Supporting Teacher Leadership in Palestine: An Emancipatory Approach

Hanan Ramahi
Ramallah, Palestine

This article focuses on support for teacher leadership using a model adapted from the HertsCam teacher Led Development Work programme. It explores the question of the limitations of 'policy borrowing' but addresses this in a way which reveals a great deal about the potential links between teacher leadership and emancipation. Programmes to support adult learning often claim to be emancipatory but in this article the account of the political and cultural context is significant. The article presents recommendations which could have far reaching consequences for societies engaged in a struggle for identity.

Keywords: Emancipation, teacher leadership, political struggle, critical thinking

Introduction

I am a Palestinian-American educator and founder of a kindergarten-through-secondary school in Ramallah, Palestine. I wanted to provide a more positive, supportive educational environment for a growing English-speaking population in the Palestinian Territory. Palestine is a severely disadvantaged place in need of massive reconstruction. The need to improve educational provision and raise academic standards propelled me to create a new reality for an under-served section of Palestinian society. For my doctoral study, I wanted to undertake research that would contribute to improving my school (Ramahi, 2017). I chose, therefore, to focus on enabling teachers to take the lead in improving teaching and learning.

The discourse on teacher leadership appealed to me. Conceptualisations of leadership as distributed instead of the traditional person-centred style (Gronn, 2003) enabled me to think about ways to mobilise teachers. Inviting teachers to see themselves as agents of change marked a substantive departure from programmes that mostly delivered technical knowledge but failed to cultivate agency in teachers (Frost, 2012). The idea of non-positional teacher leadership provided a democratic, egalitarian approach to enable teachers to participate in the school improvement process, regardless of post, title, or special responsibility (Frost, 2012; 2018). This is where the UK-based HertsCam Network offered a practical, thriving example of a web of teachers and schools in which non-positional teacher leadership (Hill, 2014; Frost, 2018) was promoted. Thus, I adopted the programme and tailored it to my school context.

I adopted a critical participatory action-based approach to my research which would enable me to create new knowledge by leading a practical intervention (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). My approach had many of the features of action research but I wanted to avoid the potentially limiting effect of adopting a particular paradigm. My research involved working alongside colleagues, and through a process of action, monitoring, reflection and evaluation, we learned how to build a form of support for teacher leadership suitable to our circumstances. Action-based research is useful for meaning making in emergent settings which lack an evidence base for policymaking, such as those of the Arab World (Akkary, 2014).

The study spanned 15 months and was centred solely on my own school. I gathered evidence by drawing on common data collection techniques as well as opportunistic programme-led activities and events. The support group sessions I facilitated generated evidence similar to that usually arising from focus groups. One-to-one supervisions with each participant generated evidence of the kind that would normally come from semi-structured interviews. Participants collected evidence of their experience in the form of portfolios which provided rich documentary evidence. I kept a research journal in which I recorded everything from the initial reconnaissance to the final meetings with colleagues to evaluate what we had achieved. I maintained vigilant reflexivity throughout the study (Finlay, 2002; Somekh, 1995). The centrepiece of my thesis was a critical narrative account (Ramahi, 2017) on which this article is based.

The Palestinian Context

As stated above, the HertsCam programme was very appealing, but my context is quite different to the one in which that programme was developed. It was encouraging to learn that the approach had been used in countries other than the UK (Frost, 2011), but the Palestinian context is radically different. Its troubled history has taken its toll on the education system and the wider culture which affects it.

The Palestinian people have never really had a chance to direct their education. Historically, they have been subject to the educational agendas of foreign powers and international intervention dating back from the introduction of schooling under Ottoman rule in the mid-1800s, through British Mandate governance (1917-1948) and Israeli military occupation (1967-1994) (Barakat, 2007; Van Dyke & Randall, 2002). Under a 20-year period of British governance, education was aimed at reinforcing colonial rule and imperial expansion. In addition to failing to meet the needs of the Palestinians, British policy reinforced a growing class rift by inculcating a foreign culture. Palestinian educational self-governance came to a complete halt in 1947 when the UN partitioned historic Palestine (Said, 1992). The ensuing war led to the majority of the Palestinian population being forcibly expelled from historic Palestine and becoming refugees (Said & Hitchens, 2001). The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) provided schools but these were subject to the educational policies and curricula of donor countries (Hanafi, Hilal, & Takkenberg, 2014). There was little concern for the changing reality of dispossessed Palestinians, which led to educational provision that failed to accommodate their needs or prepare them for the future.

