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TÍTULO: Emotional Epistemologies of Novice Principals in Chile

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Abstract

Emotions are powerful forces in principals' professional lives. In the current article we examine the emotional experiences reported by 12 novice principals in their first year on the job.

Principals were interviewed at the beginning and at the end of the school year. Interview transcripts were subjected to content analysis using the taxonomy of emotions proposed in the SPAARS model (Power and Dalgleish, 1999), Beatty's (2002) Emotional Epistemological Framework and dimension of principals' work proposed in Chile's School Leadership Framework (Ministry of Education, 2015). Among the 12 participating principals, in nine the epistemological approach changed through out time; 3 principals descended to lower epistemological stances, 3 maintained their epistemological stance; and 6 ascended to a relativist and resilient emotional knowing epistemology. We focused our analysis on the two extreme groups. Overall, developing the school community and participation among various school actors is the most emotionally charged dimension of the leadership framework in both interviews. The descending group reported experiencing predominantly fear and anxiety related to issues of developing the school community and participation dimension of the leadership framework, focusing almost exclusively on issues of conflict resolution on both interviews. In contrast, ascending principals experienced an array of emotions with happiness predominating in the first and second interviews. By the end of the school year, their work focused mainly on building trusting relationships and community development. These findings show the importance of addressing emotional meaning making in principal preparation and induction programs.

Keywords: emotional epistemologies; school leadership; emotions; developing a sense of community; novice principals

Emotional Epistemologies of Novice Principals in Chile

Educational organizations are places of emotions, home to the whole emotional spectrum, ranging from anger to joy, from love to hate, with an emotional climate and a characteristic culture (Hearn and Parkin, 1995; in Samier and Schmidt, 2009). Working with emotions is a task that principals constantly face (Beatty, 2000; 2002; 2005; Beatty and Brew, 2004; Blackmore 1996; 2004; Sachs and Blackmore, 1998). Emotions are part of principal's work as the role is experiencing an increasing complexity that is often exacerbated for newly appointed principals (Oplatka, 2012; Wildy, Clarke, Styles, and Beycioglu, 2010).

Notwithstanding, in principal preparation programs around the world, emotions have been consistently side-lined, aiming the focus primarily at leadership practices, administration and "accountability" issues (Beatty and Brew, 2004). This is also the case in Chile, as studies on educational leadership have mainly drawn from the school effectiveness paradigm, ignoring emotions as a research target (Horn and Marfan, 2010). Addressing this omission is important as leaders' behaviours affect the emotions of those (e.g., teachers) who interact with them (Leithwood, Harris, & Hopkins, 2008; in Berkovich and Eyal, 2015).

Beatty (2002) developed a conceptual framework to approach the emotional dimension of leadership. She coined the concept of "Emotional Epistemologies" to explain that emotional processes constitute a system of meaning making, a way of understanding subjective experiences. The model proposes four progressive paths for approaching emotional meaning making which are depicted as a dynamic ascending or descending spiral: Emotional Silence, Emotional Absolutism, Emotional Transitional Relativism, and Emotional Resilient Relativism.

In the current article we use Beatty's framework as well as the integrated cognitive model of emotion SPAARS (Power and Dalgleish, 1999) to examine the emotional experiences reported by 12 novice principals in their first year on the job. The analysis of the emotional experiences reported by these principals was also situated within The School Management and Leadership Framework (Marco para la Buena Dirección y Liderazgo Educativo [MBDyLE] developed by the Ministry of Education [MINEDUC], 2015). Previous studies on the emotional component of principals' work using the emotional epistemologies framework, have not attended to the specific emotions experienced by novel principals on their first year. The current study also adds to research on the emotional epistemologies of principals by situating their emotional experiences with the practical dimensions of principals' everyday work as these have been framed in Chile by MBDLE. We were interested in understanding if there were certain dimensions that elicited more or less emotional meaning making.

This paper has five main sections. The first section describes the context for the principalship in Chile. The second section presents the theoretical frameworks informing the current study. The third section presents the research questions and study methodology. The fourth section presents findings from a content analysis of interviews conducted on two occasions during these 12 participants' first year on the job. Finally, we summarize the results and discuss the implications for pre-service and inservice professional development of principals.

Public School Principals' Work in Chile

Over the last 10 years, Chilean educational policies have sought to empower public school leaders through a combination of pressure measures (increased accountability) and support measures such as professional development (Montecinos, Ahumada, Galdames, Campos, and Leiva, 2015; Núñez, Weinstein, & Muñoz, 2010). These policies' aim to encourage

principals to become instructional leaders who can turn around low performing schools, such that the country's educational quality improves (Weinstein & Muñoz, 2012). In 2005, for example, the first School Leadership Framework (Marco para la Buena Dirección, MBD) was developed to codify the set of competencies needed to successfully lead a school (MINEDUC, 2005). In 2009, the General Education Law, LGE (Law 20.370) stipulated new regulations for hiring public school principals through a competitive process. Once hired, the principal signed a performance-agreement contract that specified targets that would orient their annual evaluation, as well as incentives and sanctions associated with achieving these targets. These targets typically involve increasing scores on standardized tests, increasing enrolment and parents' satisfaction (Montecinos, et al., 2015).

As of 2015, the MDB framework has been revised, emphasising a collective vision for school leadership in Chile. The principal is portrayed as coordinator and leader within a participatory school culture that nurtures a collaborative workplace (MINEDUC, 2015). Practices and competencies are organized into the following dimensions: Constructing and implementing a shared strategic vision; Developing professional capacities; Leading teaching and learning processes; Developing the school community and participation; Developing and managing the organization; and Personal resources (Appendix 1 details each dimension).

