

Exploring School Leadership in Chile Using Generational Theory: A Multiple Case Study of
The Careers of Boomer, GenerationX and Millennial Headteachers

UCL Institute of Education

Sergio Galdames

Doctor of Philosophy

DECLARATION

I, Sergio Galdames, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Word count (exclusive of references and appendices): 84,789

Signature: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin by expressing my deepest gratitude to my supervisors. Karen, thanks for allowing me to start this beautiful journey after a single informal meeting in the middle of the Andes. David, your arrival at the final stages of this project brought most needed energies and perspectives. Also, I want to thank the *Upgrade Panel*, Toby Greany and Richard Freeman, your early advice shaped this research in the right direction.

While my name is on the cover of this manuscript far from being an individual effort, this thesis is the result of many minds, hands and hearts. First, I want to thank my partner, future Dr Paulina Bravo, your love and patience during this adventure sustained me to move forward, even in the darkest moments. Thanks for reading this manuscript multiple times, for giving me constant feedback and for allowing me to skip doing-the-dishes every other time. Second, to my best friend in the northern hemisphere, Dr Sophia Lam, thanks for these four years of companionship, I will always treasure our 'Gossip-Fridays' at the IoE bar and our capacity to merge stupidity with professional development.

I do not have space in this section to make justice to all the fantastic people I meet in the UK during these four years but thanks to Felipe, Haira, Bruno, Franciscos, Ikuyo, Coca, Victor and Laura, thanks for listening to my story and for sharing yours with me. At 12,000 km of distance, I want to acknowledge the support from my *bestie* in the southern world, Dr Alvaro Gonzalez, who gave vital support over the years (and some of the greatest memes). To Dr Fabian Campos, who always keep me updated on the influence of time in the Chilean educational system. Also, to my brother, my favourite Gen-Z, Juan Galdames, who gave me a unique perspective and tons of love.

I can't abandon this page without giving credit to the amazing professionals at the Institute, who in different degrees help me to refine my academic skills. To Peter Earley, Sarah Bubb and Kathryn Riley, who's work I read multiple times before arriving in London, our interactions while brief made a massive contribution in my professional life. To Claudia Lapping and Jane Perryman, who led the first module I took back in 2015, you taught me to be innovative and brave. Finally, the best educator I found at UCL, the fantastic Nazlin Bhimani at the heart of the IoE library, your world-class workshops and professionalism beyond the boundaries of the classroom gave me the tools to navigate an ocean of knowledge.

Last but not least, I want to give my sincere appreciation for all the participants of this study, not only for the generosity to share your life history with me but for all the work you do leading learning in the some of the most remote and challenging public schools of Chile.

ABSTRACT

Generation theory (Mannheim, 1952) argues that members of the same cohort or generational location, share a similar set of beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. These ideas have underpinned a series of studies in diverse areas, including sociology of work, aiming to understand individual and organisational practices (Smola and Sutton, 2002). In recent years, popularised by the work of Howe and Strauss (2000), the labels of Silent (90 and 71 years old), Boomers (70-55), GenXs (54-40), and Millennials (20-39) have populated both research and popular media. There is a growing interest in the education sector for generational studies (Stone-Johnson, 2011; Edge et al., 2016). Previous studies have concentrated in the English speaking northern hemisphere, less is known about the influence of generation in Latin-American.

Chilean public-schools are led by three different cohorts: Boomers (65%), GenX (25%) and Millennials (10%) (Galdames, 2019). Shaped by a turbulent socio-political background, each generation grew up in a specific temporal location. As most Latin-American countries, Chile experienced a long military dictatorship between 1973 and 1990, breaking down these cohorts in before-and-after democratic time pockets (Cornejo *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, the lack of a formal career path for school leaders leaves the professional decisions to the discretion of each aspiring headteacher.

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the discussion about careers, leadership and generation, seeking to understand the influence of generation theory in the professional path of public-school headteachers. Under a qualitative approach, I conducted biographical interviews with 28 public school headteachers (9 Boomers; 10 GenX; 9 Millennials), exploring their childhood, their experiences as teachers, their trajectories towards the headship and their ideas about the future. The findings aim to expand research and to feed the public policies for school leaders' careers, acknowledging the unique characteristic and demands of each generation.

IMPACT STATEMENT

Supported by generational lenses, this thesis explores the career of public school headteachers in Chile. The findings of this research in educational leadership have a significant impact both for researchers and practitioners. The present study broadens the geographical reach of previous works in school leadership, as it is one of a few studies that empirically explore the evolution in time of the career of headteachers in the Latin-American context of Chile. By analysing the professional and personal journey of school leaders during the few last decades, in a context characterised by political turmoil, the present study shed light on the relationship between policy and individual school leaders' career.

The comparison among Boomers, GenXers and Millennials school leaders, contributes to the well-established discussion in sociology and work studies, in terms of the generational difference and its consequences for individuals and organisations. The evidence gathered in this study could serve as a stepping stone for future investigations in educational leadership and generation studies, particularly in contexts of massive political and economic transformations. The recognition of the generational difference in the way school leaders built their careers, suggest a potential generational difference in the way they lead learning and manage school decision. Moreover, the identification and characterisation of cohort difference across headteachers have a series of direct practical implications for school leader's development, recruitment and retention, and indirectly for school improvement. Policymakers and local authorities could introduce reforms, targeting particular generational needs and expectations.

The findings of the present study have been disseminated to a broader audience through presentation at international conferences including the British Educational Leadership Management and Administration (BELMAS, 2018); the Latin American Studies Association (LASA, 2017); and recently, in the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2019), where the paper titled as this thesis, was awarded the 'Best Paper' in the Educational Leadership Special Interest Group. Furthermore, sections of this thesis have been published in two international peer-review journals. The first article was published in early 2019, exploring the unseen career of Millennial headteachers. The second article was published recently in the official journal of the National Council of Education, part of the Chilean Ministry of Education, a part of a special issue aimed to reform the headteacher career. This contribution, advocates for the necessity of investing in professional development for aspiring leaders and providing opportunities to exercise leadership systematically, within the boundaries of the school, as a central strategy to prepare future leaders.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
ABSTRACT	4
IMPACT STATEMENT	5
GLOSSARY	11
FIGURES.....	12
TABLES	13
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	14
1.1 The importance of Headteachers	14
1.2 Chilean Context	16
1.3 Purpose of the Study	18
1.4 Significance of the study	20
1.5 Research Questions	21
1.6 Structure of the thesis	21
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW	23
2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Headteachers and Career	24
2.2.1 An Evolving Career	24
2.2.2 The Problem of Unplanned Turnover.....	26
2.2.3 The Retention Challenge	27
2.2.4 The Recruitment Challenge.....	30
2.2.5 Career Stages.....	33
2.2.6 The contribution of gender studies	36
2.3 Generations and Career	41
2.3.1 Generations at Work: Implications for Careers.....	43
2.3.2 Mobility	44
2.3.3 Promotion	46
2.3.4 Rewards and Support.....	47
2.3.5 Work-Life Balance.....	48
2.3.6 Work Ethics	49
2.3.7 Limitations in Generation Research	51
2.4 Conclusion	56
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH CONTEXT	58
3.1 Current Chile	58
3.1.1 General Characteristics.....	58

3.1.2 Educational System in 2019	60
3.1.3 Public School Headteachers in Chile in 2019	63
3.2 Boomers Chile: 1946 – 1964	66
3.3 GenXers Chile 1965 – 1978	69
3.4 Millennials Chile 1979 – 1999	72
3.5 Generation Z Chile: 2000 – 2016	78
CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY	83
4.1 Research Questions	83
4.2 Ontological and Epistemological Position	83
4.3 Qualitative Research Approach	85
4.4 Using interpretative biography	85
4.5 Research Design and Methodologic Rigour	86
4.6 Sampling Strategy	88
4.6.1 Population	88
4.6.2 Sample	89
4.6.3 Participants	90
4.7 Data Collection	91
4.7.1 Data Collection Strategy	91
4.7.2 Data Collection Process	93
4.8 Data Analysis	95
4.8.1 Data Analysis Strategy	95
4.8.2 Data Analysis Process	96
4.9 Ethics	101
4.9.1 Informed Consent	101
4.9.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity	101
CHAPTER V: THE CAREER OF MILLENNIAL HEADTEACHERS	104
5.1. Introduction	104
5.2. Participants	107
1. Bruce, 33 years old	107
2. William, 33 years old	108
3. Oliver, 34 years old	108
4. Selina, 35 years old	109
5. Barbara, 35 years old	110
6. Victor, 37 years old	110
7. Barry, 37 years old	111
8. Diana, 37 years old	112

9. Clark, 39 years old.....	112
5.3 Career Path	114
5.3.1 Childhood and Early Experiences.....	114
5.3.2 Becoming a Teacher.....	116
5.3.3 The Road to the Headship	117
5.3.4 Retention and Future Aspirations	121
5.4 Discussion and Conclusion.....	126
CHAPTER VI: THE CAREER OF GENXERS HEADTEACHERS	134
6.1 Introduction	134
6.2 Participants.....	137
1. Steve, 44 years old.....	137
2. Reed, 44 years old.....	138
4. Jessica, 46 years old.....	139
5. Scott, 49 years old	140
6. Carol, 50 years old.....	141
7. Erik, 50 years old	142
8. Peter, 50 years old.....	143
9. Sue, 52 years old	143
10. Jean, 52 years old	144
6.3 Career Path	146
6.3.1 Childhood and Early Experiences.....	146
6.3.2 Becoming a Teacher.....	147
6.3.3 The Road to the Headship	151
6.3.4 Retention and Future Aspirations	154
6.4 Discussing the Career of GenXer Headteachers.....	157
CHAPTER VII: THE CAREER OF BOOMER HEADTEACHERS	163
7.1 Introduction	163
7.2 Participants.....	165
1. Hannah, 58 years old	165
2. Sean, 61 years old.....	166
3. Aidan, 61 years old.....	167
4. Carice, 62 years old.....	168
5. Emilia, 64 years old	169
6. Nataly, 64 years old.....	170
7. Lena, 65 years old	170
8. Michele, 65 years old	171

9. Charles, 68 years old	172
7.3 Career Path	174
7.3.1 Childhood and Early Experiences.....	174
7.3.2 Becoming a Teacher.....	175
7.3.3 The Road to the Headship	178
7.3.4 Retention and Future Aspirations	182
7.4 Discussing the Career of Baby-Boomer Headteachers	186
CHAPTER VIII: CROSS CASE ANALYSIS	191
8.1 Introduction.....	191
8.2 Childhood and Early Experiences.....	191
8.2.1 Political Context.....	192
8.2.2 Schooling	193
8.3 Becoming a Teacher	195
8.3.1 Choosing a Teaching Degree.....	195
8.3.2 Working as a Teacher.....	197
8.3.3 Career Mobility and Identity	199
8.3.4 Self-Efficacy and Resilience	200
8.4 The Road to the Headship	201
8.4.1 The challenge of the No Career	202
8.4.2 The New Headteacher.....	202
8.5 Retention and Future Aspirations	209
8.6 The Headteacher Career: Beyond the Eyes of Time.....	215
CHAPTER IX: CONCLUSION.....	219
9.1 Recapitulation.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
9.2 Limitations	220
9.2.1 Diversity of Local Authorities	220
9.2.2 Timing of the Data Collection	221
9.2.3 Epistemological Considerations	222
9.2.4 Methodological Considerations	222
9.3 Contributions	222
9.2.1 Theoretical Contribution	223
9.2.2 Methodological Contribution	224
9.2.3 Professional Contribution	224
9.4 Future Research.....	226
9.5. Personal Reflection	227
REFERENCES	228

APPENDIX	256
Appendix 1 – Approach Letter	256
Appendix 2 – Informed Consent	257

GLOSSARY

Boomers	Generational Unit of those born between 1946 and 1964. Also known as baby-boomers
DEPROV	[Departamento Provincial de Educacion] Provincial Department of Education is the representative office of the Ministry of Education at the Provincial level
Fully Private Schools	Fully-private schools exclusively received funding from parents and are administrated by private individuals and organisations
GenXers	Generational unit of those born between 1965 and 1978. Also known as Generation X, Xers and GenXs
Law 20,501	Under the umbrella of the Quality and Equity reform, the 20,501 law, introduced in 2011, created a system to recruit and select public school headteachers
MBD	[Marco para la Buena Direccion] Framework for Good Leadership is an instrument to guide the work and responsibilities of headteachers and leading teams
Millennials	Generational unit of those born between 1979 and 1999. Also known as Generation Y, Generation Me, and Generation Net
Mineduc	[Ministerio de Educacion] Ministry of Education
Public Schools	Public schools exclusively received funding from the State, and are administrated by Municipal authorities
Semi-Private Schools	Semi-private schools received funding from the state and are allowed to charge parents a fee for tuition and are administrated by private individuals and organisations.
SEP	[Subvencion Escolar Preferencial] Preferential School Funding is the policy aimed to increase the school funding, base on the socioeconomic demands of the students
SEREMI	[Secretaria Regional Ministerial] Regional Ministerial Secretary is the representative office of the Ministry of Education at regional level
SIMCE	[Sistema de Medicion de la Calidad de la Educacion] Education Quality Measurement System is the national standardised test, applied annually in years 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 11

FIGURES

Figure 1 The Intersection among the Chilean Context, Headteacher's Career and Generation Theory.

Figure 2 Generational studies and birth years.

Figure 3 Income distribution and poverty.

Figure 4 The Organisation of the Chilean educational system in 2019.

Figure 5 The gender distribution of public school headteachers in percentages between 2004 and 2018.

Figure 6 The generational distribution of public school headteachers between 2004 and 2018.

Figure 7 Population Growth in Chile from 1920 to 2018.

Figure 8 Enrolment Distribution across Public, Semi-Private and Private Schools between 1981 – 2009.

Figure 9 The Trajectory of Millennials.

Figure 10 The Millennial Career Ladder: Roles from Teacher to Headteacher.

Figure 11 The Millennial Career across Schools and Sectors.

Figure 12 The Trajectory of GenXers.

Figure 13 The GenXer Career Ladder: Roles from Teacher to Headteacher

Figure 14 The GenXer Career across Schools and Sectors

Figure 15 Boomers' Trajectory

Figure 16 The Boomer Career Ladder: Roles from Teacher to Headteacher

Figure 17 The Boomer Career across Schools and Sectors

Figure 18 Career Role Trajectory Summary

Figure 19 Career Public and Private Trajectory Summary

TABLES

Table 1 Generations and Years of Birth

Table 2 Generational Characteristics

Table 3 El Rock Del Mundial

Table 4 Main Historical Moments of the Boomer Period

Table 5 Main Historical Moments of the GenXer Period

Table 6 El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido

Table 7 El Baile De Los Que Sobran (Prisioners, 1986)

Table 8 Main Historical Moments of the Millennial Period

Table 9 Summary

Table 10 Participants

Table 11 Complementary Interview Questions

Table 12 Initial Codes

Table 13 Initial Sections and Themes

Table 14 Intermediate Sections and Themes

Table 15 Final Sections and Themes

Table 16 Millennial Headteachers' Characteristics

Table 17 Millennial Headteachers' Future Aspirations

Table 18 GenXer Headteachers' Characteristics

Table 19 GenXer Headteachers' Future Aspirations

Table 20 Baby-Boomer Headteachers' Characteristics

Table 21 Baby-Boomer Headteachers' Future Aspirations

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The importance of Headteachers

Research and practice highlight the importance of leadership as an integral component of school improvement and student learning (Leithwood, Harris and Hopkins, 2008; Robinson, Lloyd and Rowe, 2008). Extensive research has shown that headteachers are vital for improving students' learning, arguing 'school leadership is second only to classroom teaching as an influence on pupil learning' (Leithwood, Harris and Hopkins, 2008, p. 3). While there is a growing recognition of the value of understanding leadership from a collective and distributed perspective (Harris and Townsend, 2007; Hall, 2018), headteachers are still seen as the central leadership source in schools (Day *et al.*, 2010). Headteachers influence learning indirectly, particularly motivating and developing teacher capacities, creating optimal organisational conditions and creating a culture of high expectations (Hallinger, 2011). The crucial work of headteachers is sustained by a simple, and often taken for granted, assumption that there will be available human talent to lead a school.

Notwithstanding, a global body of evidence has indicated difficulties in attracting and retaining headteachers (Galvin and Shepherd, 2000; Fink and Brayman, 2006; Pietsch, Tulowitzki and Hartig, 2019). Research suggests that due to the increasing demands for accountability, effectiveness, and efficiency, the headteacher's position has become more complex and unattractive (Earley and Weindling, 2007; Mascall and Leithwood, 2010; Rhodes and Brundrett, 2014). In many educational systems, headteachers' increasing responsibilities are not accompanied by a similar escalation of benefits (MacBeath, 2009; Baker, Punswick and Belt, 2010). Changing working conditions might influence a decline in the interest in assuming the headteacher position, as well as an increase in cases of unplanned retirement. The evidence describes the negative consequences of rapid and unexpected turnover for organisation and individuals. High levels of leadership change are often correlated with a decrease in students' learning (Weinstein, Jacobowitz and Ely, 2009; Miller, 2013). Fink and Brayman (2006) acknowledge that continuous succession creates a sense of discontinuity within schools, stating "the result is that school improvement becomes like a set of bobbing corks, with many schools rising under one set of leaders, only to sink under the next" (p.63).

The problem of attracting and retaining talent in leadership positions extends beyond the boundaries of the educational context. Previous research has identified similar patterns across different fields, areas of work and types of organisation (Yigitcanlar *et al.*, 2007; Redondo, Sparrow and Hernández, 2019). A common argument for this human resource challenge lies in recognition of a new relationship between individuals and work; work is playing a less central role in people's lives and accordingly presented a series of workforce challenges, particularly

in terms of recruitment and retention (Priestley, 2011; Garcia-Herrero, Ortiz and Decadenas, 2015). In the last decades studies have noticed the intersection between career decisions and the worker's age, indicating the relevance of studying careers under a generational framework (Gursoy, Maier and Chi, 2008; Hurst and Good, 2009).

Most generation studies have been built upon the ideas proposed by Mannheim in his seminal work *The Problem of Generations* (1952). Originated from the field of sociology, generational theory indicates that individuals share a collective consciousness (or generational consciousness) according to their age group or cohort. A central component of generational theory is the relevance of the events and experiences during the individual's youth, which give shape to specific generation units or cohorts (Pilcher, 1994). Although there is no definitive agreement on the names, definitions and characteristics of the generational groups, career studies have paid particular attention into the cohorts currently having a more substantial presence in the workforce, oftentimes labelled as Boomers (those born between 1946 and 1964); GenXers (1965 and 1978); and Millennials (1979 and 1999) (Edge, 2014).

The evidence connecting work and generation indicates differences in the way that each cohort approaches jobs, workplaces and careers (Leach *et al.*, 2013; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2015a). As organisations are growing in age diversity, the issue of an increasingly multigenerational workforce presents a problem in attempting to create favourable working conditions for all cohorts. As several studies have reported, tensions may arise in the working world as many organisations fail to recognise this growing diversity (Francis-Smith, 2004; Meriac, Woehr and Banister, 2010). Hansen and Leuty (2012) explain that the workplace was designed for another generation of workers, those with a set of demands and concerns that are no longer relevant for younger groups. Accordingly, recruitment and retention challenges could be explained by a misfit in design, as organisations and jobs were tailored by and for a single cohort that does not necessarily represent the needs of a generationally diverse workforce.

Only a handful of studies have explored the intersection between school leaders' careers and generation theory (Edge, Galdames and Horton, 2017). Analysing the career aspiration of GenXers teachers in the US context, Stone-Johnson (2014) found that generational forces play a central role in explaining the professional decisions of teachers, "rather than focusing on aspects of the job which can be changed, it would be more pragmatic to focus on generational attributes and how these characteristics have changed over time" (p.618). Edge (2015), exploring the lives, work and career of GenXers school leaders in London, Toronto and New York, identified a series of generational challenges unique to younger school leaders. Edge states "these areas of caution and concern include future career aspiration and retention,

women in leadership and retention, the quest for work-life balance and the middle tier and diversity of leadership cadre” (p.220). While these studies focused on Generation X, in opposition to Boomers, the findings indicate the importance of understanding a school through generational lenses. They stress the inevitable arrival of younger cohorts to the headship. Furthermore, generational theory suggests that it is possible that the next generation of administrators, those from the Millennial generation, ‘will not view the role of principal in the same light as either the Boomers or Generation X’ (Stone-Johnson, 2011, p. 620).

Exploring generational difference requires a deep sense of awareness of the sociohistorical characteristics sustaining and shaping generational identity (Pilcher, 1994). Furthermore, understanding the generational gap in the workplace, and particularly in the career of school leaders, demands attention is paid to the specific working conditions, policies and job-related laws, guiding the experience of each unique community (Hargreaves, 2001; Pekerti and Arli, 2017). While the international evidence is clear in identifying critical generational differences affecting the way people shape their careers (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012), most of the previous studies have been conducted in developed northern hemisphere countries which have some essential similarities including language and a shared part of their history (Rudolph, Rauvola and Zacher, 2018). Less is known about generational differences in Latin-American countries, such as Chile.

1.2 Chilean Context

Chilean history presents a unique opportunity to explore social identity through the lenses of generation theory. Like most Latin-American countries, Chile experienced a long Civil War, that reshaped the political, economic and social landscape. The coup d’état of 1973, in which the armed forces led by Augusto Pinochet overthrew the democratic government of President Salvador Allende, was at the epicentre of the conflict. This event created three consecutive political historical scenarios (Errázuriz, 2009), aligned with the periods traditionally associated with the birth of different generations (Strauss and Howe, 1991): democracy (until 1973), dictatorship (between 1973 and 1989) and democracy (since 1990). Accordingly, Boomers were born under a democratic government. They experienced the coup in the early 20s, and the return to democracy in their 40s. GenXers were born in a dictatorship. They experienced the return of democracy as young adults. Most Millennials were born in the last moments of the authoritarian regime. Their early memories were formed in a democratic Chile.

Furthermore, the dictatorship introduced a series of reforms, aimed to reduce the control and presence of the State in the educational system and to foster the participation of the private sector. Since 1981, consolidating in the late 1990s, private and semi-private schools dominate the market, concentrating two-thirds of the educational provision (Puga, 2011). This scenario,

put economic pressures on public schools and particularly headteachers who added marketing and public relation responsibilities, to attract students and increase the funding of the public school system (Montecinos et al., 2015).

Politically and economically, during the last five decades, Chile has evolved from a left-wing highly controlled economy to one of the most neoliberal countries in the world (Escobar and Le Bert, 2003). The new economic landscape that flourished since the 1990s considerably changed the nature of work, jobs and careers for Chileans, notably transforming the value of the teaching degree and the working conditions for teachers and school leaders. Once one of the most socially respected careers, accessible only to the most talented individuals, the teaching profession has drastically evolved into one of the less desirable careers choices (Ávalos, 2003; Sisto, 2012). Similarly, the role of the headteacher, once an honour received only by the most outstanding educators, has gradually lost its appeal as it was neglected by most educational policies and reforms (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010).

Until this day Chile has failed to provide a formal career for headteachers. While some disconnected reforms have been introduced in the last decade which have created professional development opportunities (Donoso, Benavides and Cancino, 2012) and recruitment strategies (Peirano, Campero and Fernández, 2015), building a career as a school leader rests exclusively in the will of individual teachers and the subjective criteria of local authorities. While Chile presents a centralised educational system administered by the Ministry of Education (Mineduc), the headteacher recruitment process is managed at the local level by educational departments distributed across 345 municipalities (Puga, 2011). The current process gives significant power to local authorities to hire and dismiss headteachers. During the last decade, informal discussions about creating a career for school leaders, with an emphasis on improving the work conditions and wages of headteachers, have been part of the political discourses across governments. A significant policy reform is expected in the next four years (Arratia, 2019). Although the current recruitment process has been running since 2011, the latest estimations indicate that by 2019 only half of the public schools will have successfully hired a headteacher and, due to economic, politic and human resources limitations, many local authorities will have never conducted a formal headteacher selection process (Said, 2019).

According to the latest estimation provided by the Mineduc¹, the nearly 4,000 public schools in Chile are led by 60% Boomers, 30% GenXers and 10% Millennials. These proportions have remained somewhat constant during the last decade. Slowly the Boomer generation's historic

¹ <http://datos.mineduc.cl>

headship hegemony is coming to an end. By 2020 the youngest member of the Boomer cohort will be reaching 56 years old, and many members of this cohort have already moved into retirement. The arrival of GenXers and Millennials headteachers is imminent. While there is no research in the Chilean context exploring the relationship between school leaders' careers and generation theory, international evidence predicts human talent challenges if the educational system does not pay attention to their unique generational demands (Greenlinger, 2013; Luscombe, Lewis and Biggs, 2013). In contexts like Chile where history plays a fundamental role in creating social identities, understanding the career path of headteachers coming from different moments in time becomes a critical task if the generational difficulties identified elsewhere are to be avoided and the vital role of headteachers supported.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

This thesis explores the intersection of two bodies of knowledge. Firstly, from Education Studies, it is concerned with the career of school leaders, particularly headteachers. Secondly, from Sociology and Psychology, it is concerned with generation theory, precisely its understandings of generational differences in the workplace. Separately, both bodies of knowledge have received considerable attention from the academic world. Yet they rarely appear together. Furthermore, none of these studies has explored the context of Chile, a country rich in generational differences, with a chronic absence of a formal headteacher career. This study is built upon the encounter of these three dimensions (Figure 1).

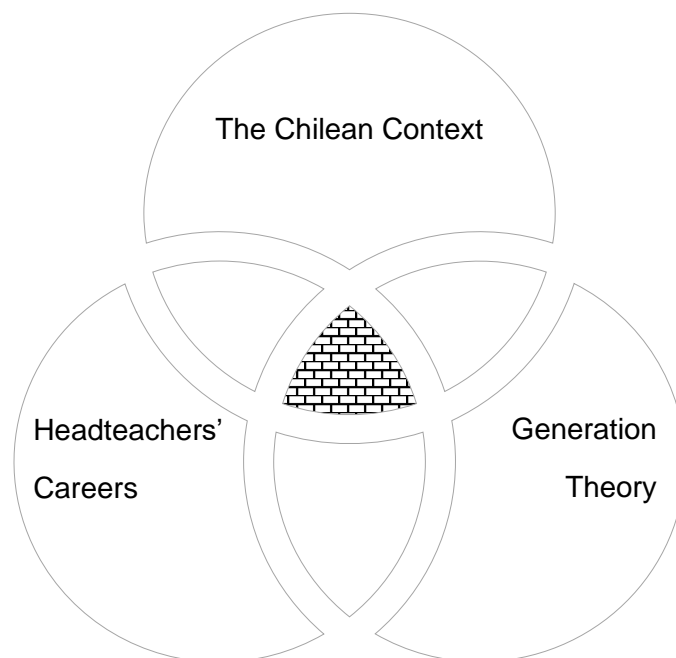


Figure 1. The intersection among Chilean Context, Headteacher's career, and Generation Theory.

Generation theory suggests that the context in which a person grew up contributes significantly to their personal and professional life, creating a collective identity with other individuals that lived through similar early experiences (Mannheim, 1952; Pilcher, 1994; Corsten, 1999). The generational argument acts as the epistemological cornerstone of this research, initially guiding the exploration of the context surrounding the career path of each headteacher and then assuming a group perspective, looking for career patterns within and across cohorts.

Many researches on leadership careers assumes that all leaders and in this case, all headteachers built their career in the same way. Taking a generational approach, this study challenges this assumption. Considering previous international evidence in the corporate sector (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012), education (Stone-Johnson, 2011) and educational leadership (Edge, 2014; Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016), it is important to test the generational differences assumption in the partially unexplored Chilean context. As discussed earlier, the lack of a formal career pathways for headteachers and the pending introduction of school leader career pathways the Chilean context supports the need for this research as well.

While the generational framework might appear distant to the Latin American context, in particular to the Chilean history, organising the research under its principles (Mannheim, 1952) and generational units (Edge, 2014), presents a series of advantages for this particular research and the growing body of knowledge on leadership and careers. On the one hand, using the generational framework facilitated the connection with a massive body of studies, which during the last decades have consistently found significant generational differences the workplace, informing policies and developing strategies to improve and change organisational settings (Duxbury and Ormsbee, 2017). The importance of generational studies is illustrated by the growing number of publications in diverse regions of the world that have used the generational framework as an epistemological cornerstone, expanding and challenging the current body of knowledge, for example the work of Choi (2005) with marginalised youth in China and Yi et al., (2015) analysing work values in South Korea .

On the other hand, using the principles, language and even the time boundaries of previous generational studies allow for challenging well-established global assumptions. Adding the particular context of the Latin American region to the generational research will allow to discussed the influence of place and territory in the generation difference (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Taking Eacott's (2010) critical position "A significant portion of early inquiry into educational leadership lacked effective theoretical development and, subsequently, appropriate empirical tests" (p. 266), this study seeks to move beyond the isolated description of the Chilean case, bridging and connecting with a larger literature in leadership, careers and headteachers. This research has two primary purposes. First, to understand how public school

headteachers have conducted their professional careers. Second, to identify similarities and differences in the career patterns of public school headteachers from different cohorts.

1.4 Significance of the study

While there is an extensive body of knowledge exploring the careers of school leaders (Daresh and Male, 2000; Earley and Weindling, 2007; Bush, 2011a; Oplatka, 2012) and the role of generational differences in influencing career decisions (Brown, 2012; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012; Park, 2018), less attention has been given to the intersection of both ideas (Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016). This study aims to bridge this gap and contribute to the knowledge base about school leaders' careers by adding a generational perspective which will help to identify the unique career characteristics of each cohort. Of particular relevance is the exploration of the career of Millennial leaders. This is a cohort which has grown in number in recent years and has great potential in the near future but has been ignored by most research in school leadership (Greenlinger, 2013; Galdames, 2019).

Considering that many school systems are experiencing challenges retaining school leaders (Bush, 2011b; MacBeath, O'Brien and Gronn, 2012; Pietsch, Tulowitzki and Hartig, 2019), the exploration and the analysis of the individual and generational careers seeks to contribute to educational policies that aim to improve school leaders' recruitment and retention. As generation and career theorists argue (Smethem, 2007; Rinke, 2009; Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016) when building a career each cohort manifests specific needs and experiences unique challenges. The identification of generational needs, in particular those of GenXers and Millennials who should consolidate their presence in formal leadership positions in schools in the next decade, will help tailor a career that is capable of meeting these particular needs. This identification will, in turn, help improve the wellbeing of school leaders, facilitate the recruitment of new leaders and the retention of current headteachers.

As presented earlier, Chilean educational policies have not prioritised the development of a career for school leaders; the appointment of middle leaders and deputies is left to the capacity of each school and the headship depends on the personal interests of individual teachers (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010; Donoso, Fernandez and Reyes, 2019). The recent introduction of *teachers' career* in 2017 has added another layer of pressure for the recruitment of school leaders, raising the wages and improving working conditions of teachers in comparison to those of headteachers (Said, 2018). Today in Chile, many experienced teachers earn the same and, in some cases, higher salaries than headteachers while usually having fewer responsibilities and more job stability. The need for a formal career scheme for school leaders is urgent. This problem has been discussed by policymakers, academics, and

school leaders' multiple times in the last decade (Arratia, 2019). The findings of this study aim to inform and contribute to the development of a formal career for Chilean school leaders by adding generational perspectives that consider issues often neglected by traditional approaches.

Finally, a growing body of knowledge has explored the role of school leaders in post-conflict societies (Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2013; Wanjiru, 2019). Less attention has been given to the influence of post-conflict societies on the careers of school leaders. As Chile experienced a long dictatorship that broke the social narrative, this study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on post-conflict societies exploring the influences of civil wars and its aftermath in the career of teachers and school leaders. Comparing data from headteachers born before, during and after the dictatorship will allow for the identification of the levels of influence that this type of violent disruption may have had on the life and career of school leaders.

1.5 Research Questions

This study aims to answer two research questions.

1. What are the characteristics of the careers of Boomer, GenXer and Millennial public school headteachers in Chile?
2. What are the main similarities and differences in the career trajectories of Boomer, GenXer and Millennial public school headteachers in Chile?

The first question adopts a descriptive approach to characterise headteachers' career paths. Following the biography and professional experience of each participant, this question seeks to capture the journey that leads a person to become the head of a school. This question explores participants' childhood, early experiences, jobs, workplaces, career decisions, drivers, barriers and future aspirations.

The second question builds on the first. Taking a comparative approach, this question aims to understand the similarities and differences among cohorts of participating headteachers. Special attention is given to the historical context in which participants and cohorts grew up and its influence on the professional experiences of selected headteachers.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

This introductory chapter has outlined the research problem guiding this study, including the current concerns about headteachers' careers, the main principles of generation theory and the context of school leaders in Chile. Chapter II, Literature Review, expands on the main concepts supporting this research. Particular attention is given to studies in the last decades on school leadership careers, and the influence of generational ideas on the current understanding of career theory. Chapter II argues for the relevance of studying and improving

the working conditions and careers of school leaders. It also identifies the vital contribution of generational research in career theory. Chapter III, Research Context, takes a historical approach. Exploring the Chilean context, it examines both the current educational system landscape and the main political, cultural and economic developments in the last 70 years. Divided into cohort-oriented sections, Chapter III explores the context in which Boomers, GenXers and Millennials were born and grew up. It highlights the events that broke the social narrative and could potentially explain the generational differences. Chapter IV, Methodology, describes the methodological approach taken in this study. It details the participants and the sampling selection strategy, the data collection and data analysis process, as well as the fieldwork experience. The central component of Chapter IV is the relevance of the biographic life-history approach selected as a method to collect, analyse and compare the headteacher career, specifically in capturing the importance of context in influencing individual and cohort decisions. Chapters V, VI, and VII, present the careers of the Millennial, GenXer and Boomer headteachers who took part in this study respectively. The three chapters share a similar format, describing the path that led each participant to become a headteacher. Considering the principles of generation theory, special attention is given to the early experiences in the life of each participant. Chapter VIII, Cross Case Analysis, draws on the three cohorts and prior studies to identify and explain the similarities and differences in the headteachers' careers. Chapter IX, Conclusions, summarises the findings of this thesis and discusses its contribution to knowledge and practice considering a leadership, generational, and Chilean perspective. It also presents the limitations of the study, identifies recommendations for policymakers and highlights ideas for future research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This study explores the concept of career among Chilean headteachers through the lenses of two bodies of knowledge: (1) research concerned with school leadership, and (2) generation theory. Although there are some isolated studies (Stone-Johnson, 2014; Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016; Seipert and Baghurst, 2017), there is a general absence of studies dealing with the careers of school leaders from a generational perspective. Accordingly, this chapter will approach both concepts separately. In doing so, it aims to discover points of intersection and gaps in the current literature. Hart (2018) argues that the contribution of a PhD thesis is bounded to the previous academic work: “making a new contribution, is directly dependent upon knowledge of the subject. That knowledge can only be obtained through the work and effort of reading and seeking out ways in which general ideas have been developed” (p.21). Accordingly, the main objective of this chapter is to gain a deeper understanding of the evolution of career and generational studies during the last decades in order to develop an original and valuable contribution to knowledge and practice.

Following Ridley’s (2012) literature review orientations, a series of methodological decisions were established before the writing process. Firstly, as presented earlier two leading ideas guided and shaped the review: (1) the career of headteachers and (2) generations and careers. Secondly, based on these initial ideas a series of keywords were created. These included headteachers, principals, school leader, career; headteachers, principals, school leader, career path; headteachers, principals, school leader, career trajectory; generation career; cohorts career; Boomers, Baby Boomers career; GenXers, generation-X, Xers, career; Millennials, GenY, generation-y, careers. Different combinations and synonyms of these keywords were used to search for relevant documents.

Thirdly, materials were selected and reviewed based on a consistent criterion. The initial search considered publications from 1999 to 2019, written in English and Spanish languages, including peer-reviewed articles, books, doctoral theses and government reports. All documents were searched using the University College London ‘Explore’ search engine, which has one of the most extensive physical and digital catalogues in the world, including among many others Education Resource Information Centre (ERIC), ProQuest Education Database, Educational Administration Abstracts, British Education Index (BEI), Australian Education Index, OECD library, PsycArticles, SCOPUS, and Web of Science.

While organising the findings of this review, it soon became apparent that with the growth of publishing outlets for research from scholars around the globe, there were many studies that could not be included. The final selection was based on relevance, privileging studies with an

empirical component, both qualitative and quantitative, and having as much internationally diverse representation as possible, including studies in the United Kingdom, Europe, North America, South America, Asia and Africa. Beyond the original selection criteria, some documents were included purposively due to the importance given by previous researchers.

As presented earlier, this chapter is organised into two parts. The following section discusses previous studies about the career of headteachers, exploring six interconnected themes influencing the professional trajectory of school leaders. The overarching thesis underpinning this section is the recognition that the constant changes in the headteacher role over time have significantly affected its appeal. At the core of this discussion is the identification of a global problem related to attracting and retaining headteachers, and the negative consequences of this for schools, teachers and students.

The second section explores the intersection between careers and generation theory. Most of the documents reviewed come from the areas of business, psychology and human resources, with little connection to the educative context. This section begins with a brief description of the principles of generation theory. It zooms in on the characteristics of the three cohorts most present in the current global workforce: Boomers, GenXers and Millennials. The central intention of this section is to identify generational differences influencing career decisions and to explore the need to create organisational adaptations in the workplace to respond to these differences.

This chapter ends with a brief conclusion which aims to summarise some of the main points of this review and identify the implications for the current study.

2.2 Headteachers and Career

2.2.1 An Evolving Career

Studies at the end of the last century explored the massive transformation of the headteacher's role. Due to the implementation of accountability reforms that create new responsibilities and demands on a position previously focused on administration (Mulford, 2005; Bush, 2018). The recognition of school leaders' workload, stress and job dissatisfaction is not new. In the UK, Simpson (1987) identify reports of job-related stress as early as 1983; while in Canada Hiebert and Mendaglio (1988) spotted echoes of these problems in 1982. The early studies are consistent in pointing out that stress, workload and job satisfaction are highly connected. They identify challenges when work-related demands exceed headteachers' capacities and resources. Research in the 1980s and early 1990s describes headteacher stress as a focalised phenomenon associated with critical moments in the academic year, facing emergencies or responding to a specific policy (Hiebert and Mendaglio, 1988; Whitaker, 1996).

A different scenario appears from the mid-1990s extending to the present day, as research identifies a rising workload of the headteachers in terms of intensity and permanency. Jones' (1999) study with Welsh school leaders found that headteachers were aware of these transformations: "the role of the primary head is in the process of fundamental change; all of the heads in the sample perceived their roles had changed significantly in the last decade. Changes had occurred in their relationships with all key stakeholders" (p.450). Jones' (1999) research found increasing headteacher workload related to the introduction of reforms that gradually but steadily added new tasks and responsibilities while keeping all of the previous ones. Chaplain (2001) notices that while teachers and school staff were expected to expand their responsibilities, the headteacher experiences this pressures twice, as they were asked to manage not only themselves but also to lead the reconfiguration of roles in others.

By the early 2000s, there was a clear recognition that the headship had lost the appeal it held for decades, having profound human resources consequences. Hartle and Thomas (2003) explain "these problems are especially severe for the recruitment to headteacher positions, particularly in inner-city and rural primary schools, and are set to worsen" (p.4). Recruiting and retaining headteachers grew as an international concern of policymakers, opening the door for researchers to explore school leaders careers and to find ways to improve it (Fink and Brayman, 2006; Earley *et al.*, 2009; Pijanowski and Brady, 2009; Torres, 2018).

The beginning of the century witnessed a growing interest among researchers in understanding the motivations of teachers in becoming headteachers. Investigating middle leaders in the US, Pounder and Merrill (2001) identified that while multiple and sophisticated, the individual motivations to pursue a headship were more connected with an ethical rationale than economic rewards. The authors state:

Results indicate that potential candidates' perceptions of the high school principalship's job desirability are significantly related to the desire to achieve and improve education (subjective factor), the additional time demands of the job (a work factor), and the salary and benefits (objective factor) (p.27)

Research on teachers' career motivation has found similar arguments explaining individuals' decision to pursue a career in education (Cannata, 2010; Salifu, Alagbela and Gyamfi, 2018). Bass' (2006) study on aspiring headteachers, echoes Pounder and Merrill (2001) conclusions. The author found ethical motivators as the main drivers for applying to headship, "the reasons educators are attracted to such an ill-perceived position is because the principalship gives individuals opportunities to serve others, impact students and teachers' lives, and achieve" (p.27). Nonetheless, Bass (2006) also found in aspiring headteachers a clear sense of anticipation about the negative changes in their personal lives, once becoming a senior school

leader. Bass found that “the student group’s perception of stress as the top barrier may indicate that they view the principalship as a job that will complicate their professional lives and diminish their quality of life” (p.23). These findings agree with other international studies in the last decade, arriving at the conclusion of the ever-diminishing appeal of headship creating a challenging scenario in which fewer people are seeking the headship, and more are abandoning it (Hancock, Hary and Müller, 2012; Bobeth-Neumann, 2014; Ummannel, McNamara and Stynes, 2016).

2.2.2 The Problem of Unplanned Turnover

Many of the studies on headteachers’ careers are underpinned by the recognition of the negative individual and organisational consequences of accelerated and unexpected headteacher turnover. A common agreement among researches is the link between headteacher turnover and student learning. Miller (2013), in a longitudinal study using 12 years of data in North Carolina (US), found that on average, the unplanned exit of headteachers created a cycle of years of lower performance.

Principal departures follow a downturn in student performance. Achievement continues to fall in the two years following the installation of a new principal and then rises over the next three years. Five years after a new principal is installed, average academic performance is no different than it was five years before the new principal took over (p.60)

Béteille, Kalogrides and Loeb’s (2011) findings show a similar pattern. Drawing from seven years of data in the State of Florida, their analysis indicates the negative impact on students’ learning, in particular for the most challenged school communities. The authors conclude:

Principal turnover is, on average, detrimental to school performance. Frequent turnover of school leadership results in lower teacher retention and lower student achievement gains. Leadership changes are particularly harmful for high poverty schools, low-achieving schools, and schools with many inexperienced teachers (p.2).

Other studies have agreed in the negative impact of headteacher turnover on teachers, who had to deal with everchanging visions, priorities and practices (Norton, 2002; Macmillan, Meyer and Northfield, 2004). Hanselman, Grigg, Bruch and Gamoran (2016) illustrated this argument focusing on the personal relationship between headteachers and teachers, which has to be rebuilt every time a headteacher leaves and a new one arrives. The authors write ‘principal turnover has clear consequences for some general social conditions. It is fundamentally destabilising for the quality of principal-teacher relationships in the school, consistent with the underlying hypothesis that relational instability “resets” the development of social resources (p. 27). Similarly, Mascall and Leithwood (2010) argue that leader turnover

has a direct impact on the culture of the school by putting pressure and demands on teachers and staff. They suggest “rapid principal turnover does indeed have a negative effect on a school, primarily affecting the school culture” (p. 367). Summing up, headteacher turnover influences school culture, which in turn influences teacher performance and teacher retention, negatively affecting student’s achievement.

Furthermore, headteacher turnover is expensive. The recent work of Tran, McCormick and Nguyen (2018) has shed considerable light on the financial cost of headteacher turnover. The paper called ‘*The Cost of Replacing South Carolina High School Principals*’ illustrated with precision the economic challenge of headteacher change, “replacement varied by district (ranging from \$10,413.03 to \$51,659.27), with the sample average equating to \$23,974.29” (p.109). This value is, on average, four times what is need it to replace a teacher in a similar context. Furthermore, using the “ingredient method” (Levin and Belfield, 2015), the study breaks down the process and resources invested in headteacher renewal, which add to the economic demands, a series of hidden managerial pressures, “On average, 37 personnel members were needed to work 207.42 hours to terminate and replace a departing principal. The number of personnel needed ranged from 21 to 56, and committed hours ranged from 124.5 to 421” (p. 112).

2.2.3 The Retention Challenge

In the last two decades, there has been a great academic interest in exploring the leader’s retention. Studies conducted during the first decade of the 2000s dealt mostly with the identification of a growing human resources problem, spotting a mismatch between the demand and the supply of human talent. In the US, Norton (2002) used large data samples to illustrate that the problem was no longer on the horizon, but it had arrived across the educational system:

National statistics relating to principal turnover and dwindling supplies of qualified replacements show clearly that principal turnover has reached crisis proportions. Increasing demands upon the work-life of the principal, low salary levels, time constraints, lack of parent and community support and lack of respect are among the reasons that principals are leaving the position (p.50)

Similarly, in the UK, Earley and Weindling (2007) discussed the changes to the headship role and its influence on recruitment.

Is it fair to expect people to do such a high powered and demanding job for a number of years and to do it well? Probably not. This has been the case traditionally and in our view it must change. It is unsurprising then that there are difficulties of recruitment—headship is not the attraction that it once was. (p. 85)

Partlow (2007) using a longitudinal quantitative strategy in a sample of 109 schools in Ohio (US), and a conceptual framework that included eight relevant variables (superintendent turnover rate, building enrolment, student attendance, student mobility, pupil-teacher ratio, teacher attendance, student achievement in reading, and student achievement in mathematics), investigated the reasons behind headteachers unplanned resignations. Only one variable had a significant statistical contribution to headteacher mobility:

The only predictor variable found to influence principal turnover was percentage of students passing Ohio mathematics achievement tests. The findings suggest a positive relationship: When students are achieving, principal retention improves (p.61)

Partlow's (2007) findings illustrate an argument confirmed by other studies regarding the value of the school characteristics in headteachers' career decisions (Griffith, 1999; Akiba and Reichardt, 2004; MacBeath, 2009; Farley-Ripple, Raffel and Welch, 2012). Although there is a collective agreement that the problem of keeping headteachers in schools is shared across all types of schools and contexts, there is a rising acknowledgement about the problematic situation facing schools in challenging circumstances. Papa's (2007) study in New York elaborates on this point:

Evidence from this study supports the notion of "cherry-picking." Thus, schools with higher proportions of at-risk students and less-qualified teachers are disadvantaged with respect to their ability to retain principals. Based on this, and based on the assumption that schools seek to hire the most qualified applicants, it is likely that the principals who leave the less desirable schools are the most qualified principals (p.285)

In a longitudinal study using linear regressions in a large representative sample in the US, Sun and Ni (2016) agree with previous evidence. They found that "across the board, principals were more likely to leave schools that served minority students once accounting for other variables, particularly working conditions, the amount of turnover gap explained by school contexts dropped significantly from 28% to less than 2%" (p.175). The school characteristics and its influence on the headteacher's decisions appear moderated by context, as it fits differently across countries. For example in Turkey, Bayar (2016) found an overlapping contribution between the presence of at-risk students and school violence which considerably explains headteacher resignation; "having safe school environment is very important to keep principals in their profession. Violence is the most serious issue in schools and negatively affects principals' desire to keep their career" (p.195).

While school characteristics, particularly the composition of the student population, play a central role in headteachers' career decision making, the complete explanation for career mobility is difficult to capture in one variable. Pijanowski and Brady (2009) exploring secondary

data in Arkansas (US) found that salary plays a significant role in explaining headteachers career decisions. Their findings indicate that while the difference between the average teacher and headteacher wages are massive, the difference between deputies and headteachers are minimal, which acts as a deterrent for career advancement, “The pay changes at different stages of the leadership pipeline are less significant as people grow closer to the job. If fiscal incentives diminish as stress increases compensation will be less of a motivating factor” (p.39). Baker, Punswick, and Belt (2010) found that salary and the school characteristics are the most relevant variables explaining voluntary job mobility. They observe:

Principal’s relative salary, compared to peers in the same labour market, exerts a consistent influence on stability— the higher the salary, the more likely a principal is stable and less likely he or she is to move to another school. Principals were able to leverage school- to-school moves for an average change in relative salary of about +5% (p.552)

In Norway, Federici and Skaalvik (2012) explored the relations between principals’ self-efficacy, burnout, job satisfaction and principals’ motivation to quit, in a sample of 1,818 headteachers. Their findings show a significant relationship among the variables studied; “the results revealed that principal self-efficacy was positively related to job satisfaction and motivation to quit and negatively related to burnout” (p.295). Hence headteachers with higher levels of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982), or, in other words, headteachers that perceived themselves to be successful leaders, feel more satisfied and less stressed, but with a greater interest in moving to other schools. In the US, Chang, Leach and Anderman (2015) conducting a quantitative study with a large sample of headteachers found a clear link between retention and the type of superintendent support; “the results indicate that principals are more likely to be affectively committed to their school districts and more satisfied with their jobs when they perceive their superintendents as more autonomy supportive” (p.315).

The complexity of the headteacher job description phenomenon is captured by Tekleselassie and Villarreal’s (2011) study in which it is argued that there is an urgent need to redesign the headteacher role. Using secondary sources and a large data set of over 7,540 headteachers across, 4,550 districts in the US, the authors conclude that headteacher retention is based on the intersection of multiple internal and external variables:

‘Job satisfaction, salary, autonomy, and individual characteristics impact intent to leave or move... allowing principals to direct their focus and resources in a way that address their school needs and priorities. The broader implication of this finding is that redesigning the principalship to modify and remove those aspects of the work principals

believe are “inhibiting/bureaucratic” is a necessary measure to increase job satisfaction and retention (p. 251).

2.2.4 The Recruitment Challenge

Alongside the challenges of retention, a series of studies have dealt with the growing recognition of teachers’ diminishing interest in the headship. Multiple reasons are advanced to explain the recruitment problem. Most greatly aligned with the arguments presented in previous sections which imply that the headship is not worth the effort. There are a bundle of studies focused on the identification and characterisation of the phenomenon which frequently use career surveys with teachers and aspiring leaders (Wallace and Rogers, 2001; McGee, 2010; Stone-Johnson, 2014; Christie, Robertson and Stodter, 2016; Weiner and Holder, 2018). In their paper, *The pain outweighs the gain*, Howley, Andrianaivo, and Perry (2005) identify several variables explaining why there is little interest among teachers in assuming a headship.

Results showed that, in general, teachers view the disincentives associated with the principalship as more potent than the incentives. Variables that were significantly associated with the view that the principalship was “worth it” (i.e., that the incentives outweighed the disincentives) included gender (i.e., maleness), administrative licensure, and the tendency to value the practice whereby school leaders groom teachers for leadership positions (p. 757)

Stevenson (2006) found the recruitment problem was more intensive in schools facing difficulties, which echoes the retention challenges presented earlier. He remarks “it seems likely that schools will find it increasingly difficult to either attract or retain, high-quality leaders. In many cases, these recruitment difficulties will be experienced most acutely in precisely those communities in greatest need” (p.417). In Australia, d’Arbon (2006) quantitative study surveyed the interest of teachers and middle leaders in advancing into a senior leadership role in the future. The authors concluded that “there are data from a number of sources to indicate the numbers and proportions of persons willing to apply—and these numbers appear to be low” (p. 58). Taking a step further, Hewitt, Denny, and Pijanowski (2011) studied the career decisions of teacher leaders that explicitly did not want to follow a career as a headteacher. Using purposive sampling in which headteachers identified teachers with leadership potential, the study surveyed 391 teachers across 139 school districts in the US. The analysis found a series of barriers explaining their career decisions including awareness about the stress and workload of the headteacher’s role, as well as anticipation of the distance from pedagogical responsibilities. Likewise, Smith (2011) found evidence in the UK to suggest that headship can be perceived as being distant from classrooms and learning. Smith found “most of the

female teachers defined their professional identities in terms of pupil-centredness and caring relationships, and perceived headship as a potential threat to these priorities” (p.529).

Although previous studies are consistent in identifying personal or individual arguments in explaining the recruitment problem, research also found external barriers. In the US, Cooley and Shen (2000) identified a critical deterrent for teacher applications was “the relationship between the board, administration, and teachers” (p.448). Cooley and Shen suggest that many aspiring headteachers exhibit a reluctance to engage in these managerial and political practices. Taking the same issue from another perspective, Fernandez, Bustamante, Combs, and Martinez-Garcia (2015) noticed that board selection committees frequently implement race and gender discriminatory practices which lower teachers’ interest in applying. The authors remark:

The findings of this study indicate a need to implement focused recruitment strategies to attract competent Latino/a educational leaders. The principals in this study stated that none of the suburban school districts they worked in had a strategic recruitment plan and that, in general, suggestions regarding diversification of administrators was met with resistance. Therefore, districts might benefit from acknowledging a need to provide their communities with culturally representative leadership and developing focused recruitment strategies (p.71)

In Indonesia, Sumintono et al. (2015) criticised the headteacher selection process by indicating that professional capacities are not central for the appointment of school leaders; “the initial findings reveal that even though principal training has been standardised in Indonesia and is now a compulsory part of a principal certification process, micro-political influences still currently govern the appointment of school principals” (p.342). The identification of discriminatory selection practices creates a sense of disappointment among potential aspiring headteachers, reducing the overall interest for a leadership position and ultimately diminishes the number of applications. Recruitment barriers also connect with access and quality of professional development opportunities. In the UK, Browne-Ferrigno (2003) notices difficulties in filling the headteacher’s position and recognises the central role of professional development in encouraging career progression. Here the author speaks about the challenges of a programme targeted to prepare future headteachers:

If preparing future principals is the goal of a program, then research is needed to determine why students do not seek positions after graduation. If developing leaders is the goal of a program, then research is needed to determine how non-administrator graduates use their administrative training even though they remain in classrooms (p.498)

Browne-Ferrigno's (2003) argument is about the importance of linking formal professional development with real leadership opportunities in the school. In Chile, Galdames and González (2016) found that teacher interest in applying for headship is moderated more by the possibilities to hold formal and informal leadership responsibilities within the school than the access to external professional development programmes. Earley (2009) discusses the relevance of professional development initiatives connected with the reality of the schools' context; "the most effective programmes of leadership development and preparation for headship make good use of the workplace for leadership learning but it makes little sense to discuss ways of developing leaders without also considering the manner in which leaders learn" (p.318). Likewise, studying aspiring Latino headteachers in the US, Fernandez, Bustamante, Combs, and Martinez-Garcia (2015) identified mentoring by a senior leader as one of the main contributors to the leadership career of teachers. However, in their study, the participants agreed on race-related barriers for senior leaders' support; white headteachers, who were the majority, were more likely to mentor white aspiring headteachers thus creating a barrier for diverse ethnic groups.

Discussing the agency of teachers to be part of the school decision-making process, Turnbull (2005) defends the relevance of fostering teacher leadership as part of the initial training and daily teachers' responsibilities. The author remarks "regardless of initial aspirations for advancement or perceived talent, all new teachers must be given opportunities to develop the skills and knowledge needed to take advantage of meaningful early-career leadership opportunities through participation in school governance" (p. 461). Rhodes and Brundrett (2006) argue that a key concern in securing future aspiring headteachers is to invest in informal leadership development in schools, explaining

The establishment of schools as effective training grounds for leadership development represents a challenge for incumbent school leadership. Based upon the perceptions of heads, middle leaders and classroom teachers from 70 contextually different schools in England, the present study has established three important themes pertaining to 'Context', 'Culture' and 'Development' deemed influential in creating schools as good training grounds for leadership talent development (p.21)

Farley-Ripple et al.'s (2012) conclusions agree with previous studies, arguing that aspiring headteachers' careers are highly sensitive to the support of formal leaders; "while some career decisions are self-initiated, most are influenced in part or entirely by other actors in the system, described as recruiting/tapping, requesting, reassigning, passing over, and removing" (p. 788).

2.2.5 Career Stages

During the last two decades, there have been a series of studies aimed to understand and characterise the headteacher career into a specific phase or stages. The main argument of the career stages approach is the recognition that jobs can be organised according to different moments, each with their own responsibilities, demands and challenges (De Vries, Miller and Toulouse, 1984; Oplatka, 2004; Hess and Jepsen, 2009). For example, Hvidston, Range, McKim, and Mette (2015) found that different career stages influence the prioritisation of leadership practices, particularly the relevance of leading learning. The authors state:

All principals perceived providing a safe and orderly climate and using student data to make changes to programs as the most important elements of organizational leadership during the evaluation process. When comparing the attitudes of novice principals to late-career principals, instructional leadership was significantly more important for principals with less experience (p.109)

Consequently, different studies have aimed to capture the evolution of school leader's careers, usually taking as a starting point their role as teacher leaders and ending with their retirement. The study of the headship using a career stage perspective presents direct implication for retention and recruitment, as well for the adjustment of professional development strategies. Cardno and Youngs (2013) discuss support and professional development under a career stage perspective and point out "what is appropriate for principals in early career stages is not necessarily relevant for long-serving principals" (p.268). Similarly, Lovett, Dempster, and Flückiger (2015) argue "the needs of an aspiring or novice leader will differ from those of an experienced school leader who is called upon to provide systemic advice or who has assumed the role of mentor to those less experienced" (p.138). Duncan (2013) expands the career stages argument by noticing that intersection between career stages and life stages:

When supporting principals to lead effective schools, districts need to take into account the various life situations of their principals; just because individuals are designated leaders does not mean that they have the capacity and skills to be successful. At different life and career stages, support and development will look different (p.308)

A significant amount of career stage research has explored the transition to the headship (Weindling, 2000; Cranston, 2007; Guihen, 2017). This focus is underpinned by the recognition, that in many contexts, the position of the headteacher dramatically differs from previous roles in the leadership ladder, requiring specific preparation for aspiring and newly appointed headteachers. Male (2006) indicates 'my investigations into the transition to formal school leadership suggest that beginning headteachers and principals are not fully prepared for their new job' (p.6). This argument ignites the discussion about the characteristics of a

proper and effective preparation for school leaders, that facilitates their transition into the headship. While many authors have praised the central contribution of formal preparation strategies, such as workshops, postgraduate qualification, mentoring and internships (Taylor *et al.*, 2013; Harris, Jones and Adams, 2016; Rivero and Hurtado, 2018), a growing number of studies have argue for the importance of informal spaces in developing the capacities and shaping the identity of new leaders.

Some authors (Heck, 2003; Stevenson, 2006; Bush, 2018) agree on the significant contribution of schools and workplaces in preparing leaders to transition from a teaching into headship linking leadership development to socialisation theory. Merton, Reader and Kendall (1957) define socialisation as ‘the process by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills and knowledge—in short the culture—current in groups to which they are, or seek to become a member’ (p.287). Drawing from the work of Merton *et al.* (1957), Weindling (2000) makes a distinction between professional socialisation and organisational socialisation. The former deals with the ontology of the headship, developed through observation and experience in the school life. The latter refers to the capacities and responsibilities of the role; accordingly, only generated once a person is appointed to the job. Even though many studies have adopted the organisational socialisation approach, it is important to highlight the complement between both approached, in shaping the headteacher's identity.

One explanation for this lack of preparation is the awareness that each school present particular challenges, which are difficult to predict from an outside perspective. Bush (2018) elaborates on this point, ‘One aspect of organisational socialisation is situational analysis, where a careful assessment of the school, and its community and stakeholders, is undertaken to inform leadership decisions’ (p.3). Accordingly, an effective deputy or even a successful headteacher in one school, could feel unprepared in another, highlighting the complexity of the headteacher role and the vital importance of creating strategies that facilitate the transition process.