In 1994, the first ever Palestinian Ministry of Education was born out of the newly established Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Education was seen as a strategic site for nation building and a means to social transformation (Barakat, 2007; Van Dyke & Randall, 2002). It was this wave of enthusiasm that prompted me to establish my school in 1995. However, Palestinian government officials were forced to rely on international funding and foreign expertise (Velloso de Santisteban, 2002), which came at a high cost. As has been demonstrated internationally, wholesale policy transfer fails to align with contextual realities (Affouneh, 2007; Steiner-Khamsi, 2010). Imported programmes inculcate foreign values and agendas that hinder the development of locally-derived reforms. In Palestine, this reinforced a post-colonial culture of dependency on foreign powers under the banner of globalization. The absence of a Palestinian vision and leadership together with a lack of key stakeholder engagement (Shinn, 2012), contributed to continued deterioration in the quality of education (Affouneh, 2007). Despite extensive reconstruction efforts, teachers continued to be excluded from influencing the direction of education (Shinn, 2012), which arguably leads to a sense of

marginalisation and disaffection. School principals have also complained of voicelessness and exclusion under PNA-rule (Ramahi, 2013).

This is why teacher leadership, as practiced in HertsCam, stood out for me as a strategy for educational change in Palestine. It offered a context-relevant and sustainable vehicle for mobilising teachers as agents of change. It would provide a local evidence base on which Palestinian policymakers could draw. Inviting all teachers to exercise leadership cultivates democratic values and practice.

Conceptualising Teacher Leadership

Teacher leadership has been presented as a means to achieve wide-scale education reform and school improvement (York-Barr & Duke, 2004) but overwhelmingly it is assumed that this involves teachers having management roles, such as assistant principals and department heads, alongside teaching responsibilities (York-Barr & Duke, 2004; Wenner & Campbell, 2017). This approach seemed to resonate with the idea of distributed leadership as a form of extended leadership within organisations (Gronn, 2003). However, being a Palestinian-American had sensitised me to the extent to which contextual factors influence meaning-making and professional practice. Increasingly, I came to recognise that studies of educational leadership assumed the global relevance of findings from Western contexts (Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2017). This inattention to the role of context threatens to impede the development of international knowledge on educational leadership (Hallinger & Chen, 2015) in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (Hallinger & Hammad, 2017; Oplatka & Arar, 2017). If I was to enable the development of teacher leadership at my school, I needed an approach that would account for local realities. This is key for a place like Palestine, with its extreme conditions and urgent development needs.

I was drawn to the non-positional approach to teacher leadership as a way of influencing pedagogical practice, organisational structures, and school culture (Frost, 2012; 2014). This perspective was new to me, as was the concept of leadership as influence (Yukl, 2010). In this, leadership is viewed as an activity contingent upon organisational conditions, relational dynamics, and human agency (Gronn, 2003; Spillane, 2005). This contrasts with the customary view of leadership as being enacted by a singular, charismatic leader that is prevalent in settings that espouse person-centred leadership models and where power-distant cultural norms predominate (Hofstede, 2001). Such is the case in MENA countries (Obeidat, Shannak, Masa'deh & Al-Jarrah, 2012) of which Palestine is one.

In the context of the International Teacher Leadership initiative (Frost, 2011) the term non-positional teacher leadership was used to distinguish between appointed teacher leaders and those choosing to practice leadership as an activity regardless of rank, title, or status. The non-positional approach allows teachers to exercise their agency as a means to improve teaching and learning at their schools and beyond. The activity is far from haphazard or informal and entails clarifying values, having a vision, and acting strategically (Frost, 2012). In this way teachers are empowered and their voice is heard. In Palestine, practices that promote democratisation and enhance human agency for the wellbeing of future generations are desperately needed. Non-positional teacher leadership seemed to offer a way to foster this at my school and potentially in Palestine (Ramahi, 2017).