In addition, largely financed by a State-voucher awarded to the participant, since 2011 universities have been offering an array of post-graduate leadership preparation programs (Fernández, Guazzini and Rivera, 2012). Muñoz and Marfán (2012) asked principals as well as university faculty responsible for these preparation programs what were the key factors for principals' success. Responses clustered on: "fair treatment, empathy, honesty, tolerance, emotional stability, openness to change, listening skills, fluency, problem solving abilities and

drive” (2011, p. 92). These kinds of soft skills or behavioural competencies are also mentioned on the personal resources, values and social skills dimension of the 2015 MBDLE framework. There is an emotional component in each of them, but emotional meaning making as a way of knowing is not often developed and harness in professional development programs. Few programs include emotional work in their curriculum and if included, it has low priority (Muñoz and Marfán, 2011). By exploring the emotions reported by novice principal, the current study makes visible how and why such an omission matters for the principal as well as for the school as a whole.

Theoretical Perspectives

What is an emotion?

In order to identify the type of emotions reported by the study’s participants we adhere to a constructivist-cognitive view of emotions, as the one presented by appraisal theories of emotions (Lazarus, 1991; in Power et al., 2007). The Schematic, Propositional, Analogical and Associative Representational Systems (SPAARS) integrated model proposed by Power and Dalgleish (2007) combines the strengths of a number of different approaches to emotion, providing a coherent view of emotionality that can be applied to many spheres of the human experience. The SPAARS framework describes emotions as appraisal based, according to an individual's goal; proposing a set of basic emotions that can be distinguished from each other by its appraisal. Different types of appraisals exist for eliciting five basic emotions: sadness, happiness, anger, fear, and disgust (see Table 1). Basic emotions provide the starting point for complex emotions, with the addition of cognitive complexity including subsequent cycles of appraisal, the involvement of the self, an additional basic emotion, or an inter -personal context.

Table 1

The key appraisal for each of the five basic emotions

School	Appraisal
Sadness	Loss or failure (actual or possible) of valued role or goal
Happiness	Successful move towards or completion of a valued role or goal
Anger	Blocking or frustration of a role or goal through perceived agent
Fear	Physical or social threat to self or valued role or goal
Disgust	A person, object, or idea repulsive to the self, and to valued roles and goals

Source: Adapted from “Cognition and Emotion: From order to disorder” by M. Power and T. Dalgleish, 2007, p. 357.

Emotions in School Leadership

Emotions have been found to be a key psychological aspect in determining cognitions, motivations, and behaviours in the workplace (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 2000; George, 2000 in Beatty, 2002). As Beatty (2007) stated “emotions are not optional” (p.49). Berkovich and Eyal (2015) posit that knowing about the emotional experiences of school leaders enables an understanding of four aspects. First, leaders’ emotions express their understanding and responses to the school’s culture and how that culture relates to their goals. Second, leaders’ behaviors affect the emotions of those with whom they interact, thus we can understand the emotional responses of teachers to various change initiatives promoted by the principal. Third, leaders’ emotional abilities enable them to engage in more or less effective behaviors to promote desired organizational outcomes. Fourth, educational leaders’ emotions may serve as an indicator of their success in coping with the conflicted, complex, and political leadership landscape drawn by the intensification of accountability measures.

Blackmore (2004) found that in a context of system restructuring, leaders emerged as a central factor in managing teachers' emotions linked to a dissonance between professional commitment to students and performativity demands based on efficiency. Educational leaders emerged as a key resource in facilitating followers' coping with negative emotions, portraying themselves as receptors of others' negative emotions (Crawford, 2007). Followers seemed to expect leaders not to be negatively affected by this emotional containment, but leaders reported that it has a negative emotional effect on them (Crawford, 2007). Ackerman and Maslin-Ostrowski's (2007) based on their theory of the wounded leader, concluded that principals' practices are embedded with endemic and chronic conditions of leadership life: vulnerability, isolation, fear and power; which provide wounding experiences. The study concluded that the wound provides an opportunity to question and to change one's leadership, and is an important source of emotional and social learning.

Reviewing the current literature on emotional experiences of school leaders four main perspectives have addressed the matter: emotional labour Hochschild (1983); emotional intelligence abilities (Mayer and Salovey, 1997); emotional geographies (Hargreaves, 2001); and emotional epistemologies (Beatty, 2002). Next, we summarize findings from the main studies inscribed in each of these approaches as a progression over time.

Emotional labour

Hochschild (1983) defines emotional labour as "inducing or suppressing of feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p.7). Fineman (1993) elaborated this concept further, defining emotional work as: "the effort we put into ensuring that our private feelings are suppressed or represented to be in touch with socially accepted norms (...)" (p. 3).