Building upon a decade of work with school leaders and headteachers, Weindling (2000) identified a series of stages experienced by newly appointed headteachers, each with their respective challenges and characteristics, namely: (0) Preparation prior to headship; (1) Entry and encounter; (2) Taking hold; (3) Reshaping; (4) Refinement; (5) consolidation; (6) Plateau. Further studies have used some of these ideas to understand, in depth, the initial experiences of new headteachers and to characterise how headteachers create their leadership identity. For instance, Kelly and Saunders (2010) explored the first year of three newly appointed headteachers in the UK. Their findings indicate that despite contextual difference among the

cases studied, leaders share a common pattern in which they learn how to be effective and to implement an adequate strategy to face specific challenges. Kelly and Saunders' (2010) argument echoes the ideas presented by others (Wildy and Clarke, 2008), recognising that a central component of the transition into the headship is to learn to know when and how to put in motion practices that were developed and learned in the pre-headship stages.

Accordingly, a series of studies adopting the career stage perspective have taken a particular interest in understanding the deputy headteacher stage as a critical component on the path to the headship (Cranston, 2007; Oplatka and Tamir, 2009). The evidence suggests that deputies' responsibilities are frequently distant from the headteacher's and that many deputies do not aspire in moving forward to headship. In the UK, Jones (1999) interviewed a sample of 12 newly appointed headteachers to explore the transition between deputy head and headteacher, and found that the former role did little in preparing aspiring leaders for the challenges of the headship.

When they [current headteachers] reflected on the move from deputy to head, they all felt that, as one head replied, 'the difference was huge' (H9). The heads who had taken up the position prior to 1988 emphasized that, although it was a big jump from deputy to head at that time, they all felt it was an even bigger move from deputy to head post-LMS [Local Management of Schools] (p.443).

In Hong Kong, Kwan (2009) explored the contribution of the deputy headteacher role in the preparation of future headteachers. Applying a questionnaire to a sample of 331 deputy headteachers (41% of the population), Kwan's research found little connection between both roles.

Seven job responsibility dimensions pertaining to the role of vice-principals [VPs] were identified. It was found that respondents spend most of their time on staff management and the least on resource management. Among the seven job dimensions, only strategic direction and policy environment were found to have an effect on their perceived preparation for the principalship. Although VPs have been actively involved in staff management in schools, they did not consider their experience contributed to their preparation for the principalship (p.202)

Although there are some contextual differences, most international studies on deputy headteachers have arrived at similar conclusions and challenge the general assumption that most deputies are interested and prepared to move onto the next stage in their careers (Cranston, Tromans and Reugebrink, 2004; Zhang, 2004; Lee, Kwan and Walker, 2009; Simkins, Close and Smith, 2009).

Another area that has grown interest from the career stage perspective is the study of newly appointed headteachers. The common agreement among researchers is the recognition of many and specific difficulties for new headteachers which harm both schools and the personal wellbeing of novice leaders. In Israel, Oplatka (2012) argues that new headteachers experience an initial period of adjustment that could have negative consequences on their wellbeing and even lead to resignation:

Novice principals experience some sort of surprise, reality shock, high levels of stress and a sense of loneliness in their first years as well as have insufficient managerial competence, low practical expertise in educational administration and a greater propensity for making mistakes (p.129)

In Chile, Montecinos et al., (2015) found a deep sense of disappointment in newly appointment headteachers which can be explained by a mismatch between expectations prior to the application and the real responsibilities once on the job; headteachers seeking to implement instructional improvement were demanded to concentrate most of their time in administrative and public relations activities. In the UK, Weindling and Dimmock (2006) analysed data from a survey collected by the National College of School Leadership and found that the legacy of the previous headteacher significantly moderates the experience of the new one, thus creating barriers and opportunities to implemented change and innovation. In Cyprus, Nicolaidou and Petridou (2011) argue that professional development programmes have difficulties in targeting the evolving needs of new headteachers which are diverse and in constant change as they move forward across the career stages.

2.2.6 The contribution of gender studies

In the last couple of decades, the academic body of knowledge concerned with headteachers' careers has received a massive contribution from gender research. Taking a feminist perspective, most of these studies have explored the careers of female leaders and identified barriers, challenges and opportunities on the path towards the headship. There is a subtle but relevant thematic distinction over the last two decades, as early studies focused mostly on the identification and problematisation of recruitment barriers, while later publications frequently explored the contribution of female leaders to school improvement, the opportunities in their career paths and the success of female headteachers. Furthermore, while the first decade of studies concentrated only in a few geographical places, the last ten years witnessed a global expansion, frequently led by international female scholars who have charted unknown territories.

The assumption that careers are influenced by the gendered culture of each country is widely accepted. Multiple studies have found similar patterns in which the degree of sexism and discriminatory practices within education systems echoes cultural practices beyond school boundaries (Oplatka and Mimon, 2008; Inandi, 2009; Sherman and Beaty, 2010; Chan, Ngai and Choi, 2016). The leading argument is the recognition that in many cultures, leadership is synonymous with masculinity, and, accordingly, male leaders are better suited than females to lead a complex organisation. As presented earlier, this assumption has direct consequences on the career of female leaders, including barriers concerned with recruitment, retention and access to professional development.

Exploring the careers of female headteachers in Greece and identifying a small number of women in senior leaders position in schools, Kaparou and Bush (2007) in their paper *Invisible barriers* illustrate this argument:

Greek culture and the socialisation of women are significant issues in education and the wider society, contributing to the under-representation of women in school management. Today, the most important factor in the sexual division of labour is not direct discrimination (i.e. in pay) but indirect discrimination related to social and cultural practices (p. 233)

In Turkey, Celikten (2005) found that while females are gaining participation and access in the workplace, their appointment as school leaders is moving slowly due to structural barriers:

Turkish society privileges only males as good leaders and it is not easy for women to access the principalship because they do not fit the norms. Though Turkish women are gaining greater access to other male-dominated professional positions, as one principal stated, 'women are losing ground in school administration'. (p. 207)

In the UK, McLay and Brown (2000) have explored the underrepresentation of female headteachers and identified a series of barriers that could explain the hegemony of male leaders. These include home responsibilities, an implicit demand from local authorities for a masculine leadership style, and the existence of professional development opportunities tailored by and for men. Browne-Ferrigno (2003) identifies the influence of personal characteristics in the recruitment process, including gender and family responsibilities which are both highly connected with the age of the aspiring headteachers. The unbalanced division of labour at home, which in most contexts puts pressure on women, significantly affects career orientations and decisions.

...men tend to pursue a more aggressive approach to career planning and advancement and take advantage of in-service courses more often than women. Parenthood does not

affect career advancement for most men; however, parenthood negatively influences promotion eligibility for many women due to career breaks for child-rearing (p. 496).

Historically many female leaders have had to postpone a leadership career until domestic responsibilities, notably children-care, reduces. A concern frequently not shared by men. This late start also appears as a disadvantage in their career progression. Coleman and Campbell-Stephens (2010) found barriers in the selection process and professional development opportunities for aspiring female headteachers. The authors point out that in the eyes of the selection committees, there are a series of biases influencing the vision that female headteachers are not suitable to run a school:

One of the major findings emerging from the research is that despite minor changes, there is a continuing and high level of discrimination faced by women who aspire to senior management in education, the discrimination being fuelled by stereotypes that include the identification of women with their domestic role (p.91)

Studying the impact of age, disability, race and sex on the teaching profession in England, Wilson, Powney, Hall and Davidson (2006) in the paper *Race and sex: Teachers' views on who gets ahead in schools?* examine a series of obstacles that minority groups face when approaching promotions. While, as the title suggests, the main focus of the study is to explore the intersectionality of race and gender, as presented below the findings indicate an unanticipated contribution of age:

Participants in the special interest groups and the school case studies were much more likely than survey respondents to suggest that age, disability, race and sex were important determinants of their professional circumstances. Nonetheless, most of the respondents saw age as a barrier to promotion. In secondary schools, it was usually female informants who perceived that they were too old to apply for senior management posts (p. 324)

Wilson et al.'s (2006) argument suggests that there is a right age to become a headteacher, which is not only in the mind of the aspiring leaders but also in those of selection committees. The intersectionality between age, gender and race (Samuels and Ross-Sheriff, 2008) adds another layer of discrimination as subgroups could be assessed differently. In other words, you might be too old to be a black female leader, but not too old to be a white male leader. Choge (2015) found a similar pattern in Kenya:

The challenges facing female teachers in leadership were identified as; lack of promotion since most of them had never been promoted, unequal advancement opportunities, motherhood responsibilities, and career immobility due to geographical

immobility due to family responsibilities, lack of role models, dominance of males in the leadership network and lack of self-esteem to seek the administrative posts aggressively. (p.30)

The discriminatory practices faced by female headteachers are not restricted to the hiring process. In Israel, Oplatka (2001) explored the leadership style of female headteachers and concluded that many female leaders are required to change their behaviours in favour of masculine practices. Failing to transform their leadership style could act as a barrier to career progression. Studying the differences between males' and females' career trajectories, Eckman (2004) found that male headteachers had a clear, well planned and future-oriented professional vision, while female headteachers frequently had the opposite experience:

None of the females had planned on becoming high school principals. As one noted, "I just developed into it. It wasn't something that I was actually looking for. Another female described her career as "zigging and zagging" as she moved from the classroom to supervision, then to teaching in higher education, and finally to the high school principalship" (p.196)

Eckman findings mirror Smith's (2015) conclusions who noted that female leaders were more cautious than males in moving upward on the career ladder and preferred to take smaller leaps between jobs; "women were more likely than men to aspire to the post of Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator, and men were more likely than women to aspire to the most senior posts, especially headship" (p. 861). In many cases, this caution translates into a slower pace or an unavoidable barrier for career promotion.

Gender studies have also noticed that female careers are frequently hindered by the lack of suitable professional development opportunities. Johnson and Campbell-Stephens (2013) discuss the views of black and ethnic minority school leaders in London (UK), identifying barriers at the political and professional development level which hinder their access to the headteacher office; "racial and cultural background, gender, and the religious affiliation of aspiring headteachers matter, not only in terms of the types of opportunities they are provided (or not) to lead, but also in terms of the focus of leadership development programs" (p.36). The authors noticed in their study that the primary professional development strategy is receiving direct support from another senior leader, observing that "aspiring leaders often point to experiences working alongside other headteachers as the single most powerful learning experience in their development" (p.33). However, the scarcity of senior female leaders limits access to this type of learning opportunity for future female headteachers. In contrast, the current gender imbalance favours male aspiring leaders who can draw from a bigger and diverse pool of reference.

Acknowledging the relevance of the gender-mentor dyad, Eckman (2004) illustrates this point and states that “most of the male high school principals described developing an interest in administration because they had role models in terms of male colleagues who were administrators themselves or who were taking courses to become administrators” (p.197). This challenge echoes race discriminatory arguments previously presented (Fernandez et al., 2015) which indicate a vicious cycle whereby more generates more, and less creates less.

Morris (1999) who explored the career of black female headteachers in Trinidad and Tobago makes a connection between the characteristic of the leaders and their career trajectory. For Morris, it is impossible to separate the race and gender of the leader, and the barriers and opportunities for career advancement. Nor is it possible to negate the influences of people and events beyond the boundaries of their professional contexts; “the values and beliefs that they brought with them to the task of managing their schools stemmed from their family influences as well as their educational and life experiences” (p.347). Aiming to change the conversation politically, Smith’s (2011) work seeks to transform the language used when discussing female careers, from barriers to progression:

I have argued in this article that women’s self-perceptions regarding their own agency, and the ways in which they choose to exert it, are key influences in career decision making. This moves our understanding of women’s career choices beyond a focus on barriers to progression and allows alternative accounts of female teachers’ career decision-making to be considered, taking into account questions of power and resistance, values and positive choices (p.22)

Aware of the structural gender barriers, Arar and Abu-Rabia-Quederb (2011) identify that female headteachers have frequently had an unusual upbringing in the sense that they have received great support and encouragement in the homes. Their study on the career of the first female headteachers in Israel paid attention to early experience and the influences of their progressive families in developing the capacity to resist and overcome professional obstacles. The research explored the life and career of two female headteachers.

Both women were endowed with an exceptional education that enabled them to overcome the three conditions listed by Hijab (1989) for achieving principalship and to be able to defeat their male counterparts. Their education contradicted accepted norms and constituted a breakthrough, overcoming patriarchal norms that limit women’s work to their local and family environment and inhibit their participation in broader economic revenues (p.425)

In their study of the career of female headteachers in England, McKillop and Moorosi (2017) identified the contribution of early years in how individuals understand their career decisions.

“Findings suggest that parents exerted significant influence on the participants’ values and ambitions, while teachers influenced their career choices” (p. 334). In China, Chan, Ngai and Choi (2016) argue how gender discriminatory practices are moderated by the positive influences of their family members. However, the authors also acknowledge that these cases are unusual.

Chinese patriarchy appears to be most intriguing where women’s mothering roles are concerned. While family responsibilities and husbands’ resistance can deter Chinese women, and probably other Asian women, from pursuing a career, this is not entirely the case with our women principals. They reported having received help from their spouses in their career development and support and assistance from the waged market and/or family members, including their once conservative mothers, when performing maternal duties, even though, in theory and in reality, they are still held responsible for the well-being of their children (p.209)

Gender studies contribute significantly to generational research as they highlight the influence of individual characteristics and personal life in career decisions. While gender studies concerned with leadership careers touch on many of the topics previously described in this chapter, they also open the door to other less visible themes. For instance, studies on discriminatory hiring practices frequently explored the intersectionality of gender with Black and Minority Ethnic groups illustrating that in many educational systems there is a white male expectation of the headteacher’s appearance (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010; Johnson and Campbell-Stephens, 2013). Similarly, the debate about maternity, the care of children and the challenging position of women in most societies showed the difficulties that many aspiring headteachers face when trying to balance personal and professional life (Rocha-Coutinho, 2008; Guihen, 2017).

2.3 Generations and Career

Initially proposed by German sociologist Mannheim in his seminal work *The Problem of Generations* (1952), the idea that social behaviour and social identity are influenced by the specific period in which individuals are born has become the cornerstone of a growing body of knowledge across diverse fields. Hansen and Leuty (2012) define generations as “a group of individuals who share common life experiences such as world events, natural disasters, politics, economic conditions, and pop culture” (p.35). According to Pilcher (1994), a vital component of these ideas is the notion of “socio-historical context” (p.482) which is shared by a group of people allowing them to build a collective consciousness. Individuals born in similar places and times are likely to share behaviours and attitudes to diverse areas of life, especially in comparison with other generational groups or cohorts.

While there is a strong argument for the relevance of context in the shaping of each generation, various attempts have been implemented to establish a global generational voice thus creating a series of generational units or cohorts. While there is no real agreement on the labelling or the limits of each cohort (Smola and Sutton, 2002), most researchers and even the general media commonly use the generational classification originally published by Howe and Strauss (1991) based on the United States (US) history (Table 1).

Table 1. Generations and Years of Birth.

Generation	Other names	Birth years	Age in 2019
Silent	Veteran – Traditional	1925-1942	94-77
Boom	Baby Boomer – Boomers	1943-1960	76-59
Generation X	GenXers – Xers	1961-1981	58-38
Millennial	Generation Y – GenMe	1982-2005	37-14
Homeland	GenZ	2005-2025	13-NA

Source: Adapted from Howe and Strauss (1991)

Due to their current age and responsibilities, special attention has been given to the study of Boomers, GenXers and Millennials (Twenge, 2010; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012). Boomers take their generational name from the population expansion or ‘boom’ experienced in many countries in the world, particularly in the United States, after the events of World War II. Growing up in a context of social safety and economic prosperity, Boomers are oftentimes described as optimistic and conservative. In the workplace, Boomers are characterised as workaholics, individualist and respectful of authority (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2015a). Different from Boomers, GenXers grew up in a context of economic insecurities, rapid social change and an unstable economy. Hence this generation is frequently characterised by its adaptability to continuous change (Beutell and Wittig-Berman, 2008). In the workplace, GenXers are described as team-oriented, horizontal, addicted to learning and seekers of work-life balance (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2015a). Millennials are usually described as tech-savvy, collaborative, optimistic and diversity-oriented (Keeling, 2003). In the workplace, Millennials are frequently defined by a need for constant support and confirmation, an attraction for value-oriented projects and, similar to GenXers, a desire for work-life balance (Bergman et al., 2011). Building upon the original work of Zemke et al. (2000) the following table summarises some of the generational characteristics attributed to each cohort.

Table 2. Generational Characteristics in the Workplace

	Boomers	GenXers	Millennials
Outlook	Optimistic	Sceptical	Hopeful
Work Ethic	Driven	Balanced	Determined
Views of Authority	Love/Hate	Unimpressed	Polite
Leadership by	Consensus	Competence	Pulling Together
Turnoffs	Political Incorrectness	Cliché, Hype	Promiscuity

Source: Adapted from Zemke et al. (2000).

2.3.1 Generations at Work: Implications for Careers

There is growing body of research aiming to identify and characterise the potential differences among generations in the workplace, oftentimes refers as Generation at Work (GaW) (Zemke, Raines and Filipczak, 2000; Jorgensen, 2003; Howe and Strauss, 2007; Murphy, 2012; Edge, 2014; Thompson, 2017). While the reasons for this interest are multiple, a common claim supporting many of the research efforts is the recognition of the imminent departure of the Baby-Boomer generation from the world of work. In 2019, the oldest Boomer is her mid-70s, and many members of this cohort are retired or at least planning to. Callanan and Greenhouse (2008) wrote “the ageing of the baby boom generation presents numerous challenges to contemporary organisations. The projected retirement of many Baby-Boomers in the next few decades is expected to create a leadership vacuum that will be magnified by substantial labour shortages” (p. 82).

GaW studies are also underpinned by the recognition of potential intergenerational conflicts in the workplace. Thompson (2017) explains this concern in the following way: “because there are multiple generations working together in the public sector, understanding each of their orientation is important in reducing the potential conflict” (p.1). Furthermore, other research has approached the multigenerational phenomenon considering the challenges of the age-power dyad, and its implication for leaders and followers. Cogin (2012), for instance, writes:

Workplaces are becoming increasingly age diverse and the likelihood that an older employee will report to a younger manager is increasing. Burke’s study for the Society for Human Resource Management found that in organizations with 500 or more employees, 58% of human resource management (HRM) professionals reported conflict between younger and older workers, largely due to their different perceptions of work ethics and work–life balance requirements (p. 2278)

As described above by Cogin, avoiding ‘conflicts between younger and older workers’ is one of the most critical objectives of most of the research under the GaW umbrella. In the last 20 years, several studies have attempted to understand the generational differences aiming to

unpack the unique generational characteristics and how these features shape the organisational life. Considering the human resources argument, in particular, the challenges on recruiting and retaining talent, many of these studies focus on the intersection between generational characteristics and career decisions. The next sections explore some of these generational differences and their implications for organisations.

2.3.2 Mobility

Profound economic and social changes have influenced the way individuals build their careers. Younger generations have abandoned a traditional stance characterised by stability and long commitment with a single organisation in favour of embracing a career of mobility and change, across positions, organisations and industries (Suutari, Tornikoski and Mäkelä, 2012; Clarke, 2013). This new conceptualisation of the modern career is frequently labelled as the *Boundaryless* career approach, originally coined by Van Maanen, Schein and Bailyn (1977) and later popularised by Arthur and Rousseau (1996). Boundaryless refers to a dynamic approach to careers characterised by an individual decision to move across different jobs or organisations. Arthur and Rousseau (1996) define it as “one of independence from, rather than dependence on, traditional organisational careers involving opportunities that go beyond any single employer” (p. 116). Boundaryless careers are characterised by an individual’s physical movement towards a new employer, but also by an attitude underpinned by a constant desire to change workplaces and responsibilities.

Multiple empirical studies have attempted to test the intersection between the boundaryless career and generational differences, but their findings are far from conclusive. Exploring the generational differences in jobs and organisational mobility, Lyons, Schweitzer, and Ng (2015a) found a significant statistical difference when comparing matures, Boomers, GenXers and Millennials.

The magnitude of the differences was large, as Millennials had almost twice as many jobs and organizational moves per year as the generation Xers, almost three times as many as the Boomers, and 4.5 times as many as the Matures. Furthermore, Generation Xers had almost twice as many job changes per year as the Boomers and 2.5 times more than the Matures. This pattern suggests that increased mobility is a prominent feature of the modern career and the trend appears to be amplified with successive generations (p.16).

There is little debate among academics and practitioners about the changes in the nature of work and its implication for individual careers. Rapid changes in the global economy and organisational environments have radically transformed the shape of the labour markets and, congruently, the nature of work. Economic forces are not only becoming stronger but also

gaining in complexity with companies rapidly rising and collapsing in search of market opportunities (Suutari, Tornikoski and Mäkelä, 2012). This new scenario has influenced a strategic transformation of the organisational sector; long-term endeavours are abandoned, while short and flexible goals are privileged (Anne Kennan *et al.*, 2006; Añez, 2016). Lyons et al. (2012) using a qualitative retrospective biographic approach, supported by statistical data analysis techniques, explored the career changes in a sample of 105 Canadian workers across four cohorts and identify the specific contribution of generations.

Although the Matures and Boomers tended to change jobs and employers more frequently during their 20s and 30s, we observed a steady number of career changes taking place in the later career stages of both generations. In addition, this suggests that the increased job mobility and organizational mobility observed in the younger generations is not merely a product of their youth. If the patterns that have been established by the Matures and Baby Boomers continue, we are likely to see increased job mobility and organizational mobility across the career span of the subsequent generations. (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012, p. 350)

While these studies suggest a higher presence of organisational mobility in younger generations, their conclusions are not definitive. As an example, while it has been assumed that older generations privileged traditional stable careers, Lyons et al. (2012) found a similar aspiration among Millennials.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Millennials have had more diverse career patterns in their early career stages than earlier generations did, but our results do not show a decisive shift away from linear upward careers toward multi-dimensional careers, characterized by decreases in upward changes and increases in lateral, downward and career track changes. (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012, p. 350)

Similarly, in a paper titled *The organizational career: Not dead but in need of redefinition*, Clarke (2013) argues for the development of a meaningful career within the boundaries of a single organisation. For Clarke, creating an attractive job for younger cohorts, in particular GenXers and Millennials, depends on how organisations create flexible and dynamic structures. Clarke writes:

Boundarylessness is not a prerequisite to career success, nor is it confined to those who choose to move from job to job and from organisation to organisation. It is in fact possible to make regular transitions across job boundaries within one organisation and thus to experience a personal form of boundarylessness (p. 698).

Zemke et al. (2000) claim that creating the appropriate generational conditions for career development is one of the most central tasks for senior administrators. These conditions should be flexible enough to serve these different generational interests.

We create a platform for you to grow your career. Our systems are such that if you want to try a wide variety of things, we'll help you do that," says Gilbert. And he says that's a very important message to his primary audience—Generation X. He says he runs into resistance from Boomers about moving horizontally through the organization, whereas Generation X loves it (p.53).

Multiple studies explore generational differences to explain the reasons for an organisational job change (Sullivan, Forret and Carraher, 2009; Maxwell, Ogden and Broadbridge, 2010; Park, 2018). It is commonly agreed that the younger generations are more likely to leave their jobs than older cohorts. Costanza et al. (2012) agree with this argument but make a call for caution considering the dynamic contribution of age; "previous research on intent to leave has shown that although chronological age tends to be negatively related to turnover intentions, it adds little predictive value above and beyond job involvement, education, and tenure" (p.388). In other words, while age plays a fundamental role in career decisions, its contribution must be taken into consideration with other complementary variables.

Despite popular belief, there is evidence suggesting that Millennials seek long organisational commitment and greatly value stability in the workplace. In a review of multiple studies, Twenge (2010) concludes that "the best data on job satisfaction, job-hopping, and commitment to the organisation—that which controls for age— shows that GenMe [Millennials] is actually more satisfied with their jobs and want more job security than older generations" (p.206).

2.3.3 Promotion

It has been well established that younger generations are less patient in waiting for a promotion. Comparing Boomers, GenXers and Millennials, Smola and Sutton (2002) found an indirect correlation between cohort and advancement: "the older the worker, the lower the desire for promotion" (p.376). Other studies have found similar findings suggesting that promotion was associated with social and material recognition, and a need for positive feedback (Hewlett and Luce, 2006; Wong, Gardiner and Lang, 2008; Gursoy, Chi and Karadag, 2013). An organisational failure in providing frequent opportunities for promotion could influence job dissatisfaction which, in turn, could foster the intention and the act of resignation.

Lambert (2015) found that the desire for promotion is often connected with the opportunity to lead others. Comparing generations, Lambert concludes that due to opportunities to exercise leadership and to develop managerial skills, GenXers and Millennials are more attracted to

roles that include managing teams' responsibilities. However, Lambert found that the main reason behind this interest relates to the opportunity to create networks with other teams and higher organisation structures which will make a difference when approaching a potential promotion. The author remarks "it is very clear (according to a few members Gen Y and Gen X) moving around the company is related to who you know and who you are linked to" (p.132). Implicit in these arguments is the notion of informal networking as part of the career promotion exercise. In opposition, Lambert also found that members of the Silent and Boomer generation did not share the same interest for promotion or for having a leadership role, arguing that both cohorts grew up professionally in a context characterised by rigid, safer and stable organisational structures, where promotions but also layoffs were unusual.

Gen BB [baby-boomers] saw the stability of their own generation's careers throughout the years as an advantage over the younger generations. Meaning, they did not have to deal with as many lay-offs and job changes. Although the notion of career stability was important, it was initially confusing as to what career mobility meant from their perspective. The perspectives of the traditionalist may have had an effect on the Baby Boomers and how they view work ethic in regard to working long hours and not being too focused on moving up the ranks (p.132).

2.3.4 Rewards and Support

A small number of studies explore the contribution of material rewards in the careers of the different generations (Dries, Pepermans and De Kerpel, 2008; Nie, Lian and Huang, 2012; Kian, Yusoff and Rajah, 2013). While the common assumption suggests that younger generations care more about money than older cohorts, this assessment presents severe methodological limitations. As most studies follow a cross-sectional design comparing cohorts in a fixed moment in time, it is difficult to separate a generation, from a career and life stage effect. Edge (2014) illustrates this research challenge comparing the current moment for Boomers and GenXers. Exploring the differences in terms of the importance of salary, Edge states "this could also be related to Boomers' achievement of these things while younger generations are still striving" (p.147).

Comparing personality and motivational characteristics among Boomers, GenXers and Millennials, Wong et al. (2008) found significant differences in the value that each cohort gives to creating interpersonal relationships in the workplace. Exploring the corporate Australian context, the authors' research identified a gradual and linear pattern across cohorts indicating that younger generations care more for a socially productive working environment characterised by friendship and collaboration which is more limited in older workers. Wong et al. (2008) found that "contrary to expectations based on previous literature, Baby Boomers

were the least affiliative group, while Baby Boomers were expected to be highly achieving, they were, in fact, the least focused on career advancement” (p.886).

Similarly, Benson and Brown (2011) studying work attitudes among a multigenerational workforce in Australia, found that GenXers value the opportunity to work in an organisation that encourages peer support, while Boomers value organisations with vertical supervision practices. Identifying similar findings in the US health sector, Kupperschmidt (2000) discusses the influence of initial household characteristics in their work behaviours. The author argues that GenXers were the first generation that grew up in a home where both parents worked, and therefore their primary source of support comes from friends and peers. Focusing on Millennials, Martin (2005) argues that growing up in a context characterised by higher divorce rates and intermittent parental involvement than previous cohorts this generation has learnt to be independent. However, Martin claims that the quest for independence should not be confused with a pursuit for isolation as Millennials enjoy collective experiences. The author remarks:

Mis-reading this independent spirit, managers often complain these young adults don't want to be told what to do. But they miss the point. GenYers do want clear directions and managerial support, but they also demand the freedom and flexibility to get the task done in their own way, at their own pace (p.40)

2.3.5 Work-Life Balance

There is a rising interest in human resources departments and researchers to understand the value for individuals and organisations of work-life balance (WLB). Initial studies on WLB in early 1990s focused on the incompatibility between personal and working responsibilities (Netemeyer, Boles and McMurrian, 1996), while more recent approaches have taken an active organisational perspective by identifying how organisations can be reshaped to generate or support balance (Adame, Capliure and Miquel, 2016). Generational studies have often tried to capture the value that different cohorts put into WLB and how organisations can respond to these demands.

Using secondary sources from the Family and Work Institute (US) in a large sample of nearly 7,000 individuals, Beutell and Wittig-Berman (2008) found significant differences in the ways older generations approach WLB. Differences were particularly prevalent when comparing Boomers and GenXers; “Boomers have been found to value challenging work that can be accomplished over several days while working regularly scheduled hours, but Xers want challenging work that can be accomplished in a single day working flexible hours” (p.520). The same study found that GenXers were more attracted to organisations who were explicitly willing to adapt to their personal needs. It is essential to address that Beutell and Wittig-

Berman's (2008) study used data from 1997 and 2002 meaning that most Boomers and GenXers were in their late 40s and early 30s respectively. This gap is now the difference between GenXers and Millennials.

Despite this methodological concern, other studies have confirmed these differences. Sullivan and Baruch (2009) found GenXers to be more demanding for WLB than Boomers. The authors state "Boomers live to work, Xers work to live" (p.291). Arriving to similar conclusions, Sullivan et al. (2009) focus on childhood experiences to explain generational differences, "Xers, perhaps because they were the latchkey children of dual-career or divorced parents, may wish to obtain a better balance between their work and non-work lives for themselves and for the sake of others" (p.295). Exploring changes in Millennials' attitudes in the Belgian context, de Hauw and de Vos (2010) found that while Millennials can adapt to diverse settings, they prefer organisations that explicitly declare an interest in their employees' wellbeing and personal balance. "During times of recession, Millennials lower their expectations regarding the work-life balance and social atmosphere. However, their expectations regarding job content, training, career development, and financial rewards remain high, suggesting that these expectations are largely embedded within the generation" (p.293). Similarly, Azizzadeh et al. (2003) findings in explaining the declining of Millennials applications to surgery programs in the US agree with previous studies. The authors found "lifestyle and work hours during residency and the perceived quality of the physician-patient relationship appear to be [career] deterrents" (p.212).

2.3.6 Work Ethics

One of the most extensive areas of research in generational difference is what is often referred to as work ethics. While this construct is used by multiple researchers, its operationalisation frequently related with the centrality that work has in the life of individuals and how much employees are committed with the organisation (Miller, Woehr and Hudspeth, 2002; Real, Mitnick and Maloney, 2010; Fakunmoju, 2018). Meriac, Woehr and Banister (2010) indicate that a central problem with this dimension of career studies is the lack of methodological rigour as many publications relies only on single case observations or stereotypical perceptions on the generations frequently linking youth with low levels of work ethic. The authors comment "Despite several reviews of generational differences across cohorts, relatively few empirical examinations have been undertaken, and no studies have yet examined the measurement equivalence of constructs across generational cohorts" (p.315). Furthermore, Meriac, Woehr and Banister (2010) indicate the difficulties to operationalise ethics as a concept and to use it in empirical research, stating "these findings provide evidence that differences do exist across cohorts on dimensions of work ethic, and some differences may be a result of respondents interpreting content in different ways" (p.316). Hence, different cohorts could make different

interpretations of the same work ethics practices thus creating a scenario in which every generation believe their own to be the most successful. Agreeing with Meriac, Woehr and Banister (2010), Deal et al. (2010) found that despite popular belief younger generations are not working fewer hours than older generations. Moreover, all cohorts are working more extended periods when compared with previous decades:

Stereotypes in the popular press about differences in the work ethic of different generations (as measured by number of hours worked and work patterns) are not supported by the data. The Family and Work Institute (2005) found both that workers overall are working longer hours than in the past and that there are no differences between the hours worked by Millennials and Gen Xers at the same age (18–22). They also found that in 2002 Gen Xers worked more hours than did Boomers at the same age in 1977 (p.193)

While there appear to be no real differences in the working hours, the evidence does sustain differences in the attitudes towards workloads and the value associated with it. Cugin (2012) conducted a comparative study using secondary data from organisations in diverse contexts, including American, Australian, Chinese, Singaporean, and German businesses. The author found a clear pattern in a reduction of the work centrality in younger generations. The study identified that members of the Silent and Boomer cohorts felt pride for working hard, an attitude absent in GenXers and Millennials. Cugin comments, “The value placed on ‘hard work’ showed a clear pattern of decline with younger generations, which is in line with the popular conception of a declining work ethic among young people. The most important work value for Traditionalists and Baby Boomers was hard work” (p. 2287). Similar patterns have been found by other researchers using diverse methodological strategies (Smola and Sutton, 2002; Cennamo and Gardner, 2008; Twenge, 2010).

Comparing Boomers and GenXers in the Australian corporate context, Brown (2012) studied the influence of workload on job satisfaction. The workload was indirectly related to job satisfaction, as working non-stop beyond the regular working hours negatively affects personal and family time. “We find that employees who worked for long hours over two successive years were more likely to be dissatisfied with their work-life balance, which in turn generated lower levels of job satisfaction” (p.3591). While this negative experience was shared by both cohorts, Brown found that the consequences of dissatisfaction are considerably moderated by generation in that “GenXers are more likely to quit their jobs due to a lack of job satisfaction than Boomers” (p.3592). This conclusion is supported by other studies (Benson and Brown, 2011; Costanza et al., 2012).

2.3.7 Limitations in Generation Research

Generation studies are not without criticism. The influence and impact of generational difference in people's lives, in particular in relation to work and career, has been a matter of constant debate in the last decades. There are multiple discussions about the value of generational studies, including conceptual, methodological and even political limitations. This section will explore some of these research challenges.

2.3.7.1 Generational Boundaries

While most researchers acknowledge the seminal contribution of Mannheim (1952) in creating the generational principles, many studies have adopted the taxonomy presented by Strauss and Howe (1991), presented earlier in this chapter in Table 1. The birth years of each cohort have been reinterpreted by different authors creating difficulties in establishing a global common ground. Costanza et al. (2012) (Figure 1) and Rudolph, Rauvola, and Zacher (2018) (Figure 2) using similar methods but different sources arrived at the same conclusion. Both studies identified inconsistency in how different studies define the starting and ending birth years of each cohort. The figures below extracted from their respective publications illustrate this conceptual disagreement. Accordingly, most of the generational studies are in disagreement both among themselves and with the original Strauss and Howe (1991) taxonomy.

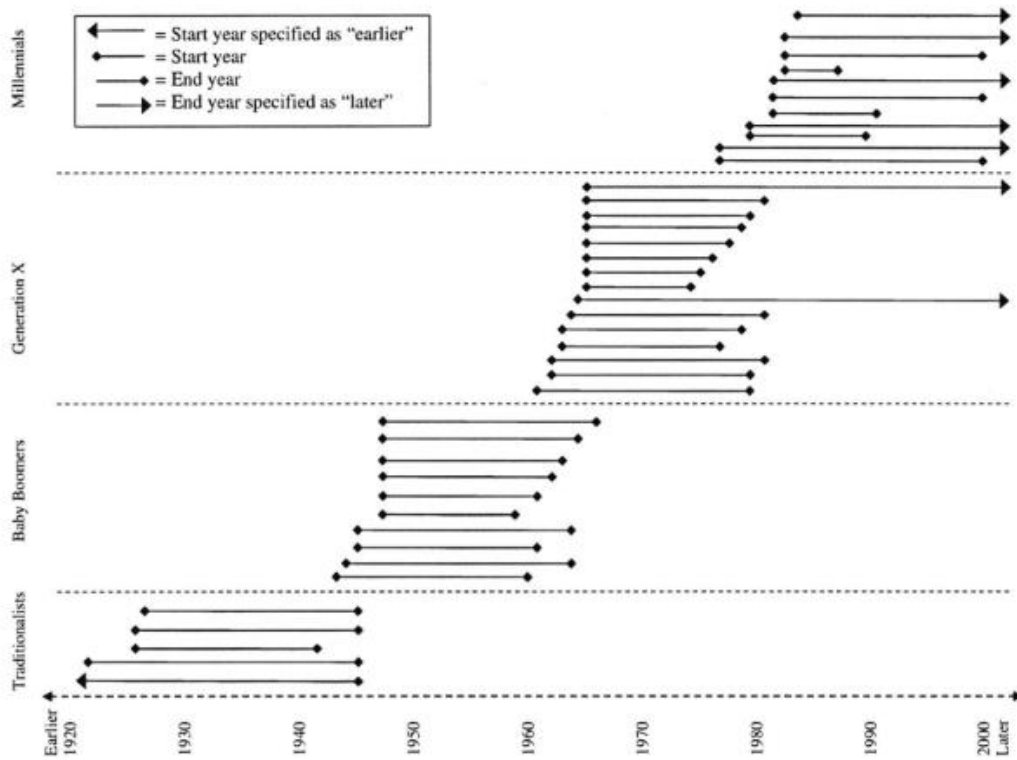


Figure 2. Generational studies and birth years. Source: Costanza et al. (2012, p.378)

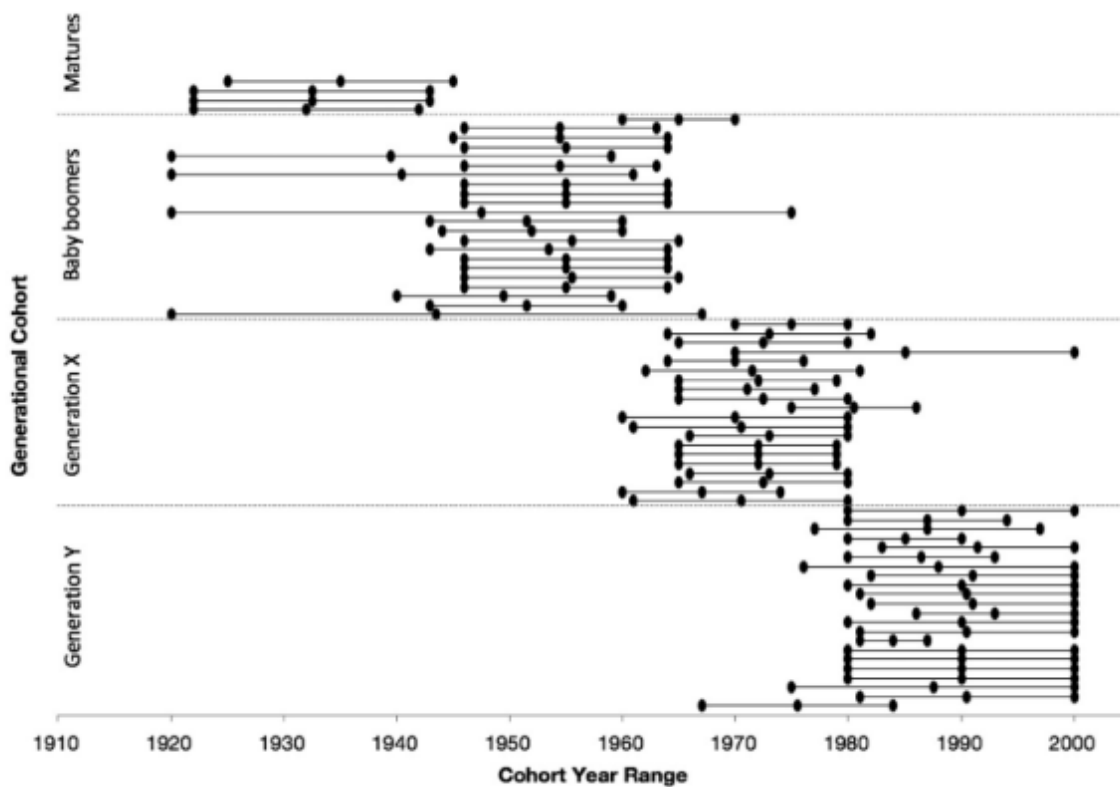


Figure 3. Generational studies and birth years. Source: Rudolph, Rauvola and Zacher (2018, p. 46).

A vital consequence of this absence of agreement relates to the validity and relevance of previous studies as different authors are studying diverse populations and claiming comparable findings. Costanza et al. (2012) explain this challenge in the following way: “this lack of consistency has implications for the conceptual definition of the generations, their operationalisation (i.e., when they start and finish), and the assessment of their impact on outcomes” (p.378).

3.7.2 Context Bounded

While the foundational work of Mannheim (1952) on generations was greatly influenced by the Europe of the early 20th century, its modern elaboration presented by Strauss and Howe (1991) it is primarily US-centric (McDonald and Hite, 2008; Lyons et al., 2015). The historical events defining the generational characteristics appear relevant for developed northern hemisphere countries but not for the southern part of the world. Most studies dealing with the Silent and Boomer cohorts identify the influence of the Second World War as the cornerstone of the generational identity; the former are often called ‘the greatest generation’ with the challenge of fighting in it, the latter growing up in its aftermath (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Hence, most authors agree that the optimism and work ethic characteristic of Boomers came from the consequence of a global allied victory, an event challenging to found elsewhere or at other times (Benson and Brown, 2011; Thompson, 2017).

The baby-Boomers in the West grew up in the aftermath of the Second World War and under the shadow of the Cold War but in a world, they could confidently believe belonged to them. It was theirs to influence and change. As they did so, they accumulated wealth and economic privilege on an unprecedented scale, a process their children and grandchildren may not be able to replicate (Magnus, 2009, p. 300)

Despite this epistemological limitation, the generational framework has been used extensively across the globe, including but not limited to France (Lee, Garlough and Friedland, 2012), Russia (Mičík and Mičudová, 2018), China (Yi, Ribbens and Fu, 2015; Kong, Okumus and Bu, 2019), Korea (Choi, 2005; Park, 2018), Canada (Ng, Schweitzer and Lyons, 2010), Australia (Wong, Gardiner and Lang, 2008), New Zealand (Cennamo and Gardner, 2008; Murray, Toulson and Legg, 2011), South Africa (Kruger and Saayman, 2015), Colombia (Gómez Gil and Alba Páez, 2018), United Kingdom (Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016) and, more recently, Chile (Galdames, 2019). Exploring generational differences on a global scale demands recognition of the specific contextual features that define each generation their geographical, historical and political location. Vincent (2005) suggests that “sociological understanding of generations can be enhanced by avoiding defining them rigidly as

chronological cohorts but rather linking people's accounts of their generational experience with a historically informed political economy" (p.579).

3.7.3 Unreliable Information

There are multiple publications in popular media and corporate outlets on generational differences. However, most of these documents lack scientific merit as they are based on stereotypical ideas, limited case studies or incomplete information. Deal et al. (2010) claim that generational differences have a special place in media where false claims are made with little accountability. "We find it strange that stereotypes of people of different generations are so commonly accepted when stereotypes based on other demographic categories (e.g., race, sex, and religion) are so much less acceptable" (p.198). These stereotypes usually reinforce negative ideas about one generation, or identify a positive feature present only in a selected cohort (Callanan and Greenhaus, 2008; Real, Mitnick and Maloney, 2010; Rudolph, Rauvola and Zacher, 2018). The acceptance of these stereotypes could moderate individual and organisational decisions consequently affecting employees' careers. For instance, Lambert (2015) who explored generational differences in a large corporation (anonymised as company X) noticed that unfunded information on generations could act as a barrier for career mobility. The author remarks:

This study helps to reveal a few causes of inter-group conflict through the perpetuation of negative stereotypes at Company X. Gen Y experienced negative stereotypes in the workplace from Gen X and Gen BB [baby-boomers], creating more pressure to achieve. Gen Y has also been influenced by Baby Boomer parents who gave them the confidence to be optimistic about their ability to make things happen. Surprisingly, Gen Y had mostly negative views of Gen BB for example; James shared: "...They (Gen BB) see me as a 'whipper-snapper,'" adding to the stress and feeling that one cannot make a mistake at Company X. The results in this area indicate that Gen X's influence of being cautious may have had an impact on Gen Y (p.133)

Furthermore, some generational findings are built upon the over-generalisation of single case studies or the perception of an observer using unreliable methods. Jorgensen (2003) gives an example of this argument. Analysing the book *Generations at work: Managing the clash of veterans, Boomers* (Zemke, Raines and Filipczak, 2000), a publication cited hundreds of times, Jorgensen remarks "much of the Zemke et al. (2000) research, like other popular writers, is based on their experiences in performing their individual roles as consultants, writers, speakers and trainers research" (p.41).

3.7.4 *The Confound Issue*

Research on generations has been dominated by quantitative studies. This emphasis is particularly true in work and career-related research which has dealt with the identification and measurement of the variables explaining distinct generational characteristics (Carr et al., 2012; Seipert and Baghurst, 2017). Researchers noted that many generational studies have failed in proving the methodologic rigour to separate specific cohort variables from other important personal and organisational characteristics, which could lead to misguided conclusions. Here, Constanza et al (2012) explains this limitation.

Methodologically, the main challenge in studying generational differences seems to be disentangling the differences attributable to generational membership from those due to other factors such as age and/or time period. Multiple researchers (Macky et al. 2008b; Rhodes 1983; Trzesniewski and Donnellan 2010) have identified this confound issue as the primary methodological challenge in studying generational differences (p.379)

The confounding issue deals with the problem to isolate or remove the confounding variable from the independent-dependent variable equation. A confounding variable is defined “as one that correlates with both a treatment (or predictor of interest) and outcome” (Frank, 2000, p. 150). In generational research, it is assumed that the cohort acts as a predictor or independent variable and the generational characteristics as an outcome or dependent variable. However, this causal relationship is intercepted by other variables which influence both cause and effect. Research exploring generational differences in careers have the challenge to separate the contribution of the generational unit from other confounding variables, including personal characteristics and features of the workplace.

Although in some areas (e.g., work centrality) time-lag and cross-sectional studies are fairly congruent, in other cases they disagree. Where they are discrepant, the most logical explanation is that the cross-sectional study is also tapping differences due to age or career stage (Twenge, 2010, p. 207)

As presented above by Twenge (2010), a frequent limitation of generational studies is the overuse of cross-sectional research designs which overlap cohort with age and a career stage. For example, Costanza et al. (2012) exploring organisational commitment across generations found that Silent and Boomers show higher levels of commitment in GenXers and Millennials, but also found that age correlates with commitment. Similarly, Dries et al. (2008) conclude that Millennials are more attentive to economic rewards than older generations. However, the study recognises that many Millennials are in the early stages of their career and that the global cost of living is higher today than when older generations were starting their working lives. The

answer to this methodological limitation is related to the incorporation of strategies that reduce the confounding effects.

The best design for determining generational differences is a time-lag study, which examines people of the same age at different points in time. With age held constant, any differences are due to either generation (enduring differences based on birth cohort) or time period (change) (Twenge, 2010, p. 202)

Twenge's (2010) recommendation is shared by other academics (Smola and Sutton, 2002; Brown, 2012; Cogin, 2012). Probably one of the most relevant illustrations of these alternative approaches to generational studies is the recent work of Lyons et al. (2012), entitled *comparing Apples to Apples*, which directly addresses the methodological challenges of previous studies. Using a primarily qualitative approach that included quantitative analysis techniques, the study explored the career of four generations of Canadian workers by comparing their professional trajectories in a series of moments during their life.

This study adopted a unique approach to examining the changing nature of careers among recent generations. Our analysis of retrospective biographical data in 5-year career stages allowed us to compare the members of the four generations within specific life-cycle stages, thus remedying a notable confound in cross-sectional studies of inter-generational differences. In other words, our analysis allowed us to "compare apples with apples," rather than comparing cohorts at different life-cycle stages (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012, p. 346)

2.4 Conclusion

The literature review chapter has explored the evolution of the central concepts of this research during the last decades. As presented extensively in 2.2, global studies about the career of headteachers agree on the identification of a series of difficulties in the role. Over the years, the rise of accountability reforms, the increasing participation of diverse stakeholders in school life and a growing set of duties and responsibilities have built a problematic scenario on recruiting and retaining school leaders. Unexpected turnover is often related with negative consequences for individuals and schools. Furthermore, studies in the last decade, particularly the contribution of gender studies, have expanded the understanding of the school leader's life by paying attention to their personal needs and expectations beyond the boundaries of the workplace. Accordingly, previous evidence strongly suggests the importance of considering the influence of headteachers' personal lives in their career decisions.

The review in 2.3 explored the research about generations and career, particularly analysing the differences and similarities between Boomers, GenXers and Millennials. Previous studies

are conclusive in identifying the different ways generations approach jobs, workplace and careers. Methodologically, most previous generation studies have been conducted under a quantitative paradigm finding small but significant differences across cohorts. However, many of these studies suggest the relevance of adopting qualitative strategies to gain a deeper and richer understanding of the generational differences and its implication for the workplace. Moreover, while generational research appears as a well-established body of knowledge across multiples fields, little international attention has been given to the educational context. Only a few academics studies explore the careers of school leaders, and none have been conducted in the Latin American context.

The next chapter will outline the background of this research by presenting the characteristics of the Chilean context. As the current study explores the career of Boomers, GenXers and Millennial headteachers, the next chapter is organised following the generational location of each of these three cohorts. It identifies the political, economic and social context surrounding the personal and professional lives of the participants, and its potential implications for their career trajectories.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter aims to frame this study within the socio-historical boundaries of the Chilean context. Moreover, this chapter will introduce the key concepts and technical language used through the research which will be critical to decode the participants' narratives and to understand their interpretations. This chapter draws mainly from historical data and information, complemented by sociological and legislative sources.

This chapter is organised into five sections. The first acts as an introduction presenting a snapshot of Chile and its current educational system. This section is most relevant for an international audience who are less familiar with the Latin-American and Chilean context. Furthermore, this initial section serves as the backdrop to the information provided by the participants during the data collection period in late 2017.

Generational theorists argue the earlier years of life forge the generational identity of individuals (Pilcher, 1994). As this study explores the careers of different generations over decades, the following three sections will describe the temporal context attributed to each cohort: Boomers born between 1946 and 1964, GenXers born between 1965 and 1978, and Millennials born between 1979 and 1999. These general descriptions are limited by the selection of some events and do not necessarily represent the individual experiences of each participant. However, these descriptions are intended to allow a smoother transition for the reader before the generational chapters. Finally, the last section briefly describes the main characteristics and events of the post-millennial period (2000 to the present), frequently referred as Generation Z. This last section aims to fill the gaps in the current historical narrative, bringing the story back to the present time.

3.1 Current Chile

3.1.1 General Characteristics

Chile is located in the southwest of Latin-America. It is one of the longest (4,270 km) and narrowest (177 km) countries in the world. A car trip from the north to the south will take days, being roughly equal to the distance between London and Cyprus. From the driest desert of the north to the coldest Antarctic ice of the south, the Andes mountain wall on the east and the Pacific Ocean to the west, Chile is characterised by its geographical isolation and fragmentation which has fostered cultural division and economic differences (Etcheverry, 2008). The headteachers in this study were working or have ended their career in a public school from the central regions, which are zones characterised by excellent infrastructure and economic development.

Like many other Latin-American countries, Chile was a Spanish colony from the XVI century until achieving independence after a series of political and armed conflicts in 1810. Unlike the neighbouring countries Peru or Argentina, the Chilean conquest by Spain was a more difficult enterprise which never truly succeeded due to the presence of geographical barriers and an active and well-organised indigenous population: the Mapuches (Mapu = land; Che = people). The Mapuches are still today defending themselves from foreign invasion in large parts of the south of Chile in what has been called the new war of Arauco (Pairicán and Álvarez, 2011).

Chile is administered as a Unitary presidential constitutional republic, frequently celebrating presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections. The current president, a centre-right businessman and politician Sebastian Piñera, was elected in 2018 with 51,6% of the popular vote. Chile is organised into 16 regions; each region is divided into provinces (56 in total); each province is separated in communes (346 in total). The administration of each commune is led by a Mayor in a municipal administration, who is publicly elected every four years.

There are nearly 19 million inhabitants in Chile, and most are concentrated in the centre part of the country around the capital region Santiago. This political distribution plus the geographic limitations support the claim of Chile as a highly centralised country. Many of the political and economic institutions are administrated in the capital city, presenting challenges and disadvantages in terms of resource allocation and accessibility to services for distant regions and rural places (Montecinos, 2005).

Economically Chile has been singled out as one the most robust economies in Latin-America. While the primary source of income is the exportation of raw resources, particularly copper, Chile has consolidated as an economic hub for the region (Caputo and Saravia, 2018). Despite this economic development, Chile is characterised by its unfairness. It has been identified by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as one of its most unequal members (Riveros and Báez Castillo, 2015). The figure below (Figure 3) shows the distribution of the Gini coefficient, an inequality indicator, across the OECD members.

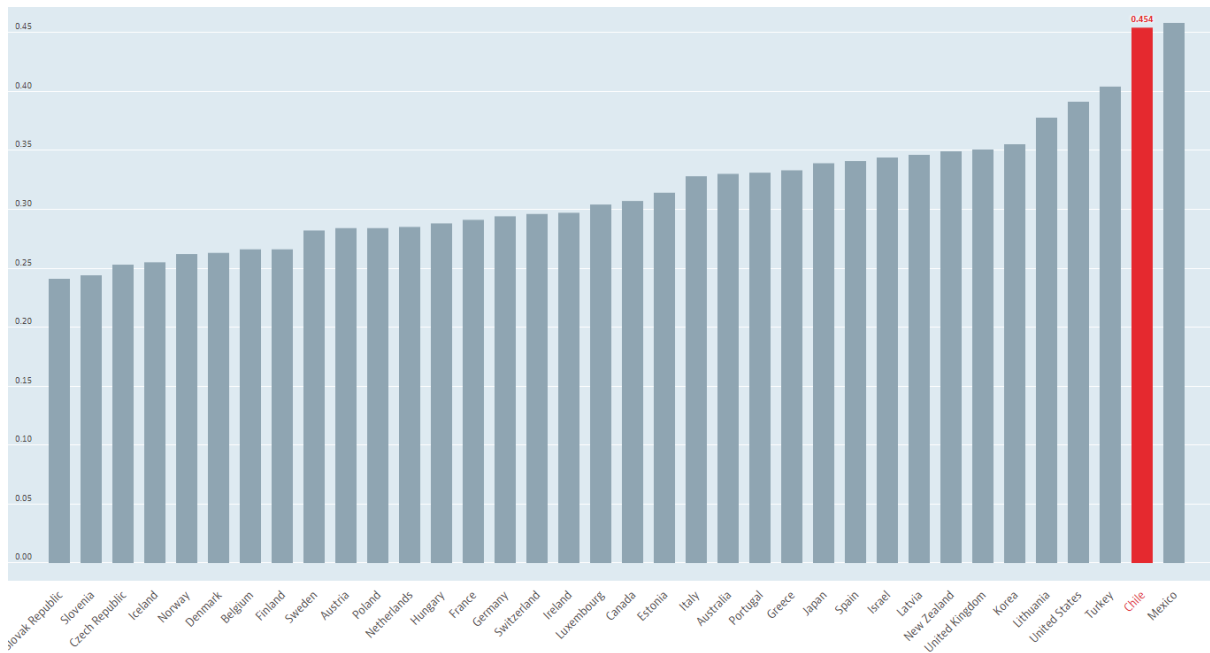


Figure 4. Income distribution and Poverty. Source: OECD Social and Welfare Statistics: Income distribution www.oecd.org.

3.1.2 Educational System in 2019

Education is centrally administrated by the Ministry of Education (Mineduc) who manage pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary education. Primary and secondary education are mandatory by law to all students under 18 years old. Chile has over 11,500 primary and secondary schools with a staff of nearly 250,000 professionals, serving more than 3,500,000 students. School provision is mixed, having mainly three competitive systems working side-by-side.

1. **Public Schools:** This type of school is also called state or municipal school. They are tuition-free institutions, pedagogical led by the Mineduc and administrated directly or indirectly by each municipality The Mayor is the top manager. These schools received 34% of the student enrolment (Mineduc, 2018) and are primarily attended by the most impoverished communities (Puga, 2011).
2. **Fully-Private Schools:** This type of school is fully funded by the parents. They receive some guidelines from the Mineduc but have their own curriculum and private administration. Many of these schools are connected to the Catholic church or are part of an international network. These schools received 9% of the student enrolment (Mineduc, 2018) and are mainly attended by the elites (Puga, 2011).
3. **Semi-Private Schools:** These schools are similar to public schools. They receive funding from the state but have the prerogative to charge parents a complementary fee and select students based on academic merit. Semi-private schools are usually run as a family

business model with a private individual as owner and administrator. These schools receive 57% of the student enrolment (Mineduc, 2018) and are attended primarily by the middle classes (Puga, 2011).

With the exception of fully private schools, the educational school system in Chile is funded through vouchers. The State pays a voucher (about £100 monthly) per student to the parents who can redeem it in the school of their choice. Public and semi-private schools compete for enrolments as more students mean more resources. However, as presented earlier, semi-private schools can also charge families a complementary fee, which varies from very little (£5) to two or three times the amount of the voucher (Puga, 2011). The economic differences between semi-private and public schools created an unequal educative landscape in which public schools had fewer resources and higher numbers of students with learning challenges. As a partial response to this uneven distribution of resources, since 2009, the Law of Preferential School Subsidy² (or SEP in Spanish) increased the value of the voucher. It is usually doubled for students identified as 'vulnerable' due to their socioeconomic background. This reform has greatly benefited public schools.

The main offices of the Mineduc are in Santiago with regional (Seremi) and provincial (Deprov) dependencies located across Chile. The work of the Mineduc leading the school system is accompanied by two complementary institutions: The Educational Quality Agency (similar to Ofsted in the UK) who are responsible for monitoring learning outcomes, and the Superintendence of Education who are in charge of financial auditing (Bellei, Contreras and Valenzuela, 2010). The figure below (Figure 4) illustrates the structure of the educational system.

² This is somewhat similar to the Pupil Premium policy in the UK.

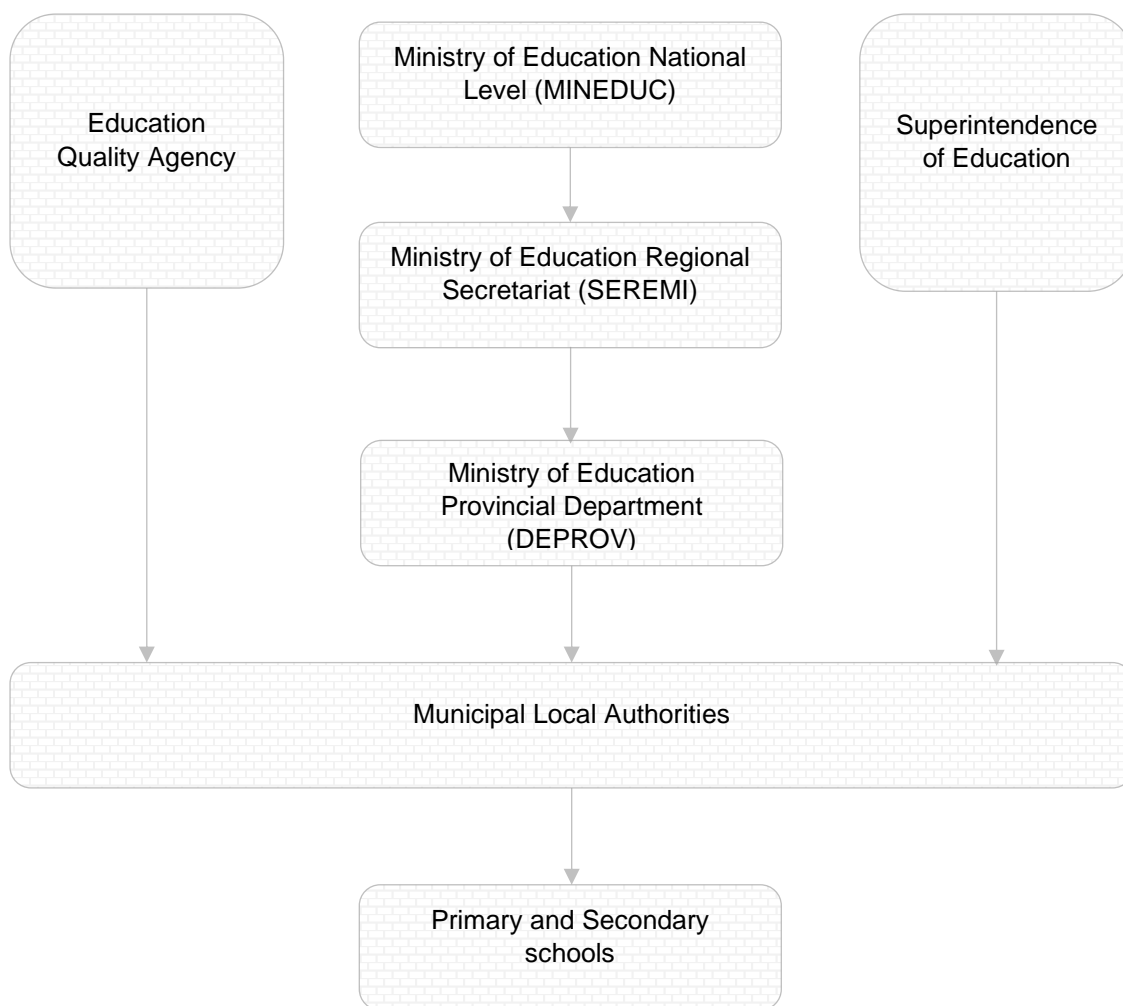


Figure 5. The organisation of the Chilean Educational system in 2019. Source: made by the author using information from www.mineduc.cl.

