008; Preston, 1987; Tremblay, 2005; Warren, 2007).

There are different types of migration. One is rural exodus or internal migration. Internal migration can be described as the population movement from rural areas to the cities or from small cities to bigger ones. Greenwood & Hunt (2003) state that "although internal migration has been a common aspect of human behavior, the scientific study of such migration" *and its effects* "has been fairly recent", and they

continue "data limitations were certainly a factor in discouraging the study of internal migration" (p. 3) (italic words added). A few researchers in different countries have investigated the reasons and the results of internal migration, and most of those studies mainly focus on the relations between internal migrations and other social subjects (See, for example, Liang, Chen & Gu, 2002; Kauhanen & Tervo, 2002; Pekkala, 2003; Rye & Blekesaune, 2007). However, some researchers have tried to explore connections between internal migration and educational issues such as student enrollment, the educational consequences of migration for school children, and immigration and schooling (Carr-Stewart, 2003; Liang & Chen; 2007; Montero-Sieburth & LaCelle-Peterson, 1991).

Internal migration has been a feature of almost all societies and it has various effects on education and school systems. As a result of internal migration, an adequate number of schools and classrooms is one of the important subjects at the very centre of internal migration issues.

It is clear that there is a need for studying the relationships between internal migration and education or it's planning. As the definition of "planning" in recent generations has been broadened, it is no stretch for Vitiello (2006) to argue that schools and education represent a vital part of planning and policy. Vitiello also states that "a few historians and planning educators have framed schools and educational policy as planning activities" (p. 187). Internal migration is an important subject that educators and educational planners, therefore, should consider when it is deemed necessary to project adequate school and classroom numbers into the future.

TURKISH EDUCATIONAL SCENE AND POPULATION STATISTICS: A BRIEF ANALYSIS

Education Population

According to the results of the 2007 Address Based Census, the population of Turkey is 70,586,256. Children in the 0-14 age group constitute 26.4 % of this population. The population 6-21 years of age constitutes 29.1 % of the total. Those age groups include almost all of the education population of the country.

In Turkey, pre-primary education is an option that includes the education of children between the ages of 36-72 months. Pre-primary education, for which the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) is responsible, is provided in kindergartens for children aged 3-6, and in nursery classes for children aged 5-6. Responsibility for other institutions, such as day nurseries, nursery schools and childcare institutions is shared by various ministries and institutions in the educational or care sector that are established in accordance with MoNE legislation and regulations. In the 2007/08 school year, the enrolment rate in pre-primary education was 28.5 %. Most of the children (around 75 %) who attended pre-primary institutions were 5 years of age.

The duration of compulsory attendance in primary school is eight years for children ages 6 -14. Primary schools are single structured schools. Elementary and lower secondary stages are integrated in the body of primary schools. Schooling in compulsory primary education was 97.37 % in the 2007/08 school year.

Children must begin compulsory education in the year they reach 6 years of age. The period of enrolment in schools (generally from mid-August until mid-September) is specified in the annual work plan prepared by each provincial administration. In principle, children should be accepted at the nearest school to their home. Primary education is free of charge in public institutions. The maximum number of pupils per class as officially specified is 30. However, there are no criteria for grouping pupils within a class – they are allocated to classes as each school wishes. As the students generally start school at certain ages, classrooms consist of the same age group of students with exceptions in cases of a late start or a repeating student. For grades 1 to 5, classroom teachers are individually responsible for their classes. However, in grades 6 through 8 and for some subjects in grades 4 and 5, certain lessons are delivered by subject teachers (field specialists).

Secondary education is provided in general at vocational and technical education institutions offering at least four years of education for those who have completed primary education. General, secondary education is provided in diverse settings including general high schools, Anatolian high schools, science high schools, Anatolian teacher high schools, Anatolian fine art high schools, social

science high schools, sports high schools and multi-programmed high schools. Except in general high schools and multi-programmed high schools, other secondary education schools have some privileges, such as a restricted number of students in each classroom. Vocational and technical secondary education is provided in various (over 20 different types of schools) vocational and technical high schools for boys and for girls. In the 2007/08 academic year, the net schooling rate in secondary education was 58.56%.