Hochschild (1983) coined the concept of “feeling rules” which argues that feeling is a kind of pre-script to action. It is internal behaviour that we engage in to prepare us to act externally. Our emotions and actions must be aligned with the norms and expectations that are found in every social setting, “Feeling rules are what guide emotion work by establishing the sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchanges” (p. 56) Teachers, like other workers in the service professions, often invest hard emotional work or emotional labour in achieving greater emotional closeness to or distance from their clients (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Blackmore has focus her research on examining emotional work among women in school management positions (1996, 2004, 2006, 2010; Sachs and Blackmore, 1998). Sachs and Blackmore interviews with 17 female school leaders in Australia showed that women felt emotional stress and negative affect as they moved from a feminine teaching culture into their leadership roles within a masculine, technical, rationalistic administrative culture. Leaders stated that they experienced socialization to feeling rules when entering the teaching profession, which encouraged them to suppress expressions of emotion such as frustration and even anger that they experienced, because they were indicated as inappropriate and unprofessional, showing lack of control (Sachs and Blackmore, 1998). The interviewees also described the physical costs of emotional labour, such as exhaustion and illness.

Furthermore, Wallace (2010) found typical situations where principals make decisions about what emotional performance (behaviour) is appropriate within the circumstances in their public role as school leader, the most common being:

The tension between getting the paper work done required by central management and the need to address “people” issues that affect teachers and students; The

conflicted feelings in supporting board initiatives that are at odds with personal beliefs about effective pedagogy; The uncertainty of knowing how to support a staff member experiencing a personal trauma; The need to cope privately and publicly with the heartbreak of the sudden death of a student; The joy of accomplishing a shared school goal; The puzzlement and frustration of dealing with resistance of particular members of the school staff to initiatives that the principal sees as essential to the success of minority students, etc. (p.4)

Some of the findings within emotional labour tradition show that when principals are unable to be optimistic, to avoid the problem or to minimize it, emotional labour becomes much more demanding physically and mentally (Poirel, 2014).

Emotional Intelligence Abilities

The most commonly referenced model of Emotional Intelligence (EI) in organizations was coined by Mayer and Salovey (1997) and popularized by Daniel Goleman. EI refers to:

A set of interrelated skills concerning the ability to perceive accurately, appraise and express emotions; the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotion and emotional knowledge; and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth (Mayer & Salovey, 1997, p. 10)

Emotional regulation (ER) involves various strategies and can be directed inward, self-emotion regulation, or outward, interpersonal emotion regulation, extrinsic emotion regulation, or emotion management toward another persons' emotional processes (Gross & Thompson, 2007; in Berkovich and Eyal, 2015).

Crawford (2007) studied emotional self-regulation through interviews with five head teachers in the United Kingdom. These leaders revealed the need to be perceived as rational, reporting that emotions such as anger, shame and embarrassment required self-regulation, as these were perceived as illegitimate (Berkovich and Eyal, 2015). Leaders' EI abilities are perceived as greatly overlapping the abilities of successful leaders. Moreover, leaders' EI abilities appear to be associated with higher transformational leadership behaviours and followers' job satisfaction (Berkovich and Eyal, 2015).

Emotional Geographies

Hargreaves (2001) developed the concept to describe teaching as an emotional practice and arguing that emotions are political and geographical. The author describes emotional geographies as: “the spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions and relationships that help create, configure and colour the feelings and emotions we experience about ourselves, our world and each other” (p. 1601).

Hargreaves (2001; 2008) identified sociocultural, moral, professional, political, and physical distance as five key emotional geographies of teaching and leading. There is no ideal or optimal closeness or distance between teachers and others that transcends all cultures and work contexts or that is precisely measurable in a universal way (de Lima, 1997; in Hargreaves, 2001). Like senses of personal space, emotional geographies are culture bound, not context free (Hargreaves, 2001). Nevertheless, principals need to be engaged with the ethno-culturally variable emotions of parents and students in a quest for greater emotional respect, appreciation and understanding (Hargreaves, 2008).

Emotional epistemologies

Beatty (2002; 2006; 2007b) through various investigations with teachers and principals generated a conceptual framework to approach the emotional dimensions of leadership. Beatty (2002) formulated this conceptual framework from interviews with 50 Canadian teachers and an analysis of the texts of a seven-month online discussion group among 25 principals from English speaking countries. Based on cognitive epistemological framework developed by Brew (2001), Beatty posits that emotion, just as cognition, “can be viewed as an epistemological progression characterized as anchored in silence, moving from absolute to relative, through connected, to contextual ways of knowing” (p.2). Beatty (2002) posits that emotional meaning making systems affect our sense of what is true, what counts for evidence, where authority is located and our experience of self. Emotionality is a way of knowing, therefore “emotions are in effect, epistemological” (p.11). The model proposes a succession of four stages describing the progression of these epistemologies, as shown on Table 2.

Table 2

Succession of stages of emotional epistemologies

Emotional Silence	Emotion is understood as something inadequate that should be ignored, suppressed and not valued as something meaningful. This positioning is intended to be purely emotional and does not involve emotional meaning making.
Emotional Absolutism	Emotions are seen through the lens of emotional cultural codes -"feeling rules" -, therefore there is an external emotional authority that determines whether emotions are appropriate or inappropriate, and that can either punish or validate their expressions. This positioning rends the integration between the emotional self with

	the professional self impossible.
Emotional Transitional Relativism:	<p>Internal emotional realities become undeniably important. This can occur inadvertently by an emotional demonstration that forces us to temporarily put the focus on our emotions. Generally, when these emotions are revisited, they are accompanied by shame and isolation for breaking the implicit cultural emotional rules, generating a return to emotional silence, preventing the exploration of deeper emotional meanings.</p> <p>On the other hand, the internal emotional reality may become important to the person thus safe emotional spaces are created which respect and value shared internal emotional perspectives. This process has great potential for a deliberate re-inculturation of schools.</p>
Emotional Resilient Relativism:	<p>With experience we can acquire deeper layers of emotional knowledge that go beyond the rationalization of emotions, implying a greater awareness of emotions as they occur and a greater reflective experience on them with others and by ourselves. This deeper emotional epistemology is associated with a greater openness to feel what is underneath the emotional surface, such as anger and rage, integrating more challenging emotions like sadness, guilt, fear and shame. These emotions are not suppressed, rather they are consciously developed and a potential energy is released to strengthen confidence, creativity and collaborative experiences.</p>

Note: Elaborated by the authors based on the framework presented by Beatty and Brew (2004).