Under the umbrella of an educational reform labelled as “New Public Education” (or NEP in Spanish) there is an ongoing reform since 2018 aimed at transforming the middle tier of the educational system. This policy moves the responsibilities from the municipal level to the Mineduc. The strategy included the creation of a new structure replacing municipalities as local authorities, called the Local Service of Public Education (SLEP³). The SLEP strategy is in a pilot stage at the time of writing, through the implementation of four SLEPs in different regions of Chile. Based on the outcomes of the pilot, a complete change of the system is expected in the next decade (Donoso, Castro and Alarcón, 2016).

³ In Spanish Servicios Locales de Educación Pública

3.1.3 Public School Headteachers in Chile in 2019

There is a common agreement among researchers and policymakers about the historical absence of a career pathway for public school headteachers in Chile (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010; Weinstein and Muñoz, 2012). The current strategy for preparing school leaders rests on the individual shoulders of teachers and other professionals, with little formative vision and no formal career stages underpinning the professional career for school leaders. Aiming to present some guidance, the Mineduc designed a functional leadership framework for headteachers and leading teams called 'framework for good direction' or commonly known as MBD⁴ (Mineduc, 2005). Initially created in 2005 and updated in 2015, the MBD was intended to bring order to a previously undefined role by presenting five central leadership dimensions and a series of managerial practices to guide school improvement and students' learning. While widely recognised among academics and practitioners as an asset to school leadership, the influence of the MBD is limited by the lack of formal engagement with other human resources and professional development strategies, including recruitment and appraisal for headteachers (Montt, 2012). The use of the MBD is left to the discretion of the respective local authority.

Comparative studies indicate that Chilean headteachers are the most academically qualified in Latin-America with nearly 90% holding a postgraduate degree (Muñoz and Weinstein, 2010). However, the quality and relevance of the academic preparation have been widely criticised as many of the postgraduate offers do not meet quality expectations nor are relevant to lead learning in a school. In response to this, in 2011 the Mineduc created a curricular proposal based on the principles of instructional leadership (Campos, Bolborán and González, 2014). The program was funded by the state and implemented by universities across Chile. It has prepared thousands of school leaders since its inception. However, similar to the introduction of the MBD, the impact of this policy is still unknown. As discussed earlier, it is probably limited due to the weak connection with other policies and strategies as local authorities have the autonomy to decide their qualification requirements in the recruitment process.

The recruitment and selection of Chilean public school headteachers are underpinned by the 'Law of Educational Quality and Equity' created in 2011, often called by its enumeration "the 20,501" (Mineduc, 2011). The 20,501 created a centralised recruitment digital system⁵ concentrating on the human resources demands of local authorities across Chile. Once an applicant creates a digital profile, adding experience, qualifications and legal documentation,

⁴ In Spanish Marco para la Buena Direccion

⁵ www.directoresparachile.cl

the candidate can apply to any public school with an available opening. The system allows simultaneous applications to multiple schools, regardless of the current responsibilities or the contract of the aspiring headteachers. Any headteacher, teacher or other professional with some classroom experience can apply without necessarily having leadership experience or postgraduate qualifications. The selection process is run by an independent third party, frequently a private human resources office, who checks the documentation and conducts a psychological assessment of each candidate. After this first screening a three-person committee, comprising of a member of the State, the local authority administrator and a randomly selected teacher from the respective school, evaluates the remaining applicants and proposes a shortlist of 3-to-5 candidates to the municipal leader, which in most cases is the Mayor (Mineduc, 2012). A selected headteacher signs a 5-year contract with the local authority, having established performance targets, usually focused on enrolment and students learning measured by a standardised national test.

While this recruitment-selection process was legally approved in 2011, according to a recent evaluation of its implementation, its adoption has been slower than anticipated (Peirano, 2015). Evidence suggests a positive perception of the overall process among those who have participated who particularly valued its transparency and objectivity (Peirano, Campero and Fernández, 2015). Conversely, other studies indicate that, while there is an appreciation of the new recruitment process, there are concerns with the work responsibilities after being hired, in particular the imbalance between the goals demanded and the support received (Montecinos et al., 2015). Due to the economic challenge facing the local municipal authorities, the main target for headteachers is to increase student enrolment and attendance which leaves learning as a secondary concern.

Historically, headship has been a job dominated by men. In recent years headships are becoming more gender-balanced (see Figure 5). While the headship is almost equally divided by men and women today, this still reflects an imbalance given that most headteachers come from the teaching profession in which the workforce is 72% female (MINEDUC, 2015).



Figure 6. The gender distribution of public school headteachers in percentages between 2004 and 2018. Source: created by the author using data from <http://datos.mineduc.cl>.

Generationally most schools are currently being led by a Boomer headteacher, followed in numbers by GenXers and Millennials (Figure 6). Boomers' dominance has been constant but over the last few years, as they move into retirement the presence of Boomer headteachers has been in a slow and steady decline. Since 2011, the year in which formal selection was first introduced, Millennials have begun to consolidate their presence around 10%. Meanwhile, GenXers have shown an irregular presence across most yearly measures.

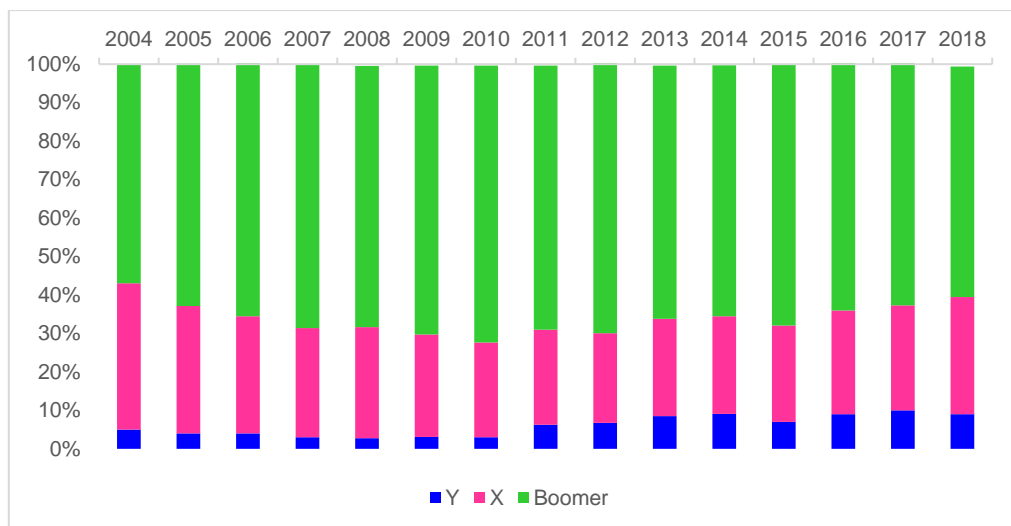


Figure 7. The generational distribution of Public School headteachers between 2004 and 2018. Source: created by the author using data from <http://datos.mineduc.cl>

3.2 Boomers Chile: 1946 – 1964

By 1946, the youngest Boomer would have been born into a democratic developing country, slowly moving into a modern era. Despite the name of this cohort, during this period, there was no 'boom' in the Chilean population as growth has gradually increased over time (see Figure 7). The Boomer period was characterised by the creation of the first state universities, broad public and private investment in industries and the beginning of political tensions that decades later led to a dictatorship. Even though Chile did not participate in the Second World War, it was greatly affected by its political aftermath and was trapped in the middle of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union (Donoso, 2013).

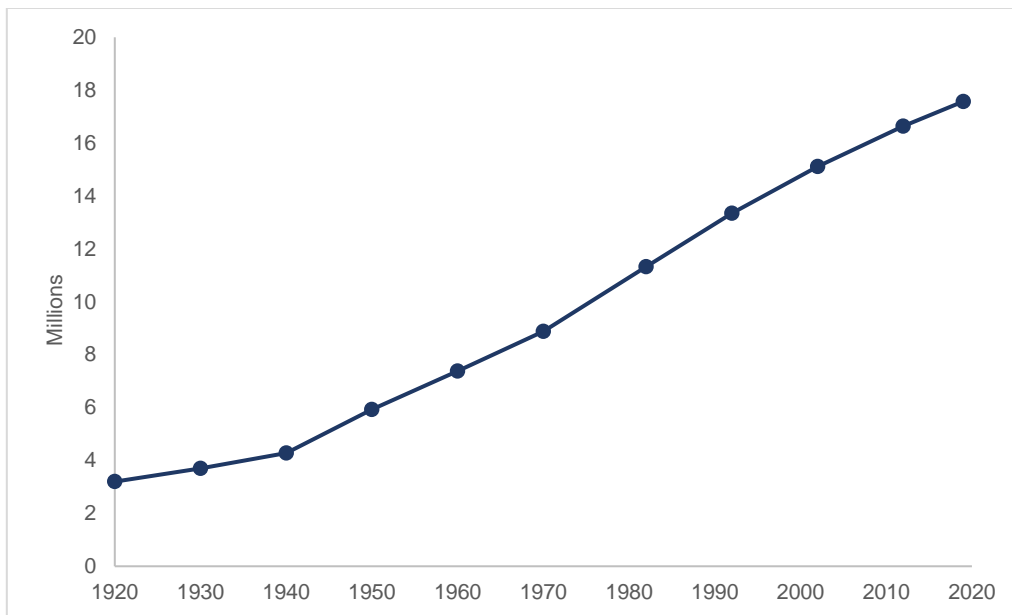


Figure 8. Population Growth in Chile from 1920 to 2018. Source: Created by the author using official data from www.censo.cl.

Beyond the capital city of Santiago, most of the Chilean population was concentrated in rural or semi-rural towns. The efforts of this period were focused on creating the political and economic foundations to modernise Chile and bring more and better public services, including transportation, healthcare and education, to rural isolated communities. During the first governments of this time, there was a push to develop the architecture of the higher education sector aiming to increase access to universities. At this time a university education was only a privilege for elites that could afford studies abroad (Espinoza and González, 2009). After decades of political and religious debate, it was during the Boomer period when women finally gained access to the ballot, voting for the first time in the presidential election of 1952. This period ended with a great sense of optimism and openness to the world as Chile hosted the 'FIFA World Cup', obtaining a historical third place. Preparation for the World Cup included the modernisation of various sports centres and venues across Chile and indirectly encouraged the development and massification of television (Fuenzalida, 1988). The most

famous group at the time “The Ramblers” (Gonzalez and Restrepo, 2015), wrote the most significant *hit* in the history of Chilean music “El Rock del Mundial” [The World Cup Rock] which summarised the mood of the period (Table 3).

Table 3. El rock del mundial.

Original	Translation
El mundial del `62 es una fiesta universal	The world cup of 62' is a global celebration
Del deporte del balón como consigna general	Having the sport of the ball as the overarching theme
Celebrando nuestros triunfos bailaremos rock and roll	We will dance rock and roll as we celebrate our victories
Nos invade la alegría y de todo corazón	We are filled with joy and honestly with all our hearts
Agradecemos a quienes nos brindaron la ocasión	We are happy for everyone that allowed us this occasion
Y dispuestos a la lucha entraremos en acción	We are willing to fight for it
A los equipos extranjeros demostraremos buen humor	We will demonstrate a fair play to the visiting teams
Y como buenos chilenos, hidalguía y corrección	And as good Chileans, we will be brave and just
Y aunque sea en la derrota bailaremos rock and roll	And even if we lose we will dance rock and roll

Politically, the Boomer period was characterised by a sense of balance across diverse sectors. Hurtado (2013) argues that during the 1960s ideological differences were put aside in favour of the development of the country. The political balance did not last long but its momentum allowed for a more profound transformation of the political and economic systems. The State grew in size and responsibilities setting the foundations of many of the reforms capitalised in the next period, including an essential expansion of public education provision. Table 4 summarises some of the most important events of this period according to historians (Villalobos, 1991).

Table 4. Main Historical Moments of the Boomer Period.

Year	Event
1946	President Gabriel Gonzalez (centre) is elected
1948	First access to women vote
1949	Banishment of the communist party
1950	Creation of University of Playa Ancha

1952	President Carlos Ibanez (left) is elected
1953	Creation of the State Bank
1954	Development of the industries of Steel, Oil and Sugar
1958	President Jorge Alessandri (centre-right)
1961	Creation of University of Magallanes
1962	Football World Cup in Chile
1964	President Eduardo Frei (centre-right) is elected

Source: Made by the author based on the work of Villalobos (1991).

According to multiple sources, teaching in the time of the Boomers was one of the most valuable professions (Núñez, 2007; Donoso, 2013). This period began with the news that a Chilean teacher received the first Nobel prize in the history of Chile. Gabriela Mistral, a rural teacher, headteacher, feminist and policymaker was rewarded for her poetry and literature contributions. Mistral's exceptional case set the scene for this period, illustrating the relevance of the teacher role as teachers' training was limited only to a few institutions and to most talented individuals. The *Escuela Normal* [Normal School] was the leading institution responsible for teachers' preparation and focused on producing primary teachers (Núñez, 2007). Aiming to professionalise the teaching role and prioritising the secondary level, *El Instituto Pedagógico* [The Institute of Education], part of the University of Chile, a state university, was the only other choice for teaching studies available at the time. Boomers witnessed a moderate expansion of the teacher preparation offer as the creation and development of state universities was frequently accompanied by the establishment of a respective faculty of education, whose primary purpose was the training of school teachers. Over the years, the University expansion gradually took over the Normal School raising teachers' status from a prestigious trade to a prestigious profession. However, 'Normal Teachers' were still well regarded by the teaching community due to their skills, social commitment and behavioural control in the classroom (Núñez, 2010).

During these years there were few technical guidelines for a career as a school leader, but, from a legal perspective, there was recognition of the headteacher role in the State hierarchy which had economic and symbolic implications (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010). Teachers and headteachers were employees of the State who received salaries and benefits organised under a national degree scale. Accordingly, being a headteacher was formally identified as an intermediate role between the classroom teacher and the middle tier level which allowed for potential upward mobility and the standardisation of wages similar to other positions in the Ministry of Education.

There were few guidelines about the role and responsibilities of headteachers beyond being a representative of the Mineduc in each school. Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz (2010)

characterise this period by the lack of a clear role for school leaders. They state “the headteacher was the person that implemented public policies in the schools and was responsible for managing what was happening outside the school” (p.59). Between 1950 and 1960, headteachers gained staffing responsibilities, a central role in teachers’ appraisal and the ability to hire new staff. Regularly, headteachers held an administrative role with some classroom responsibilities, especially in rural communities where smaller schools were common (Núñez, 2007).

3.3 GenXers Chile 1965 – 1978

By 1965 the first GenXer was born, and the oldest Boomer had entered the world of work. The GenXer epoch is characterised by political turmoil and a level of violence that the country had never seen since the independence from Spain in 1810 (Novaro and Palermo, 2003). This period began with the administration of President Frei, who was a great believer in expanding the size and responsibility of the State and created several of the public institutions that still exist today (Hurtado, 2013). Even though Frei held an explicit connection with right-wing political parties, his policies mostly benefited the working and middle class. By the end 1960s, the Chilean population was reaching 9,000,000 and, accordingly, massive housing reforms were introduced. The education agenda received a significant resource increase which allowed for the creation of new public schools, particularly in isolated rural communities. While history has been generous with Frei and his reforms, at the time his ideas created discomfort in some right-wing political sectors. He ended his term in 1970 with low levels of political support which weakened any intention for re-election.

In 1970 Salvador Allende became the first communist democratically elected president in the world. Allende expanded many of the reforms started previously by Frei focusing on increasing benefits for the working class. Under the banner of the ‘Chilean path to socialism’, his programme was characterised by limiting the power of private institutions and enhancing the size of the State (Medina, 2006). Accordingly, the State bought multiple private industries, and thousands of workers became State employees which improved wages and social benefits. As Allende himself was a physician, he created a healthcare system encouraging decentralisation of medical specialists to isolated communities. Education greatly expanded in reach, especially in illiterate rural communities where children and adults received teachers for the first time. Tertiary education significantly increased enrolment due to policies that eliminated tuition fees which in turn opened its doors to the working class. Table 5 describes some of the main events of this period according to historians (Villalobos, 1991).

Table 5. Main Historical Moments of the GenXer Period.

Year	Event
1964	Investment in universal education
1965	Creation of the Ministry of Housing
1966	Copper Nationalization
1967	Freedom revolution act (enhance community agencies)
1968	Investment in public health
1967	Agrarian Reform
1970	President Salvador Allende (left) is elected
1971	Fidel Castro visits Chile
1972	Truck drivers' strike
1973	Coup d'etat
1974	Creation of the Chilean Intelligence Agency (DINA)
1974	Dismantle of the Teachers' Union

Source: Made by the author based on the work of Villalobos (1991)

After two years in power, the presidential programme faced many obstacles internally as it was in direct opposition to the right-wing sector. Nonetheless, Allende's worst enemies came not from within Chile but from beyond, as the success of the first democratic socialist presidency was followed with great attention by the United States and the Soviet Union. Fearing that Chile could become a second Cuba, President Nixon gave a direct order to overthrow Allende. A report recently declassified by the National Security Agency (NSA) presents the instructions written by the director at that time of the CIA Richard Helm after a meeting with President Nixon "...save Chile!; worth spending; not concerned; no involvement of embassy; \$10,000,000 available, more if necessary; full-time job—best men we have; game plan; make the economy scream; 48 hours for plan of action" (Kornbluh, 2013, p. 1). The United States' plan was twofold: (1) use economic and political pressure seeking to destabilise the government, and, (2), if necessary, influence the local opposition to claim power by force. After two years, the first strategy failed which led to a highly coordinated attack spearheaded by the Chilean army, with the support of senior leaders from the Navy, Air Force and Police. The man in charge was Augusto Pinochet, commander in chief of the army at the time and close collaborator of Allende (Kornbluh, 2013).

In the morning of the September 11th of 1973, the combined military forces stormed the country taking the main cities and institutions. Valparaiso, the biggest port of Chile, was controlled by the navy; while 'La Moneda', the government palace, was bombed by the Air Force and then assaulted by the Army. Across Chile, smaller platoons took cities and towns. Highways and

trains were taken over as well. After a few hours of minimal civil resistance and an emotional radio transmitted speech defending democracy and the rights of workers, Salvador Allende took his own life, and Chile started nearly two decades of dictatorship (Montealegre, 2014). Hundreds died that day, and thousands were captured, tortured or forced into exile during the first years of dictatorship. The political persecution after the coup was assisted by the United States under the umbrella of ‘Operation Condor’, which was a well-documented intelligence strategy aimed to eliminate socialist sympathisers across South America (Senate Select Committee, 1976; Paredes, 2004).

Art and music were intensively attacked. Victor Jara, one of the most important singer-songwriters and poets of Chilean history, was found murdered with 42 bullet wounds in his body and no hands. Most artists were forced into exile, continuing their work from abroad. During this period many kept publishing art as protest trying to raise global awareness to end the military occupation. One of the most well-known songs was “The united people will never be defeated” by Quillapayun (See Table 6). The music group was exiled in France after the coup but continued their work from Europe during the dictatorship. The song became an international anthem against injustice. It was adapted, translated and replicated around the world in countries like Portugal, Iran, the Philippines and even the United States in the demonstration against the murders of Harvey Milk and George Moscone (Polumbaum, 2002; Helbig, 2006).

Table 6. El pueblo unido jamás será vencido (Quillapayun, 1974).

Original	Translation
La patria está forjando la unidad	The homeland is forging unity
De norte a sur se movilizará desde el salar ardiente y mineral al bosque austral	From north to south, from the burning and mineral salar to the austral forest
unidos en la lucha y el trabajo irán, la patria cubrirá	They will go united in the fight and work, they will cover the homeland
Su paso ya anuncia el porvenir	Their movement indicates the future
De pie, cantar el pueblo va a triunfar	Standing up, sing the people will triumph
Millones ya, imponen la verdad, de acero son ardiente batallón	Millions already are showing the truth, they are an army of burning steel
Sus manos van llevando la justicia y la razón	Their hands carry justice and reason
Y ahora el pueblo que se alza en la lucha con voz de gigante gritando: ¡Adelante!	And now the people are rising for the fight with the voice of giant screaming: Forward!
El pueblo unido, jamás será vencido (x2)	The united people will never be defeated (x2)

The GenXers period ended with a sense of darkness, fear and silence, as censorship and curfews were part of the daily routines, and violence was the coin of the self-proclaimed rulers. By the end of the 1970s, life gradually returned to 'normal', but there was a chronic fear of death mirroring the practices of the Nazi Gestapo. The Chilean secret police (in Spanish DINA) implemented aggressive practices; people were captured from their homes, interrogated, tortured, raped and, in multiple cases, never returned to their families (Waldman, 2009). Most reforms created by previous governments were dismantled, as the dictatorship held absolute power. It cancelled the Senate and dominated the influence of the courts. The great victors of the civil war were the wealthiest and the right-wing who were in a privileged strategic position to reshape the economy to meet their needs.

The public education sector was hit especially hard. Many teachers were murdered, and universities were dismantled or taken over. After 130 years of service, the 'Normal School' was eliminated, and the qualifications of their alumni were questioned by the authorities, which in most cases meant that teachers were demanded to retrain (Núñez, 2010). For the first time, teachers could only be prepared by universities which did not have the capacity or resources to develop the number of teachers needed. Furthermore, wages and benefits diminished, the curriculum was altered, and strict supervision by the military government was introduced in schools and universities. Primary and secondary schools were militarised by the inclusion of what was called "the designated or for life headteachers" (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010, p. 385) which were military agents who held the absolute power to lead and make decisions within each school. Nonetheless, the most profound changes were yet to come, as the ideologists of the coup were formulating the constitutional reforms that have forged contemporary Chile.

3.4 Millennials Chile 1979 – 1999

By 1979, the oldest Boomer was nearly 35 years old, and most GenXers were still in primary or secondary school. Millennials were born in a Chile that was in ruins. While the systematic persecution, torture and killing diminished, it was still common practice during the 1980s. No one was spared which was illustrated by the assassination of the ex-president Frei in 1982 (Soto, 2015). The second half of the dictatorship, between 1980 and 1990, brought another kind of cruelty; guns and bullets were swapped for pen and paper. The cornerstone of the military regime reforms was the creation of a new constitution that has been paradoxically described by many as unconstitutional (Tanner, 2001; Pastor, 2004). Not only was it redacted behind closed doors and approved in a highly controversial referendum, but its content weakened democracy and facilitated authoritarianism at national level. Among the main features, the new constitution, often referred to as 'the Constitution of 1980', limited the overall power of the Legislative body, allowed the Executive to nominate a third of the Senate, gave

enormous powers to the Army and extended the influence of Pinochet to dictatorial levels. The design of the Constitution of 1980 had a final caveat blocking most efforts to change it; two-thirds of the congress votes would be needed. Accordingly, despite all concerns, it is still the regulatory legal body of Chile today.

Building upon the new Constitution of 1980, massive economic reforms were introduced and many of the efforts of different governments over the last decades were destroyed. Chile became a paradise for the private sector (Leiva, 2007). These reforms were designed by a series of local policymakers, supported by academics from the United States. Under the influences of the economist Milton Friedman and their preparation at the School of Economics of the University of Chicago, these policymakers are often labelled as the ‘Chicago Boys’ (Levinson, 2007, p. 100). The most affected sectors were healthcare, pensions and education. Workers were obliged to allocate a part of their salary on a private healthcare provider called ISAPRE and a private pension provider called AFP. Both systems were previously administrated by the State. These businesses ran freely with little regulation, and allowing its owners to invest worker’s money and profit from it. Despite multiple public demonstrations during the last years, both systems are still in place (Bugueño and Maillet, 2019).

The education sector experienced a significant transformation. Under a decentralisation strategy, schools moved from the State to Municipal control. The Mineduc kept an instructional role but financial and decision-making administration was left to the municipalities. Multiple sources agree that most municipal educational departments were not ready for the job and did not want the responsibility (Elacqua, Martínez and Aninat, 2010; Puga, 2011). The previously described voucher system was introduced which restricted the funding to education by enrolment. This system shifted the attention from student learning to student recruitment (Carrasco and Gunter, 2019). Under the banner of ‘freedom of teaching’ [Libertad de enseñanza], private companies and individuals were allowed to create and administer schools, receiving many economic incentives and little control, creating the semi-private sector. Semi-private schools received vouchers plus were allowed to charge extra fees to families, select students, have major human resource powers, and little accountability for quality and working conditions.

On top of that, the 1980s witnessed the introduction of a national performance test system, namely the SIMCE⁶. The SIMCE tested students in years 4, 8 and 10, initially in Maths and Literacy (now expanded to other subjects). Results were publicly presented, schools were ranked and families were encouraged to change schools based on performance (Paredes and Pinto, 2009). These reforms have had a detrimental effect on public schools, segregating

⁶ Stands for “Sistema de Medicion de la calidad de la Ensenanza” in Spanish.

communities with fewer economic choices and creating a landscape characterised by competition across and within educational systems. Riesco (2007) summarises this period, 'the promotion of private schools has been privileged for three decades, while the public system was systematically dismantled. This constitutes the main cause of the crisis of the educational system as a whole' (p.243). Having a few modifications, most of these strategies are still in place today.

Teachers were also affected by the new political landscape. Between 1980 and 1981, the teacher degree lost its status as a professional degree and became a postsecondary trait qualification (Ávalos, 2003). Universities were supervised at a political and economic level, which negatively impacted the quality of their offer. Moreover, mirroring the changes in the school system, private universities and other institutions were created, moving from a system with eight traditional state universities to over a hundred private institutions. Most of them offered a teaching degree. Ávalos (2003) commented, "the effect of these changes across Chile was equally perverse, as teacher preparation was installed in weakened State institutes or regional universities, characterised by the lower academic level of their staff and the students" (p.7). By 1990, the teacher degree returned to professional status. It was not before 1997 that any quality reforms were introduced to improve teacher preparation (Ávalos, 2003).

As the school system became more divided, other elements in society rapidly followed. The political encouragement toward privatisation, opened the door to a rising diversification of wages across different industries, thus abandoning the flatter state salary structure that previously characterised Chile. Barozet (2013) argues that some professions and trades benefited from this new economic landscape while others were significantly damaged. Independent business owners and engineers multiplied their income, whereas social services and employees of the state faced the opposite situation. Social fragmentation expanded and polarised Chile. This process created a country divided between friends and enemies, right-wing and left-wing, winners and losers (Ballesteros, 1995). Furthermore, poverty also grew, and by the end of the 1980s, some measures indicated that a large proportion of the population was in poverty (38,4%) or extreme poverty (12,8%) (Larrañaga and Rodríguez, 2015).

These social tensions were illustrated by the music of the time. In 1986, the Rock & Roll group *Los Prisioneros* [The Prisoners], published *El baile de los que sobran* [the dance of the left-behind], criticising both the dictatorship and the destruction of public education (see Table 7). The song describes "The 12 games" or the 12 years of primary and secondary mandatory education, the role of the Christian values in fostering obedience "men are brothers" and the meritocratic promise of hard work, being destroyed by a segregated educational system that was functional for the upper class: "it wasn't true, because those games at the end, ended

with laurels and a future for others”. The song rapidly became an anthem for awareness about social division, leading many of the public demonstrations calling the dictatorship to end (Chauvin, 2014).

Table 7. El baile de los que sobran (Los Prisioneros, 1986).

Original	Translation
Nos dijeron cuando chicos, Jueguen a estudiar	They told when we were little, play as you are studying
Los hombres son hermanos y juntos deben trabajar	Men are brothers, and they must work together
Oías los consejos, los ojos en el profesor	You heard the advices, the eyes on the teachers
Había tanto sol, sobre las cabezas	There was so much sun, over their heads
Y no fue tan verdad, porque esos juegos al final	And it wasn't so true, because those games at the end
Terminaron para otros con laureles y futuro	Ended for some with laurels and a future for others
Y dejaron a mis amigos pateando piedras	And left my Friends kicking rocks
Este año se les acabaron, los juegos, los 12 juegos	This year was the end, the end of the games, the 12 games

After 17 years, the dictatorship ended in a democratic process. Pinochet, in his excessive self-confidence, added the possibility of a public consultation every eight years into the constitution of 1980 (Godoy, 1999). The referendum of 1988, with historical participation of 92.1% of the population, ended the authoritarian regime. In 1989 presidential elections were celebrated as Patricio Alwyn a centrist candidate was elected. He started his 4-year term in 1990 (Angell and Pollack, 1990). This decade was known as ‘The Transition’ (Barret, 2001). The 1990s was a very particular moment in which urgent social demands clashed with a political sector that aimed to make changes in the slowest way possible. Not only were most of the policies of the dictatorship kept, including the Constitution, but Pinochet was rewarded with the title of ‘Senator for life’ and many of his staff in dictatorship held government positions. The lack of accountability for the crimes during the dictatorship was frequently protected by the new democratic governments which to some degree recognised the dangers of prosecuting criminals who still held great power (Godoy, 1999). Many people were formally forgiven or faced minimal sentences, others continued working as politicians holding representative and senatorial responsibilities.

Education was one of the sectors most affected by the dictatorship and accordingly was one of the most vocal in demanding restitution (González, 2015). However, similar to other areas

in the public sector, no significant reforms were introduced during the 1990s as most of the changes were adaptations or improvements of previous policies. The lack of deep reform, contribute to the general discontent among the teacher community about the commitment of the political class with teachers and citizens (Cox, 2003). At the structural level, the decentralisation and transference of schools to a municipal administration remained almost with no modifications. Municipal educational departments kept the administration of the schools, including managing its staff. One of the casualties of this arrangement was the contracts of teachers and school leaders who lost many economic benefits and also their professional identity as employees of the State (Donoso, 2013).

The education funding scheme through vouchers remained as well, which gradually created financial difficulties for municipalities who were not able to maintain a positive balance (Elacqua, Martínez and Aninat, 2010). Furthermore, semi-private schools had an exponential growth during the decade. Having few limitations and accountabilities but many more freedoms than the public sector, semi-private schools grew in intake which increased the problems for municipal finances (Donoso and Schmal, 2002). Furthermore, underpinned by a communication strategy, indicating the superiority of the private offer, semi-private schools symbolically became synonyms of quality and hence a target for an aspirational middle class (Puga, 2011). Figure 8 shows the changes in enrolment since the creation of the semi-private schools. A pivotal moment occurred after 2007 when semi-private schools overcame the public sector.

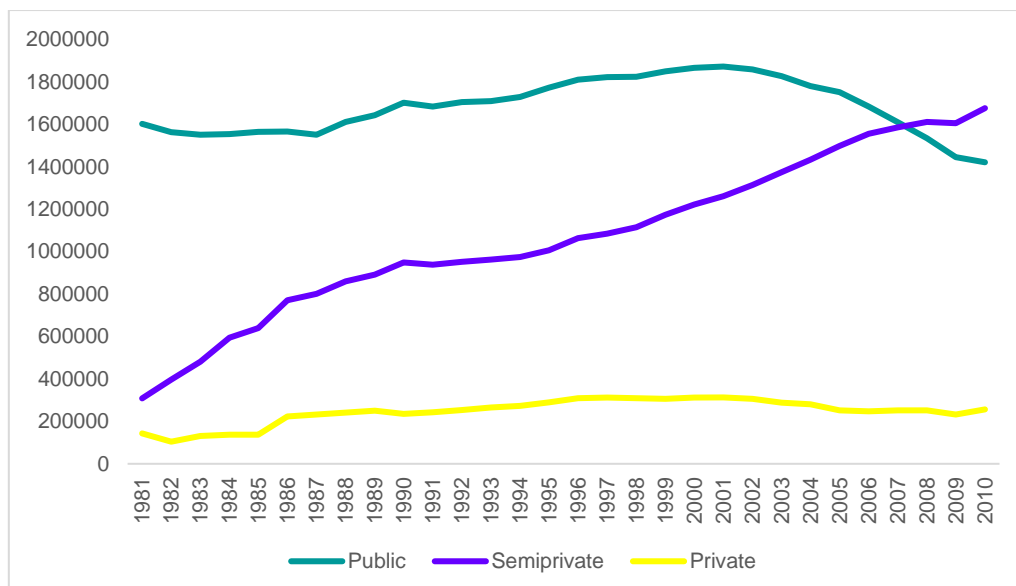


Figure 9. Enrolment distribution across Public, Semi-Private and Private schools between 1981 – 2009. Source: Create by the author using data from Donoso and Schmal, 2002.

The expansion of the semi-private provision had enormous consequences for teachers; private schools had human resources and economic freedoms and provided higher wages

and flexible contracts. Moreover, as private schools selected students and could maintain smaller classroom size, they became an attractive place to work for many teachers, in particular novice educators who were cheaper to hire and did not need postgraduate qualifications (Puga, 2011). However, evidence indicates that some semi-private schools were a challenging place to work due to the lack of regulations and external supervision (Almonacid, 2004). Owners often acted as headteachers who had multiple powers to alter the curriculum and working conditions. In the unregulated context of the mid-1990s, teachers frequently worked simultaneously in different schools having little identification with one single organisation or community. They received the labels of 'taxi teachers' (Pérez, 2016, p. 17) due to their allegiance to multiple organisations. It was not until 1997 with the implementation of full-day school reform, which doubled the contract hours for most teachers, that the number of taxi teachers' condition began to diminish (Martinic and Villalta, 2015).

The expansion of higher education affected the teaching profession, as well. While the early 1990s witnessed the return of teaching to professional status with all teachers requiring a bachelor's degree, it also saw the systematic reduction of the quality of preparation offers. Once an elite degree offered only by selected institutions, teacher preparation was now available for most secondary school graduates despite previous academic achievements. The expansion of teachers' preparation was underpinned by public recognition of the increasing quantitative challenge as there were not enough teachers to serve a growing population of students (Ávalos, 2003). In part, this situation was affected directly by the weakened supply of qualified teachers during the dictatorship, but also by teaching becoming a less attractive profession in the eyes of the public opinion. Rojas (1998) argues that salaries became a central component of this negative perception as, despite many demands from the Teachers' Union, wages increased only a fraction in comparison with other public services which affected the opportunity-cost of selecting a teaching career. Indeed, the salary gap between teachers and other professionals was influenced by their legal nature; while working in the public sector, teachers were not (and still are not) State employees but municipal employees. Wages increased gradually during the 1990s but were not adequately addressed by any reform until 2016 (Ruffinelli, 2016).

During the 1990s little happened to school leadership in Chile. Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz (2010) argue that educational leadership was not a priority for policymakers during this period. Congruently with the spirit of the 'Transition', in which many politicians of the dictatorship moved directly to a powerful position in democracy, the dictatorship headteachers kept their post in the democratic period. These headteachers held tenure and experienced no accountability. Accordingly, the democratic government had little interest in building guidelines, frameworks, or professional development initiatives for them. Usually, a

headteacher was an administrator of resources and a supervisor of teachers and staff. By 1995, the first policies for headteacher recruitment were introduced, but these still depended on the voluntary retirement of the ‘for life headteachers’ which occurred slowly over the years (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010).

The Millennial period ended with Pinochet’s arrest in 1998. However, it was not due to local but to international efforts that justice was brought upon the dictator. Pinochet, who was visiting the United Kingdom with his family and having a medical appointment in a local clinic, was detained by international forces in London under the charges of genocide, terrorism and kidnapping. After years of political discussion Pinochet returned to Chile in 2000, where little happened to him as his defenders argued he had mental health problems. He died in 2006 of heart failure at the age of 91. Table 8 shows some of the central events of this period according to most historians (Cornejo, Reyes and Cruz, 2013).

Table 8. Main Historical Moments of the Millennial Period

Year	Event
1980	New Constitution
1981	Decentralisation Reforms: Education
1988	Referendum Yes or No
1989	Democratic elections
1990	President Patricio Alwin (centre) is elected
1994	President Eduardo Frei (centre) is elected
1998	Ex-dictator Augusto Pinochet is detained in London

Source: Made by the author based on the work of Cornejo et al (2013)

3.5 Generation Z Chile: 2000 – 2016

This section briefly completes the historical narrative between the end of the Millennial period in 1999 and the point at which data was collected in 2017. This period is relevant for all cohorts in the study as this was the time in which most participants became headteachers. By 2000, the oldest Boomer is over 50 years old, the oldest GenXer is in their mid-30s, and most Millennials are starting higher education.

Politically there are no significant changes from the previous democratic governments of the 1990s, but the political sector starts to regain their colours, moving from the paleness of the transition period to a point where various political parties are developing their own identities and distancing themselves from the centre. The political differences are illustrated by the presidential election of 1999 where the candidate for the centre-left Ricardo Lagos surpassed Joaquin Lavin, a former ‘Chicago-boy’ and a representative from the right, by a minimal margin

(51.3%). Lagos is an impressive presidential figure because he was instrumental in ending the dictatorship. After the coup in 1973, Lagos was forced into exile first to Argentina and then to the United States. He returned in 1978 becoming the political referent of the resistance by leading demonstrations and gathering resources to build an opposition (Soto, 2015). Lagos became famous in 1988 when on national television, he looked dramatically into the camera and pointed his index finger towards it. He called out Pinochet for being a tyrant and encouraged all Chileans to democratically end the dictatorship (Chile, 2006). The election of Lagos as president was a social recognition of a period that previous presidents had remained silent about. This event signalled the end of the transitory period that characterised the 1990s.

Lagos' presidency opened the door to President Michelle Bachelet in 2006. There are multiple reasons to single out Bachelet's importance in the Chilean narrative. Not only was she the first and only female president in Chilean history, but her personal story was for many a symbol of memory and reparation (Pickett, 2019). Bachelet's father was an Airforce general close to Allende, who after the coup was captured and murdered. She was detained and tortured before going into exile until 1979 when she participated in the political resistance. Bachelet was part of the Lagos cabinet, first as Minister of Health and then as Minister of Defence. She gained enough popularity to become a presidential nominee. Bachelet was the first left-wing president elected since Allende, serving Chile in two no-consecutive terms, first between 2006 and 2010, and then between 2014 and 2018. She is currently holding a role in the United Nations as a human rights representative.

The presence of a centre-left government encouraged social change during the initial moments of this period. In 2006, an organised group of secondary students protested in defence of public education in what was called the 'penguin revolution' (Bellei, Contreras and Valenzuela, 2010). The revolution started due to a request for a student discount card for local transportation but ended months later with a massive national educational reform designed actively by students and supported by the people and the government. The consequences of this reform were multiple, but an essential product was the creation and implementation of the 'Preferential School Subsidy' (SEP⁷) law discussed earlier. The SEP introduced in 2009 was a funding reform which aimed to give extra resources to schools serving the most vulnerable students (Valenzuela, Villarroel and Villalobos, 2013). Economically, the funds allowed schools to hire more staff, which facilitated teacher retention and the expansion of middle leadership roles (Weinstein, Fuenzalida and Muñoz, 2010). Nonetheless, the central transformation was technical as schools were required to design and implement cycles of improvement in accordance with an innovation plan.

⁷ In Spanish Subvencion Escolar Preferencial.

Bachelet was succeeded in 2010 by Sebastian Piñera, a candidate from the right party. The interchange of power between the left and right has become the common practice of the last decade as Bachelet and Piñera have served both two no-consecutive terms. Piñera is in a way the opposite of Bachelet as he greatly benefited during the dictatorship by working closely with Pinochet and with the right-wing parties in democracy (Lisbona and Navia, 2018). As presented earlier Piñera is the current president of Chile. His policies have helped the business sector and, in particular, the wealthiest citizens. The continuous power change in the last four terms has dramatically affected the continuity of reforms as each presidency has blocked or slowed the efforts of the previous one.

The teaching profession has received considerable attention over the last few years with the introduction of a series of reforms aimed at strengthening the role of teachers and public schools. While these changes were just recently introduced in the last five years, the core ideas of this reform were born from the aftermath of the 'penguin revolution' in 2006 and grew up under the government of Bachelet over the last decade (Cornejo, Albornoz and Fernández, 2015). There are multiple dimensions to consider in a proper analysis, but three are relevant for this research. Firstly, the raising of the standards and expectations for initial teacher preparation. Aiming to improve the quality of the pre-service training, in 2016 a mandatory certification [acreditacion] was introduced for all institutions preparing teachers. The certification is administrated by the State through the Commission of National Certification (in Spanish CNA⁸). The CNA assesses universities and institutes under a series of standards by giving an evaluation in terms of years of certification from non-certificated to a maximum of 7 years. If an institution fails to gain accreditation it cannot offer a teaching degree. The information available in 2019 indicates that at least six universities offering 58 teaching preparation courses failed in achieving the certification, reducing teaching training places by about 13,000 per year (Ramirez, 2019).

Secondly, the reduction of the preparation supply by higher education institutions was accompanied by an increase in the quality of the demand. Since 2010, the government introduced a scholarship scheme for academically talented secondary students who were expecting to pursue a teaching degree. The plan called 'Teacher Vocation Scholarship' (in Spanish BVP⁹) offers free tuition, cash and even international studies for outstanding candidates. Some preliminary analysis indicates the positive effects of the BVP in attracting more academically talented students from more diverse socioeconomic backgrounds,

⁸ In Spanish Comision Nacional de Acreditacion

⁹ In Spanish Beca Vocacion de Profesor

including upper and middle class (Claro et al., 2013). However, it is still too early to evaluate the impact of the program as the first cohorts have only just graduated.

Thirdly, a series of transformations of teachers' working conditions have been introduced since 2017, including a system of induction for newly qualified teachers, a reduction in working hours in the classroom, an increase in lesson preparation time, and a well-organised teacher career path (Said, 2018). The new career establishes five stages of development, depending mainly on years of experience and teachers' performance according to the national teacher appraisal system. Moving upwards across stages is rewarded with a higher salary which encourages teachers to improve their performance and stay in the public system (CPEIP, 2018). Overall, it is estimated that with the introduction of the new teaching career, most teachers (82%) received an immediate rise in monthly wages which came from an increase in the total national educational budget of £1,757,683,000 (Said, 2018). The new teacher career path has an indirect effect on school leaders due to the absence of a similar strategy for headteachers. Accordingly, an experienced and well-performing teacher could have the same or, in some cases, a higher salary than a headteacher. Furthermore, the implementation of the teacher career scheme was introduced one day before the first interview of this study which potentially influenced the opinion of some participants about job satisfaction.

The next table (Table 9) summarises the historical events over the last few decades and links each event with the age of individuals from each of the cohorts.

Cohort	Year	Event	Boomers			GenXers			Millennials		
			Early 1946	Mid 1955	Late 1964	Early 1965	Mid 1971	Late 1978	Early 1979	Mid 1989	Late 1999
Boomers	1946	President Gabriel Gonzalez (centre) is elected	1								
	1948	Woman Vote	2								
	1952	President Carlos Ibanez (left) is elected	6								
	1958	President Jorge Alessandri (centre-right)	12	3							
	1962	Football World Cup in Chile	16	7							
	1964	President Eduardo Frei (centre-right) is elected	18	9							
GenXers	1965	Creation of the Ministry of Housing	19	10	1						
	1970	President Salvador Allende (left) is elected	24	15	6	5					
	1973	Coup d'etat	27	18	9	8	2				
	1974	Dismantle of the Teachers Union	28	19	10	9	3				
Millennials	1980	New Constitution	34	25	16	15	9	2	1		
	1981	Decentralization Reforms: Education	35	26	17	16	10	3	2		
	1988	Referendum Yes or No	42	33	24	23	17	10	9		
	1989	Democratic elections	43	34	25	24	18	11	10		
	1990	President Patricio Alwin (centre) is elected	44	35	26	25	19	12	11	1	
	1994	President Eduardo Frei (centre) is elected	48	39	30	29	23	16	15	5	
Gen-Z	1998	Ex-dictator Augusto Pinochet is detained in London	52	43	34	33	27	20	19	9	
	2000	President Ricardo Lagos (centre-left) is elected	54	45	36	35	29	22	21	11	1
	2006	President Michelle Bachelet (left) is elected	60	51	42	41	35	28	27	17	7
	2006	Penguin Revolution	60	51	42	41	35	28	27	17	7
	2009	SEP Law	63	54	45	44	38	31	30	20	10
	2010	President Sebastian Pinera (right) is elected	64	55	46	45	39	32	31	21	11
	2011	Headteacher Selection (law 20,501)	65	56	47	46	40	33	32	22	12
	2014	President Michelle Bachelet (left) is elected	68	59	50	49	43	36	35	25	15
2017	New Teacher Career	71	62	53	52	46	39	38	28	18	

Table 9.
Summary of
Main
Historical
Events

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study. The following sections are incorporated in this chapter: Research questions, research approach, research design, participants, data collection, data analysis, and ethics.

4.1 Research Questions

As presented earlier in the introduction of the thesis, there are two main purposes guiding this study, each underpinned by a research question. The first question takes a descriptive approach which aimed to characterise the headteacher's career path. The second question takes a comparative approach which aimed to understand the similarities and differences among cohorts. The research questions guiding this study are as follows:

1. What are the characteristics of the career of Boomers, GenXers and Millennials public school headteachers in Chile?
2. What are the main similarities and differences in the career trajectories of Boomer, GenXer and Millennial public school headteachers in Chile?

The first question will be answered in three different chapters. Each one is dedicated to one cohort: chapter five to Millennials, chapter six to GenXers, and chapter seven to Boomers. The second question will be answered by a cross-case analysis which is presented in chapter eight.

4.2 Ontological and Epistemological Position

To answer the research questions outlined above, the initial methodological approach was underpinned by two interdependent ontological and epistemological assumptions. Ontologically, the research questions advance the discussion and reflection about the notion of reality. Traditionally the answer to the ontological question lies in the debate between a nominalist and a realist approach to a phenomenon (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002). Nominalism argues that reality is built by language and, therefore, the world is bound to a meaning provided by the observer; while realism maintains that the world exists beyond the interpretation of the observer. The ontological discussion is crucial for retrospective studies, such as the current research, as they problematise the definition of valid accounts of reality as participants collect memories from a past through their subjective lenses.

Epistemologically, the research questions introduce a discussion about the ways knowledge can be accessed and the role of the researcher in such efforts (Poetschke, 2003). Similar to the ontological debate, traditionally the epistemological assumption demands a decision between two main approaches: interpretivism and positivism. Interpretivism assumes that the

observer modifies reality through the exercise of inquiry, giving high relevance to the individual characteristics of the researcher; while positivism views knowledge as objective and tangible, independent of the influence of the observer. The epistemological discussion is a reminder of the limitations of any research strategy in unveiling knowledge and truth. The ontological and epistemological debate demands the researcher to consider the nature of the inquiry, and its possibilities and limitations to address the purpose of the study.

A central methodological concern is seeking the coherence between ontology and epistemology. Traditionally, an alignment is expected between nominalism with interpretivism, and the same for realism and positivism (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2010). The current study is underpinned by a nominalist and interpretative position. This choice does not disregard the merits of other approaches as valid and relevant paradigmatic stances for past and future studies. However, the characteristics of the current research questions and the uniqueness of the Chilean context make a compelling call for the selected approach, as it deals with a previously unexplored topic from the subjective perspective and experiences of the participants.

As presented earlier, this ontological decision is grounded in a recognition that the world is built through the use of language, in which the career of each participant is moderated by an individual's interpretation of their own personal journey. Similarly, the epistemological decision calls for caution regarding the universal validity of data and assumes that information is created by the interaction between the researcher and participants. The characteristics of the researcher, including age, race and gender among others, interact with participants creating a unique reality. Accordingly, this ontological-epistemological decision influences the extent and generalisation power of the findings, as reality is not a series of objective facts; instead, they are individual interpretations of the participants' life as headteachers, then re-interpreted by the researcher across every stage of the study (Greenbank, 2003).

Assuming this ontological and epistemological stance has relevant implications for the methodology of the current study, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002) indicate that "ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions; these, in turn, give rise to methodological considerations; and these, in turn, give rise to issues of instrumentation and data collection" (p.35). The ontology, epistemology and methodology trio is frequently referred to as the 'research paradigm' (Smeyers, 2001), in this case, a qualitative paradigm. The next section describes the consequences and implementation of this research paradigm for the current research.

4.3 Qualitative Research Approach

There has been a long tradition of quantitative approaches in career and specifically leaders' career studies (Chung and Luo, 2013; Norris, Rinella and Pham, 2018) which has contributed much in the identification of central variables for career development. However, while the use of quantitative strategies has allowed identifying the 'what' in the research questions, they have been less useful in understanding the 'how' and the 'why'. Complementary, qualitative research presents some advantages for a study like this one which aims to unveil new or unexplored phenomenon, and accordingly explore the process and the rationale behind school leaders' career decisions (Creswell, 2014). Cohen et al. (2002) describe the advantages of a qualitative approach when "the principal concern is with an understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which he or she finds himself or herself" (p.8). There is a common agreement of the characteristics of qualitative research among methodologists including the respect for the natural setting of the study, the interpretative role of the researchers, the relevance of the participant discourse, and the use of an inductive data analysis (Brooks and Normore, 2015; Mumford and Hemlin, 2017). Accordingly, studies examining the careers of a minority or disadvantaged groups have usually assumed a qualitative position (Coleman and Campbell-Stephens, 2010; Moorosi, 2010; Edge, Galdames and Horton, 2017).

In qualitative research, the literature review plays a minor role in comparison with quantitative studies (Creswell, 2014). Aligned with the selected paradigm, no hypotheses were previously established nor tested in this thesis (Erickson, 2012); however research assumptions were used to guide this study. Building upon previous research (Gentry, Griggs and Deal, 2011; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012), some level of intragenerational convergence was anticipated, working with the assumptions of similarities within generations and differences between generations. This methodological decision recognises the bottom-up orientation of qualitative research and its importance for this study. Aligned with the qualitative tradition, this research has no interest in producing statistical inferences or generalising beyond the participants' shared experiences (Evetts, 2002). However, following the principles of generation theory, there is a good chance the findings can represent the experiences of other headteachers who share similar attributes, potentially being a relevant input for current and future school leaders and for informing policymakers.

4.4 Using interpretative biography

Interpretative biography is often used as an umbrella term to condense a series of qualitative research strategies such as life story, life history, and biographic studies among others (Rosenthal, 1993; McAdams, 2001). Interpretative biography is defined as "creating literary, narrative, accounts, and representations of lived experiences. Telling and inscribing stories"

(Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 13). The value of narrative approaches to career research is widely recognised, in particular as a way of exploring time processes and the shape of biographical stories (Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Evetts, 2002; Wilson, Cunningham-Burley and Bancroft, 2007). For generational research, this approach becomes even more relevant as collective narratives facilitate the identification of emerging career patterns (Savickas, 2001).

Biographic research is a powerful and relevant strategy for generational studies because it deals with the idea of identity in relationship with a socio-historical context. Individuals build a narrative of who they are as “identity itself takes the form of a story, complete with settings, scenes, characters, plots, and themes” (McAdams, 2001, p. 101). Creating research informed by this approach allows the researcher to freely play with the analytical lenses by continuously changing the focus from the protagonist (participant) to the background (context). This decision allows the researcher to build a coherent and vivid argument about the participant’s life beyond the boundaries of their personal and professional choices. The current study seeks to identify the trajectory of each participant and in each cohort, but also the decisions, obstacles and opportunities behind their journey. Crawford (2009) suggests that to understand school leaders’ identities, it is essential to identify their intentions and their actions, as the active protagonist of their professional lives. The participants’ narrations are an opportunity to see the world of the past through their eyes.

Thus, it is important for the current study to understand the personal journey in a world characterised by change. As the last 40 years in Chile have been marked by remarkable social, political and economic transformations, the perception of each participant and cohort about time, past and present, is the central interest of this study. Stake (2000) argues that “life occurs against changing times, that it is beset with problems, that it has patterns and phases, that it has uniqueness, yet holds much in common with the lives around it” (p.102). The similarities and differences between the participants’ journeys allow the researcher to paint a picture of the ‘changing times’, through the lenses of ‘changing individuals’, as each cohort will bring a unique perspective on the past and present of Chile. Generation theory suggests that the early years of an individual defines what the person is at present (Pilcher, 1994). Accordingly, attention will be given to participants’ childhood experiences, their relationship with their parents, their educational background and their decision to become a headteacher.

4.5 Research Design and Methodologic Rigour

To achieve the research purpose and answer the research questions, a multiple case study design was adopted in which each cohort is considered a case. In other words, participants

within each of the Millennial, GenXer and Boomer generations will be treated as the participants within their generational case. Multiple case study is an extension of the traditional case study where, as Yin (2009) explains, “the same study may contain more than a single case. When this occurs, the study has used a multiple-case design” (p. 53). De Vaus (2001) indicate that “multiple case studies, can provide a much tougher test of theory and can help test conditions on which a theory may or may not hold” (p. 227). As each cohort is a case, the comparison across cohorts allows the identification of specific generational career characteristics. This contrast is critical, as one of the main intentions of the research is to establish comparison across generational groups. Specifically, this study adopts a “descriptive parallel retrospective multiple case study” (De Vaus, 2001, p. 249) which takes into account the experience of the diverse individuals while asking about events happened in their past.

Houghton et al. (2013) argue that any qualitative case study should address four methodologic concerns, namely: credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability. Credibility deals with the value and believability of the findings. There is little interest in this research in checking if the interpretations of participants are accurate, but due to the multiple case study design, there is a constant interest in drawing a generational picture beyond the individual experience of each headteacher. Moreover, once the interviews were analysed, the preliminary findings were complemented with historical and sociological sources of information aiming to expand the individual narrative of participants into a more comprehensive, contextualised picture.

Dependability refers to how stable the data is, while confirmability relates to the neutrality and accuracy of the data. Due to the complementary characteristics, often the two features are addressed together in research through the use of audit trails and reflexivity. An audit trail is the strategy of keeping explicit track of the methodological decisions during the study. Accordingly, multiple notes were taken during the research process to register key events, people, practices, problems and opportunities in the careers of the participants. The audit trail took a central role during the data analysis process. Furthermore, important decisions were thoroughly discussed between the researcher and his supervisors, including preliminary findings, the pace of the data collection, and fieldwork difficulties, which are all well-documented, including emails, meeting minutes, feedback, etc.

Reflexivity was also fostered by the continuous collective conversations between the researcher and the supervisory team. Reflexivity recognises the personal contributions of the researcher to the study, demanding a state of self-awareness about the opportunities and the challenges of this exercise. A reflective diary was kept during the fieldwork stage and in subsequent research stages. It aimed to identify potential blind-spots (for instance gender-bias). Additionally, monthly supervision meetings and other professional development

initiatives, including courses, conferences and peer meetings, helped the researcher to reduce research biases thus increasing the dependability and confirmability levels (Basit, 2013).

Finally, transferability refers to whether or not the findings of the research can be applied to similar contexts. Answering this concern, Houghton et al. (2013) recommends that “the emphasis should be on creating ‘thick’ descriptions, including accounts of the context, the research methods and examples of raw data so that readers can consider their interpretations” (p.45). This statement summarises the approach adopted to transferability as it recognises the ambivalent power of its findings. As presented earlier, generation theory and in particular the seminal work of Mannheim (1952) cautions about extending the generational unit to different contexts, as context bounds a cohort almost as much as time. Accordingly, the findings and conclusion of the study should be taken in light of other factors, such as the boundaries of the Chilean history, the market-oriented Chilean educational system, the power bestowed upon school leaders, and the challenges and opportunities of the current period in Chile.

4.6 Sampling Strategy

4.6.1 Population

The population of the study was defined as public school headteachers formally selected by the current Chilean legislation (Mineduc, 2011). Two methodological arguments underpinned the population definition. Firstly, the ‘public school’ criteria reduce the number of potential candidates to only one-third of the headteachers, from 11,000 to 4,000. Private schools have extensive and diverse human resources powers, while public schools share a set of standard policies and regulation. Moreover, private schools differed from public schools and among themselves which would create difficulties for any study with a comparative component. Most private schools are run under a family business model, frequently having the owners as administrators or headteachers (Almonacid, 2004). The second criteria, ‘selected by the current Chilean legislation’, was chosen as an extra discrimination layer as this policy establishes a similar strategy to recruit and select headteachers, allowing a more accessible and more coherent comparison across cases and cohorts. While the law n° 20,501 that regulates headteachers’ recruitment was introduced in 2011, evidence from 2015 indicates that about half of public schools’ headteachers have not been appointed through this system (Peirano, 2015). Additionally, other studies suggest that the turnover rates of newly appointed headteachers are high which leaves schools without a formal school leader for extended periods (Galdames et al., 2016). Accordingly, it is difficult to measure how many headteachers match the population definition, but a conservative estimate suggests a number of approximately 2,000 headteachers in total.

4.6.2 Sample

A purposive stratified sampling strategy was used to select the participants (Schulz, 2013). Purposive sampling is a process for the selection of appropriate participants based on a set of criteria. The gender and location of the participants were also part of the sampling criteria, to maintain a balance between males and females, and urban and rural locations. The stratified element was guided by the comparative component of this study, thereby, a similar number of participants were needed from each cohort. The present study aimed to recruit 10 participants from each generation, for a total of 30 headteachers. Creswell (2014) argues that 10 participants are a suitable number to conduct qualitative interviews and sufficient to reach saturation. This sample size was consistent with the time and resources available.

The national database for school leaders, teachers and staff served as a starting point for the sampling. This publicly available database¹⁰ is produced annually by the Chilean Ministry of Education, which includes the school staff at the beginning of each academic year (March), in both public and private schools. There are approximately 250,000 practitioners across 11,000 schools in the database. However, the database does not directly identify a formally selected headteacher from an acting head, nor does it update staff changes throughout the school year. Accordingly, the first set of names was determined using complementary sources including municipal records, newspapers and, in some cases, headteachers' social media accounts. A list of potential candidates for each cohort was gathered according to the aforementioned criteria. As Millennials were the cohort with fewer headteachers, the creation of a list of potential participants began with them and each Millennial was matched with a similar participant from the Generation-X and Boomer cohorts, in terms of gender and type of school. The personal email of each headteacher is publicly available on school websites, and this was used to initially contact the participants.