The teacher-led development work framework supports teachers through a year-long, school-based programme designed to address their individual professional concern (Frost, 2000). A sequence of procedures, tools, and instruments assist teachers in conducting a school-based project aimed at building knowledge in collaboration with colleagues. Teachers disseminate their work through consultation, group discussion, and leadership activity, whilst engaging in reflective exercises and group dialogue (Hill, 2014). These features, in addition to networking, facilitate the development of teacher self-efficacy and extend organisational social capital. The HertsCam Network and International Teacher Leadership (ITL) initiative illustrate the viability of the model and its capacity to promote the non-positional approach in a host of countries. The transferability of the model attests to its feasibility in a place like Palestine where I was able to adapt it to my school's educational and cultural settings and introduce it as 'Teachers Leading the Way.'

The Programme: Teachers Leading the Way

I discussed my proposal with the senior leadership team at my school and we named my programme 'Teachers Leading the Way' (TLW) in order to emphasise the activity-based approach of the type of leadership that I was advocating. It was introduced as part of the school's professional learning provision in order to help shift teachers' views of professional development towards a more ongoing, capacity-building one. This corresponds with recent attempts to change professional development from something done *to* teachers to that done *for, with* and *by* teachers (Cordingley et al., 2003; Timperley et al., 2007).

TLW draws heavily on a set of context-friendly tools and procedures developed by HertsCam and refined in ITL (Frost, 2011). I made some adjustments to suit the educational and organisational conditions of my school, and Palestinian-Arab culture. The fundamental aim of the programme rests on developing teachers' capacity to improve pedagogy for enhanced student performance, whilst enhancing teacher agency, promoting collaboration, and nurturing and embedding democratic values and practices. Such process-led learning and problem-based knowledge building contrasts with the transmission, results-based mode prevalent in MENA (Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation & UNDP, 2012). TLW was facilitated by a year-long, school-based approach, and activities and events. I list them below:

- seven after-school, site-based group meetings
- three individual supervisions for each participant
- an intra-group knowledge building event
- completion of a portfolio of evidence by individual participants
- a school event involving participants presenting their project outcomes to the entire school staff
- certification upon programme completion

I collaborated with one of the senior members of staff at the school to facilitate the programme. We selected from among the many who responded to our invitation and the resulting cohort of 12 participants included both teachers and support staff. Integral to the programme were opportunities and spaces for participants to reflect individually and collectively, and to engage critically on educational matters that support or impede teacher innovation. Participants were encouraged to reflect on their moral purpose as educators. In addition to concrete and practical leadership opportunities, we aimed to cultivate in teachers a new agential mindset in which they would see themselves as responsible for and capable of improving teaching practices and learning outcomes.

The operation of the Teachers Leading the Way programme was remarkable. We were able to adjust and refine the facilitation through the cycles of action, monitoring, reflection and evaluation described above. A full account of this process of development is beyond the scope of this article and I have chosen instead to focus on some key outcomes that centre of the idea of emancipatory learning (Ramahi, 2017; 2015).

Programme Outcomes

The aim of the TLW programme had been to empower teachers to lead school improvement and there is no doubt that tangible changes in practice occurred. A good example is the project led by Rana Daoud which was subsequently published (Daoud & Ramahi, 2017). Her project focused on the quality of relationships between students in the primary sector of the school. She collaborated with colleagues and students, then devised and trialled a range of tools to enable students to work on their self-regulation and develop their social skills. The strategies that emerged in this project were adopted as whole school policy. Rana's project was not untypical and the outcomes of all the projects supported by the TLW programme were of great value to the school. However, for the purposes of this article, I want to focus on what was an unanticipated outcome of the programme—emancipatory learning.

The emancipatory learning dimension became so significant because of the issues I alluded to in the section of the article dealing with the Palestinian context where I discussed issues such as the failure of the system to fuel social transformation, feelings of voicelessness, and marginalisation. Emancipatory approaches to education can activate marginalised members of society towards democratic engagement and the production of 'really useful knowledge' (Johnson, 1979) in order to transform their reality (Freire, 1970). A key precept is that learning should support critical thinking on matters that are relevant to everyday living (Giroux, 2011; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007). An important feature of this sort of learning is 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1970) or raising awareness of the root causes of injustices and inequalities that lead to socio-political disenfranchisement. Pedagogic tools such as reflection, dialogue, action and collaboration constitute 'praxis' which leads to transformation (Freire, 1970) and collective empowerment aimed at improving life conditions.