Different emotional ways of knowing and being are conceived of as “fluid and spiralling and likely to loop back and forth according to levels and kinds of emotional awareness and interpersonal engagement” (Beatty, 2002, p. 2). The model suggests that emotions can function differently in different contexts and become open to transformation and development.

According to Oplatka (2011) school principal’s emotional understanding is a developmental process. Their ability to express emotions and understand their followers’ emotional needs and experiences changes through the early, mid and late career stages. The main objective of the current study was to examine if, and how, in their first year in the post early career principals began the developmental process through which their emotional experiences became a leadership resource that enhanced their interactions with staff. We approached the study of emotions in school leaders through Beatty’s and Brew’s (2004) conceptual framework of emotional epistemologies, which involves different ways of making sense of one’s emotional experiences.

Method

Overview of the Research Design and Questions

Data used for this paper were obtained from the first year of an ongoing 3-year longitudinal multiple case study focused on how 13 novice principals in Chile learn to become instructional leaders. Specifically, data produced through two rounds of interviews were analysed to respond to the following research questions:

1. What are the emotional epistemologies of novice principals in the course of their first year of duty? Are there changes in how they report emotional meaning making at the beginning and at the end of their first year on the job?

2. What are the emotions experienced by novice principals in the course of their first year of duty? Are there changes between the beginning and the end of their first year on the job?
3. Are novice principals' emotional experiences associated with the Practical Dimensions of Leadership from the MBDLE (2015)? If so, how? Are there changes in between the beginning and the end of their first year on the job?

Participants

Thirteen novice principals were recruited for a three-year longitudinal study of workplace learning; all signed an informed consent. Among them, 11 are women; nine work in a K-8th grades school, two in a 9th-12th grades high school, one in a 7th-12th grades school, and one in a comprehensive K-12th school. All schools serve high proportions of students living in poverty, three are located in a rural area, and all but two have a history of below average performance on national standardized tests. The concentration of students living in conditions of social vulnerability ranged from 55% to 88%. In 10 of these schools, students' performance on the national standardized testing program was below the average for schools serving students from the same socioeconomic background (For details about participating schools see Appendix 2).

Data sources and procedures

First interview. In all but two cases interviews were conducted within three months of their appointment. The questions focused on recruitment, the selection process, professional biography, targets for their performance agreement contract, their initial assessment of the school conditions, goals they expected to accomplish and management practices they sought to implement during the first year

Second interview. Conducted at the end of the school year, the questions focused on what, and why, they had been able to accomplish with respect to the goals identified in the first

interview and what they had learned during that year. Principals were asked about critical incidents they had faced, exploring the emotions elicited by those situations as well as how they had handle the situation.

All interviews were conducted at the school, in the principal's office. These lasted between 60-90 minutes, were audio-recorded and later transcribed for analysis. For the current paper we analysed 24 in-depth interviews (40 hours of audio recording approximately), involving 13 principals. One principal was removed from the analysis as it offered too little emotional data to be considered (School 13, transcripts included 6 segments coded as referencing emotions).

Data Analysis

Content analysis was performed on the transcripts. Two researchers independently read the transcripts highlighting segments that made references to emotions and actions that implied emotional meaning making processes. The researchers discussed the identified segments to reach consensus on disagreements. Later, a third researcher audited the primary analysis of segments identified. Two researchers independently read this corpus and coded each segment to identify: types of emotions (SPAARS), types of leadership/management practices as these have been defined in the framework the Ministry of Education has proposed for the school management team (Ministry of Education, 2015), and stage of the epistemological framework expressed. This coding was audited by a third researcher and differences were discussed until consensus was reached on all of the 350 segments coded.

Results

Initially, in the first interview 123 emotions were coded and in the second 201, for a total of 324 codings, showing the overall number of emotions increased throughout time. Among the five dimensions of the MBDLE, *developing the school community and participation* hosted the largest number of emotional experiences reported (111 of the 262 segments coded within this variable). This led us to explore this dimension in depth through a content analysis. Three main themes emerged: community development, building trusting relationships and conflict resolution. At the beginning of the school year the main emotional focus of newly appointed principals was conflict resolution (45%), followed by community building (40%). Likewise, by the end of the year, conflict resolution remained the most emotionally charged task, rising to 65% and building trusting relationships rose from 15% to 20%, first and second interview, respectively. Community development decreased to 15% by the end of the year.