In late September 2017, an email was sent directly to each Millennial headteacher. Once their responses were received, a similar email was then sent to GenXers and Boomers. The rate of response to the email strategy was relatively high, especially among the Millennial cohort. There was only one Millennial who did not respond, and one cancelled the interview at last minute due to a surprise visit by the Quality Agency which required her complete attention. GenXers were less willing to participate in the study, with three formally declining to join due to other commitments and workload. Boomers response rate was similar to GenXers, with only four of the original ten Boomers responding to the first email. The timing could have played a role in the recruitment strategy as most of the invitations were sent between October and November, the last two months of the Chilean school year when schools and their leaders

¹⁰ Database obtained from <http://datos.mineduc.cl>

have more pressure and responsibilities. A confirmation email was sent to leaders who responded with interest in participating, explaining the purpose of the study in detail and with a proposed time, date, and location for an interview. By December 2017, 24 interviews were conducted, with a total of nine Millennials, ten GenXers and four Boomers.

In the last month of data collection, the recruitment strategy evolved due to a mix of opportunity and misfortune. Anticipating difficulties in locating the remaining participants using the previously described strategy, an additional approach expanded the sample to balance the cohort distribution. Building upon the researcher's professional network, a group of recently retired headteachers were contacted. This group of headteachers was part of a pilot initiative funded by the Ministry of Education which was implemented by a local university. The researcher held no role in the programme. The initiative aimed to create a mentoring scheme for newly appointed headteachers. The group was formed of ten retired headteachers and two academics who worked during the last semester of 2017 to support new school leaders. It was almost the end of the project when the researcher contacted the participating retired headteachers. Most members of this group were Boomers selected by law n° 20,501 and ended their career in a public school. Moreover, they were recruited into the mentoring programme based on their outstanding performance as school leaders and their postgraduate qualifications. After discussing the possibility of participating in the study with the supervisor team, the researcher invited all member of this group, and five agreed to participate. Even though this group of headteachers did not precisely follow the population criteria, the advantages of including the perspective of this group of headteachers overcame the limitation of the decision. This subgroup not only have similar career experiences to the headteachers who were still working, but they bring a new perspective about the careers of school leaders from their retired vantage point.

4.6.3 Participants

The table below describes the demographic characteristic of the 28 participants, arranged by cohort and age. Due to the relevance of gender differences in both school leadership and generation studies, the gender balance was a concern during the sampling. 13 (46%) female and 15 (54%) male headteachers were recruited. Additionally, headteachers from similar schools were intentionally recruited. A slightly higher percentage of participants led urban schools (15 – 54%) than rural schools (13 – 46%). Most schools were reasonably similar in terms of performance, staff and students. In Chile, public schools are concentrated in low socioeconomic communities, and due to competition with the semi-private sector, they usually have a small student enrolment ranging in most cases from 100 to 300 students (Elacqua, Martínez and Aninat, 2010). From the 28 participants, 24 headteachers were leading a primary school, and four were leading a secondary school (Table 10).

Table 10. Participants.

Millennials			GenXers			Boomers		
Pseudonym	Age / Gender	School	Pseudonym	Age / Gender	School	Pseudonym	Age / Gender	School
Bruce	33 / M	Urban	Steve	44 / M	Rural	Hannah	58 / F	Rural
Oliver	34 / M	Rural	Reed	44 / M	Rural	Sean	61 / M	Urban
William	33 / M	Urban	Tony	45 / M	Urban	Aidan	61 / M	Urban
Selina	35 / F	Rural	Jessica	46 / F	Urban	Carice	62 / F	Urban
Barbara	35 / F	Urban	Scott	49 / M	Rural	Emilia	64 / F	Rural
Victor	37 / M	Urban	Carol	50 / F	Rural	Nataly	64 / F	Rural
Barry	37 / M	Urban	Erik	50 / M	Urban	Lena	65 / F	Rural
Diana	37 / F	Rural	Peter	50 / M	Rural	Michele	65 / F	Urban
Clarke	39 / M	Urban	Sue	52 / F	Urban	Charles	68 / M	Rural
			Jean	52 / F	Urban			

4.7 Data Collection

4.7.1 Data Collection Strategy

Aligned with the biographic approach (McAdams, 2001), this study exclusively draws on in-depth interviews to build a comprehensive picture of the professional life of each participant (Hollway and Jefferson, 2012). In-depth life history interviews are characterised by giving power to the participant to build their world without having to fit into a prescribed agenda (Houghton, Casey and Shaw, 2013). As discussed by other methodologists before, this strategy assumes that the interviewees are experts in the phenomenon, in this case, their own lives (McAdams, 2001). Accordingly, a simple instruction was presented at the beginning of the interview *“I want to know the journey that led you to become a headteacher. Please, tell me your history since the day you were born to today”*. Following that instruction and mainly considering the pace and the time available, the participants were encouraged to expand on some events or to elaborate about the relationship with some people, while moving forward in their personal and professional trajectory. These interviews took place in participants’ schools, often after students and staff had finished their activities, or in public spaces, like a coffee shop. This process is described in more detail in the data collection section.

Conversations were fluid, and participant headteachers were the ones setting the topics. While in most cases there was a chronological logic in their discourse, frequently participants went back to previous narrations to expand or correct some details. To complement participants’ narrations, a set of questions were designed in case some of the themes were skipped or ignored during the primary interview (Table 11). However, in most cases, all of these questions were answered extensively during the main interview.

Table 11. Complementary Interview Questions.

Main questions	Exploration
Why did you decide to become a Headteacher?	The relevance of economic rewards The support from other The influence of professional development opportunities
How long are you planning to stay as Head of this school? Why?	The argument behind the decision The timing of the decision The role of internal or external influences
Have you thought about moving to another school in the future? Why?	Job satisfaction Personal goals
[if the case] There is anything that will influence you to stay in this school?	Job satisfaction Personal goals Educational Policies
Have you thought about moving to another sector? Why?	Job commitment Organisational commitment
What was your formal preparation? What was your informal preparation?	The value of the formal vs the informal Central learnings and challenges
What was the influence of the dictatorship on your career?	General understanding Potential changes in their life before and after
What was the influence of the 'Student Movement' on your career?	Direct and indirect participation
Do you believe your generation approach the headship differently? How?	The general opinion about generational ideas Challenges and advantages of different generations Potentially, the identification policies that could support generational challenges

The in-depth life history strategy presents significant advantages and challenges for generational career studies. On the one hand, it challenges assumptions about historical relevance, as each participant narrates a story based on a personal interpretation of what happened rather than the factual events that had happened. This argument challenges the notion of reality usually associated with positivism, acknowledging one true reality. Stanley and Wise (1993) argue that commonly different explanations of the social narrative compete which does not mean that people lie but that multiple realities can simultaneously coexist. Evetts (2002) argues that life-history strategies allow the researcher to understand the individual subjectivity that focuses on personal interpretation. They ground the economic and social context of the different narratives and present rich explanations that go beyond reductionism.

Moreover, life history is relevant for studying careers as it facilitates the identification of central events, people or policies that have significantly influenced an individual's professional decisions. Speaking about teachers' careers, Beynon (1985) makes the point that "life history material can tell us much about the socio-historical, institutional and personal influences to a career. It can locate teaching in a wider temporal and interpersonal framework, incorporating external events that have diverted career trajectories" (p.177). Accordingly, this data collection strategy frames the analysis by identifying and organising the historical events that have shaped the life of each participant and each generation. The narratives presented in the chapters V, VI and VII, each describing one generation, are greatly influenced by this methodological decision as it does not necessarily portray a comprehensive discourse of Chilean history or a specific participant's history, but an interpretation of a collective history built from the experiences of each headteacher.

On the other hand, in-depth life history interviews have been criticised for their reliability and validity (Moriña, 2018). As presented earlier, life history interviews are based upon memory and interpretation which raise concerns about participants' testimony, especially for older ones when approaching events that occurred decades before. Nonetheless, it is important to stress that the life stages of each participant influenced their narratives. Younger participants have fresher memories from childhood, while older headteachers building upon past experiences make more informed interpretations of different events.

Furthermore, considering the multiple cohorts participating in this study, the stage at which each participant is in their lives also created concern during the data collection process. As discussed in the *Literature Review*, some authors have argued about the limitation of generational studies. Rudolph, Rauvola and Zacher (2018) criticise the methodological limitations of generational studies that do not take into consideration the differences between cohort and age, and the consequences for data collection. Traditional cross-sectional research might lead to an unfair conclusion when asking the same questions to the people on their 30s, 50s, and 70s. For instance, the relevance of partners or children in their professional decisions. This research strategy aims to reduce this limitation using a retrospective biographical approach which moderates individual interpretations, taking into consideration the age, the life stage and the career stage of the participants. Accordingly, the enquiry uses the time-variable as a central component of the data collection strategy, asking the participants about their younger self, allowing a fairer comparison across individuals and cohorts.

4.7.2 Data Collection Process

Participants were encouraged to choose the place and the time to interview according to their convenience. Generally, most participants selected to host the researcher in their schools after

students and most of the staff had completed their daily work. Frequently, the researcher was offered a short tour around the school facilities and a brief introduction to some of the teachers and administrative staff. Participants often commented on the relevance and objective of the interview, as many explained to their staff “*he is a researcher from London who is interested in the history of my life*”. This example illustrated the welcoming reception by most participants who generally felt appreciated, and valued the aim and the relevance of the research. For half of the Millennials and five retired Boomers, the interviews were conducted in a coffee shop, as the former often explained a need for calmness outside the workplace and the latter had no formal workspace in any school. Nonetheless, four out of the five retired Boomer interviews ended with a tour of the last school they worked at as they had strategically selected a coffee shop near the school.

Participants signed a participation agreement before the interviews started. Most interviews lasted approximately 100 minutes, with some extending to 150 minutes. Generally, participants explained that talking about their journey was unusual but exciting, noting some healing qualities to the research process. As all received an information email beforehand, some came to the interview with personal notes prepared in advance, which most of them quickly discarded a few minutes into the conversation. As indicated earlier, interviews were emotionally charged, as many participants had never discussed some of these issues before. Crying during interviews due to happiness or sadness was frequent but never interrupted the interview process. The clinical psychological background of the researcher was useful to provide emotional containment for participants, who positively assessed the interview experience as an informal and unanticipated therapeutic process.

Each interview was digitally recorded and then transcribed verbatim. Additionally, notes were taken during each meeting with the purpose of support the interviewer during the conversation, preparing future interviews, and assisting with the preliminary analysis. As the data collection process was implemented over four months, the researcher had three meetings in a productive week and was able to go over the audio recordings and interview notes in between interviews. Participants were informed that they had the right to end the interview or to stop the recording at any time, as is explained later in the ethics section. However, nobody interrupted the conversation and the recording was only paused occasionally due to external interference. Once registered, each audio file was assigned a pseudonym and was securely stored and protected by a password following UCL policy data storage (RIISG, 2018), using Dropbox file data 256-bit Advanced Encryption Standard.

4.8 Data Analysis

4.8.1 Data Analysis Strategy

The data analysis strategy was informed by the principles of life history (Goodson and Sikes, 2001) and thematic analysis (Clarke and Braun, 2017). The aim was to capture the biographic narratives of each participant and cohort while respecting the uniqueness of the participant's history. Biographical approaches deal with the life journey of the individual from point A to B. Studies that have merged life history and career frequently focus on the beginning of the work-life (A) and the current moment (B). An excellent example of this is the work of Evetts (2002) with secondary headteachers which explored their professional lives from the moment they started teaching to the current moment in which they became headteachers. However, due to the influence of the generation framework guiding this research (Mannheim, 1952), the researcher took the methodological decision to expand these boundaries from birth to present day.

Thematic analysis focused on the identification of recurrent patterns which become relevant in comparative studies that aim to balance the individual with the collective. Its main objective was to capture the multi-layered complexity of data, implementing a consistent analytic strategy across a large corpus of data. In this case, 28 interviews, nearly 60 hours of audio recordings and over 350 transcription pages. Consistency was critical for the reliability of the analysis and also for the comparative element of the study. Each participant story was unique, all three generations were qualitatively different but also quantitatively different, as older headteachers had longer personal and professional lives than younger headteachers.

The integration of both life history and thematic analysis allowed for a simple but powerful strategy to implement a detailed analysis of each participant's professional journey. It facilitated cohort and cross-cohort analysis. The integration of both methodological approaches created the template for the upcoming four chapters: Millennials (V), GenXers (VI), Boomers (VII) and Cross-case (VIII). If those chapters were buildings, life history provided the blueprint, while thematic analysis brought the bricks and the mortar. Accordingly, it was decided that the analysis would follow a chronological order, starting from birth and ending at the present time with some tentative ideas about future career decisions. While it was anticipated from the beginning of the study that life narratives would be broken into sections, the amount and quality of sections was a matter of constant debate during the analytic process. Influenced by the data and by other similar studies (Earley and Weindling, 2007; McLay, 2008) four sections were created: (1) Childhood and early experiences, (2) Becoming a teacher, (3) The road to the headship, (4) Retention and future expectations. Each section was populated by ideas coming from the thematic analysis, which over the data analysis period continuously evolved.

The main criteria for inclusion or exclusion of a theme were related to its relevance and presence across participants and cohorts. After a couple of rounds of preliminary analysis, two conclusions were evident. First, there was a great deal of generational and intergenerational convergence. The thematic analysis detected a series of themes, shared in by participants and cohorts. Secondly, there was a significant amount of rich data that was going to be excluded from the main analysis and the later chapters. There were many anecdotes, events, people, tragedies and achievements that were relevant to participants' individual life accounts, but they were distant from a cohort pattern. This concern led to the creation of a subsection in each generation chapter, briefly describing the biography of each participant. This decision was made to retain the richness of each participant's journey, and it serves as an introduction to readers before examining the life trajectory of each cohort.

4.8.2 Data Analysis Process

Following the life history framework, the core analysis was conducted using Clarke and Braun (2017) thematic data analysis strategy. The authors provide a six-step guide to assist in the investigation, including Familiarising with the data; Generating initial codes; Searching for themes; Reviewing themes; Defining and naming themes; and Producing the report. All analysis was performed using the Nvivo 12 for Windows software.

Becoming familiar with the data started early in the fieldwork, as the researcher conducted the interviews. The researcher took notes during and after each interview, which included details of the career of each headteacher, identified potential patterns. Monthly meetings with the supervisory team also helped to get an initial sense of the data. Once the data collection process ended in late January 2018, the audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. While the transcriptions were made, a preliminary audio analysis was performed to build initial ideas for the upcoming themes. A summary of each participant's career was written down as well.

This experience led to the recognition of the itinerant flow of information across each participant's discourse. Even though the interviews were conducted following a chronological order, it was evident that participants constantly jumped back and forth in time as their narratives unfolded. Moreover, while there was a sense of individuality in each participant story, initial patterns and similarities across generations were spotted, in particular, a sense of affinity between Millennials and Boomers, a pattern that was identified by previous research (Costanza et al., 2012; Kulesza and Smith, 2013). Finally, a couple of elements appeared to be interesting and unexpected, including social class differences and the frequency of career mobility; both were more present in the GenXers cohort.

The second phase of the analysis was characterised by the implementation of a coding strategy, which involved the constant creation and transformation of codes. Firstly, an

inductive open coding approach was taken. Very few short sections of the transcripts were left un-coded and unused, and these were incidents which the headteachers had strayed into side-stories beyond the focus of the research questions. Generally, these incidents were mentioned in the first sections of the interviews. Accordingly, the coding strategy involved reading the transcripts repeatedly, looking for similarities, contradictions and contestations across the dataset.

The creation of codes and the definitions of the code labels experienced a series of changes during the initial moments. Aiming for efficiency and coherence, it was decided at the beginning to pilot the coding strategy with three interviews, one from each cohort. Multiple alterations to the coding scheme were introduced at this stage in an attempt to refine the coding process, including the size of the coding segments and the labelling on it. Once the pilot strategy was completed, having the three initial interviews coded, the process expanded to the rest of the data set, starting with the remaining eight Millennial interviews. This coding period was also a non-linear process as the discovery or identification of an idea in an interview demanded that the Millennial bundle was analysed once again. The coding process was assisted by periodic discussions between the researcher and the supervisors. Once the coding of the Millennials' transcripts was finished, a similar coding strategy was implemented with the remaining GenXer and Boomer bundles. The following table (Table 12) shows some of the most frequent and less frequent codes at this stage.

Table 12. Initial Codes

Code names	More frequent	Code names	Less frequent
GL¹¹ - Higher Education	176	R ¹² Demands	3
GL Parents	86	R Family	3
GL – School Education	81	CT Peers	2
CT¹³ Professional Development	78	O ¹⁴ Current Family	2
GL Childhood	59	O Head Place	2
GL Political Context	52	O Risk Takers	2
CT Deputy	51	O self-efficacy	2
CT Middle Leader	47	R Expansion	2
CT Rational for applying	41	R High Expectations	2
CT First Teaching	40	GL Context	1
CT Other Roles	40	O Demographics	1

¹¹ GL stands for Generational Location

¹² R stands for Retention

¹³ CT stands for Career Trajectory

¹⁴ O stands for Others

CT Perception of the Recruitment process	37	O Age at first Middle Leader	1
GC¹⁵ Opinions	37	R Appraisal	1
CT Teacher	36	R Role	1
CT A. Industries	30	R Union	1

After the coding strategy was complete, a series of themes were built. Methodologists in comparative studies have argued that the identification of themes has to be flexible enough for each theme to be explored across cases (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2018). Accordingly, the designing of the themes should be extensive enough to be relevant for Millennials, GenXers and Boomers. Additionally, considering the interpretive biographic approach adopted, themes should fit the biographic organisation, starting in the early life of the headteachers and ending in the present. Adjusting the themes under these criteria required trial and error. Maintaining a balance between the individual, generational and intergenerational demanded themes be reduced or at least reshaped before committing to a final design (Table 13).

Table 13. Initial Sections and Themes

Life History	Themes
Child	Family influences Primary School Social Class
Teen	Peers Influences Secondary School Access to Higher Education
Young Adult	Higher Education First Job Professional Relationships
Mid-Life	Professional Development Middle Leadership Responsibilities Personal Life
Older Adult	Access to the Headship Being a headteacher Future Aspirations

The revision of themes was characterised by testing its relevance and coherence at the individual, cohort, and cross-cohort level. This exercise required constant observation of the data as some themes appeared significant at the individual or generational level but were not relevant to most headteachers or shared across cohorts. The age of the headteachers and

¹⁵ GC stands for Generational Characteristics

the density of life histories brought a challenge to the design of the theme as different generations had more, less or nothing to say to some themes. For instance, most Boomers had about 35 years of professional experience, while Millennials had just more than a decade; many participating GenXers had a prosperous career in other fields before working as teachers, while the other two cohorts concentrated their professional life in a few schools.

After a series of adjustments, a thematic organisation was designed considering not the differences but the similarities across cohorts. The most characteristic feature among the lives of these 28 participants was their role as headteachers. As they all were selected under the same legislation, they shared a common point of entry and, because the contracts did not allow tenure, a potential moment of exit in their careers. Accordingly, even though their journey was unique, at one time or another all were trained as teachers, all had to face an application process and all had made a decision about their professional futures. This path was slightly different for the sub-sample of recently retired headteachers, but they shared a vastly similar experience. Finally, they were all Chileans who had never left the country for long periods during their formative years and congruently had a deep understanding about growing up in Chile. These similarities influenced the construction of a series of themes, organised under four life-history sections or stages. The table below shows the rearrangement of the thematic organisation (Table 14).

Table 14. Intermediate Sections and Themes.

Life History	Themes
Childhood and early experiences	Family influences Primary School Social Class Peers Influences Secondary School
Becoming a Teacher	Access to Higher Education Higher Education First job Professional Relationships
The Road to the Headship	Professional Development Middle Leadership Responsibilities Personal Life Access to the Headship
Retention and Future Aspirations	Being a headteacher Future Aspirations

Once a first draft of the analysis was complete, the names and extension of some themes were altered, aiming to improve the coherence and relevance of the analysis. Below Table 15 shows the final life history and themes organisation used in the findings' chapters.

Table 15. Final Sections and Themes

Life History	Themes
Childhood and Early Experiences	Political and Social Context Educational Context Social Class Primary and Secondary School Higher Education Context Access to Higher education
Becoming a Teacher	First School Experience Classroom Experience
The Road to the Headship	Middle Leadership Responsibilities Professional Development (formal/informal) School Leadership Policies Deputy Role Mentoring Headship Application
Retention and Future aspirations	Satisfaction Working Conditions Concerns and Opportunities Work-Life Balance Future Aspirations

When the thematic analysis process was complete, the production of the report, the last step proposed by Clarke and Braun (2017), started. A central concern in this step was the decision as to which writing style would be adopted, a biographic or a traditional thematic approach. Bolívar (2002) argues that taking a storytelling approach facilitates the communication of the findings, recognises the active role of the researcher and respects the contribution of the participants. A storytelling approach is even more relevant for studies dealing with cohort and age differences (Bruner, 1999). Accordingly, it was decided that a biographic writing style would be adopted in which each cohort would be initially contained in an individual chapter. There would then be a cross-case chapter, comparing the three generations. Themes are embedded in these findings' chapters following a consistent organisation, similar to the one previously presented in Table 6. Following the traditional thematic analysis, the writing was supported with the use of vignettes extracted [and translated] directly from the interviews.

Furthermore, each generational chapter is introduced by a brief theoretical description and a short biography of each participant which allows for a smoother transition between chapters.

4.9 Ethics

4.9.1 Informed Consent

Before any interviews began, the research protocol was submitted to UCL Institute of Education ethics committee. Following the orientations provided by the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2017), the researcher sought to ensure that the research design conformed with the laws regarding the ethical treatment of the participants. As presented earlier, the first contact with the headteachers was through a formal invitation sent to their emails, describing the main objectives of the study, asking for their voluntary participation and, if they agreed, scheduling a future interview. Prior to each interview, headteachers were informed about how the study would be conducted according to the ethical guidelines, and how their confidentiality and rights would be protected. A consent form was presented to the participant, a signed copy was retrieved, and another was given to each headteacher. Before the interview, the participants were informed that they could choose not to participate and terminate the session without any consequences. Participants agreed to allow the researcher to collect data from the interviews utilising a digital recording device as well as pen and paper. Similarly, participants were notified that they could pause or turn off the recording at any moment. Once a verbal agreement was received, the digital audio recorder was turned on. Participants were assured that upon informed consent, names would be held confidential and would not be available to anyone other than the researcher and the supervisory team back in the UK.

4.9.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Due to the amount of information that was shared in this qualitative study, strategies for protecting confidentiality were carefully considered before the data collection began. The main concern was to protect the personal and professional wellbeing of the participants due to the sensitive nature of the information discussed. It was anticipated that participants could express their opinion about their superiors, to assess their peers and teachers, or to declare intentions to quit. All of these predictions were observed in the interviews. Different strategies were introduced to reduce the risk of breaking the participant's confidentiality: digital recordings were transferred to a hard disk after every meeting; handwriting notes avoided the use of the participant's real name and locations; transcripts removed their name and pseudonyms were used. The analysis and the final written document followed the same practices. The use of vignettes in the upcoming chapters was redacted when necessary to reduce the possibility of

identifying the participants. The true identity of the participants is only known by the researcher and the supervisory team.

4.9.3 Positionality

A central and continuous concern for the researcher, was to ensure personal awareness of the researcher's position and its influence on the research process. The researcher's positionality affects how data is produced, interpreted and written. In this research, positionality in particular may influence how the researcher engages with the lives and careers of school leaders, which are characterised by rich subjective accounts. As everybody has a history, including the author of this thesis, it becomes central to reflect about the potential risk and benefits, in acknowledging the distance between researcher and participants' positions. It is vital to differentiate the persona of the researcher, a psychologist, male, millennial, without children, with little experience as a public-school employee, from the diverse personal and professional identity of the 28 participants.

Kuehner et al. (2016) approach' positionality is a rich source of data and interpretation' (p. 700) which goes beyond the expectation to diminish bias, but to deeply understand the relationship between the research and the object of the study. In this way, putting subjectivity at the centre might be one of the strongest strategies for the decentring of the researcher. Unpacking the personal history of headteachers, demands the researcher not only reflects on his own history but establishes clear boundaries between his biography and the lives of the headteachers. In order to bring balance to this study, the researcher was open to disclose any aspect of his personal and professional life to the participants. This request was never introduced by participants before or during the interviews but, in some rare cases, occurred after the interview was concluded and the recorder turned off. The enquiries focused mostly on exploring similarities and differences between researcher and the participant's lives, and to elaborate on the implications of preliminary findings.

Moreover, following Grenier (2016), this research acknowledges the power imbalance inexorably inherent to doctoral research: researcher and participants exhibit an asymmetry, particularly in terms of access to knowledge and agency to design the experience that will take place. During the last decade in Chile, schools, teachers and school leaders have been intensively studied by universities and academics, frequently having a passive role, answering the questions written by someone else (Peralta, 2017). The current position of the researcher as a doctoral student in the most prestigious education department (QS, 2020) in the world, in addition to a professional past in one the most important universities of Chile, could

significantly influence the production of information and the power relation with the participants.

Finally, in the positionality conversation is important to state the vital difference between what the researcher and the research participants have at stake within the research process (Pillow, 2003). Even though this thesis explicitly targets national and local authorities, seeking to improve the public policies for school leaders, the final beneficiary of the research process is the researcher. It is crucial to stress transparency and honesty regarding the participant's expectations regarding the outcomes of this research and the potential future benefits to them. Accordingly, the documents sent before the interviews and the conversation with the headteachers expressed the scope and potential implications of the research.

CHAPTER V: THE CAREER OF MILLENNIAL HEADTEACHERS

5.1. Introduction

Sometimes called Generation Y or 'Generation Me', Millennials are the generational cohort born between 1979 and 1999 according to most researchers (Howe and Strauss, 2000; Edge, 2014). During the last decade, this cohort has captivated the attention of researchers and administrators as they have entered the workforce and demanded changes in the way employees are managed. Millennials in the workplace have been usually characterised by a mixture of positive and negative attributes. However, most accounts of Millennials in the workplace tend to lean towards the latter. While recognised as tech-savvy, multitasking and collaborative, they have also been labelled as demanding, fragile and intolerant (Bodenhausen and Curtis, 2016), which has supported the idea that working and leading this generation is a difficult chore. Career-wise, Millennials are described as hoppers, showing low organisational commitment and continuously seeking a better job (Edge, Cockerham and Correale, 2011). Nonetheless, researchers have noted that these claims are oftentimes exaggerated and unsupported by evidence as they are drawn from anecdotal data with little scientific rigour (Deal, Altman and Rogelberg, 2010; Murray, Toulson and Legg, 2011). The few formal studies conducted argued for limited generational differences showing Millennial workers to be much closer to the oldest generations than popular opinion suggests (Kowske, Rasch and Wiley, 2010; Real, Mitnick and Maloney, 2010; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2015a).

These discussions have been dominated by the corporate sector (Rodriguez and Rodriguez, 2015; Martin and Warshawsky, 2017), less is known about the career of Millennials in the educational context (Stone-Johnson, 2011). Furthermore, while there is a rising concern about Millennial leaders, research efforts have been focused on Millennials as followers, mostly exploring strategies to develop, recruit and retain young professionals. In global contexts, research on Millennial school leaders is close to non-existent; even fewer studies can be found in the Latin-American context. In Chile, by 2018 nearly 10% of the public schools were led by a Millennial headteacher (Mineduc, 2019). The presence of young school leaders has steadily risen in the public sector during the last decade. With the imminent exit of the Boomer cohort, a more prominent role for Millennials is anticipated in the near future.

This chapter describes and analyses the career paths of Millennial headteachers and identifies the key events, experiences and people influencing their professional trajectory. Building on generational theory (Mannheim, 1952), the analysis focused on the "generational location" (p.170) or the characteristics of the context that influences people's lives. In Chile, considering the political condition, Millennials are considered a transitional generation. Born in a

dictatorship but growing up in a democracy, this cohort has dealt with problems of national identity, social struggle and massive economic, social and political reforms (Aravena and Baeza, 2015). The timeline below (Figure 9) illustrates how the Millennial's journey (blue) intersects with some of the central events of the Chilean history (background), educational policies (light blue) and its relationship with the following cohort, Generation Z (yellow).

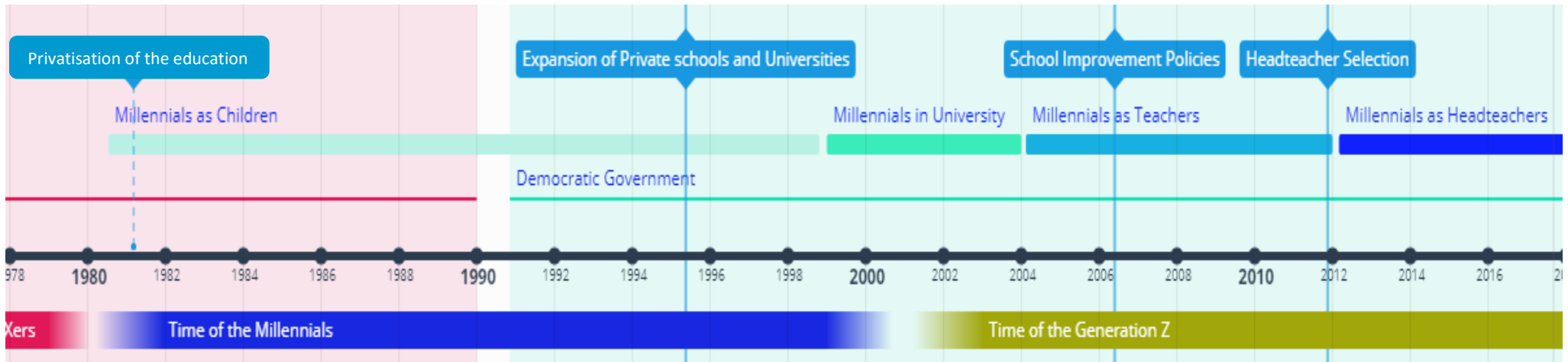


Figure 10. The Trajectory of Millennials

Underpinned by the principles of biographical research, in-depth interviews were conducted with nine Chilean public school headteachers who were born within the Millennial period. Even though the nine participants do not know each other, grew up in different places and have unique experiences, they share common features both personally and professionally. This chapter explores their trajectories, reflects on their similarities between participants and identifies differences when needed. Accordingly, the 'participants' section briefly introduces each headteacher, describing the paths and influences on their careers. As the rest of the chapter expands the scope of this initial description, the first section seeks to serve as the foundation for further analysis. The second section, 'career path', presents a cohort analysis of the headteachers' careers organised under four overarching segments: (1) childhood and early experiences, (2) becoming a teacher, (3) the road to the headship, (4) retention and future aspirations. Following the biographical approach, these sections are organised by a temporal framework, following the headteachers' lives from birth to the present day. Each segment is complemented by 'vignettes' extracted directly from the interviews to illustrate and clarify the central ideas. Considering the ethical implications of the study, some sentences have been redacted to ensure the anonymity of each participant. Finally, the last segment, 'discussion', aims to expand the conversation about Millennials' careers drawing on evidence from both research and policy.

5.2. Participants

1. Bruce, 33 years old

Bruce is the youngest participant in the study and probably a distinct case in the cohort. He is the only leader that grew up in a middle-class family that was, in turn, not enthusiastic about him becoming a teacher. Bruce's passion was not in a school but the academic world. He dreamt of working at the University holding a research position. For different reasons, this never happened and due to economic pressures, he settled for a job in the public educational system.

Bruce trained as a special needs teacher but did not feel comfortable with the role. His aspirations in the school context were at the organisational level, supporting school leaders and the decision-making process. He worked briefly in a public school before taking a role at the municipal level, working mostly with statistical analysis and performance indicators. This role allowed him to work closely with the local authorities and with school leaders which motivated him to pursue a headteacher position. At the time of the interview, he was not happy with his performance in the school and had difficulties working with the teachers and the staff. He was unclear about his future aspirations, but he was aiming to stay in the school at least

until the end of the contract (3 years) and maybe one more term (5 years) due to some projects and practices he wished to install before moving upwards in the public-school system.

2. William, 33 years old

William grew up in a small urban city and was born into a family of low socioeconomic status. He was always close to the school culture, as both parents worked as school cleaners. Performing at a high level in sports during his adolescence, his interest in becoming a teacher was driven by his family and secondary school staff who suggested that a career as a physical education teacher would fit his qualities. However, due to a poor academic performance both during secondary school and in the university selection test, this was not possible and he settled for a place in a lower-tier university and trained as a primary teacher instead. This path put economic pressure on his family forcing him to find a part-time job in retail to balance his finances. These events greatly influenced his approach to work, life and family.

After a short period of job hunting, William found a place as a primary teacher at a semi-rural school where he worked for eight years. He was welcomed by the staff and particularly by the school leaders who acted both as mentors and a substitute family. He felt valued and supported by this community in which he developed his leadership skills. He rapidly moved into the leadership team and shortly after assumed the role of the deputy. Crucial in his development was the explicit recognition of his leadership potential by his previous headteacher who encouraged him to prepare for a future headteacher application and gradually gave him new attributions and responsibilities. When the headteacher retired, supported by the community and local authorities, William applied officially to the position. Despite having an excellent performance during the application process, he was allocated in another school by request of the municipal authorities as they thought it was a better fit for him. While he does enjoy his job, William wants to return to his first school or in his own words his "*original family*". Plans to move upwards in the educational system or to another sector does not appeal to him at the moment, but he does not disregard a position at the municipal level in the distant future.

3. Oliver, 34 years old

Oliver grew up in a rural context and was born into a family of low socioeconomic status. His father did sporadic farming and factory work, while his mother worked as a housewife. His childhood was characterised by moving across cities, following his father's work opportunities. Highly encouraged by his parents, Oliver applied to become a teacher. His mother was the inspiration for this. She not only highlighted the social role of teachers but also the working conditions, which in comparison with the family situation and particularly with the instability of her husband's job, looked better.

Building upon Christian values, Oliver was taught by his father and grandfather the relevance of being ethical in the workplace. Accordingly, being a good and responsible employee was always a relevant feature of his attitude, which allowed him to ascend rapidly on the educational career ladder. Over the years, he established a professional but also an emotional relationship with the staff and particularly with the school leaders, who encouraged him to apply for the headship. Today, his previous headteacher and mentor work alongside him as a deputy. Oliver is clear about the future and his aspirations in the labour market. While satisfied in the current school, he believes that his job there will be over soon. Oliver's first term as headteacher will be complete in late 2019; he predicts that will be the end of the journey in his first and only school. Although he aspires to a role higher up in the public education system in the long term, he believes he needs to expand his professional capacities first by exploring his leadership capacities in a novel and more complex school before moving upwards in the educational system.

4. Selina, 35 years old

Selina grew up in a rural town in a family struggling with poverty and cultural isolation. Her parents, and especially her father, encouraged her to get married and become a housewife. However, since her early memories, she wanted to go to university and become a teacher. Selina went to a vocational secondary school and was trained as an accountant, which did not help her to gain access to university nor to perform well in it. The awareness of these challenges allowed her to prepare accordingly. Not only did she get a place in the university she wanted but she performed excellently during her undergraduate as well.

Selina's degree was in special needs education, which at the time of her graduation was not a priority for the educational policies. As a consequence of this, she initially worked for the local authority collaborating with multiple schools, but due to her performance, she progressively concentrated her working hours in one school. This process was fostered by a good working relationship with a colleague who acted as her first mentor, preparing her not only in the technical aspect of special education but also in the politics of being a teacher. Being recognised for her performance and work ethic by the school leaders, she took administrative responsibilities within the leading team before formally assuming the deputy position. The headteacher became her second mentor and prepared her to take on a future headship. When the municipality opened the recruitment for a new head, Selina was encouraged by the school leaders and the staff. She applied and got the position. Her previous headteacher worked as a deputy alongside her, and continued the role of mentor for a couple of years before retirement. Selina is highly concerned about her future. She criticises the working conditions of school leaders, in particular for young women. Having recently had her first child, Selina does not feel the system allows a balance between motherhood and

headship. Accordingly, she is looking into alternative career options for the near future which will be probably connected with public education. While keeping a career as a school leader is still on the table, it requires significant changes in the support and work-life balance policies to be an attractive alternative for her.

5. Barbara, 35 years old

Barbara grew up in a small urban town, characterised by poverty and challenging conditions. Her family had a series of economic difficulties, which demanded from an early age that she held part-time jobs to support herself and contribute to her family. Encouraged by her father to find a husband and settle down, Barbara always felt like a rebel to her parents as she dreamt of an independent life. Attending to public schools, she graduated from vocational secondary school with a degree that qualified her to be an early childhood education assistant. This qualification allowed her to maintain a full-time job while training as a teacher during the weekends. At 21 years old she became a mother, which put extra pressure on both her training and her career.

After graduation, Barbara struggled to find a full-time position, working temporarily in diverse schools before finding a permanent job in a semi-private school in which she worked in multiple roles for almost eight years. The private school period was a mixed experience for her. It considerably developed her leadership knowledge and skills, yet she felt mistreated by her employer. The owner and headteacher (the same person) approached the school as a business, focusing all efforts on increasing profit which, in turn, neglected her managerial role and exploited employees. In this environment, Barbara took an informal leadership role, organising teacher's work, making decisions and leading the staff. Due to legal difficulties, the school closed and Barbara was forced to move elsewhere. She arrived at her current school and was invited by the local department of education to assume the headship; firstly as an acting head and then formally through a political selection process. Barbara is enjoying the opportunity to lead a school from the headteacher's chair and to use the skills developed in her previous job. She aspires to stay in the current school for a few years and then moving to a more complex school in the future.

6. Victor, 37 years old

Victor grew up in a small rural town. His father, a farmer, and his mother, a maid, educated him about the value of work and being responsible. These ideas help him to stand out both in primary and secondary school. During those years he fell in love with teaching as a profession while also noticing a lack of local educators in his town, as all teachers came from bigger nearby cities. Due to economic difficulties, Victor studied in a vocational secondary school

and, after graduation, he worked in the industrial sector for two years before starting his training as a teacher.

He rapidly found a job as a teacher in a semi-private school where the school owner, who was also the headteacher, took little participation in school activities. Initially working as a teacher but continuously adding to his leadership responsibilities, Victor found this school was a great place to develop skills and grow as a leader. After a few years, he decided to move back to the public sector and apply for a headship in a rural public school. This first job was in a somewhat experimental school with only a few students and limited staff located outside the town. The school received students labelled as “conflicting” or “dangerous”. Similar to his previous experience, this school was a good learning experience for Victor as there were no guidelines about how to lead it and few expectations from the local authorities. Under the rumours of closure, he applied for a headship position at the current school, a place he had led for the last four years. Victor is adamant about his commitment not only to public education but to his territory. Building upon his initial impressions as a child, he believes in the need to develop his town through the work and collaboration of its citizens. Accordingly, his future aspirations are connected with leading a bigger public school in the near future and moving into a system position in a few years.

7. Barry, 37 years old

Barry had highly mobile childhood. His father, a semi-professional football player, was continuously transferred across teams and, accordingly, to various cities in Chile. This movement lasted for a decade before settling in the city in which he was initially born. His primary and secondary education was experienced in public schools, in which he was recognised by his excellent performance in academics and sports. Following his father footsteps, he was attracted to a life in football but settled for a career as a physical education teacher. Due to the lack of training offers in his home town, he studied in a bigger city and commuted daily for five years. Therefore, he did not engage in any extracurricular activities or hold any leadership roles as the two-and-a-half hours of daily commuting drained most of his energy and time.

After graduation, he found a job in his hometown as a physical education teacher. However, from day one, he held informal leadership responsibilities and worked closely with the school leaders. The deputy head was a key influencer in developing his leadership and administrative skills, and endorsed his application to her position before leaving the school. He worked as a deputy leading the school improvement initiatives before deciding to apply for a headship. This application was encouraged not only by the teachers and staff but also by the headteacher who was nearly at retirement age. When Barry assumed the headship, his former head stayed

as deputy waiting for a few years before retirement. For the last fourteen years, Barry has worked in the same school, and he has been the head for the previous six. Barry is determined to move away to another school when his term ends in 2019. His future aspirations are bounded to the public sector as he believes he has a social responsibility for improving the lives of poor students. However, he wishes to have a hybrid role, juggling duties in a school with some form of participation in higher education.

8. Diana, 37 years old

Diana had a childhood influenced by the political context of the return of democracy at the end of 1980. Her family was involved with the left-wing party which rebelled against the dictatorship during the worst years of the military government. She was publicly active in the campaigns to overcome the regime. Accordingly, her family, populated mostly by teachers, introduced her to the ideas of democracy, social justice and the crucial role of educators in promoting equity. She was educated in a public primary and secondary school, and got a degree in teaching in one of the most prestigious universities in the country.

While she was graduating, her family experienced an economic crisis which forced her to seek a job prioritising money above working conditions. She found work as a teacher in a semi-private school, owned and led by the same person. There Diana swiftly gained leadership responsibilities moving formally into a deputy role. However, due to the extended leave of the owner she informally worked as a full-time headteacher. The six years she spent at this school were a period of personal growth. She built her leadership skills within the school due to the resources of the private sector, and she participated in top-tier professional development opportunities both at the national and international level. Due to work overload and a lack of meaning in the workplace, Diana experienced a prolonged depression that led to her resignation after six years in the school. After a two-year break, she applied to a rural public school far away from home following a more purposeful path. Initially working as a teacher, she built a project in collaboration with the school leaders and the local authorities to educate the most vulnerable students. When the former head retired, she assumed the position of acting head and recently through a formal process she was appointed as headteacher. Diana does not want to leave this school until the current school-project is fully implemented, but her vision lies in the upper levels of the public educational system. Diana sees herself assuming a leadership role at the municipal level in the next five years and leading the Ministry of Education one day.

9. Clark, 39 years old

Career-wise Clarke had an unusual upbringing. Born in a small rural town, in a family of teachers, he always had a close relationship with schools and the educational sector.

However, due to a mix of naivety and inexperience, he chose a degree in engineering. Shortly, he noticed this mistake, and after two years of bad performance and demotivation, he returned to his hometown where his father was the headteacher of the local primary school. He was offered a place as a substitute teacher in a year one class, which lasted for almost two years. His gaps in pedagogy were filled by his mother and sister, both experienced teachers. After this period, he fell in love with teaching and started his formal training as a teacher.

During the five-year training programme, he established a good relationship with some of the lecturers at the university, one of them being instrumental in his career. Building upon this relationship, after graduation he immediately found a job in an experimental school with disadvantaged children in which he held a hybrid role as teacher and as administrator. When the project ended after four years, following his previous boss, he was offered a role at the municipal level supporting school leaders implementing, monitoring and improving plans. After four years in this role, the director of education provided him with a temporary job as an acting head at a highly vulnerable school. He stayed in this position for two years before formally applying to a headship in a similar school in the same authority. Clarke's contract expires in 2020, and he plans to apply for a 5-year renewal at the same school. Then he is determined to move upwards in the public educational system, looking into a leadership role at the municipal level in the short term and at the national level in the long term.

The next table (Table 16) summarises the characteristics of the Millennial headteachers.

Table 16. Millennial Headteachers' characteristics

Name	Age	Bachelor	Postgraduate	Working Experience	Years in public schools	Years in private schools	Schools	Organisations
Bruce	33	Special Needs Teacher	MA Evaluation MA Leadership	9	8	1	2	1
Oliver	34	Primary Teacher	MA Education	10	10	0	1	0
William	33	Primary Teacher	-	10	10	0	2	0
Selina	35	Special Needs Teacher	MA Leadership	11	11	0	1	0
Barbara	35	Primary Teacher	MA Education	12	4	8	2	1

Victor	37	History teacher	MA Leadership MA Management	14	8	3	2	1
Barry	37	Physical Education Teacher	MA Education PhD Education	14	14	0	1	0
Diana	37	Primary Teacher	MA Education	14	6	6	2	0
Clarke	39	History Teacher	MA Education	16	14	0	4	1

5.3 Career Path

5.3.1 Childhood and Early Experiences

At the time of the interviews, the oldest Millennial in this study was 39 years old (born 1979) and the youngest 33 years old (born 1985). This cohort experienced childhood during the final years of the dictatorship when the brutality of the military government was in retreat, and a series of aggressive neoliberal policies were introduced. Through a public referendum, democracy was reinstated in 1990 when most Millennials were starting primary school. However, most of the policies that were previously enforced by the dictatorship stayed in place for decades, indirectly influencing their early experiences. Millennials remember this period as a quiet time in which there was an unspoken censorship about the political environment. However, while participants reflected during the interviews, it became clear that there was some reinterpretation of these moments thus suggesting a series of protective practices implemented by their parents during this time.

I remember my father -out of the blue- bringing boxes and boxes of food. We had to bring the food in and hide it in different parts of the house. Until this day, I still have a rush of happiness when I buy a lot of groceries in the supermarket. Now I realise why! In that time there were food supply problems, so you were never sure when you could buy it again (Barbara, 35).

The dictatorship significantly weakened public education while encouraging participation in private investment. The push for privatisation led to a particular composition of the educative offer characterised by three types of schools: public schools for the poor, private school funded by the state (semi-private) for the middle class, and private schools fully funded by the parents for the upper class (Verger, Bonal and Zancajo, 2016). As most participants identified themselves growing up as lower class, they attended both primary and secondary schools in

the public sector. They described themselves as average students and socially shy. Some held minor leadership positions but had difficulties addressing themselves as student leaders.

I wasn't a leader, I was very passive, I had no behavioural problems and I did ok in my grades. I can't remember a time in school in which I could influence others to follow me at all. They choose me a couple of times as 'The friendliest' though (William, 33).

In the mid-90s there was a push for secondary vocational education in Chile, focusing on public schools and therefore the more impoverished populations. Many of these participants studied in these secondary schools and worked towards these secondary school qualifications; however, all of them knew that higher education was their destination. Driven by the need for resources, three members of this group did work for a few years after secondary school and before entering higher education.

I finished high school and I moved to [a bigger city] to work in a factory. I needed it the money and having my [vocational] high school degree allowed me to find a job quickly. I worked there for 3 years before taking the PSU [the university admission test] and start studying again (Victor, 37)

Despite their diverse paths, at the beginnings of 2000 all participants were registered in a higher education institution to be trained as teachers. During this period, various reforms were introduced to increase the access to higher education including scholarship and loans. Moreover, building upon neoliberal policies created by the dictatorship, multiple higher education institutions were created and expanded across the country. Even though most participants came from a low SES background, they did have different options for entry and funding. However, due to economic limitations, most participants kept living with their parents during this period and maintained long commutes (For example, Barry 150 minutes and Barbara 140 minutes daily) during the four-year bachelor degree. These journeys indirectly influenced their daily practices both academically and socially.

In 2000 I started my training as a teacher in [a bigger city]. I did travel every day because we had economic difficulties at home. Even with a series of scholarships, it wasn't enough to rent a room in the city. I did not participate in any social activity because I was determined to finish my degree as soon as possible (Selina, 35).

Similar to their primary and secondary school experience, the participants remember their higher education performance as average, interpreting this rating as a great achievement considering gaps in their previous school training. As presented earlier, as some of them went to vocational secondary school they did not feel prepared for some subjects, as they skipped the foundational courses in secondary school (for example Biology). Despite this challenge,

all of them graduate without significant problems and developed great relationships with academics, which were key to connecting them with their first job.

During my last year at university, I was the teaching assistant of professor [name] who was one of University's experts, and we became close. When I graduated, I was having some difficulties in finding a job, so I called him, and he put me in contact with the municipal head of [city] (Bruce, 33).

5.3.2 Becoming a Teacher

While having some minor difficulties in finding a permanent job, by early 2000, most participants were hired as full-time teachers. As presented earlier, this process was assisted by networking but, in most cases, it followed a formal path characterised by an application to the municipal office and an interview with a headteacher. Selecting their first school was not a well thought out process as most of them were looking for work everywhere without any specific criteria beyond having a steady wage. Nonetheless, most found a place in a public school, and all worked with low SES students. Geographically, there was little movement as all found jobs in their home city, in a school similar to the ones they had attended years before as a student.

I did not care much where I was just looking for a job. It was the summer break when I went to the municipal office, they sent me to the school immediately, I spoke with the head and the deputy for like 5 minutes, both treated me very well. They told me to go to this professional development day before the school year. It was there where I met my colleagues and where they met me (Barry, 37).

The participants have good memories of their initial teaching experience, highlighting the work with students but also the support of colleagues and school leaders. Portraying a positive role model to the students was a key concern during this period, encouraging student agency and developing their self-esteem. These practices were underpinned by recognition of the similarities between the low Socio-Economic Status students and themselves.

In [this city] we do not value ourselves. Our teachers usually come from [bigger cities] and they do not know about this place. In the beginning, I told my students that I grew up here, nearby. I went to a similar school and my parents did a similar job to theirs. I tried, and I still do, to communicate that you can go further in life if you work hard (Victor, 37).

Additionally, they remember their initial teaching experiences as a fertile moment for learning, characterised by the generosity of the staff. This support was primarily technical, as older teachers and school leaders taught them teaching strategies and school practices. However,

it was also political as they prepared them to engage with the profession. A consequence of this support is illustrated in the teacher appraisal process, which was nationally implemented for the first time in 2003 surrounded by intense debate and opposition from the teaching community. The main appraisal component was, and still is, a video recording of a 40 minutes classroom lecture which was then evaluated by the Ministry. The result gave each teacher a category (outstanding, good, basic, and insufficient) which mainly has consequences for the teacher's salary. At the beginning of the policy implementation, there was a public discourse coming from the Teachers' Union, inviting teachers to reject the appraisal. Contrary to the collective agreement, the Millennial teachers in this study were encouraged to assess themselves and were prepared for the appraisal process by older teachers. This encouragement was based both on practical and professional assumptions. Firstly, in the beginning, they were minimal negative consequences, but potential positive rewards based on the appraisal output. Secondly, in a context where there was little instructional feedback coming from school leaders, the appraisal was an opportunity to analyse and improve their teaching practices.

[The appraisal] now is mandatory, but before was optional. I have done it twice already, the first time I received a 'good' and the second an 'outstanding'. I did it because I wanted to learn and improve, but also because my previous headteacher told me that it could be relevant for future career options. It was! (Selina, 37).

5.3.3 The Road to the Headship

Although the participants remember teaching as a significant period in their career, most did not spend a long time solely in the classroom. At a different pace but in the same direction, Millennials rapidly added extra responsibilities to their daily activities, some from day one. This extended job description was welcomed by these participants who interpreted it initially as an opportunity for professional development and then as a step up the career ladder.

It was my first staff meeting, and the head asks for what he called 'collaboration tasks'. They weren't paid, and you need to do it in your free time. There were many things including working with the parent centre which was a huge responsibility. I raise my hand and took that and many others. For me, it was an opportunity because I was thinking not only in the now but also in tomorrow (Barry, 37).

Taking on extra responsibilities and delivering them well not only improved their skills but brought them closer professionally to the school leaders. It allowed them to gain a seat on the leadership teams, and to contribute to formal administrative tasks and decision making. Accordingly, during the first years, most participants slowly shifted their role from classroom teaching to a middle leader with some teaching responsibilities.

I was invited to be part of the leading team, taking part in the administrative and instructional decisions. In a way, I was the assistant to the headteacher. I was the youngest, but also the rest of my colleagues were close to retirement age, so I took some tasks that required a level of digital literacy (Bruce, 33).

A game-changing moment for Millennials as early middle leaders was the introduction of the national school improvement reform. Initially embedded in a quality insurance policy in 2003 and then in a quality and equity legislation in 2009, schools were mandated to implement a system to assess and improve their organisational performance. According to participants, this was a crucial moment in their careers as the reform created conditions for their personal development. Firstly, the reform was new territory for everybody, without clear guidelines and expectations about the outcomes. Secondly, it required taking an extra workload that in most schools was not welcomed by the staff. Therefore, there was little competition for these middle leader roles. Thirdly, as the reform demanded leading an improvement plan there was uncharted space to drive innovation in the schools.

The headteacher invited me to work on the improvement plan. At the beginning it was a few hours, then 14 and finally 22. I became the coordinator of the SEP [improvement plan law], a part-time coordinator, part-time teacher. I worked closely with the administrators and I learnt a lot from them. There was a general confusion about many things, especially about how to administrate the resources, so you had to keep learning and studying every week (Selina, 35).

The combination of these conditions accelerated Millennials' careers as they were introduced to managerial responsibilities early on. Working with the headteacher and excelling in their middle leadership roles gave them rapid access to a formal deputy position. Their promotion to a deputy role was usually planned by the headteachers and fostered by chance, as in several cases the role was opened due to the extended medical leave or unplanned retirement of the previous deputy.

At that time [2011], the municipality made all decisions, so there was no application process for the deputy role. There was some level of awareness that the head was about to retire soon, so the education department attempted to build some succession. To make this possible, they brought a new deputy, who was also in the age of retirement but a bit younger. Then the head retired, and this new deputy took over as acting head and I took the deputy position (William, 33).

The deputy role was usually attached to classroom responsibilities, which were gradually diminishing over the years. In most cases, the deputy was held for three to five years before moving on to headship. This period was rich in experiences that promoted leadership

development, and it was the moment in which a decision to formally apply for a headship was taken. There are several elements underpinning this career decision, but probably at its core is the support of the former head who not only encouraged them to apply but helped them directly in the preparation.

My boss [the head] and [name of the deputy] always told me: 'Barry you are going to be a headteacher soon'. They saw me in control of the pedagogical practices, and they told me that the future educational policies will be looking for instructional leaders (Barry, 37).

Sometimes the support provided by the headteacher was more motivational than technical, appealing to the creation of self-efficacy and a you-can-do-it attitude.

The headteacher approached me and told me, William, you have the DNA of a headteacher. It took me by surprise because we were not close at the time, and never seriously thought about the headship but from that day I started preparing myself (William, 33).

The school leaders' support could be explained by some key ideas. On the one hand, the previous heads created a personal and reliable relationship characterised by a parent-child bond. This relationship was possible due to the age differences and similarities between them and their own relatives. On the other hand, there were some practical issues that fostered this support, as their heads were close to retirement but still have some working years left. The participants believed that strategically, their former heads aimed to put someone close in the headship to make their last working period as relaxed as possible.

It was almost 5 years ago when I asked him [the previous head] if he was thinking of applying for another term. He said no, but he insisted that I should apply, he said we were a good team. (Interviewer: Do you still keep the contact with him?) Yes (laughter) he is my current deputy! (Oliver, 34).

For some, this support did not come from within the school but from above. The department of education not only had privileged information about the human resources in the territory but they also had the power to designate, at least temporarily, an acting head. Even though Victor (37) and Clarke (39) were formally recruited in the current schools, their first headship was achieved through a personal invitation from the local authorities.

The head of [school] was fired, it was a very controversial case. The municipal head personally called me to explain the situation. Apparently, the school had many problems, especially in the relationships between teachers and the community and urgently required a leader like me (Clarke, 39).

This initial support was in most cases the spark that ignited their interest for the headship, but the fuel came from somewhere else. By 2011, when most participants were formally in a deputy position or with hours assigned to leadership responsibilities, the government introduced two leadership reforms which regulated recruitment and promoted professional development. During the dictatorship (1973-1990) there was no formal selection process as headteachers were allocated directly by the government based on political allegiances; even when democracy returned in 1990 and for many years after nothing changed, as the Mayor of each city had the power to hire and fire headteachers directly. The introduction of the law 20,501 in 2011 gave municipalities the resources to run a selection process and to mandate that an external body supervise the recruitment. Even though the Mayor still has the final word, this new process aimed to foster transparency and encourage the participation of highly qualified individuals. The Millennial headteachers are the first cohort to experience this process as the norm, which has influenced their perception of the trustworthiness of the selection.

I applied twice, the first time I lost. It was difficult for me to understand why, because the process was very complex. The first time, I applied mainly to learn the process, because I was aware that the system was new, and nobody understood it very well. I prepared for a year, talking with other heads, practising improvement plan design and seeking a great school to meet my qualities. Almost 100 people applied to this school, so it was tough. I was incredibly happy when I received the department call: you were the best, you won! (Bruce, 33).

This new process influences how individuals prepare and organise for the selection. Moving away from a time when the recruitment was focused on networking and political closeness with the authorities, to a period characterised by seeking professional capacities and instructional leadership allowed aspiring heads to consciously build a skill set to meet the desired profile target.

[years before] The educational department announced there was a high probability that this school will get a new head at the end of the year. I wanted to apply but I was concerned because I had personal problems with the local authority head, he told me in a public meeting 'I don't like you', all because I demanded that the department paid the money they owed to some of the teachers. However, I did read the requirements for the positions and I met all. The same man called me to congratulate me. The relationship is much better now (Diana, 37).

Alongside the introduction of the regulation of the recruitment process, the government introduced in 2011 a professional development programme called 'Headteachers of

Excellency' (HE). Centralised, designed and funded by the Ministry of Education, but delivery by different Universities across Chile, the HE curriculum was built under the umbrella of an instructional leadership framework. This programme was indicative of the Ministry's vision about the role of headteachers in school as promoters of excellent teaching and learning. While there were several educational administration programmes provided by the private sector at the time, the HE was the first aimed to align Chilean school leaders under a single framework, targeting both heads and aspiring heads. Half of the Millennial headteachers in this study took the programme as aspiring heads, and two participated later as headteachers.

It was a very cool experience for me. I was the youngest in my cohort there was a mix of aspiring and current heads coming from all over Chile. I met people from the north and the south, working in towns that I didn't know existed. We discussed the role of school leaders but also about very specific strategies to promote change and learning (Selina, 37).

5.3.4 Retention and Future Aspirations

By early 2015, most Millennials were formally selected as headteachers, and some of them have been in the role for several years already. Overall, Millennial headteachers are satisfied with the current working conditions, especially when compared with their previous role as teachers. Having the opportunity to organise their own time and responsibilities around their schedules is celebrated by most participants as a central feature of the headship, allowing them to experience a more comfortable and happier life.

When you move from a position of permanence to a position of responsibility you gain freedom. My work day starts at 8 am but some days I arrive [to the school] at 7 am, so I have an extra hour to eat lunch in my house with my family (Clarke, 39).

Working conditions play a vital role in terms of retention. Millennials prioritise personal and social wellbeing above work. Having a balance between their working life and personal life is a cornerstone of their job satisfaction. The importance of work-life balance is not only at the discursive level but it is illustrated through the implementation of practical strategies to protect personal time and health.

Every day I do this better. In the beginning, I used to take a big briefcase with documents to work on at the weekend. I don't do that anymore. I have introduced other changes as well. I eat better, and I exercise regularly. I used to drink a lot of soft drinks during the day to have energy and focus, now it is just tea (Victor, 37).

Maintaining this quality of life acts as a deterrent to pursuing a career elsewhere. Millennials usually have rich personal lives, filled with activities and responsibilities beyond the boundaries

of the school and their direct families. Most of them participate in sports clubs, play music with a local band, have a small side-business or volunteer in the community, building a complex identity that goes beyond the role of a school leader. Creating and maintaining this persona demands detailed administration of limited resources which influences career decisions.

To hold a leadership position in the upper educational system demands more focus and dedication. If I was the municipal director of education, I have to take away time from my family and my hobbies. If you ask me today, I prefer a return to the classroom than having a district leadership role (William, 33).

Considering their aspirations and the balance generated as headteachers most Millennial heads, in particular, the ones with fewer years of experience in the role, declare no intentions to leave the school or switch roles shortly. The one exception to this argument relates to the intersection of headship and maternity. It is widely recognised by all Millennial headteachers the difficulties that females headteachers face when balancing school and home responsibilities. While having a different approach, this challenge directly influences the life and career of each of the three female Millennial headteachers. Diana (37) acknowledged an incompatibility between motherhood and her role as head by not having children and avoiding a romantic relationship as well. Barbara (35) had her children before becoming a headteacher a decade ago. She recognised the massive challenges faced by her and her extended family to balance the demands of both worlds. Selina (35) approached this differently. Having her first child two years before and reflecting on having a second one, she is cautious about the potential tensions between the two roles.