Population Statistics

With its 70,586,256 people noted in the 2007 census statistics, Turkey, ranking the seventh in terms of population density in the world, is a country which has 1.2 % of world's population. Although the rate of increase in population is falling (the rate was 0.12 %), population growth is increasing, and statistical projections indicate that the size of the population will rise drastically and be around a hundred million in 2050. According to Zsigmond (1976) "these fluctuations [in the population of any country] have immediate consequences for one of society's major institutions, the educational system" (p. 255).

Table 1: *Migrated population by places of residence in Turkey, 1975-2000*

1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1995-2000
3,584,421	3,819,910	5,402,690	6,692,263
100	100	100	100
1,752,817	2,146,110	3,359,357	3,867,979
48.90	56.18	62.18	57.80
610,067	860,438	969,871	1,168,285
17.02	22.53	17.95	17.46
692,828	490,653	680,527	1,342,518
19.33	12.84	12.60	20.06
527,709	322,709	392,935	313,481
14.75	8.45	7.27	4.68
	3,584,421 100 1,752,817 48.90 610,067 17.02 692,828 19.33 527,709	3,584,421 3,819,910 100 100 1,752,817 2,146,110 48.90 56.18 610,067 860,438 17.02 22.53 692,828 490,653 19.33 12.84 527,709 322,709	3,584,421 3,819,910 5,402,690 100 100 100 1,752,817 2,146,110 3,359,357 48.90 56.18 62.18 610,067 860,438 969,871 17.02 22.53 17.95 692,828 490,653 680,527 19.33 12.84 12.60 527,709 322,709 392,935

Source: TurkStat,2008

Turkey has a young and dynamic population. Living standards and average life spans are rising. The growth of urban population in total population was 70.4% in the 2007 census. On the other hand, Turkey has faced a big internal migration from rural areas to urban areas by reason of this rise in population, a decrease in agricultural area, an insufficient agricultural and agricultural technology base, and other factors in rural areas such as education, strict customs, terror and so on. The internal population growth rate in Turkey is rising year by year (see Table 1). For example, from 1995 to 2000, 6,692,263 people migrated from their towns to the other residential areas. Most of these people migrated from rural areas to the cities or from less developed areas to the developed regions.

The general belief about the internal migration in Turkey is that the migration route gravitates from eastern regions to western parts of the country. That is true in general. However, there are some regions and cities of western or northern parts of Turkey which have high out-migration rates (see Table 2). Samsun and Zonguldak, for example, two cities in the Black Sea region in the north of Turkey, are among the first five cities from which people have migrated.

Table 2: Geographical distribution of internal migration in Turkey (2000)

Statistical Classification of Regions (SRE)	Population of place of residence	I n - migration	O u t - migration	Net migration	Net migration rate (%)
Istanbul	9,044,859	920,955	513,507	407,448	46.1
West Marmara	2,629.92	240,535	172,741	67,794	26.1
Aegean	8,121,705	518,674	334,671	184,003	22.9
East Marmara	5,201,135	432,921	351,093	81,828	15.9
West Anatolia	5,775,357	469,610	378,710	90,900	15.9
Mediterranean	7,726,685	413,044	410,316	2,728	0.4
Central Anatolia	3,770,845	205,108	300,113	-95,005	-24.9
Anatolia West Black Sea	4,496,766	219,008	450,799	-231,791	-50.3
East Black Sea	2,866,236	151,193	227,013	-75,820	-26.1
North East Anatolia	2,202,957	144,315	256,922	-112,607	-49.8
Middle East Anatolia	3,228,793	170,568	280,156	-109,588	-33.4
South East Anatolia	5,687,740	212,425	422,315	-209,890	-36.2
Total	60,752,995	4,098,356	4,098,356	0	0.0

Source: Eurydice, 2008.