According to the way in which their emotional epistemologies had changed throughout time we identified three patterns (see Table 3). The first represents three novice principals who descended to more basic forms of emotional ways of knowing, showing individually more than 7% increment in lower forms of emotional knowledge such as *emotional silence* and *emotional absolutism*. This group went from 6% usage of emotional silence on the first interview to 17% on the second one, and emotional absolutism started with 49% at the beginning of the year to 68% to year's end (School 1, 2 and 3). This group also showed the greatest increase in the total number of segments coded; from 35 to 71. The next pattern features the three principals whose most frequent emotional epistemology was *transitional relativism* throughout the year, nonetheless all of them presented some increment in the use of this emotional epistemology, from 44% to 63%, first interview to second interview, respectively (Schools 4, 5, 6). Finally, we

grouped seven principals who at the beginning of the year reflected mainly emotional experiences associated to transitional relativism (45%), whereas at the end of the year they showed mainly *resilient relativism epistemologies* (58%), as well as a notable decrease in experiences related to emotional absolutism from the first (31%) to the second interview (3%) (Schools 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12).

To analyse the relationship among emotions, tasks and emotional epistemology stage next we examine data produced with principals who presented changes within the emotional epistemologies stages, representing the poles of emotional disconnection and integration. Their experiences can enrich our insights into what kind of emotions and tasks are associated with ascending and descending changes in the emotional epistemologies spiral.

Table 3.

Frequency of segments coded through emotional epistemologies framework of newly appointed principals school in interview 1 and 2.

Group	Emotional Silence		Emotional Absolutism		Transitional Relativism		Resilient Relativism		Total interview segments	
	Inter-view 1	Inter-view 2	Inter-view 1	Inter-view 2	Inter-view 1	Inter-view 2	Inter-view 1	Inter-view 2	Inter-view 1	Inter-view 2
Descending	2	12	17	48	13	11	3	0	35	71
Maintaining	0	0	12	11	18	29	11	6	41	46
Ascending	1	2	24	2	35	30	17	46	77	80
Total	3	14	53	61	66	70	31	52	153	197

Descending group

Among these principals, fear was their most frequent emotions at the beginning of the school year (40% of all emotions coded for this group), falling to 15% by year's end, as shown in Table 4. This group showed the lowest frequency of the basic emotion of happiness, representing 16% and 21%, respectively, of the emotions coded in the first and in the second interview and the highest percentage of disgust amongst the two groups (20% in the first interview and 24% in the second interview).

Table 4

Frequency of basic emotions mentioned by newly appointed principals in interview 1 and 2 by groups.

Basic Emotion	Groups			
	Descending		Ascending	
	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 1	Interview 2
Anger	2	13	1	6
Disgust	5	19	8	6
Sadness	4	19	13	10
Fear	10	12	25	14
Happiness	4	17	22	40
Total	25	80	69	76

This group went from 6% usage of emotional silence in the first interview to 17% in the second one. This stage represents "an extreme denial of self and dependence on external authority for direction" (Belenky et al., 1997, in Beatty, 2002). This can be visualized in the following interview excerpt in which Principal 1, serving in a K-8 school, describes her perception of how the municipality and herself sees her work and how she had dealt with conflicts in her school, that included dealing with legal actions against her from teachers and parents.

(...) they [municipal educational corporation] also realized how this school was, that it was terrible, that I had to be patient, they all admired my pigskin, I had to cope with everything they did to me. [about her previous job] I was always low profile, being silent and listening, obeying, I'm very obedient, I even have greetings in the class book, I have a lot of evidence that I have done my job well (Principal 1, Interview 2).

Another characteristic of this epistemology is acting with an overt display of certainty and judgment about right and wrong, and using strong feelings in statements of disapproval that reinforce power and authority over others. This can be exemplified in the saying of Principal 3, dealing with conflicts involving cleaning staff.

(...) then began to create a conflict because they are complicated ladies [accusing others] "this one did not come, this one left early" (...) I told them "I need you, you need me, but if there is one problem everyone will leave". [They stood there] All silent, and then I put them in groups of similar characters, (...) that way there's no problem and it works (Principal 3, Interview 2)

A key characteristic of emotional silence is seeing the 'other' as potentially dangerous, intimidating or threatening if emotional experience unfolds in display or discussion (Beatty, 2002). Principal 2, working in a K-8 school, enacts this kind of experience in the following interview excerpt, in which she refers to the curriculum leader of the school.

(...) when we had conversations and I raised that I did not agree with some of her attitudes towards teachers, uh, she started to mourn ... and was crying through the halls, and hung out with teachers and cried with teachers, or the closer ones (...). So that creates a certain situation in which I was the bad one and made her cry. (Principal 2,

Interview 2)

Emotional absolutism changed from 49% at the beginning of the year to 68% by year's end. In this stage emotional self is often silenced, while the emotional labour of projecting emotions in line with the cultural feeling rules becomes more of a conscious effort. As exemplified in the next interview excerpt, Principal 3, working in a K-8 school, describes a critical situation in which she was addressing the school community after receiving a death threat. She denies herself to be openly vulnerable and uses her energy to hide her feelings.