My dilemma is... do I want a second child? If the answer is yes, I must be pregnant at 37, and will I have the optimal conditions for it? With my partner and my mother, we have established a system, but it's a fragile one. I am missing a lot of things in the life of my daughter; do I want to do the same with the next one? Is it worth it? (Selina, 35).

Beyond this specific issue, Millennial headteachers have not experienced significant difficulties with the responsibilities attached to their role, are usually satisfied with the workload and have strengthened a personal bond with the staff and extended school community. Building upon years of shared experiences most Millennial headteachers approach their schools as their second family. Furthermore, they do assess the wages and economic conditions as adequate, although recognise tensions in comparison with recent reform on teachers' careers. In 2017 and after years of public debate, the implementation of the law 20.903 aimed to reform the teacher's career by introducing a series of changes in their training, appraisal and working conditions. One of the most celebrated features was the significant rise in teachers' wages. None of these changes directly affected the working conditions of

headteachers, but they brought the wages of teachers and headteachers closer together. However, none of the Millennial headteachers negatively assessed this policy and declared that economic resources were not a relevant career driver.

I have never cared much about money. When I applied to the headship, I knew I was about to lose money, pretty much the same salary when I was a deputy but many more responsibilities. There is a discussion among headteachers about that because of the recent rise in teachers' wages. I do not care about that. I care more about leading change, influencing the lives of hundreds and growing professionally doing that (Barry, 37).

Leading change at a large scale and promoting social transformation are the most attractive features of headship for Millennial headteachers. Congruently, being unable to overcome political and economic barriers to implementing change are the main demotivators. These restrictions do not come from within the school boundaries but from above at the educational system's middle tier. These restrictions affect the decision-making process, the pace of change and the allocation of resources.

Sometimes I feel like they [the municipal office] have cut my legs. I know the public system has massive resources, and they ask me to create innovation, but they only give the resources to buy things and only specific things. I do not want to just buy things, I want to create and improve educative experiences (Victor, 37).

Since 2009, with the introduction of the so-called 'SEP law' schools are demanded to design an improvement plan to improve students' learning. The resources to implement the plans are provided at the central level by the Mineduc but are administered by the municipal offices, which requires the coordination between school leaders and the educational departments. Millennials interpreted these difficulties as a mismatch between their own educative vision and the priorities and capacities of the municipal office.

They [municipal office] do not know the schools. For example, because the authorities wanted to create a football tournament to satisfy the 'voters', we were demanded to send a team. This is a small school, we did not have enough players. Furthermore, that is not our educative project or even the interest of the children. We are a music-folklore oriented school (Oliver, 34).

The previous statement indicates the political pressure that the municipal office put on school leaders. As the educational departments are supervised by the Mayor of each city, oftentimes politics influence the relationship between schools and the local authorities. Accordingly, when asked about how to improve their job satisfaction, there is a shared agreement about the

needs of improvements at the middle-tier. These improvements are not only focused on resources but also on the alignment with a shared vision and the creation of a collaborative relationship between the schools and the municipal level.

We need to improve their [local authorities] capacities to understand our specific needs and vision. Due to an emergency, the head of the department worked here as an acting head for almost a year. That event transformed him, and our relationship is now much more productive. Above all else [his name] understands teachers and the work we tried to implement here (Barbara, 35).

While the tensions with the central office are the core sources of concern to most Millennial headteachers, these difficulties are not significant enough to consider leaving the school, the municipality or the public system. Conversely, all headteachers express a high commitment to both the current school and the public sector. Considering the individual differences, as some headteachers have been in the school and in their role longer than others, there is a minimal degree of variation framing the timing of their next career movement; nonetheless, there are common patterns both in the short and the long term.

As indicated earlier, most Millennials express a desire to maintain a role as headteacher for at least a few years, for some at the current school, while others wish to venture into new territory. The former explains this decision by addressing the need to complete an initiative or project before moving away; while the latter seek to challenge themselves and their ideas in a new context. There is a direct relationship between the time working at the school and the type of decision.

I feel that I need 10 years to leave a meaningful footprint in the school. My goal is to establish a pedagogical system, a living pedagogical system. Now I have only the idea and some written documents but it is not yet embedded in the culture of the school (Bruce, 33).

I strongly believe that this is my last term here (2019). I have given everything I have got to this school and I believe it needs another person to run it now. I see myself in a bigger school, a more complex school. I want to explore if my music educative project fits somewhere else (Oliver, 34).

Looking into the distant future, their career path split in two directions. For some, there is an intention to return to the classroom. This decision is underpinned by a deep appreciation of the role of teachers and the relationship with students, but also an awareness of a need for a simpler and balanced life.

This experience [being a headteacher] has been great but I do not see myself forever in it. I felt a bit exhausted and I do want to keep exploring other activities. There is a huge debate about the relevance and the methodology of teaching history, so I am thinking to learn more about that and then teach secondary students for the first time (Barbara, 35).

For others, their future career lies in a place of higher influence and having a protagonist role at the municipal level. These decisions are underpinned by a recent transformation of the Chilean education system which is affecting the agency and mission of the municipal office. After decades of debate, in opposition to the educational reforms enforced by the dictatorship, a 2017 legislation moved the local education departments from the municipal administration back to the Ministry of Education. This reform is called the 'Local Service of Public Education' (SLEP in Spanish). The full implementation of the system is expected by 2025; in 2018, the first four of the seventy SLEPs were created, and a gradual expansion of the reform is planned in the upcoming years. Eagerly but cautiously, the Millennial headteachers see themselves leading large-scale reform in a SLEP in the distant future.

In the past, I have enjoyed working with other school leaders and collaborating in school networks. I think I need to keep training myself and pushing myself in more demanding roles. I believe that the SLEP could be a great place to generate massive change, in a way that the current municipal department cannot (Victor, 37).

Finally, grounded by romantic and idealistic ideas, Diana (37) and Clarke (39) dreamt about a path to the very top of the educational ladder. As young children, greatly influenced by their respective families, they saw themselves leading the national agenda as Ministers of Education. Nowadays, they recognise the challenges in pursuing this dream. Nonetheless, both are still committed to achieving it.

[as a 17-year-old woman] I was filling the paperwork for the University application and I was between special needs and Primary education. I struggled because while I like both I knew that it was more coherent to become a future Minister of Education to be trained as a primary teacher. I was 17 when I made that choice. Every now and then, when I sign a document, I tell the person in front of me: "save it, this is the signature of the Minister" (Diana, 37).

The next table (table 17) summaries the career aspirations of the Millennial headteachers.

Table 17. Millennial Headteachers' Future Aspirations.

Name	Age	Years as head	Future Aspiration (short term)	Future Aspiration (long term)
Bruce	33	2	Headteacher in the same school	System Leader
Oliver	34	3	Headteacher in another school	System Leader
William	33	1	Headteacher in the same school	Classroom teacher
Selina¹⁶	35	3	Headteacher in the same school	Classroom teacher
Barbara	35	2	Headteacher in the same school	Classroom teacher
Victor	37	5	Headteacher in another school	System Leader
Barry	37	6	Headteacher in another school	System Leader
Diana	37	3	Headteacher in the same school	System Leader
Clarke	39	4	Headteacher in another school	System Leader

5.4 Discussion and Conclusion

The career of Millennial headteachers in Chile is characterised by a vertical and stable orientation and gradual increments in leadership responsibilities over time. The career ladder appears as a well-formed structure in which teachers slowly but steadily climb up, moving from the classroom to the leading team, from the leading team to the deputy headship, and from the deputy to the headship. Furthermore, considering over a decade of working experience, most Millennials developed their careers with limited mobility across organisations, working at a couple or even at a single school. Millennials have concentrated their professional lives in the public sector, with little participation in private schools; for those who did work in a private school, while rich in learning, this period is regarded as a negative experience due to its poor working conditions and little support. The following figure summarises the career trajectory of the Millennial cohort.

¹⁶ Undecided, considering a major life shift regarding maternity

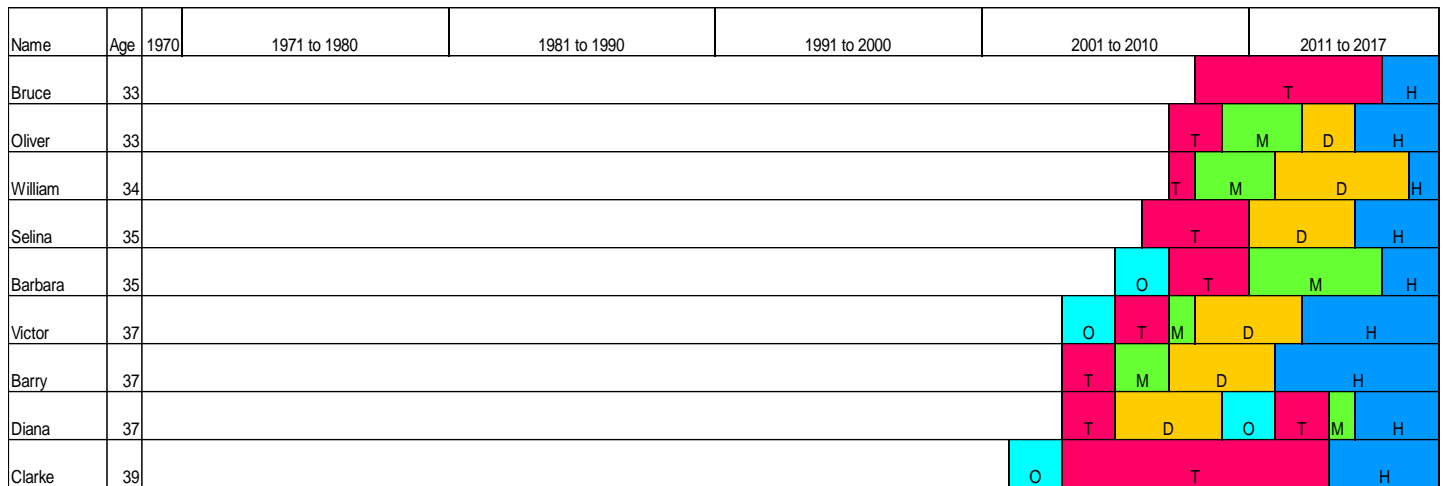


Figure 11. Millennial Career Ladder: Roles from Teacher to Headteacher.

A common feature shared by this cohort is their upbringing in a low socioeconomic family. Being poor in Chile in the late 1980s is something usually associated with significant challenges. According to the World Bank in 2015, the Gini Index (a standard index for inequality) for Chile is the 47.7. In 1987, the earliest point of measurement and a time when most Millennials were toddlers, the Index was at 56.2¹⁷. As a point of reference, a 56.2 today would rank above Central Africa Republic in the top 6 (of 158) as one of the most unequal countries in the world. This economic fragmentation was not accidental, but the direct effects of the political reforms imposed by the dictatorship for almost two decades (Lillo, 2009). In the early Millennial experiences, there is a clear sense of awareness about the fragile economic situation at home and the efforts made by their parents to survive. This recognition shapes some of their core values, influencing their behaviour initially as students and later as workers. The relevance of perseverance, punctuality and proactivity appears as an echo of these earlier life experiences. The following figure (Figure 11) summarises their career trajectory considering the number of schools (numbers) and the sector they work for (green public schools; yellow private schools).

¹⁷ <https://datacatalog.worldbank.org/dataset/world-all-ginis-1950-2012>.

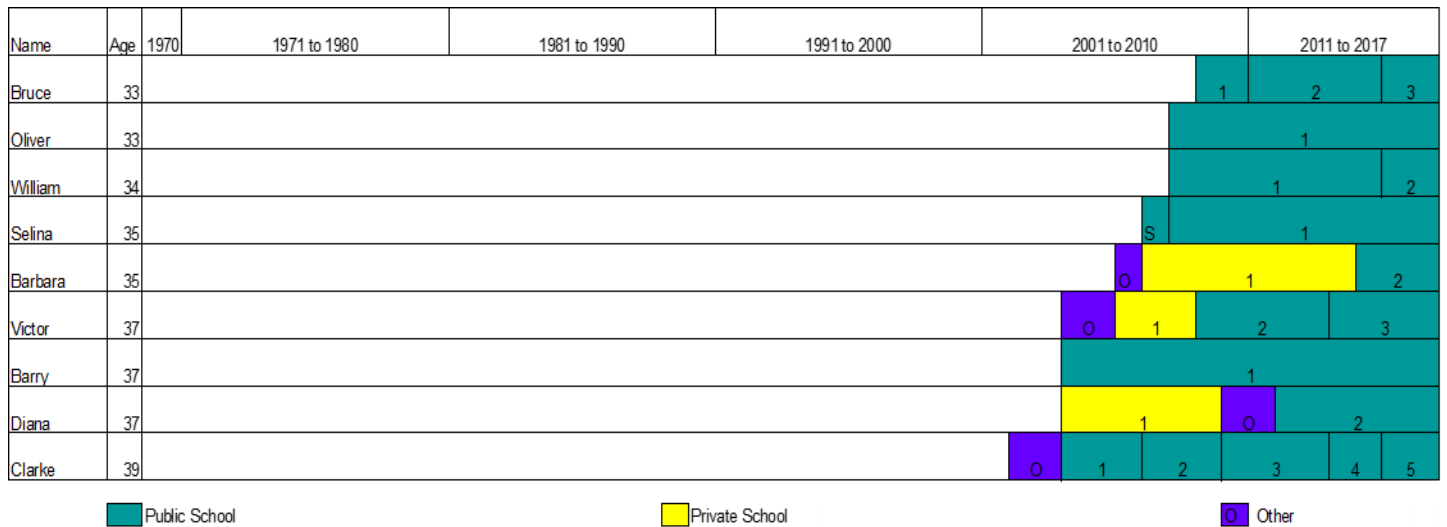


Figure 12. Millennial Careers across Schools and Sectors.

Millennials do not remember themselves as academically brilliant during their formative years but as average students. They did not stand out as leaders neither, on the contrary, they were shy, introverted but approachable kids. Millennials were only good enough, but they were skilful in moving forward and staying on track. A less subtle family contribution came when deciding their post-secondary school life. In most cases, with some exception moderated by gender, their families were fundamental in their decision to move into higher education. It will be unfair to attribute these suggestions only to these families, as they were part of larger conversation on the “generational location” (Mannheim, 1952, p. 170), underpinned by the expansion of the higher education private sector of the 1980s and the reforms on funding in the mid-1990s (Donoso and Schiefelbein, 2007). At higher education, Millennials not only had more options to choose from but also had access to resources to fund their studies.

Mirroring their experience in primary and secondary school, the university was an ordinary experience with average performance in most cases. International studies on ‘first-generation students’ are rich in evidence about the disadvantages these students face, mainly addressing the lack of economic resources and social capital (Pascarella, Pierson and Wolniak, 2004; Schwartz *et al.*, 2018). A common agreement of the research is the negative influences on retention, identifying a more substantial proportion of deserters when comparing with students who are not first-generation. Desertion is not the case among these participants, who without standing out in their performance did complete their studies on time and without significant problems.

One of the hidden contributors to this success could lie on the extracurricular component of the educative experience. As noted in previous research, first-generation students (as well as other alternative groups, for instance, part-time or mature students), engage in their studies differently, prioritising some activities and practices above others. Garriott, Hudyma, Keene,

and Santiago (2015) argue that 'second generation' students tend to participate in fewer extra-academic activities, which is usually assessed as a barrier as it limits the access to support strategies. While this argument partially agrees with the findings on Millennials, the influences of this limitation could work in favour of their academic performance. As they usually experience long daily commutes, Millennials did not have the time or energy to be part of the extended university community, and focused their efforts on the primary curriculum and seeking fast graduation.

The Millennials' teaching degree was welcome by the job market as most of them found a formal full-time position quickly. Early 2000 was a moment of growth and stability for the different educational systems due to the maturity of previous educational reforms. On the back of the neoliberal reforms of the 1980 and after a couple of decades of absolute freedom, private schools flourished reaching nearly 60% of the student population, in what was called "the end of public education" (Paredes and Pinto, 2009, p. 47). As a response, the democratic governments implemented a series of initiatives to improve the capacities of public schools, which added more financial and human resources (Donoso, Frites and Castro, 2014). As a consequence, schools both private and public not only had the power and autonomy to hire new teachers but were demanded to it. While their fast entry into the teaching workforce could be explained by the external structural conditions, their permanency and relatively early success could be attributed to their characteristics.

Millennials as teachers were usually recognised by their ethics and commitment to their schools. Not only did they excel as teachers but they also took on extra responsibilities, frequently assuming chores that nobody else wanted. Far from being unusual, these types of school practices have been well reported (du Plessis and Sunde, 2017). In Chile, Peralta (2017) argues that schools use excessive workloads as a rite of passage, testing the capacities of new members of the community. In what she describes as "pajarito nuevo la lleva" (p. 152), which roughly translates as 'the new bird should do it', appears as a standard practice implemented by school leaders and supported by senior teachers to transfer unwanted chores to young teachers. In the case of the Millennial headteachers, there is a reinterpretation of these rites of passage. They saw it not as a challenge but as an opportunity to test themselves while earning credit with their peers and administration.

Millennials had an unforeseen opportunity to demonstrate their performance in the classroom when in 2003 the Ministry of Education implemented the first national teacher performance appraisal (Manzi, González and Sun, 2011). The appraisal received criticism from the teaching community as it was considered an unfair instrument which led to many teachers abstaining or delaying their participation in the process (Assaél and Pavez, 2008). In opposition to the

main trends, Millennials volunteered to be evaluated and in most cases, they obtained an excellent result. This assessment consolidated their position at the school, strengthened their relationship with the leadership team and led to an increased salary. Furthermore, the appraisal was not only formal recognition from the school, but also from themselves about their professional efficacy.

Beyond the boundaries of the classroom, the school improvement reforms of early 2000 generated a second opportunity for Millennials when schools were demanded to integrate new organisational practices and to expand their leadership teams (Ahumada et al., 2009). The power, which before concentrated on the headteacher and deputy, was distributed among what was called initially 'Educative Management Teams' (EGE in Spanish) and then 'Educative Leading Teams' (ELE in Spanish). The EGEs were not completely new in the school context, but due to the reforms had the funding to establish a formal component which allowed Millennials to gradually and formally move into a leadership role. Slowly over the years they abandoned classroom tasks. Furthermore, these new responsibilities were uncharted territory for school leaders and policymakers. They required continuous training and learning, which was established mostly through digital platforms. Middle leadership has been identified as a central component of supporting senior leadership careers (Hirsh and Bergmo-Prvulovic, 2018; Yost, Patton and Ward, 2018). Millennials who were attracted to learning and had a technological advantage thrived in this context.

As middle leaders, the educational policies brought a final contribution to the Millennials' path with the introduction of a diverse instrument aiming to shape for the first time the role and careers of school leaders. As discussed by Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz (2010), for decades the headship was called "the forgotten position" (p.53) highlighting the little attention the role received from public policies. While there is still an absence of a formal career for headteachers in Chile, the 2005 period brought the first leadership framework (Mineduc, 2005) which later influenced professional development programmes and selection (Galdames and González, 2016). A turbulent and chaotic context was slowly taking shape, as for the first time the teaching community had a picture, while still blurry, showing the path to the headship. This path encouraged aspiring candidates to prepare for a future application, current headteachers to reflect on their future and local authorities to make human resources decisions. Millennials experienced these changes from the privileged seat of feeling recognised as great teachers, having experience as middle leaders and receiving encouragement to keep moving forward.

Encouragement came from senior leaders which explains their organised and peaceful transition from middle leaders to the deputy and then to the headship. Building upon professional trust and good interpersonal relations, headteachers inspired Millennials not only

to obtain a professional qualification in educational leadership and to apply for a leading role but also to believe in themselves. Research on leadership succession has flourished in the last decade, not only in education but in diverse areas and organisations. This research recognises the relevance of preparing in advance both the current and the aspiring leader (White and Cooper, 2011; Gothard and Austin, 2013; Fusarelli, Fusarelli and Riddick, 2018). Moreover, mentoring has been identified as one of the central strategies to promote an organised succession. While usually the demands of succession planning are left to the top or middle-tier (Turnbull, Riley and MacFarlane, 2015), the Millennial cases illustrate an informal but clear strategy at the school level in which a headteacher plans her retirement in dialogue with the successor. This strategy creates a sense of continuity within the school culture.

Millennials did not only assume a job when they were ready but they had the support from the previous leaders which allowed them to maintain the pace of change and improvement. Due to economic constraints at the municipal level, the exit of the previous headteacher was not always immediate. This transition led to temporal and informal co-headship. Millennials valued the opportunity to have the prior headteacher in-house for emotional and technical support, and recognised the need to give the departing headteacher time to express their farewell, which was healthy to the exiting headteacher but also the school community. Research on leadership succession is clear about the relevance of planning and the challenges of a failed transition (Peters-Hawkins, Reed and Kingsberry, 2018). Loi et al. (2015) conclude “the more planned the succession, the greater the amount of information about the school and its members that the new principal is likely to have... [and] the less resistance the new principal is likely to face” (p. 278). Accordingly, as Millennials’ transition was well designed, they encountered little resistance and excellent support which influenced their leadership opportunities and their perception of their working conditions.

As headteachers, Millennials feel prepared to lead. They have been gradually trained in administrative and leadership responsibilities. They have watched the educational reforms unfold as they grew up professionally alongside them. This progressive process allowed them to learn how to deal with the complexity of the accountability era, unpack the job responsibilities and take care of their wellbeing. Excessive workload, not only the quantity but also the ever-changing nature of headteachers’ tasks, has been identified as one of the main factors responsible for school leaders’ attrition (Wang, Pollock and Hauseman, 2018). On the contrary, this generation’s main complaint is not about having too much to do, but about not being able to do as much as they want. Their main concerns and criticisms are related to the little support and barriers presented by the local authorities which interrupt resource allocation, strategic decisions and the pace of improvement.

An almost invisible theme in these stories relates to the intersection of career and gender, as both female and male Millennials express concerns about the barriers that female leaders face when juggling maternity with leadership responsibilities. These obstacles are not an exclusive problem for school leaders but mirror the challenges of female workers within and outside the educational context during the last century (Carey, 1929; De Anca and Gabaldon, 2014). While the link between gender, (head)teachers and retention is a growing concern among the international community, little attention has been given to these issues from researchers and policymakers in Chile.

Despite these challenges, the future of the Millennial headteachers lies in the public sector. Underpinned by a desire to test themselves in a most complex situation and contribute to social justice, most Millennials aim to exit their current school shortly. The destination, in most cases, lacks a name but they aspire to move upwards in the educational system. Moderated by the years in the current school, the participants are clear about migrating soon elsewhere. Similar to their planned arrival as headteachers, their departure is a discussed decision with the school community, in which timing, reasons and even succession are not left to chance. This planned departure is not without pain, as most feel that are leaving their homes (school) and relatives (staff). However, their argument lies in the recognition of their lack of professional capacities to keep pushing the school forward, and a concern to transfer their project (the school) to more capable hands.

In conclusion, the career of the Millennial headteachers is a story of being the 'First': the first-generation accessing to University; the first generation to have competent school leaders as mentors; the first generation to have a policy on educational leadership. They succeeded in their career mainly because they were aware of the challenges of being the first, preparing and adapting accordingly. Their story is a collective one, as their achievements are underpinned by the efforts of others, initially due to their family's support, then school leaders, and even policymakers. The Millennials' journey illustrates what happens when different efforts come together to build a template for a potential leadership career.

The career of the Millennial headteachers illustrates an informal strategy of succession planning built upon the characteristics of their school, and fostered by the local and national context. This cohort, although born in a dictatorship, were the first growing up in democracy. Their journey mirrors the efforts to redefine public education and social life, in a country still struggling to find its own identity. Millennials had the skills to assess the ever-changing environment and use it to their benefit. Developing their careers in a more mature and stable Chile had given the opportunity to plan and prepare for the future, an opportunity that other

generations did not have. This difference will become more evident in the next chapters in the exploration of the careers of GenXers and Boomers.

CHAPTER VI: THE CAREER OF GENXERS

HEADTEACHERS

6.1 Introduction

GenXers, also known as GenXs or Xers, are the cohort born between 1966 and 1979, according to most researchers (Howe and Strauss, 2000; Edge, 2014). This concept was initially popularised by the Canadian novelist Douglas Coupland (1991) in his work *Tales for an accelerated culture*. The 'X' in the name stands as the mathematical concept of 'unknown' referring to this generation's lack of identity when compared with their Boomer parents (Beutell and Wittig-Berman, 2008). It is in this generational opposition that most of the early research on GenXers lies, addressing the unique features of this cohort in relation to the previous ones. On a global dimension, GenXers as children witnessed the collapse of global economies, the growing instability of corporations and the reshaping of traditional families. This upbringing led them to become more cautious, independent and pragmatic (Brown, 2012).

A large body of research about GenXers is related to work and careers. It addresses their different working style (Keys, 2014) and the demands for new working conditions, influencing organisational changes in recruitment and retention (Duxbury and Ormsbee, 2017; Vere, 2017). In the workplace, GenXers have been described as honest, independent and team players (Keys, 2014). They seek jobs that privilege learning and work-life balance (Benson and Brown, 2011; Firfiray and Mayo, 2017). In the educational context, studies on Generation-X school leaders have identified their unique characteristics in comparison with older cohorts, GenXers are characterised as independent, self-sufficient, and collaborative leaders who look for diverse responsibilities, work-life balance and networking (Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016). According to the Chilean Ministry of Education data (Mineduc, 2019), nearly 30% of the public schools are currently led by a GenXer headteacher. However, this number has slowly but systematically dropped in the last 15 years. The statistical data might suggest some difficulties or barriers experienced by this generation when approaching their leadership careers from a recruitment and retention perspective.

This chapter describes and analyses the career paths of GenXer headteachers and identifies the key events, experiences and people influencing their professional trajectory. Building on generational theory (Mannheim, 1952), the analysis focuses on the "generational location" (p.170) or the characteristic of the context that influences people's lives. In Chile, considering the political environment, GenXers could be classified as the children of the dictatorship. Even though many GenXers were born before the coup d'état of 1973, which is valid for all the participants in this study, they all grew up under a military regime characterised by oppression and violence. They witnessed the transformation of the constitution which sprung several

neoliberal reforms in diverse areas (Escobar and Le Bert, 2003), including a massive reform of the educational system in what was called ‘the experiment’. The Chilean neoliberal experiment was influenced by the ideas of the American economist Milton Friedman (McEwan, Urquiola and Vegas, 2008). It introduced a new school place funding scheme through vouchers which transformed students and families into clients while allowing the private sector to create and control schools. Moreover, the dictatorship was a period of great cruelty and violation of human rights, marked by systematic killings, kidnapping, torture and social repression that influenced the migration of thousands of Chileans into exile (Cornejo, Reyes and Cruz, 2013). The timeline below (Figure 12) illustrates how the GenXer’s journey (red) intersects with some of the central events in Chilean history (background), educational policies (light blue) and its articulation with the Millennial cohort (blue).

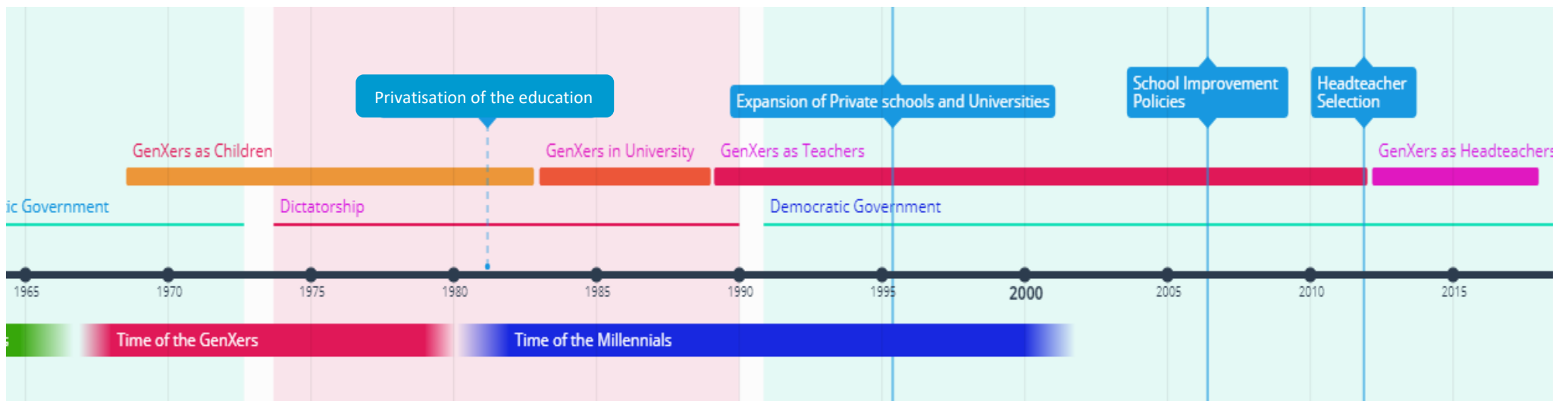


Figure 13. The Trajectory of GenXers.

Underpinned by the principles of biographical research, in-depth interviews were conducted with ten Chilean public school headteachers. Even though the participants did not know each other and they grew up in different places with unique experiences, they shared common features both personally and professionally. This chapter explores their trajectories, building upon their similarities and identifying differences when needed. Accordingly, the 'participants' section briefly introduces each headteacher, describing the paths and influences on their careers. As the rest of the chapter expands the scope of this initial description, the first section seeks to serve as the foundation for further analysis. The second section, 'career path', presents a cohort analysis of the headteachers' careers organised under four overarching segments: (1) childhood and early experiences, (2) becoming a teacher, (3) the road to the headship, (4) retention and future aspirations. Following the biographical approach, these segments are ordered by a temporal framework, following the headteachers' lives from birth to the present day. Each segment is complemented by 'vignettes' extracted directly from the interviews to illustrate and clarify the central ideas. Considering the ethical implications of the study, some sentences have been redacted to ensure the anonymity of each participant. Finally, the last section, 'discussion', aims to expand the conversation about GenXers' careers, drawing on evidence from both research and policy.

6.2 Participants

1. Steve, 44 years old

Steve was born in a democratic Chile in 1973, a few weeks before the coup d'état. This is a fact that makes him proud. Growing up in a rural context, in a middle-class family, he was an outstanding student both in primary and secondary school. His mother, a rural teacher, influenced his academic development and this allowed him to skip a few levels and graduate from secondary school at age 16. While loving education and the role of teachers from an early age, his mother discouraged him from following a career as a teacher based on the poor working conditions and a potentially tricky professional life. Aiming to find a middle ground, he settled for a history degree. At 17, he left his hometown and moved to a bigger city to study for five years.

During university, he maintained an above-average academic performance but enhanced his leadership skills by participating in and coordinating diverse extra-curricular activities. After graduation, he was unclear about his professional future. The history degree acted as a double-edged sword, as it allowed him to find jobs in diverse areas but none with stability. For over a decade, he held multiple roles in social development initiatives, usually in a managerial position. Gradually he moved into the classroom which demanded further professional development and teaching certification. After working in public and private schools, mostly as

a classroom teacher, and in other government areas, he eventually shifted his attention into securing a headship.

His initial motivations for the headteacher role were a mix of seeking better working conditions and a desire to implement social change. Building upon a network he had built for years, he met with the local authorities who appointed him temporarily as acting head and then confirmed him in the role after a formal selection process. Steve has been the headteacher of his school since 2016. He likes the job and has no plans to leave the school before 2021 when his first term expires. He sees this first school as preparation for a future headship in a different school. After that, he is not clear about his future aspirations but he does not disregard the possibility of moving upwards into the educational system. He also flirts with the idea of a new career as a sports journalist.

2. Reed, 44 years old

Reed was born in 1973 into a middle-class family populated by teachers and school administrators. Building upon the neoliberal policies introduced by the dictatorship, his father created and led a private school chain with a total enrolment of over 5,000 students. Due to a series of cognitive disabilities, Reed had a rough childhood and experienced a series of learning challenges. However, his mother, a special needs teacher, took care of him which allowed him to perform without significant problems in primary and secondary school. Although having many interests, following the advice of his father he pursued a degree in finance at one of the best universities in the country. After graduation, he worked in the banking sector for a few years, until he experienced a personal crisis which led him to leave Chile seeking spiritual reparation.

After a few years in Brazil, he returned to Chile to work in the family business running the financial side of the school. For almost a decade, his primary responsibility was administrating the school's resources, while occasionally dipping his toes in pedagogical decisions. During this period, he finished a bachelor and a master's degree in public administration, before training as a maths teacher. Gradually, he shifted away from financial duties and moved into instructional areas, first as a middle leader and sporadically as a substitute teacher. Aiming to test himself beyond the safety net of the family business, in 2014 he applied for a teaching position in a wealthy private school where he worked for a year. Having mixed feelings about this experience, this moment was a turning point in his career as he realised his love for education and a need to migrate to the public sector.

Seeking a job in a more challenging context, he applied for a headship in a rural public school which he has been leading since 2015. Reed has found happiness and spiritual balance as a headteacher. He enjoys making a difference in the lives of vulnerable students and connecting

with the community. At the same time, he appreciates the work-life balance that this job brings in comparison with his previous experiences in the private sector. He is unclear about his next step but anticipates a few more years leading his current school before making any changes to his professional trajectory. Nonetheless, he expresses a desire to move into a new field in the long term while continuing to work towards social justice, probably seeking a career as an educational researcher.

3. Tony, 45 years old

Tony grew up in a small rural town where he stills lives. His family run a small farming business where he worked at an early age, both as a farmer and as a manager. As long as he can remember, he has held administrative responsibilities, leading and monitoring others. Following his excellent performance in primary and secondary school, his father encouraged him to pursue a degree in law. However, due to his love of literacy and history, he chose a career as a history teacher. He graduated from university after five years and found a job in the school that he is now leading.

Tony's career has been filled with detours. While keeping his formal job as a teacher, he continuously participated in diverse initiatives both in the public and private sector including artistic events, political campaigns and professional development workshops. As a teacher, his outstanding performance in the classroom and his skills in the IT department initially gave him a role as a middle leader. Due to the introduction of the school improvement agenda, he became the deputy head of the school. As a part-time job, he also leads a night school for adults where he teaches and coordinates administrative and pedagogical tasks.

Tony never wanted to be a headteacher. He sees the role as prominently administrative and bureaucratic. He prefers teaching and leading the curriculum, responsibilities more traditionally aligned with deputy headteachers [UTP]. However, he acknowledges the agency and possibilities of being a headteacher which led him to apply for the position in 2015. He is currently happy in the role. He values the personal freedom of being his 'own boss' which allows him to arrange his busy professional and personal life while learning new skills. Nevertheless, he predicts a return to a deputy role or even returning to the classroom in the future, as he recognises that he does not like the bureaucratic nature of the headship. However, he does not entirely rule out a potentially more prominent role in the public sector in the long term.

4. Jessica, 46 years old

Jessica grew up in a small rural town. As a kid, she dreamt of being a teacher. Her middle-class family did not have economic difficulties but they did not lead a life of luxury either. Accordingly, she studied in the public sector both in primary and secondary. When she was

18 years old, she left her hometown to train as a special needs educator in a bigger city. She finished her degree without any significant problems. University was a critical moment in her personal development as she discovered her leadership potential when exploring extracurricular activities. After graduation, she returned to her hometown where she currently lives.

Jessica did not have difficulties finding her first job but did have problems finding a permanent teaching position. She worked in a private school for a couple of years as a part-time teacher which complemented running a clinical practice for children with learning difficulties on the side. She did not like the managerial style of the private school administration. This early experience influenced her decision to move into public education. Initially, she worked in public school as a temporary teacher working a few hours in different schools. She later became a full-time teacher in a small rural school. As a 26-year-old, she found this school to be a home and established a great relationship with the staff and the headteacher, who acted as a mentor to her. Gradually, she gained leadership responsibilities and got a deputy position. After the retirement of the previous head in 2015, she became a headteacher.

After 20 years in this school, Jessica is not only happy but also proud of her professional growth and school performance. Despite this, she dreams about retirement from this school. Her main concern is the competitive nature of the headteacher contract which demands continuous performance appraisal and a potentially dubious assessment from the respective local authorities. Having two children starting higher education soon and being recently divorced, she is aware of the fragile working conditions for school leaders in comparison with teachers. Beyond this, she is having a great time leading the school vision and she is already imagining projects and innovations for the next decade.

5. Scott, 49 years old

Scott was born into a family of farmers. He spent his childhood close to his relatives but isolated from everyone else. Due to geographic limitations, he was home-schooled until his mother decided to send him to a school far away from home. While his family encouraged him to follow a career in law or engineering, he chose a degree as a history teacher. He started university at the end of the dictatorship, and therefore he found a heavily charged political environment characterised by resistance and ideas about social justice, human rights and class struggle. This experience significantly shaped his professional vision. After five years away from home, he returned to his hometown to start his professional working life.

Even though he always dreamt of working in a vulnerable school, his first job after graduation was in the growing business of life insurance. After a productive year working in this area and building a network, he found a job as a primary teacher in a public school. He only worked

there for a year before assuming an administrative role at a national NGO working with children at risk. Initially, in the role of an administrative assistant, he raised to the top of the organisation in two years. Then, he was contacted by a semi-private school led by the church. Hired initially as a teacher, he gradually acquired more responsibilities and attributions until he was promoted to a deputy role. He worked in this school for nearly eight years until he was abruptly dismissed. Scott went back to the public sector, this time as an administrator of a chain of vocational schools. At first, he worked in his hometown but due to his good performance, he was offered a similar but bigger role in another school 400 km south. This transfer put severe pressure on his personal life, as his wife and two daughters decided not to go with him. This change eventually led to a divorce.

In 2010, after three weeks on the job, the biggest earthquake in the last 25 years hit the south of Chile and destroyed most of the schools and services in the area. After years of various attempts to rebuild, the school was closed. Scott returned to his hometown seeking a job that would privilege work-life balance. He applied for a headship in a small rural town near his house and daughters. He has been leading this school for the past three years and has plans to apply for a second term in 2019. Wishing to explore a new area, he dreams of a future in higher education to contribute to the public sector in both research and professional development.

6. Carol, 50 years old

Carol grew up in a family of teachers in a small urban city. Her childhood was highly influenced by the worst moments of the dictatorship. When she was ten years old, her father was briefly captured by the military government which led to his exile. These episodes not only traumatised Carol and her family but also affected them economically. In response, at the end of the 1980s, she held an active role contributing to the political movements that led to the return of democracy. Building on these early experiences, she had some inclination to pursue a career in law, but she found she had a deeper connection with teaching. She chose a degree in early childhood education at a local university.

After graduation, she rapidly found a series of part-time jobs in different pre-schools. As one of the core political strategies of the new democratic governments was the strengthening of early childhood education, she never had difficulties in finding work. She eventually got the directorship in a small nursery administrated by the state. For over five years, she held dual responsibilities as both an administrator and an educator. This period was rich in experiences and professional development opportunities. However, due to an increasing workload and poor working conditions, she decided to move elsewhere. In 1996 she arrived at a small rural school as a pre-school teacher. She gradually gained extra responsibilities, initially as a middle

leader and then as a deputy. Based on her performance and due to the retirement of the previous headteacher, the municipal head of education directly appointed her as acting head. After three years in the position, she was recently confirmed as headteacher.

Carol has a great love for the school and the community in which she works. Being 50 years old, single and with no children, she considers the people around her as family. Hence, she has little interest in leaving the school and seeks to apply again for the two following terms (10 years). Alternatively, having concerns with the work ethic of the municipal educational department, she wishes to hold a minor role in the school, maybe as a deputy or as a middle leader. In her fantasy, Carol hopes to have a more adventurous spirit and leave this little school to lead a bigger and more complex organisation; nonetheless, she foresees retiring from her current office at the end of her career.

7. Erik, 50 years old

Erik is the son of a retired headteacher. He was born and lived for over 40 years in a small town nearly 800 km away from the place he calls home today. His childhood was greatly influenced by the dictatorship. His father, who was an informal local political figure, was captured and tortured by the army. From an early age, he was attracted to diverse academic areas and had an outstanding career as an athlete; however, due to some mild learning difficulties, he never excelled in the classroom which stopped him from accessing his dream career in palaeontology. He settled for a degree in education, and left his hometown to start his training as a history teacher in 1984.

Erik enjoyed his university years. He graduated and married shortly after. Seeking potential jobs, he found diverse opportunities in his hometown. His 20's and 30's were a period of turbulence and massive activity for Erik, as he worked in different places as a teacher, middle leader, deputy and even taking teaching and administrative roles in higher education. He was continuously seeking a better offer. In 2006, working primarily as a deputy head in a private school, due to stress and difficulties with the school owners, he decided to abandon his current professional life and start again. After a short break and following the guidance of a fortune teller, he leapt and applied for a headship in a city far away from his hometown.

Erik has been leading his current school for over six years and recently had his contract renewed for another term (until 2021). He enjoys working as a headteacher, but he feels the toll of the workload on his personal life. Being widowed recently, he aims to have a better balance and spend more time with his two daughters. He predicts that this term will be his last, and is looking to pursue other projects in the future. He dreams of having a career in art, especially in photography and painting, for which he has started to prepare.

8. Peter, 50 years old

Peter grew up in a rural family, and as a child, he struggled with cultural isolation and poverty. His father was a construction worker who gave him a love for books. He instilled in Peter the relevance of reading for joy and the central role of public schools in social justice. However, as a child, he had limited access to any formal educational experiences, until the expansion of the Catholic church in his hometown. In the church and collaborating with the clergy, he found his purpose which led him to follow a life in celibacy and be trained as a priest. Part faith and part career, he followed a spiritual path for seven years. He developed a close relationship with God and learnt about theology, philosophy and education. Due to a partnership between the church and a local Catholic university, his initial priesthood led to a partial teaching degree which allowed him to teach some subjects in the education system. He eventually abandoned the clergy and started a new life as a layman.

Building on his previous experiences and personal network, Peter found a teaching position in a private Catholic school while completing his formal teaching qualifications. After graduating as a primary teacher, he moved into the public sector working mainly as a classroom teacher and taking on diverse small administrative responsibilities. After years of working in public urban schools, he migrated back to a rural area to seek better working conditions and stability. Initially, he worked as a classroom teacher but rapidly took on leadership roles. He applied for a headship in a small rural public school which he has led for the last three years.

Peter has no ambitions to explore jobs beyond the school system in the future. He is happy with his current working life and believes that school change and improvement require time. Additionally, he believes that his current role allows him to have a good personal life, and, while he has concerns about the capacities of the local authority, he is optimistic about the future of public education.

9. Sue, 52 years old

Sue grew up in a context of extreme and rapid political change. She was born into a family divided by right and left political orientations. Her father was significantly involved in the movements against the dictatorship which shaped her political mind and encouraged her to pursue a life in defence of human rights. She always excelled in humanities and dreamt of becoming a lawyer. Due to the high entry requirement and sexist practices of that time, this was not possible. Alternatively, she chose a degree as a history teacher under the ongoing promise to transfer to a law school in the future. The transfer never happened as she fell in love with her choice and lost her interest in law.

After graduation, Sue worked in diverse organisations and held different roles. Fuelled by the return of democracy, she initially engaged in government-funded social initiatives which allowed her to expand her contacts. Building on that network, she got preferential access to one of the most expansive industries of the early 90s: higher education. She worked in different higher education institutions for almost two decades, often in administrative and leadership roles. While she regularly taught in higher education, she had little contact with the school system. Following the expansion of a private university in which her husband worked, she and her family move to a small city. Both Sue and her husband became full-time professors. After a couple of years, the university went bankrupt leading to a lengthy legal battle with the institution which emotionally drained her. Aiming to change her life, she applied for a headship in a small rural school which she has directed for the last five years.

Sue's first encounter with the public school system has been a difficult one. During the last couple of years, she faced massive problems with the staff and school community who established a formal claim to remove her from the post based on her leadership style and decision making. Currently, she is engaged in a legal battle with the local education department and has experienced months of suspensions during this period. While believing in a positive outcome, she has mixed feelings about continuing to work with this community. Furthermore, she has already spotted a few vacancies in public schools elsewhere and believes that her next step will be leaving this community behind and starting again in a new land.

10. Jean, 52 years old

Jean, the youngest of five siblings, grew up in a context of political turbulence in one of the cities most affected by the dictatorship. The coup d'etat in 1973 influenced her parents to take her out of school and put her in temporary home-schooling. During this time, as an eight-year-old, she fell in love with teaching as she taught herself, her siblings and some neighbours in the same situation. Her father died in an accident when she was in secondary school which greatly affected her both emotionally and economically. Supported by a recently implemented student loan system, she went to university to train as an English teacher.

As a second language teacher, she did not have difficulties finding jobs as English was part of the national curriculum. Nevertheless, English as a subject had a minor contribution to the school curriculum, which demanded her to work simultaneously in multiple schools. Gradually, she worked in fewer schools and took on middle leadership responsibilities. Exploring the newly created private school sector, she held a deputy role and worked closely with the school owners in a fully private school. This experience was negative and gave her a tremendous sense of disappointment about the private sector and an urgency to find a place in a public

school. Motivated to make a meaningful contribution and explore new challenges, she obtained a headship in a small secondary school which focused on adult education.

Jean has been a headteacher for less than a year, and she loves it. Above all else, she values the capacity to implement change at the organisational level and the possibility to work with the most disadvantaged students. She believes that this position brings more work balance to her life than the previous roles and she values the opportunity to engage in the lives of her two children. It is difficult for her to predict her professional destiny, but there is a good chance that this school is going to be her last school. However, she does not disregard the possibility of new and unexpected jobs in education or another professional area in the future.

The table below (Table 18) summarises the characteristics of the GenXer headteachers.

Table 18. GenXer Headteachers' Characteristics.

Name	Age Now	Gender	Bachelor	Postgraduate	Working Experience	Years in public school	Years in private schools	Schools	Other organisations
Steve	44	Male	History	Vocational Education	21	2	12	8	5
Reed	44	Male	Engineer	Public Administration	21	2	6	3	2
Tony	45	Male	History	None	23	23	0	3	0
Jessica	46	Female	Special Needs	Education	23	17	4	4	1
Scott	49	Male	History Teacher	Policy and Administration	27	9	13	9	4
Carol	50	Female	Early Child Education	None	28	28	0	3	0
Erik	50	Male	History Teacher	None	27	17	8	15	0
Peter	50	Male	Primary Teacher	Education	27	13	5	4	9
Sue	52	Female	History Teacher	Ecology	29	5	3	21	5
Jean	52	Female	English Teacher	Adult Education	29	6	23	9	0

6.3 Career Path

6.3.1 Childhood and Early Experiences

At the time of data collection, the oldest GenXers in this study were 52 and the youngest were 44 years old. All were born during a democratic government, but all of them grew up under the dictatorship. GenXers have clear memories of this period. They identified not only the general events of the period but the experiences that affected them directly. Most remembered this period with a sense of fear and insecurity.

My father was chased and went into exile. He lived in Brazil and Argentina for a few months. There was limited information available. So, for weeks we didn't know if he was alive or not... It also created a series of economic difficulties as we didn't have any real income for years (Carol, 50).

My family was involved in the resistance. The brother of my father was part of the movement and he was being tracked by the secret service. One day, a police officer approached his car, asked for his name and shot him dead in the head. His girlfriend was sitting next to him and saw everything. There was a big protest [marcha] for him, I bet you didn't hear about it? No one did. It was silenced by the regime and the media (Reed, 44).

A central feature of this period was the abrupt changes within the educational system shortly after the coup, including a massive substitution of headteachers by military agents, curriculum reforms and alterations in school practices. Initially experienced by GenXers as school students, these changes were crystallised in their memories and transformed their lives.

It was very sad, I remember clearly. I was 8 years old. My teacher Mister [last name] loved traditional (folkloric) music and always played the guitar when teaching most subjects. Then it happened [the coup]. My teacher and headteacher were fired, and we have to sing every morning, the navy and the national anthem. Teachers were controlled about what they teach, so the academic demands (standard) went down. I didn't have much to learn and my family took me away from school (Jean, 52).

The participants came from middle-class families in which both parents were often professionals. In seven of the ten cases, at least one parent was a teacher which created from an early age a close relationship with school culture. As children, GenXers were significantly involved in informal educational discussions, initially about pedagogy and instruction and then after the coup about the politics of teaching.

My father, initially a maths teacher and then a headteacher, was the oldest of five brothers. By his guidance and example, all his brothers trained as teachers. In that

context, the five of them met their spouses, all teachers. Imagine for a moment our family dinners, they were truly a professional development workshop where they created an informal mentoring system to help and support each other (Reed, 44).

GenXers closeness with the school culture did not translate into support for a career in education. On the contrary, the GenXer's parents were vocally against endorsing a path into teaching, considering the risk, poor working conditions and low expectations of the teaching profession. Their parents' concerns were well sustained as one of the critical strategies of the dictatorship was diminishing the influence of teachers and the social value of the profession. Building upon their families influences, most GenXers initially did not find teaching an attractive career. This difficult beginning was the foundation for an unexpected journey filled with detours and changes.

Everybody told me 'do not become a teacher'. Even my mother [a teacher]. She said 'Steve, I work many hours and I earn little money, it is not worth it' (Steve, 44).

In that time [when applying to University] training as a teacher was to lose money and time, becoming a poor person for your entire life. My father wanted me to study law and pushed that idea very strongly (Tony, 44).

I had good marks [in secondary school] so my family advised me to study law or agronomy because I was smart, and there was good money in that (Scott, 49).

6.3.2 Becoming a Teacher

The transition between secondary school and higher education was not an easy one for most GenXers. Building upon their family's expectations and personal aspirations, the decision to pursue a degree was moderated by university academic selection barriers and the geographic availability of universities. The reforms imposed by the dictatorship in 1981 greatly expanded the higher education provision from eight to 64 universities. This shift gave a more significant set of funding options, yet the full implementation of these strategies was not finished before the mid-1990s. Accordingly, when GenXers moved into the higher education sector the selection requirements were high and the available spots were limited.

It was so difficult to get in [University], that it didn't care much 'what you studied', it was more relevant 'that you studied' or even 'where you studied' [better and worse universities]. If you had a bachelor's degree you were part of a different class, in my time you were part of an elite (Scott, 49).

The GenXer leaders' transition between secondary and higher education occurred during the dictatorship. Although the military regime was diminishing during the second part of the 1980s, there were still oppression and criminal acts. However, the aggression on this period met a

citizenship craving for the return of democracy. Accordingly, universities were filled with political activity in which students held a leading role. Considering the centralised nature of universities and the economic opportunities of this cohort, many GenXers left their homes and travelled a long distance to study. In a pre-digital context, this was an opportunity for them to access a bigger world and share ideas with others while learning to live without direct parental supervision.

I was 17 when I started University. I moved into student accommodation [pension] with six other students, some of them were incredibly poor... The [University name] was famous for its left-wing ideas. For me, coming from a right-wing family, this truly opened my eyes. We did a lot of things including a magazine called [name] in which we debated history, politics and philosophy. It was a bit underground... It informed my [bachelor] thesis as well (Interviewer: What was your thesis about?). My thesis was about political refugees and exile (Steve, 44).

Even though all headteachers in this study (including the GenXers) trained as teachers at some point, the GenXer path branches in three different directions. One group followed a traditional path by applying directly to a degree in teaching and seeking a future in the classroom. This decision was motivated by a deep appreciation for the role of teachers and the art of learning. Four members of this group (especially: Jessica, Scott and Carol) came from a semi-rural context or had limited access to urban settings as children.

I always knew that my future was teaching. I have my doubts about specific subjects because I like most of them. I played with the idea of being a maths teacher or a history teacher for a while, before deciding for a degree in Special Needs (Jessica, 46).

In year 11 I made my decision. I knew I wanted to teach History because I was personally fascinated with the idea of discovering new worlds from the past and leading others to do the same (Scott, 49).

I had a special interest in working with children. I used to teach my sister when we were little, and I was particularly interested in the connection between biology, psychology and learning. I applied to a degree in early childhood education (Carol, 50).

I had the practice to teach every new thing I learn. When I was little, I had a neighbour that was not able to attend school so I was her informal teacher for years. I enjoyed the experience. I really like music in English, particularly *the Beatles*, and at that time it was so difficult to get access to the lyrics, so I got very good at translations. In a way that led me to choose a degree as an English teacher (Jean, 52).

The second group also trained as teachers, but the decision was built upon resignation and disappointment. Their original aspirations led elsewhere, but due to restrictions regarding entry requirements and accessibility, they settled for a degree in teaching. Their initial motivations were sustained by the encouragement of their families and high performance in primary and secondary school. While Tony and Erik initially felt mildly disappointed with the decision, they rapidly changed their mind and fell in love with the teacher's role. For Sue this experience was different as she approached the teaching degree from a transitional perspective. Seeking an internal transfer within the University, she never truly connected with teaching or the school culture.

I really loved history and maths growing up. I was very good at both as well. My dream was to be a journalist, but the degree was not given in the regional university. I settled for a history teaching degree (Tony, 44).

I was a great athlete, but I was really interested in palaeontology and anthropology. Sadly, the entry requirements were very high as the degree was only given in one university at that time. I choose a degree in History teaching as it was somewhat related (Erik, 50).

I wanted and my family wanted me to become a lawyer. I was greatly involved in the democratic movements and I knew there was a lot of work to do there. Sadly, I didn't get into law school, so I applied to a degree in History teaching hoping to transfer internally after the second year. I did the process, but I realised how sexist the law professors were and decided not to apply for the transfer (Sue, 52)

The third group of GenXers did not initially train as teachers but came to the role later in life. Their original decision was greatly influenced by seeking personal meaning and expanding their skills. The change into teaching was a coherent transition as they explored their strengths and the things they loved.

I love the humanities and teaching, but due to my mother's [a teacher] advice, I wasn't sure about a degree in education. I found the middle ground in building a career as a historian (Steve, 44).

I liked many things growing up, but I was especially good at maths. My father is a very wise man, he suggested me to apply for a degree in finances (Reed, 44).

As a teenager I was highly engaged with the local church, participating and having a leading role within the community. I was recruited by the church to train as a Priest (Peter, 50).

Their shift to teaching was underpinned by pragmatic considerations and influenced by the job market. However, in all cases, the change was ignited by an individual crisis which led to massive changes in their life. Steve, working in the social sector and growing a family, was tired of the instability and harsh working conditions. Reed who did not find meaning in banking nor the private sector experienced a thirst to contribute in vulnerable contexts. Peter felt a massive disappointment in the Catholic church practices and policies and, after meeting his future wife, decided to abandon the clergy and start a family. Furthermore, the transition into teaching was assisted by the nature of their original careers, and the recruitment policies and professional developments practices of the mid-1990s. As schools were expanding, it required more teachers who were not always available. The scarcity gave some municipalities and school leaders the authority to temporarily recruit individuals who did not have teaching qualifications into the classrooms. Therefore, accordingly, Steve taught history, Reed taught maths and Peter taught religion. Steve, Reed and Peter later obtained their formal qualifications as teachers.

GenXers entered the educational system follows a disorganised path. While some moved into a school immediately after training, others took years to find a school. As presented above, this decision was influenced by their initial training and motivations but also by a growing neoliberal context in a recently recovered democracy. During the early 1990s, the massive expansion of primary and secondary schools was spearheaded by the private sector which held unlimited power in many areas, including human resources. The early 1990s also saw the expansion of higher education with the creation of private universities and institutes across Chile. The growing privatisation of schools at the end of the century met the undefined and ambitious aspirations of many GenXers who were attracted to and recruited by organisations which initially were more concerned about expansion and profit than quality.

The [university name] created a campus in [city, 400 km away from her home] and they offered me and my husband a professorship. We spoke with our children and moved everything and came here. It was good for a couple of years, but as you probably know the university went bankruptcy and we both got fired (Sue, 52).

As young graduates, GenXers experienced a vibrant labour market filled with opportunities and exciting roles. This scenario encouraged rapid mobility across systems and organisations. Even for those GenXers based in the public sector, it was a common practice to moonlight in the private sector both in schools and in higher education institutions. While rich in opportunities, the private sector lacked regulations, as the owners, who usually worked as headteachers as well, had little external supervision, no training and prioritised profit above teachers' working conditions and learning. GenXer teachers were continuously on the move,

changing schools, systems and organisations. They were competing for the best positions without a clear sense of direction as to where their professional path would lead.

My first job was in a public school in [City] during the morning and in the afternoon, I worked in [another city 1 hour away]. In the same year, I changed to [another city] as I heard a school was offering more hours. At the end of the year, I returned to [home city] to work in a semi-private school. It was one of the worst experiences of my life, the headteacher was violent to us and the students. He fired me suddenly at the middle of the year; two weeks later he called me back because he realised the contract forced him to keep paying me until the end of the year anyway (Jean, 52).

6.3.3 The Road to the Headship

Despite some exceptions, the journey to the headteacher's office was turbulent for most GenXers. After a decade of working in diverse schools and organisations as teachers, some members of this cohort found a permanent school which in time they learnt to call home. Tony, Jessica and Carol shared a similar path. They moved to a permanent position in a public school, initially as a classroom teacher but later taking on administrative and leadership responsibilities. This progressive career movement was underpinned by the introduction of the school improvement reforms and the support of senior leaders in their respective schools.

I arrived as a special needs educator, in what at that time was called the 'differential groups'. The headteacher invited me to work with him on some administrative chores and little by little, he delegated more and more. Then the differential groups policy ended, and I was allocated with responsibilities in the IT department. In 2009 we started with the SEP, and I was designated coordinator while having some classrooms responsibilities (Jessica, 46).

Accordingly, by 2010 all three were formally appointed into deputy positions and were developing a sense of belonging to a single organisation. The introduction of the first formal selection process in 2011 (Mineduc, 2011) coupled with the advanced age of the previous headteachers led to a seamless transition to power. These GenXers not only had the approval of the previous head and local authorities but also from the extended school community.

I started in the classroom but the headteacher, who was a very old woman appointed by Pinochet, had a very aggressive style but always brought opportunities to the youngest teachers. I was dividing my time in the classroom and administration; with the arrival of the SEP¹⁸, it became unmanageable. I asked her about the possibility to

¹⁸ Stands for Subvencion Escolar Preferencial in Spanish. A complementary funding program aimed to foster school improvement practices

move formally to a deputy position, which we never had before. She agreed, and we started working together. Eventually, the educational department called me to notify me about a selection for this school and they were interested that I will apply. A very difficult situation. I approached the headteacher and explained my interest. She supported me, encouraged me and even prepared me for the application. We worked together for a couple of years, me as head and her as deputy, before she retired (Carol, 50).

The experience of developing their careers in a single school was not widely shared by most GenXers. The road to headship was not strategically planned as most GenXers jumped from the classroom to the headteacher's office without formal or informal preparation. Although GenXers held a postgraduate qualification, usually a Master's in Arts, these degrees have little connection with administration or leadership. Similarly, GenXers on this path had little experience of the deputy role having only held minor middle leadership responsibilities and concentrated their time within the classroom.

During the last years, I moved from my family business and I went to explore other venues(places) as a teacher. I worked in [a prestigious private school] as a maths teacher for one year. I liked it, but I felt like I needed it elsewhere. I noticed a call for headteachers in this sector and I applied to a few schools. I didn't have senior leadership responsibilities before, but as a teacher, I worked in different levels, industries and I knew about financing which was praised in the selection (Reed, 44).

This second career path is characterised by mobility both across systems and industries. While most GenXers had some working experience in public schools, several of them worked most of their professional careers in the private sector. Moreover, some of them came directly from other industries beyond the educational system and had previously almost no direct contact with the public-school culture.