What emerged in my study was evidence of emancipatory learning which I now discuss under the headings of critical thinking, the capacity for action, collaboration and really useful knowledge.

Critical Thinking

Critical thinking emerged amongst participants early on in the programme as a response to the challenge of conducting development work. When teachers found certain tasks and activities difficult and anxiety-producing, they started to reflect critically on the reasons behind their unease. This centred on process-led learning and problem-based knowledge building. The former required agential activity; the latter, awareness and articulation of educational values. Both modalities were underdeveloped because they contrasted with the results-based, rote style pedagogy, to which teachers in Palestine are accustomed.

Participants expressed their frustration at the inability to act agentially and think independently when conducting their projects. The following comment illustrates this and reveals layers of teachers' disempowerment:

> *I'm not used to doing something and evaluating it for myself. Usually, we're used to being asked to do something by someone and to have someone else evaluate it. For me to change in the way I find information on my own makes me question my confidence…*
>
> (Munir, Secondary Level Teacher)

Shifting the learning mode involves disruption of norms and psychic agitation. Several teachers expressed uncertainty and self-doubt early on in the programme. Munir, for example, explains:

> *It's a method that goes against the way we do things around here, which I've been used to for many years. All of a sudden, I'm going to learn in a new way. I'm going in the opposite direction, like someone who has always been driving on the right side and now has to drive on the left.*
>
> (Munir, Secondary Level Teacher)

This realisation illuminates the potentially disempowering role of change in a learning culture. Another participant identified the damaging impact that conventional pedagogy can have.

> *The mind developed in a way that isn't flexible. Teaching wasn't done in a way that guided learning or enabled thinking, creativity or problem solving. It was all lots of information.*
>
> (Huda, Manager)

Participants realised that they were accustomed to being fed 'lots of information' that inhibited problem solving and creativity. Conscientisation fuels a critical stance on the system. Critical reflection on pedagogy led to considerations of the larger socio-cultural forces that underlie teachers' voicelessness and disenfranchisement.

> *Our society doesn't allow us to think on our own or express our individual thoughts. All of a sudden, I'm going to solve the problem. I'm the owner of the idea and the solution… it contradicts the local environment. It's from this reality that one has low confidence.*
>
> (Munir, Secondary Level Teacher)

The non-hierarchical approach to leading change and innovation, and TLW's capacity to support its development, generated ownership and a sense of hope. Hope is fundamental to fostering grassroots movements (Freire, 1973). The opportunity to build contextually relevant knowledge for improving teaching and learning played an instrumental role in provoking criticality of socio-cultural and educational forces that hinder independent thinking, self-expression and agency.

The Capacity for Action
    A fundamental feature of emancipatory learning is that it leads to individuals taking action to improve their life conditions. The TLW programme enabled teachers to develop their capacity to improve their workplace and classroom practices, which led to enhanced agency. My co-facilitator's accounts are insightful in this regard. She noted a change in participants' willingness to take the lead.

> *At the beginning, they wanted me to do things for them, like the initial consultations with teachers...*[and] *writing the title... Now they take the initiative to do things.*
> (Programme Co-facilitator)

    Once teachers started to engage with tasks in the programme and saw the positive outcomes, their views of leadership as exclusively top-down and the privilege of a select few began to change. My co-facilitator explained this shift.

> *The idea of leadership to them meant that it had to come from above, that you consult someone in a higher position. As the programme progressed this changed from asking for ideas on what to do, to telling me what they wanted and planned to do.*
> (Programme Co-facilitator)

    Participants took ownership of their professional learning and contributing to school improvement. They expressed a sense of release from viewing authority as the exclusive source of knowledge and expertise. In the context of professional learning this is emancipatory.
    The ability to initiate change and create useful knowledge independently of authority figures releases teachers from the control of institutions and structural forces. The programme's process-oriented approach reinforces a sense of freedom.

> *It's like someone was shackled and this programme removed those constraints, and opened the door for me to work freely and not be afraid about the outcomes of my work.*
> (Naim, Primary Level Teacher)

Statements such as this suggest that the education system in Palestine has played a role in restricting people's freedom of thought and expression, and arguably their action. The opportunity to take action to improve their context seems to have played an instrumental role in promoting participants' critical reflection on socio-cultural and educational forces.