Issues Related to Adequate Numbers of Classrooms and Schools

When the Turkish term for "school and classroom issues" is translated into English and searched with Google, there are more than 3,500 matches. Most of these are the news items from national and local newspapers and/or TV portals from almost every city in Turkey. These news items were generally about calls for new schools and classrooms to be built. Alternatively, some news was about schools being closed because of low student numbers from the pre-primary level to higher education levels (see, for example Hurriyet, 2008 and Sabah, 2006).

The news and the calls for more schools and classrooms are understandable when the rise in numbers of students per teacher, per classroom and per school is considered (see Table 3 and Table 4). Table 3, for example, shows the number of students, teachers, schools, classrooms, and the number of students per teacher. In school year 2007-2008, there were 34,093 elementary schools and 315,887 classrooms and a total number of 10,870,570 pupils. At the secondary level there were 8,280 schools. In these schools, there were a total of 100,853 classrooms and 3,245,322 students. According to the table, it can be observed that the number of students and of classrooms is rising in Turkey. Table 4 shows the number

Table 3: Number of student, teachers, schools and classrooms in recent years

Level	Indicator	2004–05	2005–06	2006–07	2007–08
	Number of students	434,771	550,146	640,849	701,762
	Schooling Rate % (60-72 months)	-	30.05	34.42	38.84
imary	Number of teachers	22,109	20,910	24,775	25,901
Pre-primary	Number of students per teacher	19.66	26.31	25.87	28.43
	Number of schools	15,929	18,539	20,675	22,506
	Number of classrooms	27,339	29,193	33,213	36,236
	Number of students	10,565,389	10,673,935	10,846,930	10,870,570
	Schooling rate, net (%)	89.66	89.77	90.13	97.37
	Number of teachers	401,288	389,859	402,829	445,452
Primary	Number of students per teacher	26.33	27.38	26.93	24.40
	Number of schools	35,611	34,990	34,656	34,093
	Number of classrooms	286,290	297,000	307,511	315,887
	Number of students	3,039,449	3,258,254	3,386,717	3,245,322
	Schooling rate, net (%)	54.87	56.63	56.51	58,56
	Number of teachers	167,614	185,317	187,665	191,041
Secondary	Number of students per teacher	18.13	17.58	18.05	16.99
	Number of schools	6,816	7,435	7,934	8,280
	Number of classrooms	88,874	93,488	98,748	100,853

of sudents per teacher, per school and per classroom in Turkey and in some cities. The number of students per teacher, school and classroom are on the increase, too. Most populated schools and classrooms are mainly in the developed regions or cities.

Although it has been observed that the migration in Turkey flows from less developed areas to the developed ones, schools in some developed cities have more crowded classrooms than many cities having high in-migration rates (see Table 4). In the eastern part of the country, for instance, during the educational year 2007-2008, the number of students per classroom in İzmir, one of the most developed cities, had a high in-migration rate, but less than the number of students per classroom in Diyarbakır, the only city that has a higher in-migration rate than an out-migration rate (Kocaman, 2008). While the average number of students per classroom in primary school in İzmir is 35, that number is 48 in Diyarbakır. Similarly, the number of students per classroom in Istanbul, the city which has the highest in-migration rate in Turkey, is very close to that of Diyarbakır (see Table 4).

Consequently, there is a need for more schools and classrooms to have appropriate teaching environments to run classes effectively. It is especially vital to tackle the educational problems emerging from internal migration.

MONE'S PROJECTS

The Ministry of National Education of Turkey has initiated some projects to find solutions for the inadequate number of schools and classrooms. Pre-fabricated mobile schools, mobile teacher projects, bused primary education, and regional boarding primary schools (YIBO) are some of those projects.