My story is a long story, but I came to [this region] for other reasons. I was a professor at a university that no longer exists. I worked there for a few years, but following the rumours elsewhere, we noticed that the university was going into bankruptcy and had difficulties in paying the staff. I sued the University and they fired me. I waited for a few months unemployed and I noticed an opportunity in this school so I applied (Sue, 52)

A game-changing policy for GenXers was the introduction of the law 20,501 (Mineduc, 2011), which created a centralised national system to recruit headteachers. This system was implemented through a digital platform in which every position with deadlines and job descriptions were posted online and were publicly available. In a country as geographically isolated as Chile, this new setting transformed recruitment, from a face-to-face process to an

online application. Accordingly, a common feature across this second career path is its migratory nature in which GenXers arrived in uncharted territory. In contrast with the first career path (Tony, Jessica and Carol), who professionally grew for years before leading the school, most GenXers met the school community only after being hired as a headteacher. In some extreme cases, gaining a headship required tremendous geographical mobility.

I had this big incident with the owners of the school and I quit. It was difficult because I had never quit anything before, but I was about to collapse both mentally and physically... I knew nothing about [the current city], nothing. I applied online, and I was called for an interview. I packed my bags and drove here, imagine that! It is almost 800 km. After the interview, I went to school to see it for the first time with my own eyes as everything I knew was from a report on the website (Erik, 50).

The relocation process brought difficulty and pain for GenXers, linking a professional decision with their personal lives and stages of development. As most participants were married or had a stable relationship when starting their headship, they faced the challenge of managing school and home responsibilities while adding the pressure of long commutes or periodical absences. Moreover, having teenage children nearing higher education entry added another layer of emotional and economic complication for some.

At that time [2013] my family was living here [city 1], I was working south in [city 2] and my oldest daughter was studying and still is in [city 3]. I tried to come home as often as possible, but it was difficult, not only for the 400 km of distance but also because I had some time to work on weekends. That was my primary motivation to return to the region, to live closer to [city 1]. Sadly, I couldn't manage that in time and recently got divorced (Scott, 49).

Bringing balance to their personal lives is a central motivator for GenXers who often abandoned their previous jobs due to poor working conditions. Coming from a private sector characterised by few regulations and the unlimited powers of the owners, GenXers describe public schools as a place of stability and certainty in which the rules and guidelines are clear for both employer and employees. The seven participants on this second career path (and Jessica and Carol to some extent) came directly from a private institution and usually had a bad or horrible experience that precipitates their exit.

I was a passive witness of the abuses of the private school owners. I didn't report them on time, but I couldn't be an accomplice anymore. They got so much money and didn't use it at all for the students or for the staff. I was hopeful, incredible hopeful to return to a public school, the type of school where I studied as a child but never worked as an adult. I wasn't completely sure about the trustworthiness of the selection process,

but I did it anyway. As a 50-year-old woman, I was selected to lead a public school (Jean, 52).

6.3.4 Retention and Future Aspirations

GenXers were formally appointed as public school headteachers for the first time between 2011 and 2016. The most experienced is Erik who has finished his first term and has embarked upon a second until 2020 (see table 20). Despite little time in the role, GenXers have a clear assessment of the headship and their future aspirations. Generally, they value the working conditions, the freedom to implement change in a large community and the ability to regulate their schedules.

Look, it is nearly 16.00 hrs now, and I am going to pick up my daughter from Uni and going to have a late lunch in the city. I couldn't do that as a teacher nor as a deputy before. Tomorrow I am working like 12 hours straight, so I can return the time I am taking for myself today (Erik, 50).

Their concerns about the headship do not come from the work itself but the legal requirements of the contract. The 20,501 law (Mineduc, 2011) introduced a performance agreement between the headteacher and the municipal department. While this agreement varies across authorities, in most cases it includes targets related to school performance (standardised test) and student intake to be accomplished before the end of the five years contract. GenXers have a great sense of awareness about how this system acts and the fragility of the position.

My plan is to stay here for at least two more terms but you never know. When the new selection arrives in a couple of years, I believe I have got the merit to be in the shortlist [la terna]. However, that does not secure anything as the final word is with the Mayor. That forces me to think about other options. I know there are some openings in [city close by] and I do not want to have a long commute again, so yes there is a strong possibility for me to leave (Scott, 49).

GenXers who have come from the private sector are more vulnerable to this policy than their peers coming from public schools. For Jessica, Tony and Carol, who have worked in public schools for decades and have tenure in the municipality, failing to meet agreed performance targets could mean, in the worst-case scenario, relocation at a different school and assuming another leadership role, but keeping similar wages and benefits. On the contrary, GenXers coming from the private sector can lose everything and this might cause future difficulties when applying to another public school in the same territory. Even though the 20,501 legislation brought more transparency and formality to the recruitment process, it still gives total authority to the educational department to select and dismiss staff. Although there are some differences among them which are considerably moderated by their time in the position,

GenXers are keen to anticipate the end of the contract and the potential consequences of not meeting the performance targets. The nature of the contract, influences their attitudes and practices towards staying in the same school.

I already applied to a series of schools in the south. I believed in the last years I did a good job here and you can notice some of the changes. However, the municipal head doesn't like me, and my deputy already told me, in a very casual way, that she was going to be the next head. I applied a few weeks ago and now I am waiting for the interviews to come. We talked in the family and everyone loves the idea of moving south (Sue, 52).

A second issue connected with the contract is salary. Most GenXers think that the headteacher's salary is enough but that it should be more. This concern is underpinned by two different features in their professional trajectory and life stage. Aiming to improve the working conditions of teachers, in 2017 the Ministry of Education introduced a teaching careers reform that drastically raised teachers' wages. Based on years of experience, qualifications and performance, the new system was particularly beneficial for those with a history of public-school service. As discussed earlier, this was not the case for most GenXers who did not develop a career in the public schools but, in some cases, did not come from the educational system either.

When I arrived here, I earned less than most teachers. To me, that was incredibly unfair. In December most teachers leave and forget about the school until March¹⁹. I must stay here to supervise the facilities reparations, coordinate the enrolment of new students, etc. I have no rest. It took me years to bring my salary up to the teacher's level but now it's pretty much the same as an experienced teacher (Peter, 50).

Furthermore, the importance of wages relates to their personal needs as a spouse and parent. Half of the participants recently experienced a divorce or lost their partner, and were still handling financial adjustment to their lives. Additionally, most GenXers with children were dealing with the current or future challenges of supporting them through university. The combination of these two scenarios influences their decisions about retention and future aspirations.

[being recently divorced] I have to think about my children, the oldest is 14 and the youngest 11. In four more years, I have to think about those university payments, you

¹⁹ The school year in Chile as in many countries on the southern hemisphere runs from March to December

know? I can't tell you now, when I am going to be retired or where I am heading because I have to double-check my economic situation then (Jessica, 46).

Jessica's experience is shared, with some minor differences, by Reed, Scott, Erik and Jean. On the opposite side of the spectrum, there is Carol. Coming from a long career in the public sector with no spouse or children, she assesses the headteacher's salary from another perspective.

Our [headteachers] salaries are not the best but are okay. Much of the extra money I earned, in comparison with my colleagues, I spend it on the school anyway. If you want to improve my professional life, give me more resources to hire more and better staff. A raise won't make much difference to me (Carol, 50).

Most GenXers, mainly those new at the school, aim to stay in the same office for a couple of terms more. However, there is a strong claim for mobility in the future. This statement is particularly true for GenXers coming from a different community or a different industry who approach the headship as the newest adventure in a continuous chain of professional challenges. In contrast, GenXers who developed an identity with the school and have a professional trajectory in the public sector, express a desire to stay at the same school until retirement.

I believe I was blessed with a gift, the gift of learning. I love learning and I have learnt during my entire life. I think that time to give it back is coming soon. I do not see myself on this chair for long, I am wanting to move into teaching, maybe connected with higher education (Reed, 44).

This will be probably my last school. Even if I lost a selection process, I will do my best to stay here. I do not see myself anywhere else. I care about this community and I felt like this is my home. The ideas and the project that we have created for years are just now blossoming and I want to see that (Jessica, 46).

Intersecting with their life stages, some GenXers anticipated a distant future with fewer responsibilities and more space to grow and dream. A central element in this assessment is their children's wellbeing and the immediate implications of that. Currently, GenXers shared the concern about the challenges of supporting their children through higher education and postponing their aspirations. Nevertheless, there is an awareness about the inevitable change of this situation and the implication for the GenXer's future.

I like being a headteacher, but I am a bit tired of the routines. My period lasts until 2020 and by that my youngest daughter will be out of University, hopefully with a job... I

always love art, I am an amateur painter, but I have been taking lessons, and if everything goes well, I am moving into painting as a full-time job in 2021 (Erik, 50).

The table below (Table 19) summaries the career aspirations of the GenXer headteachers.

Table 19. GenXer Headteachers' Future Aspirations.

Name	Age	Years as head	Future Aspiration (short term)	Future Aspiration (long term)
Steve	44	2	Headteacher in another school	Sport journalist
Reed	44	2	Headteacher in the same school	Higher Education
Tony	45	2	Headteacher in the same school	Deputy Head
Jessica	45	2	Headteacher in the same school	Headteacher in the same school
Scott	46	3	Headteacher in the same school	Educational Researcher
Carol	50	4	Headteacher in the same school	Deputy Head
Erik	50	6	Headteacher in the same school	Photographer
Peter	50	3	Headteacher in the same school	Headteacher in the same school
Sue	52	5	Headteacher in another school	Higher Education
Jean	52	1	Headteacher in the same school	Headteacher in the same school

6.4 Discussing the Career of GenXer Headteachers

The career of GenXer headteachers in Chile is characterised by continuous change, adaptation and reinvention, across disciplines, systems and geography. Their career path is based on competition, underpinned by the neoliberal principles created in the dictatorship and reinforced in democracy. The Chile of 1990 in which Xers began their working life is a country in economic expansion that benefits big corporations but does little to protect workers in diverse professions, including teaching. Accordingly, participants of this generation are used to changing schools, leading a community that is foreign to them, and taking a leap from the classroom to headship. Over the 20 years of working experiences, GenXers have worked not only in diverse schools but also in multiple areas and organisations. Not surprisingly, a third came from outside the education sector, retraining as a teacher later in life. The following illustration (Figure 13) summarises the career trajectory of the GenXer cohort.

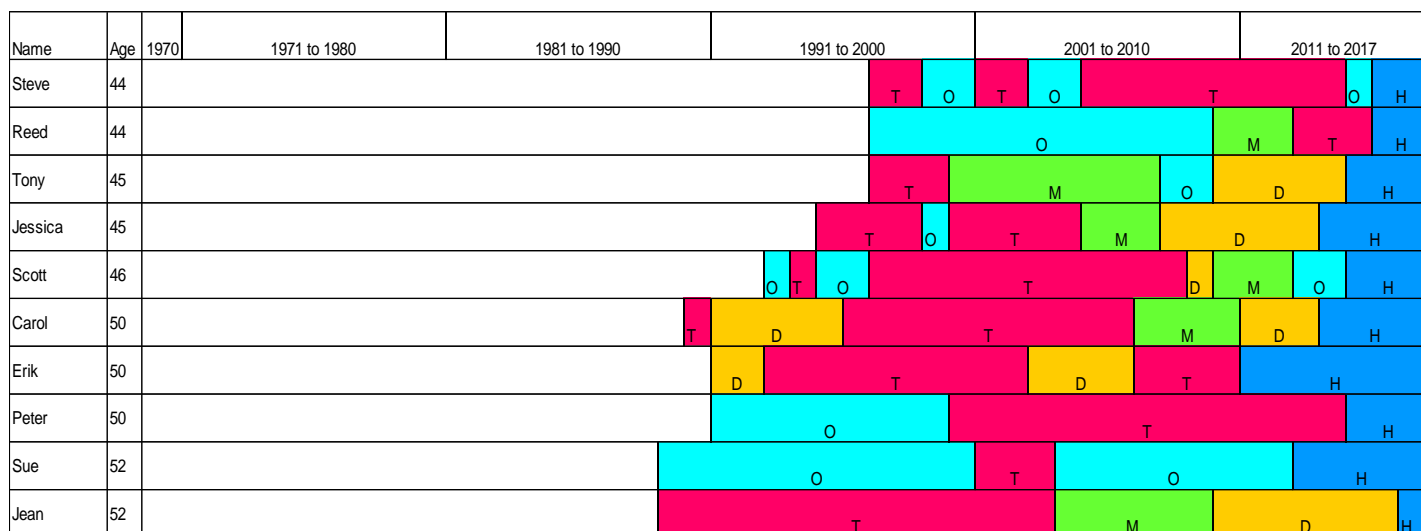


Figure 14. GenXers Career Ladder: Roles from Teacher to Headteacher.

GenXers had little memory of life before the dictatorship. Only the oldest ones have some vague memories of the events surrounding the coup of 1973, but all forged their identity in this period. The most conservative estimates suggest that over 30,000 individuals were detained and tortured during the nearly two decades of the military regime, with 61% concentrated in the first three months (Interior, 2004). Dodging the cruelty of the first years, GenXers dealt with the aftermath. This time was characterised by a sense of constant fear and a life guided by imposed neoliberal policies. A central feature of this new scenario was the introduction of a system that allowed schools to select students. GenXer’s parents were the first forced to choose between a public and private school to enrol their children. The implementation of the educational reform of 1981 not only granted agency to private individuals and corporations to create schools but through a series of mechanisms it encouraged families to abandon the public and embrace the private (Puga, 2011). The conquest of the private education took decades in Chile; however, it was continuously shaping discourses about quality, choice and the benefits of the private over the public. The following figure (Figure 14) summarises the career trajectory of the GenXers, considering the number of schools (numbers) and the sector they work for (green public schools; yellow private schools; purple other organisations).

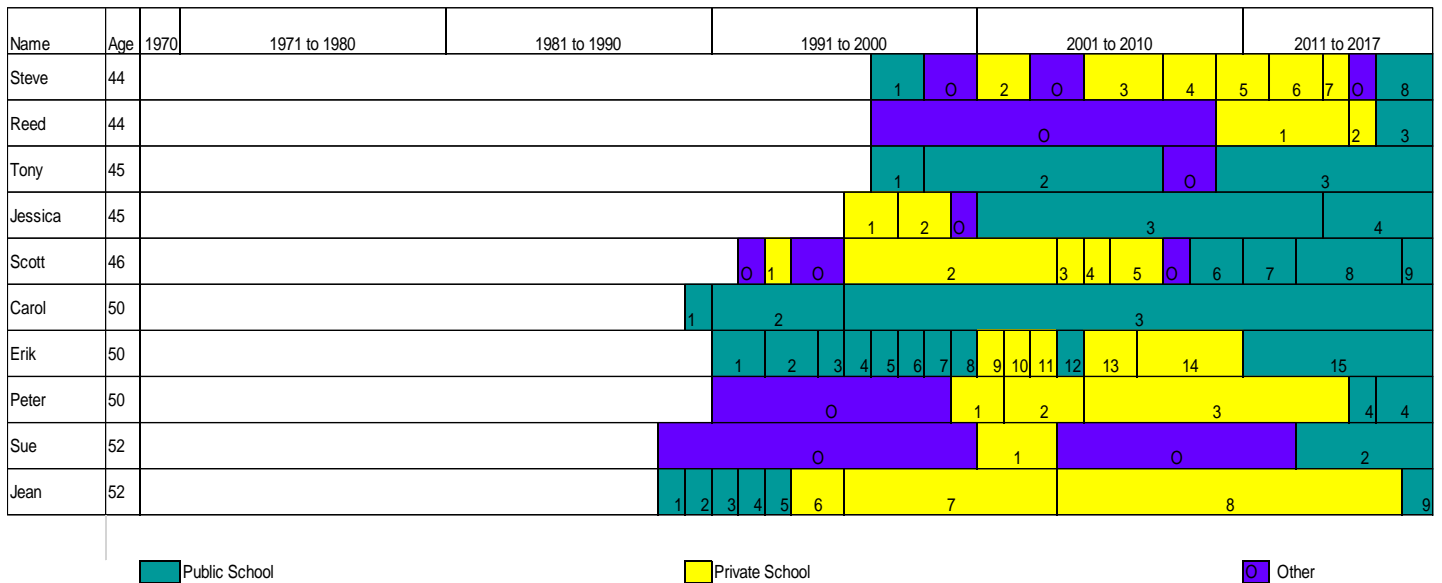


Figure 15. GenXers Career Across Schools and Sectors.

Teachers, once working in one of the most respected professions, found themselves diminished in social value (González, 2015), working conditions and remuneration (Rojas, 1998). For example, teachers no longer held tenure or could assemble a representative Union. Moreover, evidence indicates that over a hundred teachers were tortured and half of them were killed (González, 2015). Several of the GenXers' parents were teachers who explicitly encouraged their children to avoid this path. These mixed feelings about the teaching profession are one the cornerstones of the GenXer identity, as most participants had a deep appreciation for the role of teacher but through their parents' example developed a distance toward the profession.

The higher education system was also restructured during this period, as GenXers witnessed a completely different scenario compared to their parents. Mirroring the transformation in the school system, higher education was privatised and the state university was dismantled. New policies allowed the creation of private institutions which led to a massive expansion of universities and other higher education institutions (Larrondo, 2007). Moreover, an alliance between the state and the banking sector brought the massification of student's loans which gave universities access to the lower classes for the first time (Olavarría and Allende, 2013). The entry of the Generation X to higher education intersected with the returning of democracy. In 1988 Chile held a national referendum to decide whether the dictatorship would continue; with 56% of the votes, those looking to end the dictatorship won (Godoy, 1999). Accordingly, the final years of secondary school and first of university were moments of high political activity. Both in the street and within educational institutions, there was again talk about freedom, human rights and citizenship. For GenXers this experience was their first taste of

leadership as many of them participated as young people in the social movements of the period.

The return of democracy in 1990 did not change much in the country or at least did not match the expectations of many (Godoy, 1999). The presidency of Patricio Alwyn (1990 – 1994) was called ‘the transition’ by many as it did little to change the imposed reforms of 1980. During this period, Augusto Pinochet and many of his followers were not punished for their crimes but honoured; Pinochet was appointed ‘Senator for Life’ [vitalicio] until he was later detained by international courts outside Chile in 1998. The absence of changes in education was one of the most commented failures of democracy (Puga, 2011). Private schools flourished during this time, as school owners were equipped with free range to discriminate students and to administrate staff (McEwan, Urquiola and Vegas, 2008). Conversely, despite intense demands from the teaching community, public education was slowly dipping down in enrolment and performance.

The mid-1990s was marked by the diversity of educative institutions which were continuously spawning and disappearing (Aedo and González, 2004). GenXers were required to learn the rules of a game characterised by multiple job opportunities but also little stability and constant competition. Accordingly, GenXers moved steadily across schools driven by better rewards and escaping from difficult working conditions. While this was particularly true in the private sector, it was not wholly different in public schools which were administrated by local authorities and, as such, sensitive to the changes in local representatives every four years. These conditions influenced GenXers’ geographical mobility as many developed a skill to read the political context and assess its possibilities and barriers.

The labour market of the mid-1990s was also influenced by the expansion of higher education. While universities grew exponentially, other complementary institutions called “Institutes of Higher Education” [often called *Institutos*] expanded across Chile. Nearly 200 institutions began in this period providing a less selective and more flexible educative opportunity (Aedo and González, 2004). As most institutes offered a teaching degree, it required a massive supply of graduate teachers to run the classrooms. Most participants in this study held some form of responsibility, usually minor, in universities and institutes during this period, oftentimes alongside their main job in a school. Indirectly the expansion of higher education also created professional development opportunities for GenXers. On the one hand, they took advantage of a series of postgraduate opportunities, frequently a master’s degree (Muñoz and Weinstein, 2010). Additionally, for those GenXers coming from other disciplines, the richness in options allowed for manageable retraining as most choices were given during nights or weekends with a growing online component.

The new century brought a new scenario for schools and teachers. Fearing the elimination of public education, the democratic government introduced a series of reforms and resources aiming to strengthen public schools, while partially limiting the uncontrolled administration of the private providers. The GenXers working in the public sector capitalised on these changes, usually taking a more exclusive role within a single school, moving into middle leadership or even taking on a deputy role. However, most members of this generation were in the private sector or even in other industries before thinking about a headship.

Seeking a better life was probably one of the biggest drivers behind moving into a permanent leadership role, as for most GenXers this decision was underpinned by the demands of their personal lives. After 15 years as itinerant teachers, the 40-year-old GenXers found themselves juggling between individual career aspirations and issues of family, money and happiness. Half of the participants experienced separation from their spouses and were dealing with the challenges of parental custody and home economy. Even though the headship did not entirely solve these difficulties, it was a well-received improvement from their previous unpredicted life.

Driven by the expectation of a healthier life, GenXers formally applied to a headship. The application was not before 2011 as all participants were recruited through the recently created selection process. The 20,501 law (Mineduc, 2011) provided guidelines and resources to the municipal offices to run a formal recruitment process. Aiming to increase the trustworthiness of selection, the law included the participation of an external consultancy agency and the creation of a committee of diverse stakeholders, including parents, teachers and local decision-makers (Peirano, Campero and Fernández, 2015). Taking advantage of the novelty of the process, the digital platform in which was embedded and their extended curriculum vitae, GenXers excelled in this process and got the job on their first attempt. Their success was underpinned by their expertise in competing for jobs, but also by their professional trajectories. According to them, most selection committees were impressed with their qualifications and welcomed their experience in the private context, their roles in higher education and even their migratory practices.

As newly appointed headteachers, GenXers are enjoying leading their first school. As most participants came from outside the current school and even the current territory, the headship has been filled with new opportunities and challenges, both at professional and at a personal level. Their assessment of their role is generally positive while having minor concerns related to autonomy and working conditions. Despite their optimism, most GenXers are clear about the transitory status of their current role. For many, the headship appears as a stepping stone on their professional trajectory. Unclear about the reasons, the distant future for most GenXers

lies elsewhere. In some cases, this is in a similar role in a bigger and more complex school; in other cases, this is for an adventure in uncharted territory. These intentions are less connected with the working conditions and educational policies for educators, and more related to personal expectations.

As children of the dictatorship, GenXers had the difficult task to be the first generation to grow up with the imposed principles of neoliberalism. They witnessed the transformation of social and political life. From an early age, GenXers were taught to compete, seek a better option and keep moving to survive. Their past is filled with moments of change and adaptation. Nowadays, as school leaders, they have developed a set of skills to continuously identify a better professional opportunity and to conquer it. A more stable future, underpinned by the increasing maturation of the democratic governments and fortification of the public agenda, might be a challenge for their professional repertoire. However, it is hard to predict their everchanging futures and the opportunities they could bring for Generation X headteachers.

CHAPTER VII: THE CAREER OF BOOMER HEADTEACHERS

7.1 Introduction

According to most researchers, Boomers, also known as Baby-Boomers, are the cohort born between 1946 and 1965 (Howe and Strauss, 2000; Edge, 2014). The name refers to the demographic expansion or the ‘boom’ experienced mainly in Europe and North America after the events of World War II. Accordingly, Boomers grew up in a context of prosperity, optimism and economic expansion characterised by traditional values and nuclear families (Zemke, Raines and Filipczak, 2000). Boomers are often described as conventional, workaholics and individualist. The Chilean Ministry of Education data (Mineduc, 2019) indicates that over 60% of public schools are currently led by a Baby-Boomer. Despite the inevitable retirement of this cohort, these numbers have stayed consistent during the last decades. There has been a small but steady decline over the last few years.

This chapter describes and analyses the career paths of Boomer headteachers and identifies the key events, experiences and people influencing their professional trajectories. Building on the generational theory (Mannheim, 1952), the analysis focuses on the “generational location” (p.170) or the characteristics of the context that influences people’s lives. In Chile, Baby-Boomers are the last living witnesses of the democratic government before the dictatorship period. Born in democracy, experiencing a coup d’etat as teenagers, and the return of democracy as adults, the Boomer’s journey is a story about crisis, change, adaptation and above all else surviving. The Chilean Boomers lived through the brutality of the military regime and the massive amendments to the Constitution which transformed the labour market, in particular, the work and role of teachers (McEwan, Urquiola and Vegas, 2008; Cornejo, Reyes and Cruz, 2013). The timeline below (Figure 15) illustrates how the Boomer’s journey (green) intersects with some of the central events in Chilean history (background), educational policies (light blue) and its articulation with the other cohorts: GenXers (red) and Millennials (blue).

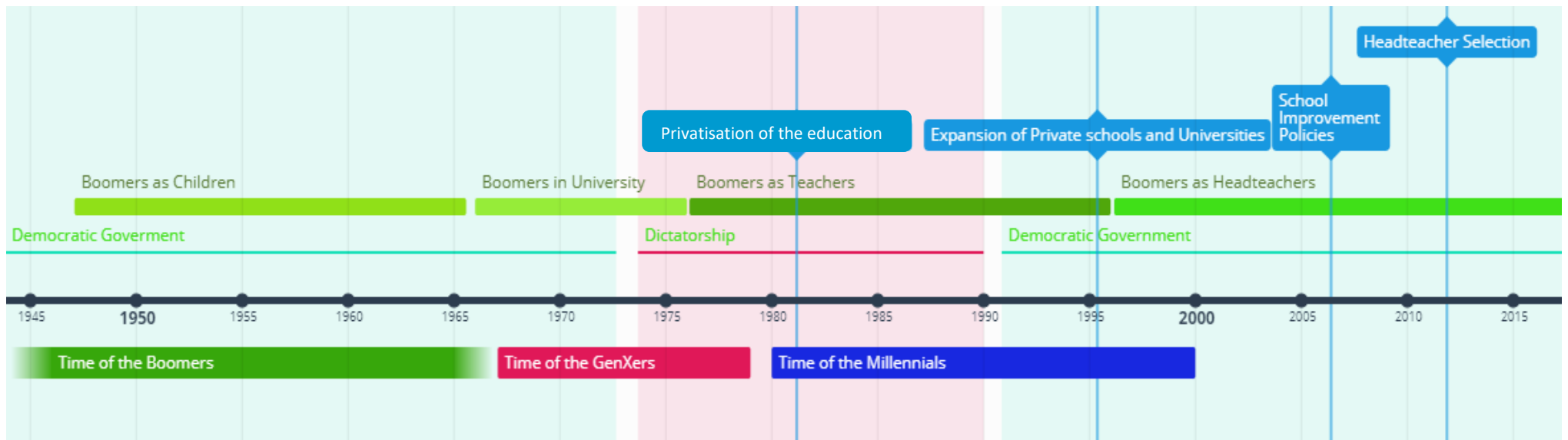


Figure 16. Boomer's Trajectory.

Underpinned by the principles of biographical research, in-depth interviews were conducted with nine Boomer public school headteachers, four active and five recently retired. The retired headteachers were working at the time in a pilot mentoring programme for newly appointed headteachers. The retirees were selected for the mentoring programme based on their outstanding performance as school leaders. At the time of the interviews, the programme had finished and there was uncertainty about its continuation.

This chapter explores their trajectories by building upon their similarities and distinguishing differences when needed. Accordingly, the 'participants' section briefly introduces each headteacher, describing the paths and influences on their careers. As the rest of the chapter expands the scope of this initial description, the first section seeks to serve as the foundation for further analysis. The second section, 'career path', presents a cohort analysis of the headteachers' careers organised under four overarching segments: (1) childhood and early experiences, (2) becoming a teacher, (3) the road to the headship, (4) retention and future aspirations. Following the biographical approach, these sections are arranged by a temporal framework, following the headteachers' lives from birth to the present day. Each section is complemented by 'vignettes' extracted directly from the interviews to illustrate and clarify the central ideas. Considering the ethical implications of the study, some sentences have been redacted to ensure the anonymity of each participant. Finally, the last section, 'discussion', aims to expand the conversation about Boomers' careers, drawing on evidence from both research and policy.

7.2 Participants

1. Hannah, 58 years old

Hannah grew up in a big family in a small rural town where she still works and lives. Her father was a truck driver and her mother was a housewife. She had five siblings. Together they oversaw a small agricultural business in which Hannah worked continuously during primary and secondary school. She experienced the dictatorship as a child, and clearly remembers the economic consequences of the civil war on her family. Having mixed feelings about teaching, based on a series of negative personal student experiences, she enrolled in a local university to become an early childhood educator. After graduation, on the back of the neoliberal reforms of 1981, she quickly found a job but experienced difficulties in securing one that was permanent and well-paid.

After a few years facing economic and workplace difficulties in her first school, she found a new post in a distant rural primary school where she worked for six years. While having no formal leadership responsibilities, in that school she developed her leadership capacities by taking up an active role in engaging with the school community. This informal role was

especially relevant during the return of the democratic period as she worked educating illiterate parents in civil rights and the act of voting.

Seeking to improve her wellbeing, in 1992 she applied to a school closer to her home. She has worked at this school ever since. In that school, the headteacher was appointed by the dictatorship and due to political safeguards, she held tenure until voluntary retirement. This authoritarian leadership lasted for over a decade. Hannah describes this as a tough time. During this period, Hannah held middle leadership responsibilities, and the anti-example of her headteacher shaped her as a leader. In 2006 when the retirement of the previous head was imminent, encouraged by her colleagues, she successfully applied to the headteacher's position.

Hannah has been a headteacher for over a decade and has loved every day of it. As a member of this territory, she feels a responsibility to the rural community to serve as an example and bridge between the rural and the urban. With retirement coming soon, she hopes to stay in her office and with the school community until her last day. However, this might not happen. Due to political pressures, the local authorities have informally notified her that they want to put a new headteacher in her place for the upcoming year. She does not know what that means for her, but she anticipates a great deal of sadness. Hannah wishes for a world in which politics do not influence the policy within schools. Thinking about life after retirement, she dreams of being the head of a local pub, exclusively for teachers and school leaders named after the Chilean name for the deputy head: the UTP²⁰.

2. Sean, 61 years old

Sean was born in a nomadic family, and experienced a childhood that was both urban and rural. His father was a police officer who constantly relocated across big cities and small towns. He taught Sean a love for travelling and mobility. Sean performed outstandingly in primary and secondary school, which led him to appreciate the role of teachers. Just before graduating from secondary school, he experienced the coup d'état and the immediate aftermath of the dictatorship which became the cornerstone of his adult life. Partially influenced by this event, he sought a teaching degree in a university that was 400 km from his home and the conflict of the big cities. During this period, he became politically active in a centre-left party, in opposition to the military regime. This moment was the beginning of his leadership education.

In the late 1970s, Chile witnessed the expansion of schools and a scarcity of teachers. Sean did not have problems securing a full-time job, initially as a primary teacher but he rapidly gained middle leadership responsibilities and then a formal deputy role. Sean has only worked

²⁰ Stands for Unidad Técnica Pedagógica or Technical Pedagogy Unit in English

in public schools and remembers the dictatorship's fierce control over the administration of school resources and its censorship of ideas. In this oppressive context, supported by a couple of mentors, he developed as a school leader aiming to find the balance between action and quietness. The return of the democracy in 1990 and the central role of his political party in this new period facilitated his access to a headship. Initially he worked as an acting head in a newly established school and then he worked as an official headteacher in a traditional public school in a distant city. It is here that he has worked for the last 15 years.

Nowadays, with retirement knocking on the door, Sean is unclear about his future. He does not believe that unemployment is his next step, and aims to keep his working routines alive as much as possible. A new school leader selection process is starting in 2019. He aims to apply which would allow him to stay in office until 2023. After that period, he dreams of having a role in continuous professional development and teacher training, but he does not entirely disregard the idea of a political career at municipal or regional level.

3. Aidan, 61 years old

Aidan's life is a story about local migration, early challenges and community development. Born in a big urban city in a middle-class family, he was always attracted to diverse disciplines. He has had a capacity for leadership roles since childhood. Encouraged by his family, he attended university to train as a primary teacher. Due to an expansion of rural schools and a scarcity of educators in the mid-1970s, he did not have difficulties finding work. Moreover, his first job included headteacher responsibilities for which Aidan did not feel equipped. Accordingly, he stepped down after a few months. However, he felt an attraction to leadership roles, an attraction that led him to re-apply for a headship three years later.

As a 29-year-old, he was selected to create and lead a new rural school. This school was placed nearby a growing neighbourhood and rapidly increased in enrolment and complexity. This school is where Aidan developed as a leader, in a context in which headteachers were addressed as informal local authorities beyond the boundaries of the school. Underpinned by a series of external events, including natural disasters (flood and food scarcity), he became a political figure leading diverse projects and receiving the respect of the community. Eventually, this led to conflicts with the Mayor who influenced the termination of his contract. Over the next two decades, Aidan replicated this experience elsewhere, participating in the creation of new schools or being recruited as a turnaround headteacher. He was especially interested in schools in challenging circumstances and found comfort in being recognised for his performance beyond the boundaries of political parties as he worked in left, centre and right wing municipalities.

After leading many schools and having held temporary roles at system level, he is now leading a large secondary school in a new city. Due to economic challenges, his family lives elsewhere. This distance gives him great pain. Close to retirement age, pension, health and basic needs are increasingly taking a more prominent role in his life. His son has just started university which has taken a significant toll on his finances. For these reasons, he wishes to remain in the post as long as possible. He knows that his contract expires by 2020, but he is aware that the journey could end before depending on the wishes of local authorities. Looking back on his life, he has enjoyed the ride, and the possibilities that being a school leader has brought both to himself and others. While he is optimistic about the future of public education, he misses the old days in which the learning and the wellbeing of the pupils were central, and bureaucracy, standardisation and accountability held a minor role in the life of school leaders.

4. Carice, 62 years old

Carice, the youngest of three siblings, was born in a middle-class family of professionals in one of the biggest cities of Chile, where she still lives. As a child, she was an outstanding student both in primary and secondary school. She had an early affection for teaching. She applied to a local but prestigious university where she studied for five years to become a primary teacher. In the middle of her third year, she faced the violence of the coup d'état, which on a Tuesday morning, furiously hit her university, friends and colleagues. She was spared from this attack only by chance as she decided not to attend to the campus that day. Carice is clear about the implications of the dictatorship on Chile, through direct aggression and through the implementation of policies which still today act as barriers for the public sector.

After a short period of adjustment, she returned to university, finished her degree and found a job in the public sector as a primary teacher. For years, Carice worked in a state-administrated school, a type of school that since 1981 no longer exists in Chile. Due to a combination of her performance and the lack of teachers in the early 1980s, she was appointed as a deputy head of a public secondary school in which she has now worked for 36 years. Having little guidelines and formal professional development opportunities, she learned on the job. She worked mainly in managing resources and gradually moved into curriculum and pedagogical responsibilities. The headteacher at that time, a man appointed by the dictatorship, did little to develop her professional skills but gave her space and conditions to safely explore and implement innovations, which led her to gain trust in her capacities.

In 2004, when the headteacher retired and underpinned by a sense of confusion by the local authorities about headteacher succession, she was appointed acting head. This status lasted for over six years due to the lack of policies regulating headteacher selection. Eventually, she was formally appointed as the headteacher of the school, and she expects to be in her office

until retirement in 2020. Carice loves her role and her community. She has only lived in this city and believes the territory is part of her identity. She is unable to predict her future once retirement comes but feels she can still contribute more to the public schools, perhaps from a system leader position or coordinating professional development initiatives for school leaders from a local university.

5. Emilia, 64 years old

Emilia is the oldest among six siblings, and was born in a small town near the sea. She has worked and lived in this town for most of her life. Her father, a coal miner, and her mother, a housewife, always encouraged her to be a professional. After an excellent performance in primary and secondary school, she got accepted into a university 700 km from her home. Having little idea about the details and knowing no one in this new city, she packed and jumped on a train to start a new chapter on her life. She found nothing but generosity in these new lands, connecting with teachers, staff, and fellow students while experiencing independence away from home for the first time. This experience was interrupted on Tuesday the 11th of September 1973 when, after oversleeping, she went to campus to have lunch as usual but found only signs of struggle and despair. Eventually, after significant changes within the university, she graduated and returned to her hometown with a teaching degree under her arm.

She had no difficulties finding a job, as she was noticed by the local authorities due to her university degree which put her on a superior level than most educators at the time. She stayed at her first school for over 30 years, mostly as a classroom teacher but occasionally having some leadership responsibilities at the municipal level. That school became literally her second family as it was the place where she met her husband and then where her children studied. Encouraged by her peers, in 2007 she decided to apply for a headship in a bigger city. After the term (5 years) and having met the age requirement for retirement, she decided to step down. However, the local authorities asked her to assume a temporary headship in a school facing difficulties where she worked for almost three more years.

At the time of the interview, Emilia has been retired from the educational system for over a year and is currently working part-time as a mentor for new headteachers. She feels happy with her current life and while she misses the old one she believes she made the right decision stepping down. Emilia does not want to leave the working life yet but does not want a full-time job either. She appreciates the conditions of the mentoring scheme as she is working a few hours per week doing something similar but different from her past experience. Having a foot inside schools and another in her personal life allows her to find the balance to create a new life.

6. Nataly, 64 years old

Nataly's professional experience is characterised by stability, community engagement and happiness that was interrupted by the dictatorship and its aftermath. She was born in a middle-class family, in a rural small town. At the age of 18, she got married and still is, a fact that makes her incredibly proud. Having great admiration for the role of teachers, she went to one of the most recognised universities in Chile to train as a primary teacher. Having this education meant she had to leave her hometown and the safety of her house. In her third university year, her education was interrupted by the coup d'état which influenced her migration to another city, following the job opportunities of her husband. During this period, she gave birth to the first two of four children which put her personal education on standby.

In 1977, following a national shortage of teachers, she found a place in a rural school in which a teaching degree was not mandatory. She rapidly fell in love with teaching and working with children. Concerned by the absence of qualifications, she attended to a night school (university) for three years in a city nearby. After obtaining a teaching degree and being recognised as a professional, she was invited by the local authorities to work in a bigger school. Here she took on classroom and middle leadership responsibilities. She was known for her performance and was asked to take on the headship of a small rural school, initially as a temporary job, a temporary job that lasted 28 years. She enjoyed this period of her life and felt loved by the community.

At 63 years old, having met the formal age of retirement, the local authorities encouraged her to step down. Without any doubts, she agreed, but due to a delay on the arrival of the pension, she experienced her last year at the school not as a headteacher but as a teacher. She also informally mentored the new school leader. Now, Nataly is happy with the decision of leaving the working life behind but misses the school, her friends and her routines. She is grateful for her great last year as a classroom teacher, which allowed her to experience a proper farewell. Nonetheless, she believes that this period could be more extended as it benefited both herself and the school community. Beyond her personal experience, she reflects on the educational policies and the retirement of old headteachers. She dreams of a future in which this process could be smooth.

7. Lena, 65 years old

Lena had a tough childhood growing up as an orphan in the absence of both parents. Her older brother took care of her from an early age, which led to a series of economic and social challenges. She was born in a small rural town where she has lived and worked her entire life. She always had an affinity for teaching and, accordingly, she pursued a teaching degree at a nearby local university. It was during her second year of her bachelor's degree when the coup

d'état happened. Her university and in particular the education faculty were sympathetic to socialistic ideas, and therefore became an enemy of the military regime. After the torturing and kidnapping of university teachers and classmates, a new curriculum was introduced before she finished her degree in physical education.

She rapidly found a job in a primary school, where she met her husband, also a teacher. Lena progressively moved from the classroom to a middle leadership position. Due to her performance and a natural orientation of trying new things, she was invited by the local authorities to assume a deputy headship with an emphasis on instruction. Even though she never had ambitions to become a headteacher, after a few years as deputy, being recognised by her colleagues and giving in to peer pressure, she applied for a headship during the first round of public-school selection in Chile. She worked for one term (5 years) before retiring from the active workforce.

At the time of this interview, Lena has been retired for two years. She has done her best to try to keep active by working in a local NGO and having a small role in a pilot mentoring scheme for new headteachers. She misses work and the companionship of school life. She recognises the difficult experience of the public school headteachers, especially in balancing work and family. Still, some part of her wants to return to that life, the people and that place she called home for over 38 years.

8. Michele, 65 years old

Michele's story is populated by moments of change and adaptation in a country looking for its identity. Born in a big urban city, she was the daughter of European immigrants escaping from World War II. Her father owned a medium-sized business which allowed her and her two siblings to have a comfortable life. Having an excellent performance in both primary and secondary school, an affinity for foreign languages and a love for teaching, she attended university to study for a degree in French teaching. She graduated and found a job in a public secondary school in her hometown.

Shortly after she started her working life, the Ministry of Education undertook a reform taking French out of the curriculum. While this led to a professional crisis, it encouraged her to engage in complementary activities within the school. As a middle leader, she worked closely with the student body and learnt about creating and administering school projects. The dictatorship took her by surprise, and while it dramatically transformed her personal life she found her working conditions did not suffer much. Driven by the mentoring of her headteacher, Michele took administrative preparation and was promoted to a deputy position. After a decade on the job, following the democratic return, her headteacher and mentor retired. Michele was

invited by the local authorities to take on the position. She retired in 2016 after 22 years as a headteacher.

Michelle is incredibly happy with her professional experience. Nevertheless, she believes that improvements to the headteachers' career are urgent. Her dismissal came swiftly, denying her the opportunity to say farewell to her friends and colleagues. She argues that new headteachers could benefit from the experiences, successes and failures, of the departing ones. She is now enjoying her retirement and has a minor role in a mentoring scheme for new headteachers. However, she is still surprised by the sounds, and colours of the streets at 10 am on a Monday.

9. Charles, 68 years old

Charles is the oldest headteacher in the study. Far from being an individual story, Charles's trajectory is an illustration of a collective journey into a past that no longer exists. He was born in a small town in 1949, but due to his father job, a navy officer, his family steadily moved between the rural and the urban. Growing up as an only child, he enjoyed a simple and outgoing childhood with neighbours and classmates. As a young man, he always admired the role of educators and remembered a time in which being a teacher was the most valuable profession. However, his performance during primary and secondary was below average which made it difficult for him to find a place in any university. In early 1970, due to rapid school expansion and the scarcity of teachers, he was called to be a rural teacher with the promise of doing his teacher training on the side. For years he educated children during the week and educated himself at the weekends at an alternative institution which no longer exists, called 'La Normal'. During his final year as a student teacher, having only weeks to graduate, everything was interrupted by the rise of the dictatorship in 1973.

After an aggressive transition, the military government disregarded his training and sent him back to study from scratch. During this period, he was able to continue working, but his status, salary and autonomy were affected by the lack of a professional degree. After five years of night school, he finally got his teaching degree and regularised his working situation. Recognised for his teaching and loved by his peers, when the previous headteacher stepped down due to her advanced age, the staff collectively proposed him as the new head. This decision was well received by the local authorities. He led a small rural school for over a decade, developing his leadership skills while keeping part-time responsibilities in the classroom. Looking to challenge himself and to improve his wellbeing, he applied to a bigger school closer to his home. He stayed on at this post for nearly 15 years. Coming to an age of

retirement, he took the time to prepare a new headteacher to take his place and keep the school on track before leaving for good²¹.

Charles stayed in this last school as a deputy head for nearly a year before fully retiring. The deputy position was not his choice but, in hindsight, he appreciated the time to leave a successor in office and to have the opportunity to say farewell to his colleagues. Now formally retired and having a minor role on a mentoring program for new headteachers, he believes he had a beautiful professional life. Looking back on his career, balancing achievements and sacrifices, his heart lies in the small school that formed his teacher identity. He sees the future with optimism but misses the ideas of community, family and belonging from a time that no longer exists.

The table below (Table 20) summarises the characteristics of the Boomer headteachers.

Table 20. Baby-Boomer Headteachers' Characteristics.

Name	Age Now	Gender	Bachelor	Postgraduate	Working Experience	Years in public school	Years in private schools	Schools	Other organisations
Hannah	58	Female	Early Child Education	MA Education	36	34	2	4	0
Sean	61	Male	Primary Teacher	MA Education	39	39	0	4	0
Aidan	61	Male	Primary Teacher	MA Education	41	37	4	7	1
Carice	62	Female	Primary Teacher	MA Assessment	42	42	0	2	0
Emilia	64	Female	Physical Education Teacher	-	41	41	0	3	0
Nataly	64	Female	Primary Teacher	-	41	41	0	3	0
Lena	65	Female	Primary Teacher	MA Curriculum	39	39	0	4	0
Michele	65	Female	French Teacher	MA Administration	45	45	0	3	0
Charles	68	Male	Primary Teacher	MA Administration	46	45	1	3	1

²¹ His successor: Barry, a Millennial headteacher. whose career was explored in chapter 5.

7.3 Career Path

7.3.1 Childhood and Early Experiences

At the time of the data collection, the oldest Boomer was 68, and the youngest was 58. All participants experienced their childhood under a democratic government. They grew up in traditional nuclear families, where the father usually worked in the service industry, while the mother held home responsibilities. Despite their label of 'Baby-Boomers', regarding the demographic explosion of this cohort, the participants of this generation in most cases had only a couple of siblings, and one was an only child. It is difficult to identify with certainty their socioeconomic level growing up given the challenges of their time, but, arguably, most of them were middle class, as their parents had a steady income and owned their own home. This assumption is supported by their experience of education, initially in primary and secondary school and then confirmed in higher education.

Now I realised that not everyone went to [primary] school. Just recently I looked into the stats of that time, and surely, a lot of people didn't finish secondary or even primary sometimes. What I do remember is that even at that time, they were levels on the school you attend. I went to [a school] and that supposedly was better than [other school] (Interviewer: were they all public?) Yes, all public (Lena, 65).

Lena's comments illustrate a central feature of the Boomer's childhood: the social importance of public schools. Only with one exception, all Boomers attended public schools at the primary and secondary level, and most continued to a state administrated university. The emphasis on the public was not unusual as the legislation that fostered school privatisation was not created until two decades later. A Boomer child will see a world in which 92% of the education was provided by the state; nowadays, this percentage is only a third of that. Furthermore, it was a world in when schooling was optional and, while there were initiatives aimed to bring more children into schools, universal access was still a complicated process. In this context, the social status of teachers was massive, as were the caretakers of knowledge. Despite some unorthodox methods, Boomers have enjoyable and respectful memories of their school teachers.

Looking back, I believe I had some form of ADHD, undiagnosed of course, which meant the teachers continuously punished me. The teachers, the 'normalist'²² teachers were an eminence and they kept the discipline really tight. If I misbehaved in the classroom, the teacher hit me, then I arrived home and my father hit me again, and then my mother! You couldn't disrespect a teacher (Sean, 61).

²² From the Normal School

Growing up, Boomers showed a deep appreciation for the teaching profession. In a context dominated by high levels of illiteracy, teachers were seen as the keepers of knowledge and truth. Boomers remember a time in which teachers held power beyond the boundaries of the school. They had pivotal roles in the community. Accordingly, this had a massive influence on the Boomer's career orientation, as from an early age they wanted to be part of this selective group. This decision was underpinned not by a love for teaching or social responsibility but for a desire to be part of the intellectual elite.

You must understand that there was little access to books, there was no internet, there was little culture. Knowledge was concentrated in people, and those people were the teachers. Teachers were synonyms of wisdom and expertise not only for students but mostly to the parents (Charles, 68).

It is a little exaggeration, but teachers were like gods. I remember that I really cared about how they look, elegant suits, elegant dresses, the shoes, the hair. They were examples of distinction. For me, a child in a rural context this was very appealing (Hannah, 58).

7.3.2 Becoming a Teacher

After finishing secondary school, all but one transitioned immediately into higher education. The decision to pursue a degree in teaching was more ambitious than today. Firstly, teaching was delivered by two different institutions: the normal school and the universities. 'Normal' schools were a traditional institution created in 1842 and managed by teachers. Their sole purpose was to prepare future educators. On the other hand, universities assumed teacher preparation responsibilities from 1965 and were a novelty in the time of the Boomers. There was an agreement among the participants that *Normal schools* were a stronger choice than universities at the time. They were also more selective and academically challenging.

[For the normal school] the admission test was incredibly complicated. You had a written test, you had a skill test, you had a physical test. A man came into the room clapping and you had to follow the rhythm and to mimic his expressions... it was too much. I got in, but I thought, this was going to be a very tough experience, so I transferred to the [name] university at the end (Nataly, 64).

Secondly, at the time there were only a few higher education institutions in Chile. The limited spaces available created a high level of selectivity. These institutions were concentrated in a few places, adding a geographical barrier to access. Half of the participants were required to leave their home and live in student accommodation for years. While this is standard nowadays, the lack of information, systems of support and examples of previous experiences

added a layer of difficulty for this cohort. However, the experiences of the participants indicated a higher education system that cared for students' wellbeing.

I received the letter that I was accepted in [a city, 700 km away]. I was 17, frightened but excited at the same time (Interviewer: you knew the city?) No, I have never left my hometown before. I put my things into two suitcases, jumped on a train and left. I got there; I went to the admission offices to enrol. They sent me to a second office, where they showed me a series of benefits that I could apply for, including accommodation and food. At the end of the first day, I was lying on a bed in a student accommodation building with a big smile on my face, all for free (Emilia, 64).

By 1970, most Boomers went to university. Even though they were distributed across Chile on different campuses, most were part of the same institution: The University of Chile. The institution was spread out across eleven regional campuses, which worked interdependently while sharing the same label and identity. The Boomers' story is filled with moments of loss, such as when the national university was swiftly destroyed and dismantled by the dictatorship. This event is probably one the cornerstones of the Boomer identity as most of them, despite their differences and geographical distance, simultaneously experienced the same moment and shared a very similar feeling.

It was a Tuesday. There was talk about it for weeks before, so I was prepared for something bad. I didn't go to the university that morning, but I could still hear the gunshots from my bedroom. I saw several young short hair kids [army] with machine guns running down the street (Carice, 60).

I overslept that morning; my alarm didn't work. Around 11 am, I heard somebody knocking on my door. It was a friend and she was crying. We didn't know what had happened. We went to the campus later to have lunch as we usually did. It was like being in a movie, all destroyed and no one around (Emilia, 64).

I was getting ready to leave the house, I remember I had chosen my favourite pants for that day. My sister came home, she couldn't get to work because the train was shut down. We turned on the radio and heard it 'WAR', and then we felt it: fear (Michele, 65).

In the morning of the September 11th of 1973, a coordinated attack at the national level, spearheaded by the combined forces of the army, navy and air force, took the central cities and key social organisations (Errázuriz, 2009). Universities and schools were particularly targeted. Hundreds were killed that day; thousands were taken into custody and then tortured. Due to preparation or chance, most of the Boomers who took part in this study dodged a direct

hit from the coup, but not all. Charles, the oldest participant in this cohort, was intercepted on his way to work.

I took the train at 7 am as every day. Most teachers did. Suddenly the train stopped. The army surrounded us and forced us to climb down. They interrogated us, yelling at us. I was afraid, everybody was afraid. I had no ties with any political party, but you got a sense that it didn't matter to them. After a couple of hours, they made us return home, walking alongside the train tracks. I came back, and my father was in the backyard burning our books, our music [vinyl]... anything that might be connected with Marxism (Charles, 68).

Surviving this day, the Chilean 9-11, was only half the battle for Boomers as the aftermath of the dictatorship lasted for almost two decades. For most participants in this study, this event transformed their university experience. The 1973 academic year was suspended, and by 1974 when universities were reopened undergraduate life was something else. Alongside the removal of Deans, professors and staff who were often replaced by military personnel, the curriculum was also modified taking out any subjects or topics related to politics (Lillo, 2009). Moreover, participants demonstrated a clear awareness of the presence of infiltrators among the students who were easily spotted by their behaviour and external characteristics.

They took almost all of my professors, some of them were killed. We didn't have the history subject anymore. It was completely different, you could notice the gaps in the content (Interviewer: how were the classrooms?). Quiet! Very quiet. You could see a lot of new students, as our group was small, we knew each other and in March there was a group of new students: men with short hair, too formal to be a social science university student (Emilia, 64).

While university life got complicated for Boomers as students, life got even more difficult for others. The dictatorship brought the sudden termination of the 'Normal school', an institution that prospered for over 120 years before the dictatorship. Moreover, the 'Normalist teachers' were persecuted by the military regime which lowered their professional status and created work-related difficulties to them.

It was humiliating. My mum and dad were scared, and I was terrified. You thought you were about to be killed. I wore my best outfit and I even cut my hair very short, just in case! From this town, we went there 30 or 40 of us [normalist teachers]. It was a long queue and, one by one, a man, an army man asked me questions. He asked about why I wanted to be a teacher, about my values and about my relationship with Marxism. He told me, looking into my documentation "this is worthless, this is just Marxism, you

can't teach with these qualifications". After a very difficult day, they told us if we wanted to be teachers we must study again, this time in a university (Charles, 68).

After the dust settled, in a few years all Boomers finished their bachelor degrees and moved into the labour market. By mid-1970s, schools were greatly intervened by the military regime, having a representative of the dictatorship as headteacher in each school. Primary and secondary schools were expanding, especially in rural contexts, and due to the interventions in higher education, teachers were a limited resource. Accordingly, Boomers had little difficulty in finding a permanent job in a public school. In most cases, their first job was in a small rural school, geographically close to their homes and similar to the one they attended as children. In several cases, their first teaching job lasted years and even decades.

7.3.3 The Road to the Headship

By 1976 all Boomers in this study held a teaching role in a public school. As presented earlier, the expansion of schools in remote areas and a lack of educators forced the military government to introduce emergency policies allowing individuals, usually secondary school graduates, a license to teach. In this context, most participants, who were university graduates at the time, did not have difficulties in securing a job and received some preferential treatment in terms of payment, tenure and working conditions. There was a degree of randomness into this as, due to the authoritarianism of the period, municipal leaders and headteachers had extended human resources attributions leading to accelerated hiring processes.

[after university graduation] My father was sick, so I took a managerial role in his business. A friend told me that there was a new school and that they [municipality] were looking for teachers. I was just curious, so I went down there. Talked with the person in charge for like 5 minutes, before he told me "great, can you start tomorrow?" (Aidan, 61).

While all Boomers had great memories of their teaching period, their experiences in their early professional years extended beyond the boundaries of classrooms and even the schools. Schools not only brought knowledge and culture but also facilities, electricity, clean water and supplies to remote communities. In this context, teachers became a bridge between urban modernity and the tradition of the rural. Moreover, as schools were expanding there was a national demand to increase enrolment. This forced teachers to assume other responsibilities as public relations agents who knocked on doors and had conversations with parents and families about the relevance of education.

This new school was tiny, but it was located in the middle of this agricultural settlement [fundo], surrounded by dozens of families. I went there, and I noticed tons of children that were not enrolled in any school. Talking with the parents, there was some interest, but the problem was access and transportation. I did the maths and because we received payment for each child, it was in the budget to hire a small bus, fill it with children and bring them into the school (Hannah, 58).

Hannah's story mirrors the experience of most Boomers. Having this hybrid role as educators and social workers allowed them to have a deep connection with the community and a central political role. Accordingly, Boomers had little mobility across schools and even less across territories, living and usually working in the same municipalities for decades. Boomers felt relevant and loved by their communities, and informally addressed as school leaders from an early age. By 1981, their role became even more important as due to decentralisation policies, the school's administration was transferred from the State to Municipal control with the city Mayor as local authority. During the dictatorship, the election of the Mayors was one of the only democratic actions available. Schools became a place for ongoing campaigning. For teachers, this responsibility was a double-edged sword, as their role became crucial but was also intervened by the local politics.

The access and transportation to [first school] were limited, and the payment was horrible, so I was trying to transfer myself to a similar school but closer. However, the Mayor of [municipality 1] called the Mayor of [municipality 2], both in the same party, and demanded him not to take me. Because I, as an early childhood educator, continuously brought new votes and I was loved by the families of current and ex-students (Hannah, 58).

For others, the political role brought other difficulties as the recognition by the community created a sense of rivalry between the teachers and local authorities.

There was a big flood in [City]. The river got into the town and took out the houses of hundreds of people. It was on a weekend, so I came in, opened the school doors and brought all the people in. I managed to work with the medical services to bring some food and supplies and even contacted a helicopter pilot friend of mine to search for some missing people. The Mayor came on Monday, but it was too late. I had no intention of running for office, but he didn't see it like that. Eventually, I was invited to leave the authority (Aidan, 61).

Most Boomers had a teacher role with community responsibilities for years, even decades before moving into formal leadership responsibilities; however, most never entirely abandoned the classroom. Middle leadership roles started as schools grew in new responsibilities,

alongside the bureaucratisation of the school system. Frequently, the participants took the tasks that senior leaders did not want or were not prepared to do.

The headteacher was a good administrator but had some basic writing problems. I started writing his speeches and the letters to the municipality and the community and then working in writing most of the reports. Becoming irreplaceable, eventually led me to a deputy role (Lena, 65).

Lena's story illustrates a feature of the school administration of the 1980 and 1990 period. A central element of the leadership career was the role of dictatorship headteachers. Informally known as 'designated headteachers', they were individuals close to the military regime, frequently ex-army or relatives of senior army members, who had absolute power, tenure and little accountability. All Boomers had at some moment in their career a 'designated head' although their experiences varied. It was never a positive situation. However, for some Boomers, working with this person was a massive challenge, for others it was an opportunity.

We (teachers) couldn't do much with her. She looked down to us and mistreated us. We had to secretly gather to create ideas or projects. We knew that if the idea was good she will allow us to do it because she could take the credit. It was a bit crazy because we have to trick her in making her believe that the ideas were hers (Hannah, 58).

She was designated, and she was a harsh woman, but fair. When they took French out of the curriculum, I had little options left. But she invited me to an assistant role. I was in charge of the enrolment and had to learn how to create tables and to do calculations, in a time before 'Excel'. When the deputy retired due to age, she [the designated head] invited me to take the deputy role (Michele, 65).

Designated headteachers were allocated by the dictatorship as a political strategy but they oftentimes lacked basic educational knowledge. Seeking to bring some instructional expertise into the school leadership, the dictatorship created a second deputy role called the UTP²³ (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010). While still politically influenced, the UTP acted as a stepping stone on the career ladder for teachers. This deputy position allowed Boomers to professionally grow, explore ideas and lead projects, creating a sense of identity as a leader. During this period, there was little technical support coming from the other senior leaders or formal professional development programmes. This scenario meant that Boomers had to explore strategies of self-learning and practices of trial and error.

²³ Stands for Unidad Técnico Pedagógica or Technical Pedagogical Unit

I was working elsewhere, in a tiny different school having middle leadership responsibilities. The headteacher [of the current school], a good man but had little idea about education, offered me a job here. There were no guidelines and my previous role in orientation was similar to this one but much more straightforward. We had to create careers and I had to work assessing the students' interest at a massive scale. We had nothing! It was a period of great experimentation but also little control and support. By 1987 I learnt how to use a computer and I became a bit obsessed with educational research (Carice, 62).

While most Boomers had formal leadership training, including a master's degree in educational administration, all of them identified in-school training as their most influential contribution to their preparation. Similar to Carice's experience, the lack of support and supervision was interpreted as an opportunity to explore ideas and to develop skills.

I did everything, an MA in management and administration, a diploma that took over two years in instructional leadership, an international internship in France and lots of small courses. However, without a doubt my most valuable training was here in the school, having achievements but also making mistakes, many mistakes (Michelle, 65).

For me, that experience [the previous school] was my PhD, my MA, my everything. That taught me to deal with emergencies and how to influence others (Sean, 61).

The designated headteacher scenario lasted for decades, even after the return of democracy in 1990. The dictatorship headteachers had tenure, which allowed them, no matter what, to stay in post, even beyond the legal age of retirement. Moreover, even if a designated headteacher stepped down, there were no protocols or resources for recruitment before 2011. These elements created a chaotic scenario. Boomers arrived into the headship at different points under diverse circumstances; some came to headship from a deputy role while others came directly from the classroom. Nonetheless, there are some patterns shared by most participants. Firstly, there was little personal planning. Due to the chaotic environment and the influence of politics, there was no certainty about the succession process. Most Boomers were abruptly invited to take the role.