Collaboration

Collaboration is a hallmark of emancipatory learning because through collective efforts individuals improve the conditions of their community and engage in participatory activity. This differs from educational models that promote self-improvement for purely personal gain. In our TLW programme group, discussions provided an opportunity for teachers to become familiar with each other's projects. This introduced them to a wealth of practical knowledge available to them, which constitutes a low-cost resource.

> *Now I sit with Nur and ask her where she's reached with her project; I make suggestions, give advice.*
>
> (Amal, Secondary-Level Teacher)

> *Nawal, Naim and I have agreed to meet to discuss* [projects]. *Even though my project is not similar to theirs and so I may not benefit but I have things I would like to share with them. I'm going to benefit from their thinking and they in turn, I'm sure, will benefit from mine.*
>
> (Nawal, Mid-level Manager)

A communal ethos is evident in participants' statements and illustrates a genuine concern for collective wellbeing. A learning method that can enhance communal ties and care for the community's wellbeing increases social capital. During group meetings, when teachers engaged in critical dialogue, they discovered that they had a common plight. This led to professional bonding and promoted collaboration amongst teachers that cut across teaching levels and specialisms.

> *Since the start of the programme, I see the development of collaboration because of the similarities in solving problems. Before that the primary* [level teachers] *were isolated from the secondary.*
>
> (Co-tutor, Cycle Review 1)

Members of the senior leadership team also observed this development. The principal noted how collaboration extended beyond members of the programme to non-participating teachers.

> [The programme] *generated among them and their colleagues' collaboration...* [and] *a circle of support concerned with similar topics to discuss better ways of practice. This inevitably leads to development.*

> *... everyone has become involved in the process. Each group of subject teachers are asking each other about better ways of doing things.*
>
> (Principal, Cycle Review 1)

The principal's observation confirms the emergence of collaboration amongst teachers and the integration of otherwise isolated teachers into a larger, more connected community of practitioners and professional learners.

Really Useful Knowledge

    The term 'really useful knowledge' was used in 19th century UK and was linked to the idea of vocational education (Johnson, 1979). Subsequently it was taken up by those interested in adult education and emancipatory learning (Thompson, 2000).

    The aim of emancipatory learning is to enable people to create really useful knowledge for the betterment of their community. This is best done when people draw on experience of real-life problems and challenges. Teachers supported by the TLW programme drew on workplace knowledge to address pedagogical issues and concerns. Project outcomes constituted professional knowledge that was useful for participants and the entire school community. All 12 group members completed projects that entailed solutions to workplace problems. These could be applied by teachers at the school and elsewhere. The projects were showcased in an end-of-year presentation event, which I documented in my research journal.

> *Teachers and support staff were impressed by the presenters' work. One teacher said, 'I'm amazed at the work that has been done. They have left me speechless.' Another said, 'In my work of 18 years at this school someone finally came to solve a problem that I've been facing all this time.' Many other teachers gave favourable feedback. The atmosphere was extremely positive.*
>
> (Research Journal)

    My programme enabled teachers to develop practice and produce highly relevant knowledge that can be used by others. This was quite unlike any previous approach at my school. In this regard, the reception and testimony of teachers who did not participate in the programme is highly valuable, a view endorsed by the school principal.

> *The Principal noted that the projects were valuable and had potential for impact on the school... She was pleased with the outcomes, and the new strategies and methods that participants arrived at.*
>
> (Research Journal)

    The principal adopted several strategies as school policy (Daoud & Ramahi, 2017; Ramahi, 2017) and indicated the programme's capacity to transform not only teachers' practices but also their mindset.

> *The Principal noted how Munir and Nawal had conducted projects that led them to improve practices and thus attitudes about things in the school that they were previously complaining about but not doing anything to change. The Deputy Director concurred.*
>
> (Research journal)

The process of collectively producing really useful knowledge can transform teachers into agents of change capable of creating alternative realities and solving persistent problems in the midst of individual idleness.

Implications and Recommendations

The practice of teacher leadership is at a crossroads. If school senior leaders choose to enact positional leadership they run the risk reinforcing hierarchy and elitism by elevating in rank and status a select few; a matter that leads to tensions amongst teachers (Manguin, 2005). Alternatively, those who have the courage to adopt the non-hierarchical approach by means of programmes such as TLW, not only promote amongst teachers enhanced agency and voice (Bangs & Frost, 2015) but also promote collaboration and democratic values. In the context of Palestine, emancipatory professional learning has implications for individual, organisational and cultural transformation.