I stood in front of all [teachers and students], I invited the parents to come to hear what I had to say, and then I told them I was not afraid, I was not scared (...). Then I entered the office and I began to cry (laughs). There was a policeman who said "that's the idea, that you look strong out there, but here in the office, cry". (Principal 3, Interview 2)

In the first interview, the most frequent task associated with emotions in the descending group was community building (50%). By the second interview, this group focused only on conflict resolution, largely involving interactions between the principal and teachers or staff:

[...] I told them [teachers] the one who disagrees, the one who does not like my voice, the one who does not like the way I talk, who does not like who I am, can go because I do not need them. I do need people who want to work, nothing else. (Principal 2, Interview 2)

[...] [teachers] they do as they please, they try to break you down, they accuse you despite being in a replacement position; they do everything as if they belonged to the permanent staff. (...) (Principal 1, Interview 2)

[talking about her previous school] There everything run like clockwork, and each in their place, each did what they had to do and without having to repeat. Well, all teachers were more adults, now one or two [teachers] still remain, all the staff has been renewed. Many

youngsters now, and nowadays they look at you over your shoulder, like "yeah right", but nothing more. (Principal 3, Interview 1)

Ascending group

This group is distinguishable for the high frequency of experiences associated to the basic emotion of happiness, and all the positive emotions derived from this basic emotion such as joy, love, hope, pride and relief. In the first interview happiness represented 32% of the emotions coded for this group; by year's end 53% of the emotional experiences related to happiness (Refer to Table 4). In matters of emotional epistemology, the seven principals composing this group described using transitional relativism (45%) at the beginning of the year. This stage is depicted as one in emotional experiences break through, a shift in emphasis takes place from taking them from absolute to considering them as resources for understanding of self and other, yet feeling inclined to determine the right and wrong ways of feeling in the desire to return to certainty (Beatty, 2002). This can be reflected in Principal 7's emotional meaning making about a critical situation that happened with teachers when she tried to implement certain ideas that where resisted.

(...) I think I've done wrong, that maybe it was in me that they [teachers] immediately resisted, I didn't think the idea through and sink in, I went ahead (...) the passion I feel for educating sometimes plays against me. And it's there when I'm very direct, when I go race to the point, I do beat around the bush, I don't have a taste for decorating things. So I think that in my personal and self-critical reflection, 'ok, what did I do wrong, this was wrong because I made a generalization and said they [teachers] lacked calling', then I had to apologize to some colleagues (...) Is not all of them who are resistant, two, three, but still they spoil up thing, because they put on the table the critical nodes. (Principal 11, Interview 1)

At the end of the year this group of principals showed mainly experiences related to resilient relativism (58%), which involves a deepened embodied awareness of emotions, both at the time they are occurring and in the reflective re-experiencing of them alone and with others, as well as an emotional openness to feel, even when emotions are disturbing, the commitment to connectedness with others and self remains. As the following excerpt illustrates happiness is part of this principal's identity as school leader, fully embracing both positive and negative emotions:

Well, for me (...) I am a teacher since I wake up till I go to sleep. So I live it, I enjoy it, and if I have to suffer, I suffer! (Principal 7, Interview 2)

This can also be illustrated in the following interview excerpt from Principal 9, working on a comprehensive 8-12 school, where she talks about a critical experience. After her students took occupation of the school premises, someone had to face them and face the facts that they had destroyed school resources; teachers were afraid of doing so, as well as she was, but she did it anyway, as she recalls:

"I think I stepped outside my comfort zone in that minute (...) the students looked at me with such faces, (...) [from her] to speak to them with such rage when I told them at one point, (...) 'what revolution are we speaking about when we cleaned the shit upstairs (...) I'm talking about urine, excrement [left in the school by students] (...) I feel that the teachers said 'yes, look she is actually leading us', I empowered, I actually was seen as a leader (...) I feel that it was a powerful speech, we showed ourselves bare with the students, with the teachers and said 'no, this is also our home and it costs us (...) if we destroy it, ok, but I 'm not going to be part of it, I leave'. Then, the management team said 'we are also leaving, we are going with you' (...) I felt heard and not heard only by the teachers, but by the children, by parents also" (Principal 9, Interview 2).

In the first interview the most frequent task associated with emotions in the ascending group was conflict resolution (47%). By the second interview, conflict resolution remained important (36%), but building trusting relationships increased considerably from 11% to 39% , posing as the most frequent task. This can be illustrated in the following interview excerpts:

[talking about the celebration of teacher's day] I mean this was very planned, carefully planned as a way of saying "Look I appreciate you" (...). "I mean if you complain because you are not taken into account (...) well I am going to reward you for your performance (...)". We invited all to a dinner that had the intention of offsetting them, a fancy dinner (...) from the janitor to the leadership team in one room without distinctions. (...) the results are that every day there are more people joining in (Principal 12, Interview 1)

[...] ah, there was a lot of silence [at first], not now, now is a super-rich environment because we talk about many things, uh, we touch topics that we will discuss in the council questions- between jokes- there are all kinds of conversations, it's very nice! (Principal 11, Interview 2)

Regarding conflict resolution, the ascending group showed a more panoramic view of conflict, as these selected segment presents.

[...] teachers, within their disciplines, eh, did what they had always done, but they understood the message, moreover when afterwards we showed them the children's b-faces. As I told you, at the beginning they wanted to kick everyone out of the classroom, if someone said butt, he had to be sacked, but after they began to understand the logic and family dynamics of the children, the dynamics of abandonment, they began to understand why they had a...violent reaction, a certain sloth in the classroom and to make any contribution to anyone. (Principal 10, Interview 2)

In summary, findings showed three different patterns in the emotional epistemologies of novice principals when comparing their emotional meaning making at the beginning and at the end of their first year in the position: a descending group that presented an increment in lower forms of emotional knowledge such as emotional silence and emotional absolutism; a group of 3 principals whose most frequent epistemology was transitional, nonetheless remained in that same epistemology displaying little changes, and finally a group of 6 principals that ascended to higher forms of emotional knowing, that started as transitional however at the end of the school year showed mainly resilient relativism epistemologies.