It was an accident! I was the deputy and suddenly the head retired, nobody knew much about it. So, I went to the education department to ask about the situation and to check if they were going to send anybody else. Nobody could answer me, and they sent me to talk to the Mayor. I explained the situation to him and suddenly he appointed me as headteacher (Michele, 65).

Secondly, their recruitment was supported by the staff, in particular by the teaching community in each school. In most cases, the succession was internal; the Boomers took their first headship in a school in which they had worked for years.

My colleagues encouraged me. I felt ready, but I was not sure. At the time I had mainly a classroom role, with minor responsibilities working with the student body. I was close with the deputy, we were friends since primary school. She and the head thought I was the right candidate and presented a good case to the municipality (Emilia, 64).

With only a couple of exceptions, by early 2000 all the Boomers held a headship which in all cases was formally confirmed by the legal process introduced a decade later in 2011.

7.3.4 Retention and Future Aspirations

At the time of the interviews, five participants were recently retired, and four were in their final working years. For all, being a headteacher had been the highlight of their professional and personal life. The latter is a crucial component of their identity as most of them developed an emotional connection with the schools and with the staff. Boomers, with a sense of regret, acknowledge the importance of the school above their families and personal lives. For many, this workaholicism was shared with their spouses, usually a Boomer teacher as well, which put a little extra pressure on their relationship with their children.

I am, and I have been out of balance for years. I have worked over 60 hours per week for the last decades. I missed all the school celebrations of my children: Father's Day, Mother's Day, Xmas... because I was leading the same events here (Sean, 61).

My children still complain that I was not there for them. I have ideas during the day and I came home to write them down and to elaborate them, so I was always thinking about work. I cared about my children needs, but I wasn't emotionally connected with that as much I should have. My husband is also a teacher, he is now working in the educational department, so it is easier but before it was a massive problem for both (Lena, 65).

Boomers spoke about the radical changes that the headship has experienced in the last couple of decades. They recognised that the movement between administration and leadership demanded that headteachers not only manage resources and people but also lead instruction, mobilise change and implement continuous cycles of improvement. There were only a few complaints about the workload as most leaders have implemented coping strategies, usually by distributing power across middle leaders. There are difficulties as well, as most Boomers described serious challenges in working with the local authorities. While there were diverse examples of these difficulties, they can be organised under three interdependent types: political influence, lack of capacity, and excessive control. Firstly, as

presented in this chapter, the administration of public schools rests with the local education department which works directly under the rule of the Mayor. On the one hand, this political control influences the level of support and access to resources as they are dependent on the ideological alignment between the Mayor and the headteacher; on the other, it puts pressure on the hiring and firing process depending on the election and re-election of the city authorities.

And the democracy returned! There were many expectations in the teacher community about the future and reparation. Our first Mayor was from the [central-left party], but he brought so many incompetent people with him, political favours for sure. Then we have this Major from [right party], the same thing. Recently we have [name] from [central-left party] and he brought great people but entrepreneurs, no one with educational background. I have been safe because I know the laws, I know my rights, and I am excellent in my work. But many heads have been fired in these political games (Carice, 62).

Secondly, most Boomers feel that the local authorities are technically not ready to oversee the school system. While there is an awareness among headteachers of the influence of politics in system-level decision making, there is also an agreement about the lack of leadership and pedagogical expertise among at the municipal educational department.

You never know with them. I have worked in very left and very right municipalities and it is always a surprise how little they know about education. For most is a business, how many students, how much money. Others understand learning, children psychology, sociology... but those are rare cases (Aidan, 61).

Thirdly, building on the previous point, Boomers often view local authorities not as an ally but an enemy, prioritising control above support, having significant consequences on headteacher autonomy, resource allocation and sense of agency.

My main problem is the lack of independence. Yesterday they [the local authorities] called me: "we saw a teacher in the bank this morning, why she was outside the school?". And I was like "she was collecting the salary, I allowed it". Then we have a long chat about the standard procedure for these cases. So, I wasted 10 minutes explaining something very simple, to somebody that should be my support and ally. I don't understand why they selected me if they did not trust my decisions and my management style (Hannah, 58).

A more intimate concern relates to the Boomer's departure from the active workforce and life after retirement. Those still working expressed a sense of anxiety about life after work, as well as a fear of losing their identity, power and responsibilities. For those already retired, there is

a sense of sadness, in some cases combined with regret, as they felt pressure to leave their schools by the local authorities.

I didn't want to go. I was at the right age, but it was possible to stay one more term and even more if I wanted it. But this woman from the municipality pushed me. She told that the stimulus was a one-time thing, and if I didn't take it then, I would lose the 20 million [about £20,000]. It was a lie, it is available every year (Lena, 65).

Both the retirees and current Boomer heads felt there was a need to improve the retirement support strategies, with an emphasis on the wellbeing of the outgoing headteachers and the leadership succession in the schools.

It was sudden, they called me [the municipality] on the phone the last day of August. "we received the money, so you can retire today if you want". And that was it, after 40 years, I received the goodbye from a secretary over the phone (Emilia, 61).

It was a Monday, the first week of March²⁴, I was balancing the books when I received a call from a secretary that I didn't know: "you can leave at the end of the day". I was shocked, I put my things in a box and left. No goodbyes, no celebration, nothing (Michele, 65).

A couple of exceptions illustrated this argument from another perspective. However, these cases were more accidents than planned events. As the retirement scheme is bound to the funding coming from the central government, the bureaucratic process can delay the resource distribution for months even years. This was Nataly and Charles' experience.

It took forever to receive the notifications. I didn't apply for another term, but I was still an active worker, so the municipal office asked me to stay until they received the resources. I talked with the new headteacher and I was assigned to a classroom. I haven't taught in almost three decades and it was the best! It was much easier and relaxing than my previous role. I also had the opportunity to transfer some of my knowledge to the new head (Nataly, 64).

I didn't apply for another term, but I encouraged the deputy, a young man,²⁵ to do it. He was great and got the position. I worked as a deputy, but mostly as a mentor to him for over a year. We both benefitted from it (Charles, 68).

²⁴ The school year in Chile starts in March

²⁵ Barry, a Millennial headteacher

There is little ambition for Boomers to move to another field or another level in the education system. While most of them have an interest in keeping working, there is little certainty about how and where. The ones already retired are actively participating in NGOs and have collaborated in professional development initiatives for new headteachers. They have enjoyed the experiences but hope for a formal and permanent role.

The mentoring has been a great experience. It is only a few hours per week, but it keeps me active and above anything else, I feel relevant. It was only a pilot and it's coming to an end, but I wish the project continues next year and maybe gets a bit bigger (Lena, 65).

The leaders still in post want to extend their working life as much as possible, aiming to bend the retirement deadlines. While optimistic about life after school, they predict social and economic challenges in the future. The Boomer story appears to be more about people and community than about teaching and learning. Hannah dreams about a future in which she can combine the best of the past with the new possibilities of the future.

I will have a pub, just for teachers and school leaders. It will open around the teacher's schedule and it will be a place for gossiping and relaxing. The drinks will have school-oriented names, "give me a mid-term, double!" you know? I'll be the headteacher and my deputy will be the barwoman. I have already a team and funding, all from retired teachers (Hannah, 58).

The next table (Table 21) summaries the career aspirations of the Boomer headteachers.

Table 21. Baby-Boomer Headteachers future aspirations.

Name	Age	Years as head	Future Aspiration (short term)	Future Aspiration (long term)
Hannah	58	12	To retire in the current School	Open a Pub
Sean	61	19	To retire in the current School	Higher Education
Aidan	61	36	To retire in the current School	A peaceful retirement
Carice	62	14	To retire in the current School	Higher Education
Emilia	64	10	Higher Education	A peaceful retirement
Nataly	64	28	Higher Education	A peaceful retirement
Lena	65	6	Higher Education	A peaceful retirement
Michele	65	23	Higher Education	A peaceful retirement
Charles	68	33	Higher Education	A peaceful retirement

7.4 Discussing the Career of Baby-Boomer Headteachers

The career of Boomer headteachers in Chile is characterised by stability, the public sector, and the slow but progressive acquisition of leadership responsibilities. This cohort experienced a professional period in which, due to the interference of the dictatorship, the potential career ladder was practically non-existent. Hence, they worked mainly in the classroom for decades before ascending into formal leadership roles. Boomers experienced little geographical mobility, and most of them have lived and worked close to their birthplace their entire careers. The followed illustration (Figure 16) shows the progression across the roles of the Boomer cohort.

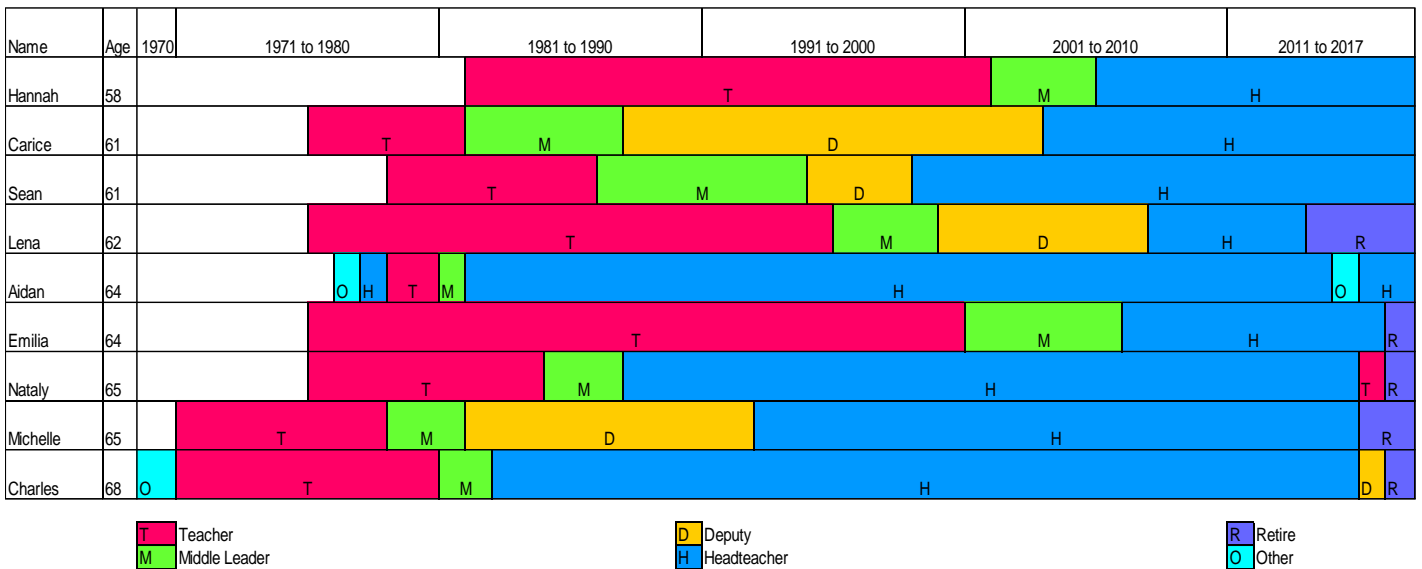


Figure 17. Boomer Career Ladder: Roles from Teacher to Headteacher.

Initially, Boomers worked in a country dominated by public education, where the private education sector was restricted. However, from the front row, they witnessed the creation of semi-private schools and the impoverishment of the public sector; the reach of the public educational supply fell from 92% to 33% in less than three decades. Despite this context, Boomers did not engage actively with the private sector later in life, having in most cases, an exclusively public school career. The following figure (Figure 17) summarises the career trajectory of the Boomer cohort, considering the number of schools (numbers) and the sector they worked for (light blue public; yellow private).

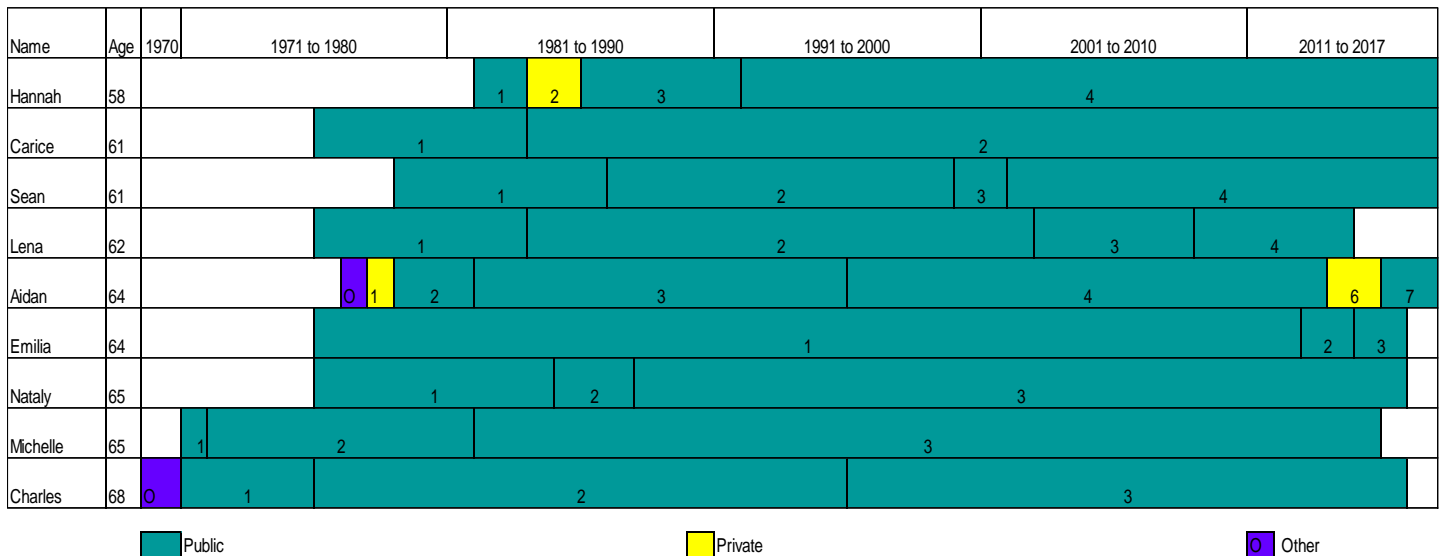


Figure 18. *Boomers' Career across Schools and Sectors.*

Boomers were born in a country in which social classes were closer to each other, with a blurred line between the richest and the poorest. This division was not only based on the distribution of salaries but in social participation and the rights of the working class (León and Martínez, 2001). Accordingly, in the 1950 – 1960 period, there were more guarantees for workers in diverse industries and higher participation of citizens in political life. It is essential to notice the political richness of their environment during their childhood, with consecutive elections of public representatives, including presidential elections. While diverse, the governments of the Boomer's childhood were keen on moving Chile forward into a developed country and concentrated on the eradication of poverty and the expansion of services, including universal education. It could be argued that these ideas were a component of the Boomer's identity as many of their decisions later in life-related to community development.

A pivotal policy during this period was the expansion of education and the creation of multiple schools during the presidency of Frei-Montalva (1964-1970). The participants witnessed the implementation of these initiatives initially as students and then as teachers. Not only were there clear signs about the importance of education, including the construction of thousands of primary schools and nurseries, but there were also signs about the central role of teachers as promoters of change and progress (Torche, 2005). The Boomers' discourse is filled with admiration for their educators, an admiration that in time evolved into imitation. Pursuing a career in teaching was an easy decision which was supported by their interest, their families and the broader socio-political context.

The relevance of the teaching profession was also underpinned by its selectivity. It would be unfair to address this exclusivity only in relation to the teaching profession as it was shared across the higher education sector. In the time of the Boomers, and until 1980, there were

only eight universities in Chile, most of them organised under the banner of the National University of Chile. A dramatic contrast with the current 64 universities and nearly 200 complementary higher education institutions that exist today (Araya and Barrientos, 2018). Teachers were also prepared in what was called 'Normal Schools', which were even more selective and rigorous than traditional universities (Núñez, 2017). The scarcity of university places forced migration from their hometown to university campuses, which acted as an accessibility barrier. In the Boomers' stories, there is a clear recognition of the elite status of the university graduates, and the future social and economic benefits attached.

Their time in higher education was a polarising moment for most Boomers. On the one hand, their training was a moment of professional and personal growth; for the Boomers that migrated to the training centres were also an opportunity to explore a bigger Chile directly with their eyes and indirectly through the voices of their peers. On the other hand, their university years also brought the trauma of the dictatorship; as presented earlier, most Boomers experienced this moment, the September 11th of 1973, as university students. In what was called 'the cleansing' [la limpieza], the military government was particularly harsh on pedagogical centres, including universities and the Normal school (Ávalos, 2003). Errazuriz (2009) noted that the concern of the dictatorship was to "remove the Marxist cancer that threatened the nation" (p. 140), channelling their efforts in all the potential places of resistance. Swiftly the 'Normal School' was terminated, but traditional universities were also diminished. The latter process lasted years, but the consequences were felt rapidly by the Boomers. While all survived graduating higher education at different moments, it was clear that becoming a teacher after the coup d'état was no longer one of the most attractive career decisions.

Despite these challenges, Boomers rapidly found jobs, and after a few years of adjustment, most of them secured a post they held for years and even decades. On the back of the dictatorship reforms new schools were created across Chile with an emphasis on rural and remote areas, and the demand for enrolment was at a historic high (Torche, 2005). This expansion was fostered by demographic growth and social awareness about the relevance of schools (OEI, 1993). However, due to the dictatorship's interferences in higher education, there were fewer professionals qualified to keep the schools running. The government's answer was to lower the entry requirements to teach. Graduates from secondary school were usually recruited which was not an innovation of the dictatorship as it was created in the 1960s and fostered in the 1970s (Sandoval, 2007). In this scenario, the teaching degree acted as a professional advantage for recruitment and career advancement.

As teachers, Boomers worked mainly and, in most cases, exclusively in public schools. At the beginning of the participants' career, private education covered less than 10% of national

enrolment. It was not before 1981 with the implementation of the neoliberal reforms that private individuals and organisations were allowed and encouraged to create and administer schools. This change led to an explosion of enrolment in private education by the mid-1990s (Torche, 2005). Boomers engaged little in the private sector, but this career decision was supported more by the possibilities of the context than an active choice. Based on the vouchers funding system, which funded school based on student attendance, private schools flourished in high-density urban cities but kept away from small settlements (Carrasco and Gunter, 2019). As Boomers started their career in remote areas, they probably missed the first wave of privatisation, concentrating their early years in spaces dominated by public education.

As public school teachers, most Boomers held responsibilities within the classroom for years, and had limited access to informal leadership roles. According to their experiences, schools were organised under a vertical structure with little power distribution. The school structure dynamic was partially explained by the appointment of the 'designated heads' who were individuals close to the military regime and called in to implement control and supervision while negating innovation and participation (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010). Furthermore, there was little encouragement to improve learning or to make schools more efficient before the late 1980s, as the education sector was prioritising access above quality (Cox, 2003). The reforms that demanded schools to change at the administrative level were introduced between the late 1980s and mid-1990s, with a total absence of middle leadership policies until 2000. Nonetheless, most Boomers did have some informal leadership responsibilities, including working with parent centres and the student government, but usually these tasks were rare and unpaid.

An exception to this pattern was facilitated by the creation of the Technical and Pedagogical Unit (UTP) in 1981, which acted as a bridge between leadership and the classroom (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010). The UTP not only served as the last stronghold of pedagogy within the schools, but from a career perspective it was, and still is, a stepping stone for teacher leaders. All Boomers held at one time an informal middle leadership or a UTP position before moving into the headship. In several cases, these leadership roles were shared with classroom responsibilities, and teachers divided their time between leading and teaching. It was during this period that most Boomers decided to continue their career into a headship, as they felt recognised and valued by their colleagues. Accordingly, in most cases, their first headship was in a school they had worked in for years.

The end of the dictatorship (1990) brought the beginning of headships for most Boomers. A final obstacle on their path was the presence of the 'designated headteachers' who held tenure until voluntary retirement. Paradoxically, the democratic governments did little in changing

these authoritarian regulations, and designated headteachers were kept in post for years into the democracy (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010). For the Boomers in this study, the elimination of the designated headteacher role did not come from a policy or a decision at national or local level but human biology, as designated heads retired due to advanced age. Hence, following the particularities of each case, Boomers gained the headship at different moments. However, as there was no legislation or process for selection until 2011 (Peirano, Campero and Fernández, 2015), the recruitment and appointment of headteachers were left to the discretion of the local authorities. All cases were confirmed later through the current formal headteacher selection process after 2011.

Most Boomers were sitting in the headteacher's seat when the school improvement agenda was implemented. Initially introduced in 2004 and reinforced since 2009, the ideas of organisational assessment, improvement plans, accountability and standardisation populated the public school's scenario. This reform demanded new skills from school leaders (Galdames et al., 2018). Boomers were required to retrain to face these new demands. However, in most cases they approached the new challenges collectively, distributing power among teams of teachers and other professionals. Boomers' distributed leadership approach was influenced by the implementation of different policies that not only demanded more and diverse tasks, but also granted the resources to bring in new professionals and to create new structures across the school. It is in these practices that some signs of informal succession planning can be spotted as some Boomers were actively concerned about the future of their schools after their upcoming retirement.

The exiting process brought one of the darkest moments in the Boomer headteachers' career trajectory. The participants from this cohort agree on the necessity of creating a better strategy for the departure of school leaders, considering not only the headteacher's wellbeing but also that of the school community. At the local level, this problem illustrated the staff management difficulties in the local authorities. Due to the reforms implemented by the dictatorship in 1981, the administration of schools was transferred from the State to each municipality, however the lack of professional capacities of the local education departments to manage the staff has been well reported (Puga, 2011). Moreover, at the national level, there is no process to regulated either the change or the retirement of school leaders. For the ones coming to retirement, there is a sense of negation and a desire to extend their active life as much as possible. For the ones already retired there is a bitter taste about the exiting process and a sense of purposeless.

CHAPTER VIII: CROSS CASE ANALYSIS

8.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have explored in-depth the professional path of each cohort, following the life and career of Millennials, GenXers and Boomers, respectively. The purpose of this chapter is to compare the similarities and difference across cohorts and to discuss these findings in light of previous studies. This chapter greatly benefits from the reading of the previous generational chapters (V, VI and VII) and the research context chapter (III). This chapter comprises a cross-case analysis, exploring similarities and differences between Millennials (chapter V), GenXers (Chapter VI), and Boomers (Chapter VII). While it is impossible to deny the unique experience of each participant, there is a great deal of convergence in the evidence emerging from each cohort. The commonalities reinforce alignment with Mannheim's (1952) study on cohort identity and in particular with the ideas on generational location.

Generation location is based on the existence of biological rhythm in human existence—the factors of life and death, a limited span of life, and ageing. Individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process (p.167).

Mannheim (1952) proposes that the generational location has its foundation in human biology and the date of birth of each person, but it is also socio-historically developed by members' collective sharing of major historical events. The chapter will explore and compare the events that have shaped the generational identity of the three cohorts analysed in this study. Aiming to facilitate the comparative component, this chapter is organised under the same four sections presented in previous chapters: (1) childhood and early experiences; (2) becoming a teacher; (3) the road to the headship; and (4) retention and future aspirations. Subheadings are provided within each theme to highlight critical elements of the comparative analysis.

8.2 Childhood and Early Experiences

Separated by a time gap of approximately 15 years, each cohort was born in a different Chilean context influenced by distinct political, social and economic conditions. The dictatorship of 1973 has a key role in shaping the collective identity across generations, creating three different moments: a democratic Chile pre-dictatorship, an authoritarian Chile in dictatorship, and a Chile learning to be democratic post-dictatorship. Conveniently for this study and in particular to the international discussion, each of these worlds matches the time boundaries of each of the three cohorts: Boomers, GenXers and Millennials respectively.

8.2.1 Political Context

Boomers remain the last living witnesses of the Chilean transition from democracy to dictatorship and then back to democracy. The coup d'état of 1973 brought a wave of terror and death during its first years (Novaro and Palermo, 2003). Nonetheless, their legacy is still present now in the economic and social landscape. Supported by the ideas of the School of Economy of Chicago, the self-proclaimed government introduced a series of neoliberal policies that limited the role of the state while giving more significant power to the private sector (Escobar and Le Bert, 2003). Most countries in Latin-America experienced a similar scenario during this period; however, the intensity of the Chilean civil war and its consequences have called for special international attention. Mendez and Gayo (2019) claim "Chile is often singled out for attention due to having experienced a particularly stark and rapid transition to a neoliberal economic model, initially imposed by dictatorship, but later perpetuated under democracy" (p.14).

Galeano (1986), one of the most famous Uruguayan writers, analysing the Latin-American dictatorships and its aftermath, speaks about the efforts from the authoritarian government to suppress the ideas of community and to foster isolation and competition across all levels of society. Galeano states, "we no longer see ourselves in others" (p.18). Taking an economic position, Levinson (2007) argues that the dictatorship in Chile was skilful in selling the advantages of neoliberalism and the dangers of a social state. Under the slogan of "the right to choose" (Levinson, 2007, p. 104), government communicational strategies and public policies shifted social attention from a collective to an individualistic perspective, arguing that competition was the key to political, social and economic success. The dictatorship's ideology was in direct opposition to the approaches of the previous administrations which created social and identity tensions across cohorts. These tensions were perceived differently depending on the respective generational location.

Boomers were born in an era of a highly regulated economy, in a time when working in a public institution was synonymous with success and lifetime stability. GenXers faced a different scenario as they grew up in a Chile without a clear identity as various national reforms across all areas of the public sector were being designed and implemented. This environment facilitated the rise of a chaotic labour market in a highly unregulated economy. Millennials' childhood was characterised by relative stability, in comparison with previous cohorts, in a Chile with a more specific identity grounded in a neoliberal democracy. The dictatorship led to a reduction in the attributions and size of the State and the introduction of economic freedoms which allowed the private sector to grow exponentially. Unions were dismantled, workers' rights were dismissed, business incentives were introduced and taxation for the wealthiest was reduced (Méndez and Gayo, 2019). The unbalanced accumulation of wealth led to a

fragmented society, not only expanding the differences between the wealthy and the poor but especially breaking down a previously homogenous middle class. Barozet (2013) explains that the reforms introduced by the dictatorship in the 1970s almost eliminated the middle class in their first decade. During the late 1980s, on the back of neoliberal reforms, the middle class appeared again, not as a single unit but as multiple subgroups divided across the poverty-wealth continuum.

8.2.2 Schooling

A central strategy contributing to this social transformation was the privatisation of services, in particular, education provision. Since 1981, the private sector was legally able to create and administer schools while receiving the same funding as public schools. In opposition to the public sector, private schools had the prerogative to select students based on performance and to charge a complementary tuition fee. Researchers have argued that this fee was one of the central policies responsible for social fragmentation, as the middle class started to divide itself according to its ability to pay higher or lower tuition (Hsieh and Urquiola, 2006). The multiple provision system was an alien concept during the childhood of Boomers who grew up in a context almost exclusively defined by public education. Furthermore, Boomers' school years were characterised by the integration across social classes and great respect for public schools. Millennials also attended public schools, but in a time when public education was associated with poverty and lower quality. In only 25 years, the status of public schools moved from being the best choice to be the place for the ones without choice (Carrasco and Gunter, 2019). In contrast, with some exceptions, most GenXer headteachers attended a private school during primary and secondary education, in particular the younger members of this sample.

A growing body of knowledge explores the influence of early school experience on children and future life choices (Mendoza, 2019). Due to an increasing global wave of racial, religious, gender and economic segregation, research has tried to identify the consequences of attending a mixed or unmixed educational institution (Vowden, 2012). Studying the experience of working-class students in elite universities, Reay, Crozier and Clayton (2009) argue that the experience of a mix of social classes allows individuals to enhance their flexibility, which increases students' ability to adapt to new environments and to potentially challenging workplaces. In light of Reay et al.'s (2009) argument, the findings of the current study could present implications for the careers of school leaders. Only Boomers attended mixed social class schools, while GenXers and Millennials experienced segregation, studying exclusively in middle-class and lower-class schools respectively. Now their role in leading a school in service of working-class communities presents challenges for each cohort, in particular for GenXers who experienced years of schooling in a middle-class private school.

The intersection between social class and career satisfaction has been explored by previous studies. Hansen, Backes and Brady (2016), for instance, analysed the popular programme 'Teach for America', an initiative characterised by bringing upper-class professionals into vulnerable contexts, found serious difficulties in permanently retaining human talent. Moreover, 'Teach for America' has been flagged for encouraging job mobility from day one, attracting ambitious professionals in their way to better job opportunities. Strauss (2013) noted that one of the recruitment flyers was explicit about it: "use teaching in high-poverty areas as a stepping stone to a career in business" (p.1). The idea of growing up in a socio-economic context and then working under similar or different conditions is one of the primary initial differences across generations in the current study.

In Chile, Boomers and Millennials grew up sharing an admiration for teachers which was underpinned by their parent's influence. As presented earlier in the individual chapters, Boomers' parents, usually uneducated but wealthy, regarded the role of teachers as a door to the intellectual elite for their children; while Millennials' parents, often unschooled and working-class, were concerned with the instabilities of the service industry and valued the working conditions and steady paycheck of a teaching career. In contrast, GenXers parents did not support their children's decision to become a teacher. The GenXers' family concerns were based on economic difficulties and low social status as teaching was and still is often seen as a second-tier profession in Chile (Donoso, 2013). Research has indicated that parents play a central role in influencing career decisions of their children, generally finding that high levels of family attachment and communication positively relates to clear career decisions (Emmanuelle, 2009). Lim and You (2017) found that strong relationships between parents support career maturity, defined as the readiness level to explore and to plan a career. Having difficulties in developing career maturity can lead to indecisions both at early stages or later in life. Beasley (2016) shows how parental influences are even stronger in rural families, where the bond between parent and children is often stronger.

The evidence of the current research is aligned with the previous studies that have tried to understand the influences of early life on individual career trajectories. The specific characteristic of the Chilean case is the acceleration of social change and the clear generational boundaries of each cohort, which was experienced by not only the participants but also by their families. Building upon the data from the previous chapters, leaders' early experiences might have contributed significantly to the career pattern of each cohort. Family support, primary and secondary school experience, the national economic trends and the public perception of the status of teachers are concepts perceived differently by each cohort, thus shaping the foundation of their career trajectory.

8.3 Becoming a Teacher

Under the umbrella of 'Factors Influencing Teaching' (FIT) (Watt and Richardson, 2007), multiple studies have tried to understand the motivation behind an individual's decision to pursue a teaching career. Fokkens-Bruinsma and Canrinus (2014) indicate three main reasons for becoming a teacher: altruistic (help children or society), intrinsic (the act of teaching or love for a subject), and extrinsic (working conditions or professional status). Previous studies have found a more significant presence of altruism (Hennessy and Lynch, 2017; Nesje, Brandmo and Berger, 2018) and intrinsic motivators (Eren and Tezel, 2010) in newly qualified teachers, which are moderated by the context of each educational system. The data emerging from this study suggests that while altruistic reasons are shared across the cohorts, each generation leans towards a specific dimension. Boomers were attracted to extrinsic rewards, usually seeking teaching for social recognition and professional status. GenXers describe intrinsic orientations, having an academic interest at the core of their decision, especially for those who change careers later in life. A typical pattern across GenXers was their closeness to an academic component influencing later career decisions, for instance an above average skill in maths led to a career in finance. Similar to Boomers, Millennials were initially attracted to extrinsic rewards but in this case taking the form of working conditions, in particular, a steady salary and job security. A standard limitation of previous FIT research is the sampling, as most studies gather data from pre-service or newly qualified teachers. Longitudinal studies have identified a mismatch between aspiring teachers' expectations and experienced teacher's needs (Salifu, Alagbela and Gyamfi, 2018). In this sense, the findings reported in this thesis expand on the previous evidence by taking a retrospective approach. It focuses on the voice of experienced school leaders who look back on their life and have a deeper understanding of their previous decisions.

8.3.1 Choosing a Teaching Degree

As each cohort witnessed the policies and guidelines from a different era of the Chilean education system, the transition from secondary school to higher education was unique for each generation. For Boomers, access to higher education was constrained by the lack of diversity of degrees and a limited number of universities. Even though there was less demand for studying at universities, the teaching degree offer was also much smaller. Before 1973, most teachers studied education and became qualified by participating in the 'Normal School', which at the time held a high social reputation by the quality of its formative offer (Donoso, 2013). While all Boomer participants could have applied to the 'Normal School', only one did after being rejected from a traditional university. Moreover, until 1981, there were only eight academically selective Universities in Chile, geographically concentrated in the main urban centres (Aedo and González, 2004). While Boomer headteachers agreed they had an early

interest in teaching as teenagers, their transitions into higher education met another expectation: the need for social recognition. Due to the implementation of national educational reforms in the late 1960s which aimed to extend student enrolment, teachers were a rare and valuable resource, especially in rural communities (Núñez, 2007). Not surprisingly, most Boomers started their teaching careers in isolated towns, where their university degree opened not only job opportunities but also social rewards as teachers were well received by parents, students and local authorities.

The Boomer headteachers' narrative is aligned with previous research on teacher career motivations, which indicate the draw of the historically higher social status of teachers (Bell, 1989; Cunningham, 1992). As teenagers, Boomers aimed to be a part of a social elite and being a teacher in the Chile in the early 1970s was a great way to fulfil this desire. There is an agreement about the lowering of the social value of the teaching profession across many educational systems (Everton et al., 2007; Aydin, Demir and Erdemli, 2015). Despite some contextual differences, internationally being a teacher has become increasingly less appealing over the last decades. This reduction is especially true in Chile as teachers were targeted as potential enemies of the dictatorship which dismantled their professional benefits and lowered their social status (Rojas, 1998; González, 2015). Accordingly, GenXers and Millennials made their career decisions based on different arguments. Separated by only a few years, GenXers arrived into higher education in a different world than their Boomer predecessors. Not only did the number of universities multiply from eight to 64, but there was a rise in other institutions called '*Institutos*'²⁶. *Institutos*, known by the flexibility of their formative offer, having night and weekend courses, and lower tuition fees, flourished across Chile, reducing the elitism of tertiary education, particularly for the teaching profession (Larrondo, 2007). Suddenly, having a bachelor's degree changed from being a token of the elite to be the new normal.

For most GenXers in this study, their career decisions led to a difficult conversation with their families about choosing a competitive university degree, as teaching was often not assessed as an attractive career by their parents. The intensification of competition as a central component of the higher education experience was not only a Chilean concern but a global phenomenon. Cunningham (1992) reflects on the systematic lowering of the status of teaching in the United Kingdom in the early 1990s stating "with economic growth, however, and the expansion of higher education during the post-war period, another group of professionals, the managers of giant corporations in the private sector, emerged with social ideals of competitive individualism" (p. 37). In this individualistically market-oriented Chilean context, GenXers were the first generation forced to make a career decision mainly in service of the job opportunities.

²⁶ In English: Institutes

As presented extensively in a previous chapter (VI), this choice was not without problems as many participants in this cohort changed degrees and fields later in life.

The Millennial higher education experience is closer to the GenXers than Boomers. In a very similar context to that of their predecessors, characterised by the expansion of higher education and more funding opportunities, having a university degree for Millennials was the social norm. Moreover, the previous democratic government's efforts for universal access particularly targeted lower-class families. In 2006, President Lagos in a public speech celebrated the government pushing the reach of higher education towards working families "seven of ten young people now in the university are first-generation university students" (Chile, 2006, p. 1). While university access was fostered by the expansion of the academic offer, the cost of admission was only postponed as in most cases families signed substantial student loans to pay university fees that crippled them in debt for decades (Larrondo, 2007). As presented in a previous chapter, the awareness of the economic tension was a central component of the Millennial university experience, as most of them felt the urgency to graduate and move rapidly into the labour market to help their families. International research on first-generation university students has frequently identified economic constraints as a relevant moderator of the educative experience (Garriott, Hudyma and Keene, 2015). Moreover, career-focused studies of first generation-students have usually addressed difficulties in the transition from university to the first job (Olson, 2016; Hirudayaraj and McLean, 2018). Less attention has been given to the opportunities and advantages that these students bring to their preparation and later to the workplace. The Millennials in this study were aware of some of their disadvantages, both economically and academically, which led them to put in extra effort to stay on the academic track. This approach during their formative years was later translated into a work ethic that was celebrated in their first schools and workplaces.

8.3.2 Working as a Teacher

Even though the first teaching experiences of Boomers and Millennials were separated by decades, their entry into the profession and their first schools shared some relevant similarities. Boomers entered the teaching workforce in a policy context of almost exclusive public education, with a growing expansion of schools across rural communities (Núñez, 2007). Having only a few certified teachers in Chile, Boomers had little difficulty finding their first jobs, working initially in schools similar to the ones they studied in as children. This scenario was not an unusual choice as at the time public schools dominated the job market. Similarly, Millennials rapidly found their first teaching jobs, usually in a public school as the beginning of their professional career intersected with the implementation of national education policies aimed to strengthen the public sector (Weinstein, Fuenzalida and Muñoz, 2010).

In 2009, due to the implementation of a compensation system (SEP Law), public schools serving the most vulnerable communities swiftly increased their budget. Particularly poor, rural and isolated schools benefited from the new funding scheme. They were given more autonomy and resources to hire and retain staff which helped Millennials access their first school-based teaching jobs. Millennials not only worked in a similar school where they studied as a child but also in some cases they taught in their old schools, teaching the children of their classmates and becoming colleagues to their previous teachers. Separated by time, Boomers and Millennials share a similar professional beginning, concentrated in rural public schools where they usually work for years.

The decision to start a professional career in a remote area has been a topic of interest in career studies for decades (Ranmuthugala et al., 2007). Due to a strong tradition and well-structured career progression, the health sector has spearheaded global policies on how medical doctors and nurses begin their professional lives in small cities and towns (Mathews, Ryan and Samarasena, 2017). Researchers agree on at least two arguments concerning the value of early rural residencies: a need to supply isolated regions with qualified professionals, and to provide early career professionals with a fertile ground for ongoing technical and ethical development (Ranmuthugala et al., 2007). Starting a career near a small community allows young professionals to gain confidence and autonomy while receiving positive emotional feedback from peers and community members. However, other studies identify challenges in working in rural settings. Lee (2010), exploring the career of school leaders in China, found that in rural communities informal agreements between local authorities and schools could act as barriers for the career advancement of headteachers, due to the presence of authoritarianism and cronyism. Similarly, Beasley (2016) argues that working in remote places brings the emotional burden of migration when young professionals are forced to leave their homes for the first time.

Boomer and Millennial leaders started their teaching careers in rural communities, where the smaller classroom size, closeness with parents and even geographical isolation allowed them to engage in professional and personal experiences beyond the boundaries of the classroom. According to previous studies, working in remote rural schools is usually associated with difficulties, primarily for new teachers (Salifu, Alagbela and Gyamfi, 2018; Schaefer and Clandinin, 2018). However, participants in this study experienced the opposite, praising the opportunities provided by this context. They had created a strong bond with their first schools and communities, which acted as a deterrent for organisational mobility and geographic migration later in life. A central component of this positive early experience was that these initial rural communities were Boomers' and Millennials' hometowns, as both cohorts presented minimal territorial mobility in finding their first jobs. The little physical movement and

its implications on organisational mobility reported in this thesis are aligned with Beasley's (2016) work related to the experiences of young rural workers who expressed a desire to find a job in their place of origin. Beasley (2016) noticed that some younger workers prioritised social benefits above economic rewards: "knowing everybody, people are more trustworthy and friendlier than those in urban areas" (p.152).

In contrast, GenXers entered the workforce in a Chile learning to be democratic again and hence dealing with new and unclear educational policies. In the early 1990s, after almost two decades of the military government, the political and economic changes introduced by the dictatorship created a neoliberal educative environment characterised by competition and deregulation (Carrasco and Gunter, 2019). Private schools, once a minimal sector, became a growing industry with more power to attract and recruit teachers than public schools. Similarly, as private schools were usually managed under a family business model which allowed profit, school owners could suppress workers' rights (for example, unions) and to implement any strategy to increase revenue (Rojas, 1998). Contrary to Millennials and Boomers, most GenXer leaders in this study started their teaching careers in the private sector, usually in urban settings, continually changing schools to seek better working conditions. Moreover, due to the expansion of other industries, mainly the higher education sector, oftentimes GenXers simultaneously worked in diverse organisations, spreading their time, commitment and professional identity across multiple places.

8.3.3 Career Mobility and Identity

In light of higher and rising rates of inter-organisational job change, there is a growing academic interest in understanding the patterns and consequences of career mobility for organisations and individuals (Hall, 1996; Chudzikowski, 2012). Researchers have found a close connection between mobility and identity, as individuals who constantly change workplaces or work simultaneously in multiple organisations present lower levels of career identity. McArdle et al. (2007) describe career identity as "the way individuals define themselves in the career context and can be conceptualised as a 'cognitive compass' used to navigate career opportunities" (p. 249). Career identity is a relevant construct as it predicts wellbeing, job satisfaction and turnover intentions (van Dick, Ciampa and Liang, 2018). High levels of employee turnover are often related to periods of low performance at the individual or organisation level, both for the exiting and the new organisation (Cregård and Corin, 2019). These turnover patterns in the corporate world mirror some evidence of the educational context in which teachers who work in different schools or constantly change workplace present a lower identification level (Gumus, Bellibas and Esen, 2018). GenXer headteachers' careers in Chile illustrated this argument by having a teaching trajectory through multiple schools and other organisations before formally taking a headship. In contrast, participating

Millennials and Boomers created careers characterised by high levels of permanency in the public sector and, in many cases, in an individual school.

For the participants in this study, a central component of the mobility or permanency discussion was the working relationship with senior leaders, in particular with their first headteachers. Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory has made a relevant contribution to career theory and in particular to job retention (Ross, Valenzuela and Intindola, 2017). LMX has been frequently used in the corporate sector exploring the relationship between supervisors and employees, under the assumption that a favourable exchange contributes to higher levels of employee retention (Harris, Kacmar and Witt, 2005). Research from the educational sector is aligned with previous findings on LMX studies. It identifies the central role of school leaders in teachers' job satisfaction and retention (Ross, Valenzuela and Intindola, 2017; Musah, Abdul and Tahir, 2018). The data from this study confirms previous assumptions as school leaders' practices and attitudes towards the staff were central in the teachers' decision to leave or stay in a school. The LMX contribution was especially relevant for Millennials and GenXers who set a diametrically opposite relationship with their respective headteachers. As discussed extensively in a previous chapter, GenXers frequently faced ethical and technical disagreements with the school administrators, eroding their job satisfaction and influencing GenXers to resign. In opposition, Millennials received great support and encouragement from their senior leaders, creating an environment for continuous professional development in the school. While most GenXers saw their school as a professional dead end encouraged to leave, Millennials perceived a promising future underpinned their commitment and retention.

8.3.4 Self-Efficacy and Resilience

Considering the global teaching retention crisis (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Sutchter, Darling-Hammond and Carver-Thomas, 2016), studies have sought to understand what motivates teachers to stay in school. Self-efficacy has been identified as a central component of teacher retention, usually being defined as a "teacher's judgement of his/her ability to influence students' behaviour and academic achievement" (Bruinsma and Jansen, 2010, p. 66). As a construct self-efficacy is highly influenced by the quality and availability of feedback, which was experienced differently by each cohort. As presented in detail in previous chapters, Boomers were continuously praised by their peers, who in most cases recognised them as informal leaders and encouraged them to formally apply to the headship. Millennials had a similar experience having the support of the extended teacher community who witnessed their personal and professional evolution over the years. The approval from their peers was coupled with guidance from senior leaders. In contrast, GenXers had a more complicated experience as their trajectory was characterised by difficult moments. It could be argued that this unique

relationship with feedback and self-efficacy was a central driver behind the GenXers' fragmented career trajectory. These experiences encouraged mobility across organisations, as continuously facing job-interviews and selection processes was potentially a source of positive feedback and a way to regulate their self-efficacy levels.

There are essential differences in the ways each cohort in this study approached resilience. Resilience is a prevalent idea in positive psychology, usually defined as “the capacity to swiftly recover from challenging circumstances, the ability to tolerate ambiguity, and to thrive, mature, and increase competence in the face of adverse circumstances” (Coetzee, Mogale and Potgieter, 2018, p. 439) or, in simple words, it is the capacity to “bounce back from adversity or personal setbacks” (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2015b, p. 364). While relevant for all cohorts, career resilience is a particularly pertinent concept to understand the professional path of the GenXer headteachers who faced multiple difficulties during the pre-headship period. Being the first in a world dominated by unregulated private education, gave this cohort plenty of opportunities to encounter mistreatment and disappointment. As presented extensively in previous chapters, the massive privatisation of the educational provision led to authoritarian practices by school owners and administrators which, in many cases influenced GenXers to follow lateral career moves between schools or industries. Boomers and particularly Millennials experienced the other side of the coin having had early experiences filled with support, encouragement and professional development opportunities. This contrast across generations and its consequences in relation to future job decisions illustrate the relevance of the initial working experience in shaping the career trajectory of school leaders. For many participants in this study, across cohorts, their first school framed their understanding of the workplace and moderated their future career expectations.

8.4 The Road to the Headship

Each generation approached the path towards their future headships differently. The transition into a headship was influenced by the educational policies of their specific periods, which to this day have failed to provide a clear, helpful and formalised career path for school leaders. During the last decades, different education reforms have acted as barriers and enablers for an informal career path for school leaders. A common obstacle across all generations is the presence of the ‘designated headteachers’ (Núñez, Weinstein and Muñoz, 2010, p. 70), who were individuals close to the military regime appointed directly by the dictatorship to lead a public school for life. Designated heads created a bottleneck for an aspiring leaders' careers, as for decades there was little mobility up the leadership ladder in public schools. Boomers were the most affected by this policy. It directly acted as a barrier for promotion and created a stressful work environment led by an authoritarian figure. Older GenXers experienced a similar scenario to Boomers, while Millennials and younger GenXers witnessed the departure of

designated headteachers early in their careers or were lucky enough to never work under their leadership. Accordingly, there was little vertical mobility until the voluntary retirement of the designated heads which occurred between the mid-1990s and early 2000s.

8.4.1 The challenge of the No Career

Succession planning has been addressed by leadership studies as a central part of career development (Dai, Tang and de Meuse, 2011). Succession planning as a strategy was adopted by the corporate sector, popularised by the practices of the 'General Electric' company in the early 1970s (Drotter and Charan, 2001), but due to its success in promoting leadership development and organisational performance, it has increasingly been applied to other sectors, including healthcare (Coltart et al., 2012) and education (Mendels, 2016). A vital feature of the succession planning strategy is a clear description of each career stage allowing aspiring leaders to plan accordingly (Turnbull, Riley and MacFarlane, 2015). As presented earlier there is no formal succession planning strategy in Chile, although plans to create one have been publicly discussed by national authorities multiple times in the last decade (Arratia, 2019). There is still a blurry path for aspiring school leaders, a path characterised by randomness, chaos and political bias. Aspiring school leaders are at the mercy of each local authority.

For Boomers and GenXers finding their way into the labyrinthic path of school leadership careers required a lot of courage and blind faith. However, for Boomers, the succession was even more obscure as it depended on the voluntary retirement of the 'designated heads'. Only Millennials have been in a position to navigate the no career maze with some degree of certainty, using the experience and the support from senior leaders as a compass. Furthermore, Millennials have often held privileged information about the timing of the retirement of their current headteacher, which allowed them to plan and to gain the approval of the extended school community. Accordingly, many Millennials experience an internal promotion process, sponsored by school leaders, teachers and staff. The recruitment process of the Millennial headteachers in this study illustrates a more transparent, paced and somewhat democratic process, which probably has contributed to their long trajectory in a single school. GenXers, frequently coming from outside the school and sometimes beyond the territorial boundaries of the community, face the challenge of building a new relationship with the staff while struggling to push change and improvement forward.

8.4.2 The New Headteacher

Previous studies on newly appointed headteachers have noticed the tension in balancing the culture of a new workplace, the legacy of the last headteacher and the demands for performance from district departments (Northfield, 2014; Montecinos et al., 2015). Fewer

studies have been conducted on the consequences of having an insider versus an outsider as a headteacher (Whitlock-Pope, 2010), however evidence from other fields frequently highlights the benefits of internal succession, including the creation of trust and the improvement of organisational performance (Ballinger, Schoorman and Lehman, 2009) especially in small organisations (Chung and Luo, 2013). It is beyond the boundaries of this thesis to claim any relationship between the type of succession and an impact on school improvement or headteacher performance. However, the data in this study suggest that internal successions were aligned with smoother transitions and fewer work difficulties, while external recruitment was frequently associated with tensions between the new headteacher and the school community. Furthermore, external headteachers across all cohorts struggled to learn the 'know-how' of their new schools due to the total absence of induction programs.

While Boomers were historically the first cohort to take the headship by filling the positions left by the exiting of the designated heads in the late 1990s and early 2000s, GenXers were the first to take advantage of the new national recruitment system introduced in 2011 (Chile, 2011). The new system turned an unclear, secretive and locally framed face-to-face process, into an agile, public, national digital application (Peirano, Campero and Fernández, 2015). Research has celebrated GenXers as the first digitally literate cohort (Benson and Brown, 2011), giving them an advantage over Boomers in the early stages of this new policy. GenXers had the power to apply not only to any public school in Chile but to apply to multiple schools simultaneously. Being mobile and adaptable gave GenXers the advantage to play with an untested system and, with minimal effort, move forward on the initial stages of the recruitment process. Human resources research has increasingly shown the benefits of online job search strategies, especially when addressing younger generations (Schmidt *et al.*, 2011). Nonetheless studies have also spotted some concerns regarding the level of commitment of the aspiring workers due to the easy access to an application process and the plethora of job opportunities available (Sylva and Mol, 2009; García-Izquierdo, Aguinis and Ramos-Villagrasa, 2010). For the GenXers in this thesis, the trade-off of this application strategy was the challenge of assuming a headship in an unknown place which demanded personal and professional sacrifices. Accessing the headship usually required geographical relocation which put pressure on their own lives. Furthermore, as many came from other industries, private schools or held exclusively classroom responsibilities, this cohort found in the headship a job description for which they were not adequately prepared.

The decision to apply for a headship was based on a different rationale for each generation. Most Boomers did not aspire towards headship as, due to the presence of the 'designated headteachers', there were no available positions. This structural barrier was reinforced by the lack of formal policy and guidelines for preparation, recruitment and selection for new

headteachers. Accordingly, as presented in-depth in a previous chapter, Boomer's appointment to the headteacher role came suddenly and with almost no planning, rushed by the voluntary retirement of a designated head and administrated by a local authority with little experience on succession. While Boomers arrived at the headship by accident, in most cases they were encouraged to apply by a teaching community who recognised their professional capacities and probably an opportunity to make the teacher's voice heard. As all Boomers became a headteacher before the current legislation, all worked as acting heads first, until they were confirmed after 2011 with the implementation of the law 20,501 (Mineduc, 2011).

It was the implementation of the law 20,501 in 2011 that gave GenXers and Millennials access to headship roles. Both cohorts started working as headteachers shortly after that. Similar to Boomers, Millennials were greatly supported by the school community, but in their case, the support came primarily from school leaders. Millennials benefited from the mentoring and opportunities provided by headteachers and deputies, developing their leadership skills while slowly moving upwards on an informal career ladder. Millennials who worked for years in the same school before assuming the headteacher role were well received by the extended school community, allowing a peaceful transition of power.

GenXers' interest in the headship was not prompted by collective support as the other cohorts report but from tragedy. In most cases, especially those leaders coming from the private sector, GenXers applied for a headship post after having a difficult moment with their previous administrators or after a personal crisis. While these events took different forms, the experiences share a common principle: the deterioration of GenXers' wellbeing. At the base of this cohort's decision to change workplaces was the pursuit of a better living, autonomy and balance. The prioritisation for work-life balance has been generally one of the most relevant and distinct features typically attached to GenXers (Cogin, 2012; Adame, Caplliure and Miquel, 2016), and GenXer school leaders (Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016). This generation saw the public sector as a potential answer to these demands, as public schools were regulated, at least on paper, by well-defined new policies that respected workers' rights and were shared by local authorities across Chile.

Boomers and Millennials experienced an informal and local succession planning strategy and shared a trajectory of gradual progression across roles in a single school: teacher, middle leader, deputy (UTP) and headteacher. The main difference between these two cohorts was pace. With some exceptions, Boomers moved slowly but steadily across roles, taking years and, in some cases, decades to change from one position to the next. Millennials walked a similar path to the headship but faster. For Millennials, career progression was supported by the implementation of national school improvement policies which flattened the organisational

structure in schools, and allowed Millennials to gain access to leadership responsibilities from an early stage in their career (Ahumada et al., 2009). As presented in previous chapters, different policies, in particular the SEP Law implemented in 2009, forced schools into a new working logic, expanding responsibilities and increasing middle leadership (Peticara, Román and Selman, 2013). Oftentimes, Boomers and Millennials worked together as headteacher and deputy head.

The illustration below (Figure 18) depicts the career progression of each headteacher according to their cohort. As discussed earlier, there are similarities between Millennials and Boomers, who in most cases moved gradually up in the career ladder. Some GenXers share a similar path but many present a disorganised trajectory with a higher presence of jobs beyond the school context. A central difference between Millennials, Boomers and GenXers is their previous role before the headship, while the Millennials and Boomers usually held a deputy or a middle leader role, GenXers came from the classroom or a job outside the educational system. The figure also indicates how career changes are concentrated in the GenXer cohort. There are some career changes in the Millennial cohort, especially in the first years.

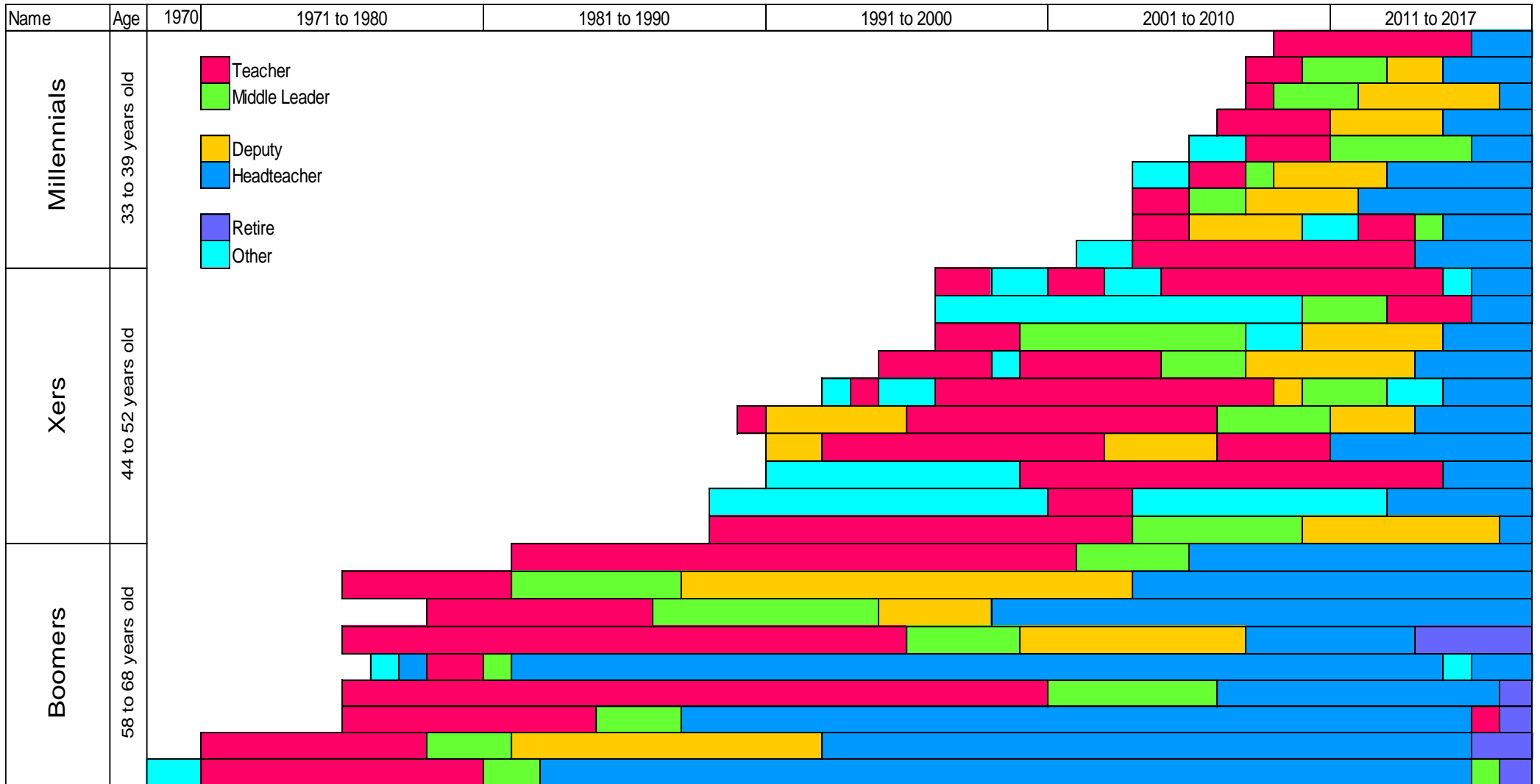


Figure 19. Career Role Trajectory Summary. Source: Made by the author.

Adding to the previous argument, the next illustration (Figure 19) describes the headteachers' participation in public and private schools. Boomers and Millennials concentrated their trajectory in the public sector (green bars), usually working only in a few schools. For Boomers, this decision can be partially explained by the political context as private schools did not appear in large scale until the late 1980s. However, in most cases, they never ventured into a private school or another industry later in life. In contrast, the participation in the private schools (red bar) or other private organisation (yellow bar) was a frequent practice for GenXers, and in the early career stages of some older Millennials.