The outcomes of the TLW programme at my school provides evidence of Palestinians' ability to produce relevant, cost-effective knowledge when the conditions and opportunities are enabled. This has entailed shifting teachers' views and experiences of learning towards problem-based and process-led approaches. Feelings of insecurity and self-doubt led teachers to question the way they had been taught but this phase of unlearning precipitated a shift to knowledge construction by means of self-guided, context-relevant modalities. Critical dialogue and reflection challenge disempowerment. I would argue that the process must start from teachers' values to become a bottom-up movement predicated on workplace realities and the realization of the need for change.

When teachers work as a collective, the knowledge they produce must necessarily be useful to the entire community. Non-participating teachers' and the principal's positive response to teachers' project outcomes reveals the extent of its usefulness to improving pedagogy and ultimately student performance. When knowledge is produced from within an organisation, it is based on workplace realities and not abstract theory or external expertise. Hence the link between the non-positional approach and emancipatory learning is underscored by the usefulness of the produced knowledge to the entire community, as is demonstrated by my study.

Education reform must incorporate, as a primary aim, strategies that are resource-friendly and derived locally if it is to be sustained. Individual freedoms and democratic engagement must be promoted in schools through emancipatory learning. Non-positional teacher leadership, through programmes such as the TLW programme discussed above, can make a major contribution to reform by empowering teachers and transforming professional cultures. Palestinian policymakers are encouraged to draw on programmes and initiatives that have demonstrated their impact in transforming teachers and organisational cultures in the Palestinian context (Abdullah, 2016). The practice of non-positional teacher leadership is capable of creating alternative realities for an education system that has few prospects of self-reliance and independence in the near or distant future.

References

Abdullah, G. (Ed.). (2016). *What education do we want? A discussion of emancipatory education in Palestine.* Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. Retrieved from: http://www.rosaluxemburg.ps

Akkary, R. K. (2014). Facing the challenges of educational reform in the Arab world. *Journal of Educational Change, 15*(2), 179-202.

Affouneh, S. J. (2007). How sustained conflict makes moral education impossible: some observations from Palestine. *Journal of Moral Education, 36*(3), 343-356.

Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation and United Nations Development Programme (2012). *Arab knowledge report 2010/2011: Preparing future generations for the knowledge society*. Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Foundation and United Nations Development Programme.

Bangs, J. & Frost, D. (2016). Non-positional teacher leadership: Distributed leadership and self-efficacy. In R. Kneyber & J. Evers (Eds.), *Flip the system: Changing education from the ground up* (pp. 91-107). London: Routledge.

Barakat, B. F. (2007). The struggle for Palestinian national education past and present. In C. Brock & L. Z. Levers (Eds), *Aspects of education in the Middle East and North Africa* (pp. 185-207). Oxford: Symposium.

Clarke S & O'Donoghue T (2017). Educational leadership and context: A rendering of an inseparable relationship. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 65*(2), 167-182.

Carr, W. & Kemmis, S. (1986). *Becoming critical: Education knowledge and action research.* London: Routledge.

Cordingley, P., Bell, M., Thomason, S. & Firth, A. (2005). *The impact of collaborative continuing professional development (CPD) on classroom teaching and learning. Review: How do collaborative and sustained CPD and sustained but not collaborative CPD affect teaching and learning?* London: EPPI-Centre.

Daoud, R. & Ramahi, H. (2017). Developing strategies to improve relationship between student in a school in Palestine. In D. Frost, *Empowering teachers as agents of change: A non-positional approach to teacher leadership* (pp. 18-24) Cambridge: LfL the Cambridge Network.

Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research*, *2*(2), 209-230.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Freire, P. (1973). *Pedagogy of hope: Relieving pedagogy of the oppressed.* London: Bloomsbury.

Frost, D. (2000). Teacher-led school improvement: Agency and strategy. *Management in Education*, *14*(4 & 5), 21-24 & 17-20.

Frost, D. (2011). *Supporting teacher leadership in 15 countries:Tthe International Teacher Leadership project, Phase 1 - A report*, Cambridge: Leadership for Learning University of Cambridge Faculty of Education.