Discussion

Findings show that novel principals reported different emotional experiences that can be framed under the meaning making stages proposed by Beatty and Brew (2004), albeit each exhibited a predominant approach. For most, six, between both interviews a change in the predominant epistemology involved an ascending trajectory in the epistemological framework, but for a few, three, change involved a descending spiral. Although the findings of this study are tentative due to the small number of participants they are suggestive of how emotional work is entangled with the organizational culture, how leadership behaviours impact teachers as well as how teachers' and students' behaviours impact principals' emotional meaning making. Considering that leaders' emotions have an important effect on the school organization, the differences observed between these two groups of principal merit attention as policy makers design actions to curb the higher turn over in principals in low-performing, high-needs schools (Berkovich and Eyal, 2015; Loeb, Kalogrides and Horng, 2010).

Using the emotional epistemologies perspective allowed us to capture the dynamic progression of the emotional knowing spiral when principals are in the early phase of their career confronting the difficult challenge of leading change for the first time. As reported in Oplatka's

(2011) study with late career principals in Israel, with more experience principals learned to rely less on just cognition and began to use emotions in more productive ways. The current study shows that in terms of the emotional dimension of leadership, newly appointed principals who during their first year did not move beyond initial conflicts learned to become silent, thus failing to use emotions as a resource to move their relationship with staff forward. These principals will most likely miss the opportunity for school renewal thus their learning process needs to be explicitly aided through an induction program, an aspect missing from Chile's policies to strengthen the principalship.

Albeit, findings showed that the number of emotions increased as time passed, negative emotions were particularly present at the start of the school year in both groups of principals, suggesting that conflict maybe a fundamental part of a principals' professional life as suggested by Ackerman & Maslin-Ostrowski (2004). This wounding process can help them to learn more about themselves as leaders, or as Beatty's framework (2002) posits it can help them to become more connected with their inner selves. Negative emotions are then essential to the development of the novice leader; but as Crawford (2009) states, it is how head teachers manage these potentially toxic emotions that is crucial to their success as school leaders as well as to their own personal well-being.

Both groups had meaningful negative emotions at the beginning of their post. Both showed relevant amounts of anxiety and sadness, however the descending group hosted enhanced disgust an emotion that was less frequent in the ascending group. In Power and Dalgeish perspective (2007), sadness is "loss or failure (actual or possible) of a valued role or goal" (p. 132); while disgust is "a person, object, or idea repulsive to self, and to valued roles and goals" (p. 132). It's here where we might find the key. As the aforementioned authors assert in reference to sadness:

The personal function is the increase in self-focus that may occur in sadness; in such a state of self-focused sadness the individual may review priorities given to important goals and roles in the light of an experienced loss or the possibility of such loss. Such reviews may enable individuals to alter the balance of their lives, for example to reassess the overvaluing of one goal... (Power and Dalgeish, 2007, p. 224)

On the contrary, disgust is associated with repulsion. A number of complex emotions such as guilt, shame, contempt, and loathing are derived from the basic emotion of disgust. These complex emotions resonate with our research, since principals from the descending group showed rejection and disapproval for the way their teachers or other school members behaved; as well as guilt for their own behaviour in certain situations.

Moreover, within the descending group the focus was mainly directed to power struggles with teachers, emotional attention was withdrawn from community development and building trusting relationships, in favour of conflict resolution, facilitating the promotion of emotionally conditioned teachers. As Harris (2007) claims, “teachers cannot be expected to be real with one another and tell ‘their truth’ if they are concerned about how such information might be used against them (...) The ability of the leader to respond to the negative emotions of staff, to offer appropriate support to soothe anxieties, and challenge to stimulate honest exploration of difficult and sensitive issues, kick starts the process of reculturing and creating a climate of trust” (p. 44).

Starratt (1991) points that principals are conditioned through organizational cultures into an antagonistic relationship with teachers, and in the context of reform "it is possible to move toward a relationship based on caring. For relationships of caring to develop, administrators will initially explore with their teachers those conditions necessary to initiate and maintain trust, honesty, and open communication” (1991; in Blase & Blase, 2002, p. 163). This is coherent to

what ascending principals in our investigation did in order to build trusting relationships among staff.

Moreover, this overall focus on building trusting relationships and a sense of community -which elicited mainly positive emotions in our research-, is a key practice of a highly trusted transformational school leader. According to a research conducted by Browning (2004) some of the key practices commonly used by these highly trusted transformational school leaders, involved offering trust to staff; actively listening; providing affirmation; making informed/consultative decisions; caring for staff and keeping confidences, among others, which are common features of the ascending school leaders group.

Hence, it should not surprise us that among the most important conditions for school success are the qualities of relationships; that is, whether they create or fail to create a sense of safety and belonging that fosters collaborative inquiry (Little, 1982, in Beatty, 2007a). Empirical evidence reveals a strong correspondence between trust and school effectiveness (Goddard, Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2001; in Beatty 2007a). Relational trust among adults in schools is also predictive of student academic performance (Bryk & Schneider, 2002; in Beatty 2007a). As Northfield and Sherman (2004) argued “schools need to emphasize and support a sense of belonging within a school and classroom community (...) in doing so, academic development can also be emphasized and supported in an integrated manner”.