Transportable Schools and Mobile Teachers Projects

MEB has initiated a project for the purpose of giving opportunity to the pupils in remote rural areas that have no school. There, pre-fabricated mobile schools, which can be built in one week, are available. These schools have almost every necessary function included. Additionally, the pre-fabricated mobile schools will provide a cost savings. Similarly, MoNE has initiated a new project called the "Mobile Teacher Project". The main purpose of the project is to prevent having schools where classes cannot be taught due to the lack of a teacher. This can occur, especially in remote rural areas (Eurydice, 2008).

Bused Primary Education

Busing for education purposes was also implemented in order to provide an opportunity for a better quality education and to provide equal opportunities to the students who had been attending multi-grade schools in sparsely populated areas or where there are no schools. Students are transported by bus to a central point daily in this system. Provincial directorates of the national education plan busing system determine which schools shall be selected and which locations shall be covered, in accordance with the provisions of "Regulation on Bused Primary Education" and notify the Ministry about the needed allocation of funds (MEB, 2008).

Table 4: Number of students per school, teacher and classroom by level of education in selected cities (The Educational Year 2007-2008)

		Primary Level	Secondary Level
Turkey (General)	Number of students per school Number of students per teacher	310 24	352 15
T (G	Number of students per classroom	33	29
lnc	Number of students per school	1105	513
Istanbul	Number of students per teacher	31	18
SI .	Number of students per classroom	49	34
ir	Number of students per school	472	385
İzmir	Number of students per teacher	21	14
Number of students per classroon		35	31
ara	Number of students per school	615	395
Ankara	Number of students per teacher	21	13
	Number of students per classroom	38	30
Batman	Number of students per school	294	623
Batı	Number of students per teacher	29	26
	Number of students per classroom	46	47
eli	Number of students per school	172	131
Tunceli	Number of students per teacher	14	12
	Number of students per classroom	15	17
Diyarbakır	Number of students per school	287	612
yarł	Number of students per teacher	30	22
Di	Number of students per classroom	48	43

Source: Erydice, 2008 & TurkStat, 2008

Regional Boarding Primary Schools (YIBO)

In accordance with the provisions of Article 25 in Basic Education Law No: 1739 and Article 9 in Primary Education and Education Law No: 222, boarding schools are being opened in scarcely populated areas designed to provide primary education services in village and sub-village settlements that do not have schools, and for students from poor families as well (MEB, 2008).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Most problems related to the education in Turkey are unexpected and unanticipated and will create some difficulties in the future. In the case of primary and secondary education; however, it is possible to foresee some of the issues that are developing. Hence, education planning now should be on the agenda so that the coming problems of the Turkish education system can be foreseen. According to Molinero (1988), an important source of information that is appropriate for educational planning is the regular population census. The population census provides an opportunity to project the future enrollments in schools.

Turkey, with its restricted resources and means, is seeking to increase the number of schools and classrooms. At the same time, because of migration, some schools in rural areas are being closed down and some urban schools are having difficulty meeting students' needs due to in-migration in urban areas. In addition, enrollment projections of the total student population has, in recent years, been inaccurate

and many Turkish schools have suffered due to these flawed predictions Thus, the number of students in a classroom can reach 60 or 70 pupils and, as a result, quality of education is declining. Recently there have been campaigns aimed at people or institutions to give funds and/or aids to schools. People or institutions that support the campaigns are provided with tax advantages, giving their names to schools etc. Those campaigns have resulted in people's or institutions' contribution to schooling. Other interventions such as bused education, modular mobile schools, and regional boarding primary schools (YIBO) are some of the programs developed to tackle the problem. Despite these efforts, it does not seem that the problems will be resolved in the near future.

Turkey, known as a developing country, should consider its demographic structure and its existing resources if the country wants to continue its development and train its people to be well-qualified for work and life. The inadequate numbers of schools and classrooms are among the most important problems in the Turkish educational arena. These issues cannot be resolved without dealing with the problems of population growth and internal migration. Therefore, there is a need for more research data, and current and reliable statistical analysis. Without reliable data, its analysis, and well worked plans based on those analyses, most of the current investments in education will only bring about a wasting of resources.

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