Frost, D. (2012). From professional development to system change: Teacher leadership and innovation, *Professional Development in Education* (special issue on Teacher Leadership and Professional Development) 38 (2), 205-227.

Frost, D. (2014). *Transforming Education Through Teacher Leadership*. Cambridge: LfL the Cambridge Network.

Frost, D. (2018). HertsCam: A teacher-led organisation to support teacher leadership. *International Journal of Teacher Leadership,* 9 (1), 79-100.

Giroux, H. A. (1989). *Schooling for democracy: Critical pedagogy in the modern age*. London: Routledge.

Gronn, P. (2003). Leadership: Who needs it? *School Leadership & Management, 23*(3), 267-291.

Hallinger, P. & Chen, J. (2015). Review of research on educational leadership and management in Asia: A comparative analysis of research topics and methods, 1995–2012. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership, 43*(1), 5-27.

Hallinger, P. & Hammad, W. (2017). Knowledge production on educational leadership and management in Arab societies: A systematic review of research. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*. Epub ahead of print 11 July 2017. DOI:1741143217717280

Hill, V. (2014). The HertsCam TLDW programme. In D. Frost (Ed.), *Transforming education through teacher leadership* (pp. 73-83). Cambridge: LfL, University of Cambridge Faculty of Education."

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across cultures*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Johnson, R. (1993). 'Really useful knowledge', 1790–1850. In M. Thorpe, R. Edwards, & A. Hanson (Eds.), *Culture and processes of adult learning*. Milton Keynes: Open University and Routledge.

Mangin, M. M. (2005). Distributed leadership and the culture of schools: Teacher leaders' strategies for gaining access to classrooms. *Journal of School Leadership, 15*(4), 456-484.

McLaren, P. & Kincheloe, J. L. (2007). *Critical pedagogy: Where are we now?* New York: Peter Lang.

Obeidat, B., Shannak, R., Masa'deh, R. & Al-Jarrah, I. (2012). Toward better understanding for Arabian culture: Implications based on Hofstede's cultural model. *European Journal of Social Sciences, 28*(4), 512-522.

Oplatka, I. & Arar, K. (2017). The research on educational leadership and management in the Arab world since the 1990s: A systematic review. *Review of Education, 5*(3), 267-307.

Ramahi, H. (2013). Headteachers' perceptions of their preparation and development for headship in the occupied Palestinian Territories: a case study. Unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK.

Ramahi, H. (2015). *Education in Palestine: current challenges and emancipatory alternatives.* Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. Retrieved from http://www.rosaluxemburg.ps

Ramahi, H. (2017). Teachers leading school improvement and education reconstruction in Palestine. Unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge: University of Cambridge

Said, E. W. and Hitchens, C. (2001). *Blaming the victims: Spurious scholarship and the Palestinian question*. London: Verso.

Shinn, C. (2012). Teacher Education Reform in Palestine: Policy Challenges amid Donor Expectations. *Comparative Education Review*, 56(4), 608-633.

Somekh, B. (1995). The contribution of action research to development in social endeavours: a position paper on action research methodology. *British Educational Research Journal*, 21(3), 339-355.

Spillane, J. P. (2005). Distributed leadership. *The Educational Forum, 69*(2), 143-150.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2010). The politics and economics of comparison. *Comparative Education Review* 54(3), 323-342.

Thompson, J. (2000). *Women Class and Education.* London: Routledge.

Timperley, H., Wilson, A., Barrar, H. and Fung, I. (2007). *Teacher Professional Learning and Development - Best Evidence Synthesis Iteration*. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Ministry of Education.

Van Dyke, B. G., & Randall, E. V. (2002). Educational reform in post-Accord Palestine: a synthesis of Palestinian perspectives. *Educational Studies*, 28(1), 17-32.

Velloso de Santisteban, A. (2002). Palestinian education: a national curriculum against all odds. *International Journal of Educational Development* 22(2), 145-154.

Wenner J.A. and Campbell, T. (2017). The theoretical and empirical basis of teacher leadership:
A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research* 87(1): 134-171.

York-Barr, J. and Duke, K. (2004). What do we know about teacher leadership? Findings from
two decades of scholarship. *Review of educational research* 74(3), 255-316.