It was suggested by Kemper (2004; in Crawford, 2009) that in a close-knitted group, the “contextual power of emotion will inspire confidence, enthusiasm and trust” (p.83). This relates strongly with the emotional epistemologies theory, where the shared emotional meaning making process leads people to be increasingly connected with self and others. When such collaborative cultures are developed, they are enjoyed and celebrated in their effectiveness for teaching and learning. Such cultures are also reportedly more emotionally comfortable (Nias, Southworth &

Yeomans, 1989; in Crawford, 2009). Moreover, “When leaders open themselves up to their own feelings and connect with the feelings of others, when they listen authentically to the aspirations and ideas of their colleagues, their efforts are likely to shift from directing to enabling” (Leithwood & Beatty, 2009, p. 100).

It is fundamentally important to state that epistemologies by being a progression of different modalities, can and will change over time depending mostly on what leadership practices principals focus on, be it deepening connections with others through fostering collaborative communities, or alienating oneself through emotional silence and absolutism. According to the literature, there exists a critical need for principals to learn how to support teachers and how to develop collaborative learning communities (Davis, Darling-Hammond, LaPointe & Meyerson, 2005; in Beatty, 2006). Considering that our research results show that conflict resolution with teachers is a frequent task for these novice principals, the development of learning communities needs to be a topic explicitly addressed in preparation programs. To foster the development of authentic collaborative learning communities, there is a need to foster school leaders’ confidence and experience in extending their collaborations to professional colleagues at all levels in the system (Beatty, 2006).

The role of emotion in leading change is readily noted but as yet, not fully explored as a central focus in leadership preparation programs (Beatty & Brew, 2007; in Beatty, 2006). In Chile, principal’s emotions are mentioned in some studies, but there have been no investigations that address emotional experiences and emotions of leaders, least in regards novel principals. As Hargreaves (1998) eloquently posits:

In research and policy alike, it is exceptionally important to acknowledge and honour the emotions of teaching and leadership, and to cultivate their active development as an essential aspect of developing higher quality in education. If we ignore the emotions of

education, we not only miss this opportunity but we also allow emotion to enter the world of teaching and leading by the back door, in damaging ways (...) (Hargreaves, 1998, pp. 318).

Conclusion

Schmidt (2010) affirmed that providing principals with the necessary knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes, let alone the emotional support to lead schools effectively has become increasingly problematic in relation to the challenges faced by a dynamic and changing educational culture. As leaders' visions shift to suit the changing educational demands, leadership training must also evolve. Some researchers (Bottery, 2006; Day et al., 2000, in Schmidt, 2010), claim that what leaders do not need right now is more competency and skill-based training. Rather, they require programs with a holistic model for assisting potential, new or veteran leaders in clarifying their values, their principles and their educational philosophy, as well as providing emotional support.

Notwithstanding these results are tentative due to the small number of participants, they suggest why some school leaders at the beginning of their careers thrive or fail in their work, demonstrating the importance of the emotional experiences novice principals encounter and how leadership behaviours impact teachers as well as how teachers' and students' behaviours impact principals' emotional meaning making. Therefore, these emotional experiences ought to be understood and studied to promote change and transformation in schools.

We suggest for future research to commit to the emotional data to having research methods specially tailored for getting hold of them and for an extended period of time to better understand how emotional epistemologies change over the following years. We also advocate for more research in the field of emotions and the building of trusting relationships within the school community in schools and how it impacts teaching and learning processes and outcomes. Finally,

these findings suggest the need for principal preparation programmes that explicitly note the role of emotions in the highly changing school contexts and consequently improve the emotional experiences of novice principals in their first year of duty.

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Appendix 1

Constructing and implementing a shared strategic vision	Promoting and shaping an inclusive educational culture, equitable and with high expectations regarding student learning and staff performance.
Developing Professional Capacities:	Identifying needs to strengthen teachers' and educational assistant's capacities, promoting various forms of continuous professional development.
Leading teaching and learning processes	Supervise curriculum implementation and students' learning for the improvement of teaching processes and pedagogical management;
Developing the school community and participation	Promoting a climate of trust among school actors, fostering dialogue and collaboration among teachers and students.
Developing and managing the organization	Establishing links with institutions, organizations and actors in the wider community that contribute to achieving the school's goals and objectives.
Personal resources	Values, social skills and professional knowledge are included in the areas of: flexible management for change, communication skills, building trust, and articulation between knowledge and practice.

Appendix 2

Characteristic of the Schools Lead by Participating principals

School ID*	Educational Level	Location	IVE	SEP Classification	Enrolment 2014
1	Elementary	Urban	76%	Emergent	130-140
2	Elementary	Urban	89%	Recuperation	170-180
3	Elementary	Urban	55%	Emergent	330-340
4	High School	Urban	79%	Emergent	760-770
5	Elementary	Urban	87%	Emergent	140-150
6	Elementary	Rural	88%	Emergent	180-190
7	Elementary	Urban	72%	Emergent	250-260
8	Elementary	Rural	75%	Emergent	230-240
9	Comprehensive 8-12	Urban	84%	Emergent	330-340
10	Elementary	Urban	66%	Emergent	170-180
11	High School	Urban	68%	Emergent	1330-1400
12	Comprehensive K-12	Urban	73%	Emergent	600-610
13	Elementary	Rural	88%	Emergent	150-160

Source: Ministry of Education Centre for Studies. To protect anonymity, data reported as range. IVE indicates the proportion of students growing-up below the poverty line. SEP school classification: Autonomous schools have consistently demonstrated high achievement on measurements administered by the Ministry of Education; Emergent schools have average or below average performance, or too few students to draw inferences, or have operated for two years or less; Recuperation schools have consistently had poor performance or had not submitted an improvement plan in the timeframe required.