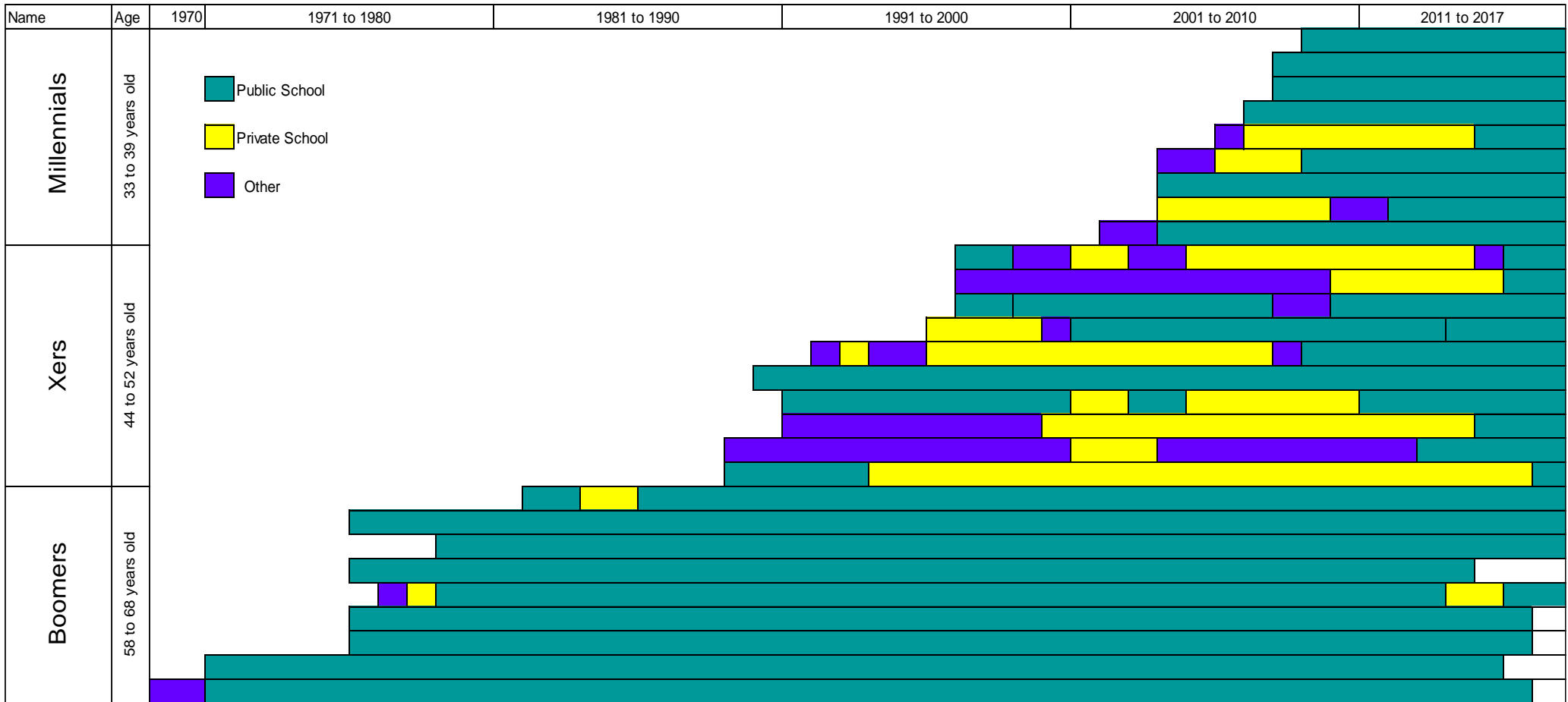


Figure 20. Career Public and Private Trajectory Summary. Source: Made by the Author.

Although the illustrations above focus on the individual career and the generational patterns, it also portrays the evolution of the educational offer in the last decades in Chile. As presented earlier, the almost exclusive dominance of the public schools was not challenged until 1981, but the public school expansion as an industry did not happen until the mid-1990s. Furthermore, the partial revival of public education occurred initially in 2009. While Boomers in this study kept away from private schools and organisations, the journey of GenXers and Millennials echoes the evolution of the public policies.

8.5 Retention and Future Aspirations

The overall experience of leading a school has been positive for most participating headteachers. Across all cohorts, headteachers report enjoying working with teachers and making an impact on students' lives. Generally, they have a positive appraisal of their working conditions, especially when comparing their current responsibilities with their previous roles as teachers. Workload and stress are present but are mitigated due to recent policies that have introduced a flow of resources by the central government (Valenzuela, Villarroel and Villalobos, 2013). Headteachers have invested in expanding their leadership teams, distributing power to middle leaders and therefore reducing their workload. The positive assessment of their working conditions is unusual when compared to global reports identifying significant difficulties and, in turn, adverse reports of the daily work and lives of school leaders (Earley and Weindling, 2007; Tahir, Thakib and Hamzah, 2017).

However, participants' perceptions in this study are aligned with previous studies in the Chilean context, which have identified a similar experience for school leaders (López, Ahumada and Galdames, 2012). There is not enough information in the current study to distinguish if this situation speaks more about the benefits of school leaders or the problematic working conditions of teachers. Nonetheless, there are still challenges and concerns connected not with the daily work in the school but with the contractual and complementary working conditions. These difficulties appear moderated by the life stage of each cohort which many generational studies have noticed before (Beutell and Wittig-Berman, 2008; Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016).

Finishing their careers having almost exclusively served in the public sector, usually working for years or decades in the same school, Boomers were worried about life after retirement. With their children well into adulthood and only a few friendships beyond the boundaries of their school, this cohort considers their workplace as their second home and being a school leader as the cornerstone of their personal and professional identity. Moreover, they are concerned about leaving their active work lives. This process is partially unregulated, and depends on the willingness of the local authorities. The retirement brings the fear of economic

difficulties as many will see an essential cut to their monthly income. The financial side of life after retirement is a genuine concern for the Boomers still working and a reality for those already retired. Far from being an isolated concern for Chilean Boomers, the challenge to administrate the retirement process is shared globally across different fields of work (Phillips and Siu, 2012). Never before has humankind faced a human resources challenge of this scale as the most conservative predictions indicate that by 2050, once the youngest GenXer is retired, 22% of the global population (nearly two-billion people) will be out of work (Magnus, 2009). Fostered by an extension of the life expectancy, one of the main concerns for retirees is the tension between the economic conditions and healthcare, considering the significant prevalence of mental health issues, especially dementia and depression (Shiba, Kondo and Kondo, 2017). Voluntary extension of the working life has been linked with better healthcare technologies and healthier behaviours, which suggest the necessity to rethink current global retirement strategies (Kesavayuth, Rosenman and Zikos, 2018).

Ageism scholars and policymakers have started to question the appropriate age for retirement and how to best design and implement retirement strategies (Magnus, 2009). Topa and Alcover (2015) stress the relevance of understanding retirement not as an event but as a process, considering a gradual transformation of task and responsibilities allowing individuals and organisation to adapt accordingly. The experience of the participating retired Boomer headteachers illustrates an opposite approach to this ideal, as for most retirement was poorly managed by the local authorities, paying little attention to the wellbeing of the headteachers and the school. As presented in detail in the previous chapter, most retired Boomers had a negative experience when leaving their working life; retirement came suddenly and was dependent not on a technical or organisational decision, but on the arrival of funding from the central government to the local authorities. While there is little complementary information, it is possible to extend this negative experience beyond the personal boundaries of the retiree headteachers towards the school community who had no time to prepare and adapt to the departure of their leader. The lack of planning during the last part of the headteacher's working life is just another illustration of the weakness in the current leadership career system in Chile, which at the moment pays no attention to the wellbeing of retired school leaders.

Unlike Boomers, GenXers built their careers across various industries and diverse school settings and developed a professional and personal identity associated with change. At a personal level, their families and in particular their children hold a central role in their lives. GenXers were worried about the unstable nature of the headteacher career, which due to the lack of formal regulations and decentralised administration is highly sensitive to the decision of the local authorities. Previous research has been conclusive in indicating the unfairness of the 5-year headteacher contract, which established unachievable performance targets,

leaving individuals in a vulnerable position in front of the local authorities (Montecinos et al., 2015). As presented in a previous chapter, the headteacher contract differs from that of teachers due to the extended powers given to local departments of education to fire headteachers or deny a renewal of the contract. GenXers are aware of contractual conditions which encourage them to target employment within other schools and workplaces before their current contractual period ends. Mano-Negrin and Tzafrir (2004) would call the Chilean headteacher recruitment system “rich in opportunity destinations paths” (p. 443) as it continuously indicates the availability of job opportunities and the real vacant occupational slots. For GenXers, the abundant opportunities scenario is even more appealing than to the other cohorts as they have mastered the ability to relocate and adapt to new environments. Furthermore, having the confidence of already obtained a headteacher post could foster job change. Mano-Negrin and Tzafrir (2004) point out “turnover behaviours are more likely to occur when individuals assess their current set of skills match future job opportunities” (p.445).

Beyond the contractual conditions, GenXers do not see themselves in the public education system in the long run. While enjoying the opportunity to lead a school, at the core of the GenXers career is the idea of change, learning and resetting. Fink and Brayman (2006) would label this approach an “outbound trajectory” (p.66), characterised by the temporary nature of individual participation in the school. The GenXers’ engagement with the school system is tied with the economic needs of their families, particularly the education of their children. GenXers happily anticipated exploring other venues when the financial responsibilities of parenthood diminished. They usually had a desire to explore new disciplines and industries. Mano-Negrin and Tzafrir (2004) argue that there is a difference between a willingness to turnover and a real turnover action, however, is once an intention for turnover is set, it could have a potentially negative impact on performance and work commitment as employees are putting their minds elsewhere. For most GenXer headteachers in this study the dream of a new job elsewhere was part of their discourse. In some cases, this idea was more than a dream as participants had concrete plans for the short term.

Millennials’ assessment of their work experience differs from the previous generations. Similar to GenXers, Millennials are attentive to the unstable nature of the headteacher's contract, but they are more optimistic and confident about having a contract renewal after their term ends. Having younger children or no children plays a significant contribution to this optimistic appraisal as they feel less pressure to make a career decision. Nonetheless, this sense of freedom is surprisingly not accompanied by an explicit desire for adventure and change. On the contrary, most Millennials in this study demonstrated an interest in stability and a gradual vertical ascension into a more complex organisation in the near future. While ambitious dreams are part of their long-term plan, there is little rush to change school or field of work.

Previous studies that have compared Millennials' work attitudes to older cohorts have found similar patterns. Exploring a diverse sample of workers in the United States, Kowske, Rasch and Wiley (2010) found that despite popular beliefs Millennials are very conservative in the career mobility when compared with Boomer and GenXers: "Millennials reported higher levels of overall company and job satisfaction, satisfaction with job security, recognition, and career development and advancement, but reported similar levels of satisfaction with pay and benefits and the work itself, and turnover intentions" (p.265). Similarly, crystallising their main argument in the title of their article *More Similar than Different*, Real, Mitnick and Maloney (2010) argue that Millennials are not significantly different than previous cohorts in relation to work beliefs, job values, and gender beliefs, but that the difference could be explained by other confounding variables including age and experience. As presented earlier, gender studies have made a significant contribution to the leadership career literature. Even though the focus of this study is loosely connected with the traditional themes of gender research, which were explored in the literature review chapter, the findings of this thesis indicate potential points of intersection with previous studies. A central concern of gender studies in leadership and workplace is the identification of challenges for career progression. Across generations, female participants' biographies do not show significant challenges in gaining access to leadership, but they do identify difficulties once becoming a headteacher. For many headteacher's parental responsibilities appears in direct opposition to their leadership responsibilities.

For female Millennials leaders, being a mother competes with the increasing workload and never-ending duties at school. For example, in Selina's narrative, this tension becomes the main argument for staying or leaving her professional life. For female GenXers leaders in this study, which are a decade older than Millennials, motherhood brings economic pressures, mostly due to the cost of higher education and the fragility of the headteacher contract. Jessica's decision illustrated this point, as her main driver influencing her career decisions is finding a place or a role that secure a steady pay check. Across generations, male headteachers acknowledge the difficulties than their female colleague's experience and share the expectation for reforms in these matters.

While there has been some progress in gender equity in leadership roles, there still a great deal of disadvantage that influence the career decisions of young female leaders (Maxwell and Broadbridge, 2014). While the participants in this research have found ways to deal with these challenges, through personal sacrifices and the efforts of their extended networks, these practices have brought a toll in their own lives. Following Arar and Abu-Rabia-Quederb (2011) findings of the first headteachers in Israel, these Chilean examples could illustrate exceptional cases more than the norm of an aspirant and current female headteachers, and have the risk

of limiting the career choices of many aspirant and current headteachers. Relying on their parents, friends or asking for favours to the employer to arrange their multiple responsibilities, it is not a sustainable strategy, demanding urgent and profound change in the educational policies.

Moreover, far from being an isolated phenomenon of the school environment, these gender-linked challenges illustrated the broader culture of many places (Oplatka and Mimon, 2008; Inandi, 2009; Chan, Ngai and Choi, 2016), including Chile (Alvarez and Navarrete, 2019). A pillar of the current social movement in Chile is the feminist force, demanding equity in the workplace and significant transformations on the ways home responsibilities are organised (Orellana, 2020). In the literature, Millennials' main workplace concerns are connected with the lack of alignment and little support from the local authorities. Research has identified the demand for care, monitoring and feedback as one of the characteristic features of the Millennial cohort (Deal, Altman and Rogelberg, 2010). Fostered by the connectivity of the digital era, in particular, the use of technology has influenced Millennials to work collectively, creating an addiction for fast and constant feedback (Baker, Matulich and Papp, 2007). Hershatter and Epstein (2010) argue that senior leaders frequently complaint about Millennials describing them as "needy and high-maintenance" (p.217). However, the authors also noted a common affinity between Boomers and Millennials which is used often as a platform for peer-learning strategies. This relationship has been addressed by other studies as well (Kulesza and Smith, 2013). Hershatter and Epstein's remarks mirror the experience of most Millennials in this study, who found Boomers as a great source of constant support and development during their early leadership career. Now sitting in the headteacher's office, they look for guidance from the educational department senior leaders, but their expectations are rarely met. In one of the only available studies on Millennial headteachers, Greenlinger (2013) explores the role of a superintendent in leading Millennial school leaders in California (US). Greenlinger concludes that young headteachers care about a series of work condition including continuous support, having the opportunity to think systemically breaching beyond the single school boundaries, having access to professional learning spaces, in particular formal mentoring from senior district leaders, and having the autonomy to take risks in their own projects.

In Chile, the role and the quality of the support provided by the municipal authorities have been widely questioned by researchers (Elacqua, Martínez and Aninat, 2010). As presented in an early chapter, the macro-structure of the educational system has experienced significant changes in the last years, adding new organisations and responsibilities. It is still early to evaluate the contribution of the recently created structures 'the Quality Agency' and 'the Superintendence of Education' in 2010, however early research suggests that both institutions

give little support to school leaders, focusing mainly on controlling and auditing (Carrasco and Urrejola, 2017; Carrasco, Ascorra and López, 2018). A central problem for Millennial headteachers is the lack of trust in these institutions, assessing them as incompetent in supporting learning and lacking an educative vision. Local authority leaders, in particular, municipal departments, have little pedagogical preparation and take a traditional administrative role that prioritises efficiency and resource management above students' learning or teachers' wellbeing.

Similar to GenXers, Millennials are concerned with the political agenda of local authorities, who oftentimes use schools as public relations platforms. Considering the political match or mismatch with the national government and the headteacher's political affiliation, Paredes and Pinto (2009) argue that the role of the Mayor in influencing the education agenda is massive. For all of the headteachers in this study, the political dimension has a direct impact on their careers as they could be hired or fired depending on the opinion of the local government. However, the attributions of local governments extend beyond the headteacher's daily responsibilities; access to resources, human capital and levels of autonomy are reduced or amplified depending on the political alignment between the Mayor and the headteacher. GenXers often coming from the private sector or different local authorities are much more sensitive to this tension as they have to quickly learn how to handle the questionable practices of the middle-level administration. The political pressure is probably one of the reasons behind the little interest among GenXers for a long-term career in the public sector as they anticipate a never-ending difficulty in dealing with the local authorities.

Different from GenXers, Millennials see themselves in the educational system in the long run. Aware of their privileged career development in a protected environment, Millennials seek to test themselves in a more challenging context in the future. Accordingly, most participants anticipate their next career steps will be leading bigger and more complex schools, usually seeking a change from rural to urban settings. The intention of Millennials has been described before as 'preparedness to change', defined as a "wish to acquire higher task demands (i.e. greater complexity) in the sense that employees have thought about change but have not yet acted to seek change" (Schyns, Torck and Gössling, 2007, p. 667). In the long term, Millennials aspire to maintain their contribution to the public sector but from a political platform. Expecting the upcoming transformation on the middle tier in the next decade (Uribe et al., 2017), some see themselves as system leaders coordinating the work of headteachers and schools. Millennials dream to change the administrative approach of the middle level towards a structure that prioritises students' learning and collaboration.

8.6 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, the words of Karl Mannheim written in Germany in 1952 were used to frame the discussion about different generational cohort's careers as school leaders in Chile. Mannheim believed that individuals that share birthdays and historical contexts have a common social identity, an identity that moderates their possibilities to engage with the world. Mannheim never wrote about headteachers, nor set foot in Latin-America, but his ideas are relevant to frame the rapid socio-political changes in the educational sector in Chile. The findings of the comparison of the three cohorts explored in this study agree with the principles of generation theory expressed in the early work *The Problem of Generations* (Mannheim, 1952) and expanded on by multiple authors during the last century.

This chapter has borrowed ideas from sociology, psychology, healthcare, business and education. These ideas have provided different lenses through which to view generational differences in careers. The participants' history illustrates how headteacher careers have changed over the last 45 years and the power of time in shaping the individual experience of each school leader. Beyond the specific cohort differences elaborated in this chapter, there are a series of core elements shared by Boomers, GenXers and Millennials influencing their career paths. These elements are grounded in the political context of an evolving Chile and bounded by the life span of each cohort.

At a fundamental level, the careers of the participants are highly influenced by the original socioeconomic and cultural conditions of their families. Parents made a significant contribution to the career decisions of their children, regarding economic and academic possibilities, as well as emotional support. Across generations, headteachers are aware of how their early career decisions and current role is to some degree at service of their parents' expectations. This influence carried them initially through primary, secondary and higher education and then moderated their work behaviour and performance. There is little recognition about a natural leadership ability or a superior intellect in the headteacher's narratives. On the contrary, there is an awareness that their success is rooted in effort, resilience and adaptation, which in most cases can be traced back to their parents who were their role models.

At a professional level, their careers have been moderated by the characteristics of the first school in which they worked. There is an overall agreement about the central role of their first school experiences in their professional development. Undergraduate and postgraduate experiences take a back seat as most participants identify the school as the place where they learnt to be teachers and headteachers. While the cases differ across and within each cohort considering positive and negative experiences, the role of peers, school leaders and previous headteachers have been highlighted as fundamental for building an interest in leadership and

the professional capacities to embark upon the path to headship. For the ones that faced an early challenging context, negative experiences acted as the fuel to push forward, and bad examples were used as learning models about what not to do and what not to become.

At a leadership level, the headteachers' careers have been shaped by the educational policies of each period. They have fostered or blocked their professional paths. Considering the absence of a formal policy based headteacher career, each participant had to muster the strength to navigate this dark territory. Across time this strength took many forms. For some it was dressed as patience, the patience to wait for an authoritarian headteacher to retire; for others, it was dressed as courage, the courage to abandon a career and embrace a new one. However, in all cases, it required the skill to anticipate and prepare for something uncertain, to jump across the invisible fences of selection biases and the ever-changing nature of the decentralised recruitment system.

The table below (Table 22) summaries the main similarities and differences in the careers of Millennials, GenXers and Boomers.

Table 22. Career Generational Comparisons

	Millennials	GenXers	Boomers
Born	End of Dictatorship	End of Democracy	Democracy
Grew up	Democracy	Dictatorship	Democracy
Schooling	Municipal Public schools	Municipal Public and Semi-Private schools	State Public School
Schooling experience	Segregated working class	Segregated middle class	Inclusive
Higher Education	Private University	Traditional University	Traditional University
Factor Influencing Teaching (FIT)	Extrinsic: Working conditions	Intrinsic	Extrinsic: Recognition
Family opinion about Teaching Degree	Supportive	Not Supportive	Supportive
First Job	Public School	Private School Other organisation	Public School
Organisational Mobility	Low	High	Minimal
Participation in other areas	Low	High	Minimal
Experience with former leaders	Supportive	Violent	Quiet
Middle Leadership	Extensive and fast access	Scarce and turbulent	Broad and slow access
Deputy Role	Yes	No	Yes
Headship Application	Supported by former leaders and teachers	Driven by seeking better working conditions	Rushed by emergency and supported by teachers

Succession	Internal	External	Internal
Future aspirations	Public Sector	Private sector	Public Sector
	Other headship and higher post	Other fields of work	Same School
Concerns	Local Authorities	Local Authorities	National Authorities
	Lack of Support	Contractual conditions	Retirement Policies

Despite the differences and similarities among participants and generations, the comparative analysis indicated the importance of time in shaping the career of each participant and cohort. The headteachers in this study witnessed the introduction of a series of reforms that gradually transformed the role and the career opportunities for school leaders. Even though Chile has failed in providing a formal career pathway for headteachers, the high level of intergenerational agreement on the career trajectory and career decisions, suggests an informal career for school leaders. The informal career appears moderated by the generational location of each cohort, suggesting a strong relationship between generation trajectories and the educational policies of each period.

A central concern of this study is to understand the career motivators and detractors of school leaders, and in turn, to seek to inform public policies to increase recruitment and retention. Overall, the evidence illustrated significant differences in the way each cohort approaches their career and job satisfaction. Across time different generations are seeking organisations that respect their demands and expectations. The features that drive the interest of a Boomer headteacher to apply to a school appears to differ the ones from younger cohorts. While this differentiation is important to the three cohorts studied in this research, during the next decade, it will become central regarding the differences between GenXers and Millennials. As presented in the previous table (Table 22), these generations greatly differ in their career characteristics, particularly in the personal background and career progression.

While there are multiple differences between Millennials and GenXers, both cohorts agree about the critical but deficient role of the local authorities in creating proper working conditions for school leaders career development. The imminent transformation of the middle tier in the Chilean public education system, with the re-centralisation strategies of the SLEPs (Uribe, Berkowitz and Galdames, 2017), presents an opportunity for the new local authorities to recognise the generational oriented needs of their school leaders. Even though this thesis identified a series of key drivers for each cohort, that might directly inform future administrative decisions, the overarching advice for local authorities is to be aware of the limitations of the one-size-fits-all approach (Johnson and Campbell-Stephens, 2013). Moreover, the generational suggestion should be taken considering other essential components of the

headteacher's personal lives, including care-taking responsibilities, economic demands and individual healthcare.

CHAPTER IX: CONCLUSION

Framed in the intersection between headteachers' careers and generation theory, and grounded in the Chilean context, this study has explored the careers of public school headteachers. Building upon the ideas presented originally by Mannheim (1952) in the seminal essay *The Problem of Generations*, this thesis captured the professional journey of public school headteachers in Chile, paying particular attention to the identification of unique generational characteristics influencing school leaders' careers.

Generation location is based on the existence of biological rhythm in human existence—the factors of life and death, a limited span of life, and aging. Individuals who belong to the same generation, who share the same year of birth, are endowed, to that extent, with a common location in the historical dimension of the social process. What does create a similar location is that they are in a position to experience the same events and data, etc (p. 176).

Exploring the careers of headteachers under Mannheim's ideas demanded the identification of the meaningful events shared by each generational cohort. Accordingly, this study examined the participant's *biological rhythm*, focusing on their personal journey and the context surrounding and influencing their career decisions. Exploring the 'stratified consciousness' of public school headteachers helps in understanding in detail their particular professional experiences, but, as the title of the thesis suggested [The headship through the eyes of time], the voices of 28 individuals separated by time and united by practice presents an opportunity to observe the evolution of education, the headteacher role and even Chile.

The thesis aimed to answer two research questions. First, '*What are the characteristics of the careers of Boomer, GenXer and Millennial public school headteachers in Chile?*'. Even though there is not a formal career for headteachers in Chile, the analysis of the 28 participants' careers showed patterns and a series of influential events, moments and people in their career trajectory. It highlighted the importance of family, class and the socio-political context in which they grew up, as well as their professional experiences in their first school. More than a barrier-foster dyadic discussion, the data suggest that their earlier school experiences moderate future career decisions. These findings present an important implication for creating (in the case of Chile) or improving a career for school leaders, considering the significant contribution of schools in setting headteacher's mindset and expectations. The 28 narratives illustrate in detail the journey into the headship, a journey that takes years even decades before fruition. This particular finding highlights the importance of investing in better working condition in schools and the system, aimed to improve human talent retention and job satisfaction.

Second, *'What are the main similarities and differences in the career trajectories of Boomer, GenXer and Millennial public school headteachers in Chile?'*. The findings indicate unique generational career characteristics shared within each cohort and dissimilar to those of other cohorts. As time changed, careers changed with it, and every generation in the study engaged with the opportunities and barriers presented on the professional path. Comparing these three cohorts, allowed for precise identification of the distinct generational characteristic and the influence of time in shaping three different identities. Separated by time, massive reform and different life stages, each cohort approach careers and their professional lives differently.

The Millennial career indicates the importance of creating a continuous learning and supportive opportunity within schools. Millennials thrive in an informal setting, gaining increasing responsibilities and direct feedback. Developing the new generation of school leaders will depend in how school's systems will be able to formally create environments that foster participation and support of younger teachers (Galdames, 2019).

The GenXer trajectory is about learning but also autonomy. Their mobility is partially explained by seeking new venues and challenges. Additionally, GenXers narratives indicate the importance of primary working conditions for career, including wages and tenure. Local and national authorities will be demanding to establish new ways to understand the role and working conditions, to attract and retain GenXers schools' leaders. Innovation, including new flexible ways to define headship, for instance, rotation of headteachers in the authority and co-headship, could be answers to this generation needs (Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016).

Even though Boomers are leaving the professional world in the next decade, their career characteristics are an example of the elements lost in time but relevant for the future. The ideas collegiality, peer decision making, and community are central for leadership development. Beyond the fantastic journey of surviving the dictatorship and rising to the top of a school, the Boomers journey in Chile is a reminder of the role of work in creating a sense of place and belonging (Riley, Montecinos and Ahumada, 2017).

9.1 Limitations

9.1.1 Diversity of Local Authorities

Participants from this study came from different geographical locations across 11 municipal zones. Accordingly, they were under the government of 11 different Mayors and educational departments. The characteristics of the local authorities could have played a central role in the headteachers' experiences. Municipal educational departments in Chile have long been

criticised by academics and policymakers for lacking the technical and administrative capability to lead schools (Puga, 2011). Moreover, considering the unequal distribution of wealth across the cities in Chile, some local authorities have multiple advantages in terms of resources, personnel and expertise. This contrast creates a different experience for teachers and school leaders depending on geographic location. This diversity was evident in the study, as some headteachers acknowledged the contribution of local authorities in creating the conditions that fostered their career, while others found local authorities to be the primary source of complaints. As presented by previous research (Cooley and Shen, 2000; Fernandez et al., 2015), local authority's influences are decisive for the career of school leaders. Focusing mainly on the voices of headteachers, this study paid no direct attention to the policies, practices and attitudes at the municipal level and its influences on the headteachers' career decisions.

9.1.2 Timing of the Data Collection

The time at which data collection occurred could have influenced the answers given by the participants. Although it was planned to conduct all the fieldwork between September and November 2017, due to unexpected logistic complications a few interviews were postponed to December 2017 and January 2018. As the school year in Chile traditionally runs from March to early December, the main bulk of interviews were conducted at the end of the academic year when headteachers were busy, stressed and, in many cases, dealing with the inspections of the Quality Agency and Superintendence. While the ones conducted in late December and January were encountering moments of celebration, joy and lighter workloads.

Furthermore, the data collection process was indirectly influenced by a national reform on teacher careers, which was publicly announced in early September, one day before the first interview. The reform, informally known as "the teacher career law" (Ruffinelli, 2016, p. 262), significantly improved the working conditions and wages for most public school teachers, but did nothing for headteachers. The average salary rises of 30% meant that many experienced teachers now earned more than headteachers. Additionally, as the reform those with years of experience in the public sector and classroom performance indicators measured by the national teacher appraisal system (Manzi, González and Sun, 2011), it created an invisible division among headteachers. Those who had a background as classroom teachers and were recognised for their teaching performance received a bonification on their salaries, whereas career changers and the participants coming from the private school sector did not.

9.1.3 Epistemological Considerations

As commented by previous researchers, in all studies (Poetschke, 2003) but particularly in generation research (Edge, Descours and Frayman, 2016), the characteristics of the researcher including cohort membership and gender play a central role in the research process. In this study the leading role of the researcher, a male Millennial, in the designing, collecting, analysing and writing processes surely moderated the understanding of the headteachers' careers. While actions were considered and implemented to reduce the generational bias, especially having a constant dialogue with the supervisor team during the fieldwork and the analysis, a man and a woman, members of Generation X, it was challenging to completely escape this methodological limitation affecting both the data collection and data analysis processes.

9.1.4 Methodological Considerations

As suggested by previous researchers (Smola and Sutton, 2002; Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012) the use of the life-history biographic approach helps to reduce the confounding limitations, and create more consistent and comparable data sets. However, exploring the past put pressure on the reliability of the participants' memories, particularly for the older Boomers who recalled experiences across six decades. While the qualitative approach selected focused on participants' interpretations about their life over the accurate description of historical events, the lack of triangulation strategies beyond the general historical sources might facilitate the omission or alteration of central events in the personal and professional lives of the participants.

Additionally, the research design adopted, namely a "descriptive parallel retrospective multiple case study" (De Vaus, 2001, p. 249), considered one single moment of data collection. While this methodological decision was underpinned by the resource and time limitations of a PhD study, the opportunities that a longitudinal approach or complementary quantitative methods could provide to this research should be noted. A follow-up interview on the participants' career over the years could have helped to understand their career decisions and expand the general understanding of their careers.

9.2 Contributions

Headteachers are the main sources of leadership in schools and are fundamental to implement and sustain improvement on a large scale. Previous studies indicate growing difficulties in recruiting and retaining headteachers. Taking a generational perspective, the current research aims primarily to contribute to the headteacher profession by providing a

deep insight into how school leaders from different periods in time built their professional career. While focusing on the Chilean context, the lessons learnt in this study might be relevant for other settings and of interest to a number of educational professionals including researchers, practitioners and policymakers.

9.2.1 Theoretical Contribution

This thesis adds to the body of knowledge on both school leadership and generation studies, presenting a novel and original exploration of the headteacher experience in Chile. Accordingly, this study is the first in bridging the gap between these bodies of knowledge in the South-American context. The findings of this study are consistent with previous international studies about the careers of school leaders and the current challenges and opportunities facing headteachers. It highlights the urgency of improving the working conditions, job descriptions, recruitment and retention strategies, of current and future school leaders. Of particular relevance is the characterisation of the Millennial headteacher career, a cohort dismissed by previous studies that will be increasingly relevant in the near future.

Additionally, this research contributes to generation studies challenging the universality of generational characteristics. Revisiting the initial ideas presented by Mannheim (1952), this study addresses the relevance of accounting for the particular context in which cohorts emerge. While this study identified apparent differences in the careers of Boomers, GenXers and Millennials these characteristics might not be necessarily shared by school leaders elsewhere. As presented extensively, the violence and massive transformations enforced by the dictatorship created a unique Chilean context which differs even from the neighbouring Latin-American countries in terms of timing, length, economic reforms and social consequences²⁷. Moreover, the Chilean history and the generational location of each cohort analysed in this study, distant from the experience of individuals and generation units in the NorthAmerican and European contexts.

Furthermore, even locally the careers of school leaders might differ from those in other disciplines or organisations in Chile, e.g. hospital directors or police chiefs. While generational lenses illuminate some of the hidden features of professional lives across time, it is vital to approach generational difference with caution by always considering the intersection with other components of the sophisticated human experience.

Finally, this study is the first to describe the influence of the Chilean dictatorship on the lives of school leaders. While some previous research has explored the influence of this particular authoritarian regime on the personal lives of teachers, none have explicitly examined the

²⁷ For an in-depth comparison read the work of Arratia (2010).

careers of headteachers. The research shows the magnitude of the Chilean civil war in shaping the generational identity not only of those who directly experienced it but also on those born decades after. Nonetheless, of particular interest was the opportunity to record the tragic experience of older headteachers, as Boomers were simultaneously fortunate and unfortunate to face and survive the cruelty and violence of the dictatorship. Those concerned across the globe about the resurgence of extreme right-wing movements, a growing challenge in Chile, and the many who deny or disregard the crimes of the past, could benefit from the testimony of these survivors.

9.2.2 Methodological Contribution

Despite multiple methodological concerns (Lyons, Schweitzer and Ng, 2012; Rudolph, Rauvola and Zacher, 2018), traditional generational studies have adopted a positivistic approach, frequently cross-sectional designs, and through the application of survey or the use of secondary data, found small or none significant differences across cohorts. While the qualitative strategy used in the current study is far from flawless, it allowed for a rich and in-depth exploration of the professional and personal journey of the selected headteachers. Furthermore, the use of biographic methods (Evetts, 2002; Smith, 2012) facilitated the comparative analysis both at individual and cohort level, creating a flexible map to capture the experience of each headteacher while allowing big-picture analysis. The biographic approach gave space to integrate personal characteristics, early experiences and outside school elements into the professional life of each headteacher. Capturing the contribution of parents, children, age, dreams and even tragedy on the career decisions allowed not only to humanise the headteachers but to identify with more precision the particular generational attributes.

9.2.3 Professional Contribution

This study identified a series of strategies that might be considered relevant for improving the career of headteachers. Although this study was not concerned with the question of effectiveness and did not deal with the question of what works better, discussing the participants' experiences with relevant literature allows for the elaboration of recommendations for school leaders, local authorities and policymakers facing the challenges of increasing retention and reducing unplanned turnover. While this thesis is grounded in the Chilean context, some of these ideas could benefit school leaders globally. Each of the following suggestions is highly connected with the career of the cohorts examined in this study.

The journey of the Millennials was characterised by gradual and vertical advancement up the leadership ladder, usually in a single school. They enjoyed constant support and encouragement from senior leaders. Millennial headteachers were developed from within and incentivised to build leadership capacities while systematically abandoning classroom

responsibilities. However, this Millennial experience was not by design but was an accident. The creation of policies that formalised leadership development in-house encouraged headteachers to develop new leaders. Providing direct support, spaces to exercise leadership and gradual progression up the career ladder could greatly benefit early career teachers and also diminish the workload for current headteachers. On a large scale, the implementation of this strategy could increase the pool of aspiring headteachers, and partially reduce the challenges of retention.

The continuous support that Millennials enjoyed suddenly ended once they became headteachers. Millennials' primary concern about their working conditions is the lack of collaboration with other headteachers and local authorities. Educational policies should consider assuming a systemic approach encouraging network across schools and reshaping the role of the superintendent. Millennials prefer learning from their bosses, continuous recognition and increasingly complex challenges. Creating new systems of communication between the local authorities and the headteachers could substantially raise job satisfaction and retention.

The career of GenXers is described by mobility and change. This cohort has little patience and is quick to switch workplaces if their expectations are not met. GenXers' attitudes towards work are different from older and younger cohorts. They place more value in their life outside workplaces, particularly for time with their families and children. GenXers value workplaces that recognise their lives beyond the boundaries of the schools, respecting their time and also providing economic stability. As GenXers will become the dominant workforce leading schools in the next decade, it is critical in improving their satisfaction in the workplace.

In comparison with other cohorts, GenXers are more connected with other disciplines and areas of expertise. Their irregular career path allowed this cohort to engage in different fields of knowledge, and therefore have the capacities to lead change. However, this push for transformation repeatedly crashed with local authority policies which greatly regulate autonomy and resource allocation. Leading GenXer headteachers demands freedom and trust from the local authorities. Job satisfaction and retention will only go down if innovation is restrained by distrust and overregulation.

Boomers' main drivers for a career in education is the possibility to belong in a larger community. Boomers care about people and personal connections. Teachers, students, and parents are their second family, and, in some cases, literally their first as many married or established a romantic relationship with a colleague. For the members of this generation, schools are much more than a workplace but a second home. Accordingly, Boomer headteachers had little problem with work-life balance as work is life. The main challenge for

Boomers due to depart in the next few years will be in creating and maintaining an active life elsewhere. The sample of retiree headteachers in the study illustrates the difficulties in adapting to life not only with less activity but also with the loss of power and recognition. Creating gradual and manageable transitions during the last years of a headteacher's career through the introduction of co-headships, temporal deputies, or mentoring schemes for newly appointed headteachers could contribute significantly to improve the wellbeing of Boomers and serve as a positive example to younger cohorts as well.

9.3 Future Research

The findings of the research indicate the central contribution of local authorities in shaping the career decisions of most headteachers. Future studies could benefit from conducting an in-depth retrospective analysis of the school leader's careers in a single jurisdiction, thus reducing the variation from Mayors, educational departments, local policies and system leaders. Furthermore, working in collaboration with local authorities could provide access to less accessible data and complementary sources of information to better understand the career of school leaders. Comparative studies analysing similar and different authorities could open a series of new avenues for understanding individual and generational career decisions.

Methodologically, while the use of qualitative life-history strategies presented a series of advantages to unpack the headteachers' careers, future investigations could benefit from adopting quantitative or mixed approaches. Of particular relevance is the use of secondary data, including professional CVs and formal records, to identify with precision the frequency and direction of career decisions. The use of statistical regression based on the information identified in this study in a larger sample could allow a deeper understanding and even the prediction of career decisions.

Epistemologically, future studies would greatly benefit from assembling multigenerational research teams. Exploring the influence of time on the configuration of careers, demands minds, eyes and hands from diverse generational frameworks, ideally from Boomers, GenXers and Millennials. Similarly, due to the intersection of generation and life-stage, research teams should maintain gender balance as some issues like maternity could be weighted differently by females and males. The relevance of the context in school leaders' lives and careers also indicates the potential for conducting comparative studies between similar and different countries, and accordingly the advantages of bringing international collaboration from researchers from a diverse background.

Thematically, this research opens the door to a series of relevant topics focusing on the professional experience of school leaders. As presented in the previous paragraph, there is a need to better understand better the relationship between gender and leadership, regarding

their implication for the career of female headteachers. Additionally, future research could explore particular generational needs both in the design and in the delivery of professional development for school leaders. Finally, this study focused on the careers of current headteachers, less is known about the ones that voluntary or involuntary abandoned a career as a leader, or even a professional life in education. While that research presents serious ethical and methodological challenges, its findings could greatly expand current generational knowledge about career decisions, particularly in relation to the difficulties of recruitment and retention.

9.4. Personal Reflection

I have always been fascinated by time travel. Probably my first love as a child was the adventures of Doc Emmet Brown and Martin McFly who were trying to save Hill-Valley and the entire Universe in *Back to the Future*. Nowadays I regularly travel across the universe in a blue police-booth with The Doctor and her gang of unusual companions. There are two reasons why I am obsessed with time: the opportunity to witness a world that no longer exists and the power to change the mistakes of the past. Reflecting now, I feel that these two elements share at their core the problem of accessing the past and the power of memories. We live in the present, and we look forward, but there is little time to look back. This problem is particularly true for most Chileans who were forced to look ahead and dismiss the events of the past. As a Millennial born with a killer sitting as a self-proclaimed president, the dictatorship was a silent topic. It was never part of the curriculum or openly discussed at home. Not even with the return of democracy were we able as a nation to look into the past with justice and honesty as we never developed an interest in looking into the darkness. We were attracted like moths to the shining light of an ever-expanding capitalist future.

I feel privileged to have the opportunity, in my mid-30s, to jump into this 80,000-word time machine, and to have the energy and resources to explore *Time*. While my focus was always on understanding the careers of school leaders, this exploration was much more. It allowed me to understand the history of a nation that lives in me. Boomers, GenXers and Millennials share the burden of the past, reinterpreting it in their own singular way. Creating an outstanding future career for school leaders demands that we look into the past to understand how the forces of time have shaped the generational identity in a place fragmented in time. The imminent departure of Boomers will put pressure on policymakers to take into account the needs and expectations of GenXers and Millennials. Looking into their past could be the key to unlocking a better future for schools, teachers, students and of course headteachers. I am thankful for being able to contribute to the discussion on time and leadership. This time machine looks different from a DeLorean or a Tardis, but it serves the same purpose: to see what was and to dream about what could be.

REFERENCES

- Adame, C., Caplliure, E. M. and Miquel, M. J. (2016) 'Work-life balance and firms: A matter of women?', *Journal of Business Research*. Elsevier Inc., 69(4), pp. 1379–1383. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.10.111.
- Aedo, C. and González, L. E. (2004) 'Evolución de las universidades chilenas 1981-2004', *Revista Médica de Chile*, 132, pp. 1543–1549.
- Ahumada, L. *et al.* (2009) 'El funcionamiento del equipo directivo durante un proceso de autoevaluación institucional en el marco de políticas de aseguramiento de la calidad de la gestión escolar en Chile', *Univ.psychol*, 8(2), pp. 353–370. Available at: <http://revistas.javeriana.edu.co/index.php/revPsycho/article/download/264/334>.
- Akiba, M. and Reichardt, R. (2004) 'What Predicts the Mobility of Elementary School Leaders? An Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Colorado', *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*, pp. 1–21.
- Almonacid, C. (2004) 'Un cuasi mercado educacional: La escuela privada subvencionada en Chile', *Revista de Educación*, 333, pp. 165–196. Available at: http://www.revistaeducacion.mec.es/re333/re333_08.pdf.
- Alvarez, S. L. and Navarrete, A. B. (2019) 'Cronología del movimiento feminista en Chile 2006-2016', *Revista Estudios Feministas*. SciELO Brasil, 27(3).
- De Anca, C. and Gabaldon, P. (2014) 'Female directors and the media: stereotypes of board members', *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 29(6), pp. 334–351. doi: 10.1108/GM-07-2013-0079.
- Añez, C. (2016) 'Flexibilidad laboral: ¿Fin del trabajo permanente?', *Fermentum*, 25.
- Angell, A. and Pollack, B. (1990) 'The Chilean Elections of 1989 and the Politics of the Transition to Democracy', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. [Wiley, Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS)], 9(1), pp. 1–23. doi: 10.2307/3338214.
- Anne Kennan, M. *et al.* (2006) 'Changing workplace demands: what job ads tell us', in *Aslib Proceedings*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 179–196.
- Arar, K. H. and Abu-Rabia-Quederb, S. (2011) 'Turning points in the lives of two pioneer arab women principals in Israel', *Gender and Education*, 23(4), pp. 415–429. doi: 10.1080/09540253.2010.499853.
- Aravena, A. and Baeza, M. A. (2015) 'Construcción socio-imaginaria de relaciones sociales: la desconfianza y el descontento en el Chile post-dictadura', *Cinta de Moebio*, 53, pp. 147–157.
- Araya, N. and Barrientos, L. (2018) 'Educación Superior en Chile: Una Visión Sistémica', *Revista Alethia*, 10(1), pp. 80–109.
- Arratia, A. (2010) 'Dictaduras latinoamericanas', *Revista Venezolana de Análisis de Coyuntura*, XVI(1), pp. 33–51.
- Arratia, A. (2019) 'Carrera directiva', *La tercera*, 10 March. Available at: <https://www.latercera.com/opinion/noticia/carrera-directiva/562942/>.
- Arthur, M. B. and Rousseau, D. M. (1996) 'Introduction: The boundaryless career as a new employment principle', *The boundaryless career: A new employment principle for a new organizational era*, pp. 3–20.
- Assaél, J. and Pavez, J. (2008) 'La construcción e implementación del sistema de

evaluación del desempeño docente chileno: principales tensiones y desafíos. La Construcción e Implementación del Sistema de Evaluación del Desempeño Docente Chileno: Principales Tensiones y Desafíos', *Revista Iberoamericana de Evaluación Educativa*, 1(2), pp. 41–55. Available at: <http://www.rinace.net/riee/numeros/vol1-num2/art3.pdf>.

Ávalos, B. (2003) 'La formación docente inicial en Chile', *Santiago: Ministerio de Educación*. Available at: internal-pdf://la_formacion_docente_inicial_en_chile-3891740984/LA_FORMACION_DOCENTE_INICIAL_EN_CHILE.pdf.

Aydin, I., Demir, T. and Erdemli, O. (2015) 'Teacher's views regarding the social status of the teaching profession', *Anthropologist*, 22(2), pp. 146–156. doi: 10.1080/09720073.2015.11891865.

Azizzadeh, A., McCollum, C. and Miller, C. (2003) 'Factors influencing career choice among medical students interested in surgery', *Current Surgery*, 60(2), pp. 210–213. doi: 10.1016/S0149-7944(02)00679-7.

Baker, B., Punswick, E. and Belt, C. (2010) 'School leadership stability, principal moves, and departures: Evidence from Missouri', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 46(4), pp. 523–557. doi: 10.1177/0013161X10383832.

Baker, R., Matulich, E. and Papp, R. (2007) 'Teach Me in the Way I Learn: Education And The Internet Generation', *Journal of College Teaching & Learning*, 4(4), pp. 27–32.

Ballesteros, E. P. (1995) *La memoria y el olvido: detenidos desaparecidos en Chile*. Ediciones Orígenes.

Ballinger, G. A., Schoorman, F. D. and Lehman, D. W. (2009) 'Will you trust your new boss? The role of affective reactions to leadership succession', *Leadership Quarterly*. Elsevier Inc., 20(2), pp. 219–232. doi: 10.1016/j.leaqua.2009.01.012.

Bandura, A. (1982) 'Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency.', *American psychologist*. American Psychological Association, 37(2), p. 122.

Barozet, E. (2013) 'El valor histórico del pituto: clase media, integración y diferenciación social en Chile', *Revista de sociología*, 20, pp. 69–96. doi: 10.5354/0719-529X.2006.27531.

Barret, P. (2001) 'Labour Policy, Labour–Business Relations and the Transition to Democracy in Chile', *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 2001/09/25. Cambridge University Press, 33(3), pp. 561–597. doi: DOI: 10.1017/S0022216X01006162.

Basit, T. N. (2013) 'Ethics, reflexivity and access in educational research: Issues in intergenerational investigation', *Research Papers in Education*, 28(4), pp. 506–517. doi: 10.1080/02671522.2012.689318.

Bass, T. (2006) 'To be or not to be: Issues influencing educators' decisions to enter the principalship', *AASA Journal of Scholarship and Practice*. Citeseer, 2(4), pp. 19–30.

Bayar, A. (2016) 'Challenges Facing Principals in the First Year at Their Schools', *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 4(1), pp. 192–199. doi: 10.13189/ujer.2016.040124.

Beasley, S. E. (2016) 'Country Roads Take Me ...?: A Cultural Analysis of College Pathways among Rural, First-Generation Students', in, pp. 127–163. doi: 10.1108/S0196-115220160000022005.

Bell, B. (1989) 'What the public thinks', *Report: Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association*, 11(4), p. 10.

Bellei, C., Contreras, D. and Valenzuela, J. P. (2010) *Ecos de la revolución pingüina, Ecos de la revolución Pingüina: Avances, debates y silencios en la reforma educacional*. Edited

by P. E. SA. Santiago, Chile: Unicef.

Benson, J. and Brown, M. (2011) 'Generations at work: Are there differences and do they matter?', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22(9), pp. 1843–1865. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2011.573966.

BERA (2017) 'Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research, fourth edition (2018)'. doi: 978-0-946671-32-8.

Bergman, S. M. *et al.* (2011) 'Millennials, narcissism, and social networking: What narcissists do on social networking sites and why.', *Personality and*, 50, pp. 706–711. Available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0191886910006215>.

Béteille, T., Kalogrides, D. and Loeb, S. (2011) 'Stepping Stones: Principal Career Paths and School Outcomes', in Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (ed.) *National Bureau Of Economic Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–30. Available at: <https://www.nber.org/papers/w17243.pdf>.

Beutell, N. J. and Wittig-Berman, U. (2008) 'Work-family conflict and work-family synergy for generation X, baby boomers, and matures Work-family conflict and work-family synergy for Generational differences, predictors, and satisfaction outcomes', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(5), pp. 507–523.

Beynon, J. (1985) 'Institutional change and career histories in a comprehensive school', *Teachers' lives and careers*. Falmer Press Lewes, pp. 158–179.

Bobeth-Neumann, W. (2014) 'Empirical Findings on the Career Paths of Aspiring Elementary School Teachers', *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, 2(3), pp. 244–251. doi: 10.13189/ujer.2014.020307.

Bodenhausen, C. and Curtis, C. (2016) 'Transformational Leadership and Employee Involvement: Perspectives from Millennial Workforce Entrants', *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism*. Routledge, 17(3), pp. 371–387. doi: 10.1080/1528008X.2015.1048920.

Bolívar, A. (2002) "¿De nobis ipsis silemus?": Epistemología de la investigación biográfico-narrativa en educación', *Revista electrónica de investigación educativa*. scielomx, pp. 1–26.

Brooks, J. S. and Normore, A. H. (2015) 'Qualitative research and educational leadership: Essential dynamics to consider when designing and conducting studies', *International Journal of Educational Management International Journal of Educational Management*, 29(7), pp. 798–806. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02683940010305270>.

Brown, M. (2012) 'Responses to work intensification: Does generation matter?', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(17), pp. 3578–3595. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2011.654348.

Browne-Ferrigno, T. (2003) 'Becoming a Principal: Role Conception, Initial Socialization, Role-Identity Transformation, Purposeful Engagement', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 39(4), pp. 468–503. doi: 10.1177/0013161X03255561.

Bruinsma, M. and Jansen, E. P. W. A. (2010) 'Is the motivation to become a teacher related to pre-service teachers' intentions to remain in the profession?', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 33(2), pp. 185–200. doi: 10.1080/02619760903512927.

Bruner, J. (1999) 'Narratives of aging', *Journal of Aging Studies*. JAI, 13(1), pp. 7–9.

Bugueño, J. and Mailet, A. (2019) 'Entre marchas, plebiscitos e iniciativas de ley: innovación en el repertorio de estrategias del movimiento No Más AFP en Chile (2014-2018)', *Izquierdas*. Instituto de Estudios Avanzados de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile,

(48), pp. 1–21.

Bush, T. (2011a) 'Becoming a school principal: Exciting opportunity or daunting challenge?' Sage Publications Sage UK: London, England.

Bush, T. (2011b) 'Succession planning and leadership development for school principals: Comparing English and South African approaches', *Compare*, 41(6), pp. 785–800. doi: 10.1080/03057925.2011.595968.

Bush, T. (2018) 'Leadership and context: Why one-size does not fit all', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 46(1), pp. 3–4. doi: 10.1177/1741143217739543.

Callanan, G. A. and Greenhaus, J. H. (2008) 'The Baby Boom Generation and Career Management: A Call to Action', *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 10(1), pp. 70–85. doi: 10.1177/1523422307310113.

Campos, F., Bolborán, J. and González, M. (2014) 'Formación de Directores de Excelencia: Un mismo objetivo, distintas demandas.', *Perspectiva Educativa*, 53(2), pp. 91–111. doi: 10.4151/07189729-Vol.53-Iss.2-Art.256.

Cannata, M. (2010) 'Understanding the Teacher Job Search Process: Espoused Preferences and Preferences in Use', *Teachers College Record*, 112(12), pp. 2889–2934.

Caputo, R. and Saravia, D. (2018) 'The Monetary and Fiscal History of Chile: 1960-2016', *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (January). doi: 10.2139/ssrn.3238188.

Cardno, C. and Youngs, H. (2013) 'Leadership Development for Experienced New Zealand Principals: Perceptions of Effectiveness', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 41(3), pp. 256–271. doi: 10.1177/1741143212474808.

Carey, H. (1929) 'Career or Maternity? The Dilemma of the College Girl', *The North American Review*, 228(6), pp. 737–744.

Carr, D. J. *et al.* (2012) 'Examining Overconsumption, Competitive Consumption, and Conscious Consumption from 1994 to 2004: Disentangling Cohort and Period Effects', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), pp. 220–233. doi: 10.1177/0002716212449452.

Carrasco, A. and Gunter, H. (2019) 'The "private" in the privatisation of schools: the case of Chile', *Educational Review*. Routledge, 71(1), pp. 67–80. doi: 10.1080/00131911.2019.1522035.

Carrasco, A. and Urrejola, A. (2017) 'La Agencia de Calidad de la Educación ¿ Una política de evaluación integral? The Education Quality Agency of Chile A comprehensive evaluation policy?', 2(1), pp. 8–26.

Carrasco, C., Ascorra, P. and López, V. (2018) 'Tensiones normativas de los fiscalizadores de la Superintendencia de Educación en la(s) política(s) de convivencia escolar en Chile', *Perfiles Educativos*, 40(159), pp. 126–143.

Celikten, M. (2005) 'A perspective on women principals in Turkey', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 8(3), pp. 207–221. doi: 10.1080/13603120500041835.

Cennamo, L. and Gardner, D. (2008) 'Generational differences in work values, outcomes and person-organisation values fit', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), pp. 891–906. doi: 10.1108/02683940810904385.

Chan, A. K. wa, Ngai, G. S. keung and Choi, P. K. (2016) 'Contextualising the career pathways of women principals in Hong Kong: a critical examination', *Compare*, 46(2), pp. 194–213. doi: 10.1080/03057925.2014.884919.

Chang, Y., Leach, N. and Anderman, E. M. (2015) 'The role of perceived autonomy support in principals' affective organizational commitment and job satisfaction', *Social Psychology of Education*. doi: 10.1007/s11218-014-9289-z.

Chaplain, R. (2001) 'Stress and job satisfaction among primary headteachers: a question of balance?', *Educational Management & Administration*. Sage Publications London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 29(2), pp. 197–215.

Chauvin, I. D. (2014) 'El baile de los que sobran. Los estudiantes secundarios chilenos y la posibilidad del desacuerdo', *Visualidades*, 12(1).

Chile, B. del C. N. de (2011) 'Historia de la Ley 20.501 Calidad y Equidad de la Educación', p. 956. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1022346&r=1>.

Chile, U. de (2006) *Discurso de Ricardo Lagos Escobar, Discursos de Figuras Ilustres*. Available at: <http://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/rectoria/discursos-de-figuras-ilustres/40248/discurso-de-ricardo-lagos-escobar> (Accessed: 20 March 2019).

Choge, J. R. (2015) 'Gender Factor in Decision Making: Challenges Facing Women Leadership Development in Primary Schools' Management in Kenya', *Journal of Education and Practice*.

Choi, J. A. (2005) 'New generation's career aspirations and new ways of marginalization in a postindustrial economy', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 26(2), pp. 269–283. doi: 10.1080/0142569042000294219.

Christie, J., Robertson, B. and Stodter, J. (2016) *ADES Report on Headteacher Recruitment*.

Chudzikowski, K. (2012) 'Career transitions and career success in the "new" career era', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. Elsevier Inc., 81(2), pp. 298–306. doi: 10.1016/j.jvb.2011.10.005.

Chung, C.-N. and Luo, X. R. (2013) 'Leadership succession and firm performance in an emerging economy: Successor origin, relational embeddedness, and legitimacy', *Strategic Management Journal*, 34(3), pp. 338–357. doi: 10.1002/smj.2011.

Clarke, M. (2013) 'The organizational career: Not dead but in need of redefinition', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24(4), pp. 684–703. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2012.697475.

Clarke, S. and O'Donoghue, T. (2013) 'The case for studying educational leadership at the individual school level in post-conflict societies', in *School Level Leadership in Post-conflict Societies*. Routledge, pp. 7–14.

Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2017) 'Thematic analysis', *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 12(3), pp. 297–298. doi: 10.1080/17439760.2016.1262613.

Claro, F. et al. (2013) 'Incentivos Para Estudiar Pedagogía: El Caso De La Beca Vocación De Profesor', *Estudios Públicos*, 131(invierno 2013), pp. 37–59. Available at: https://www.cepchile.cl/cep/site/artic/20160304/asocfile/20160304100405/rev131_FClaro-RParedes-MBennett-TWilson.pdf.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2004) 'Stayers, Leavers, Lovers, and Dreamers', *Journal of Teacher Education*, 55(5), pp. 387–392. doi: 10.1177/0022487104270188.

Coetzee, M., Mogale, P. M. . and Potgieter, I. L. . (2018) 'Moderating role of affectivity in career resilience and career anchors', *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 25(5), pp. 438–447. doi: 10.1080/14330237.2015.1101272.

Cogin, J. (2012) 'Are generational differences in work values fact or fiction? Multi-country evidence and implications', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(11),

pp. 2268–2294. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2011.610967.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2002) *Research methods in education*. 8th edn. Oxon: Routledge.

Coleman, M. and Campbell-Stephens, R. (2010) 'Perceptions of career progress: The experience of Black and Minority Ethnic school leaders', *School Leadership and Management*, 30(1), pp. 35–49. doi: 10.1080/13632430903509741.

Coltart, C. E. *et al.* (2012) 'Leadership development for early career doctors', *The Lancet*, 379(9828), pp. 1847–1849. doi: 10.1016/s0140-6736(12)60271-2.

Cooley, V. E. and Shen, J. (2000) 'Factors influencing applying for urban principalship', *Education and Urban Society*. Sage Publications Sage CA: Thousand Oaks, CA, 32(4), pp. 443–454.

Cornejo, M., Reyes, M. J. and Cruz, M. A. (2013) 'Historias de la Dictadura Militar Chilena desde Voces Generacionales', *Psykhé (Santiago)*, 22(2), pp. 49–65. doi: 10.7764/psykhe.22.2.603.

Cornejo, R., Albornoz, N. and Fernández, R. (2015) 'Job prescriptions for teachers under the new regulatory framework of educational policy in Chile', *Psicoperspectivas*, 14(2), pp. 72–83. doi: 10.5027/PSICOPERSPECTIVAS-VOL14-ISSUE2-FULLTEXT-580.

Corsten, M. (1999) 'The Time of Generations', *Time & Society*, 8, pp. 249–272. doi: 10.1177/0961463x99008002003.

Costanza, D. P. *et al.* (2012) 'Generational Differences in Work-Related Attitudes: A Meta-analysis', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 27(4), pp. 375–394. doi: 10.1007/s10869-012-9259-4.

Coupland, D. (1991) *Tales for an Accelerated Culture*. New York, NY: Martin's Press.

Cox, C. (2003) 'Las políticas educacionales de Chile en las últimas dos décadas del siglo XX', *Políticas educacionales en el cambio de siglo. La reforma del sistema escolar en Chile*, pp. 19–113.

CPEIP (2018) *Modelo de formación para el desarrollo profesional docente y directivo*. 1st edn. Santiago, Chile.

Cranston, N. C. (2007) 'Through the eyes of potential aspirants: Another view of the principalship', *School Leadership and Management*, 27(2), pp. 109–128. doi: 10.1080/13632430701237115.

Cranston, N., Tromans, C. and Reugebrink, M. A. J. (2004) 'Forgotten leaders: what do we know about the deputy principalship in secondary schools?', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 7, pp. 225–242. doi: 10.1080/13603120410001694531.

Crawford, M. (2009) *Getting to the heart of leadership: Emotion and educational leadership*. Sage.

Cregård, A. and Corin, L. (2019) 'Public sector managers: the decision to leave or remain in a job', *Human Resource Development International*. Routledge, 00(00), pp. 1–19. doi: 10.1080/13678868.2018.1563749.

Creswell, J. (2014) 'Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches'. SAGE Publications.

Cunningham, P. (1992) 'Teachers' professional image and the press 1950-1990', *History of Education*, 21(1), pp. 37–56. doi: 10.1080/0046760920210103.

- d'Arbon, T. (2006) 'Career Aspirations of Potential Applicants for Principals of Catholic Schools: An Australian Perspective', *Journal of Catholic Education*, 10(1). doi: 10.15365/joce.1001052013.
- Dai, G., Tang, K. Y. and de Meuse, K. P. (2011) 'Leadership competencies across organizational levels: A test of the pipeline model', *Journal of Management Development*, 30(4), pp. 366–380. doi: 10.1108/02621711111126837.
- Daresh, J. and Male, T. (2000) 'Crossing the border into leadership: Experiences of newly appointed British headteachers and American principals', *Educational Management & Administration*. Sage Publications London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi, 28(1), pp. 89–101.
- Day, C. *et al.* (2010) 'Ten strong claims about successful school leadership', *National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services*. Edited by N. C. for L. of S. and C. Services. Nottingham. Available at: [internal-pdf://10strongclaims-2892116480/10strongclaims.pdf](#).
- Deal, J., Altman, D. and Rogelberg, S. (2010) 'Millennials at Work: What We Know and What We Need to Do (If Anything)', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 191–199. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9177-2.
- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2000) 'The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edn.
- van Dick, R., Ciampa, V. and Liang, S. (2018) 'Shared identity in organizational stress and change', *Current Opinion in Psychology*. Elsevier Ltd, 23, pp. 20–25. doi: 10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.11.005.
- Donoso, F. (2013) 'Memoria , labor e identidad docente. Apuntes para una historia social de los Profesores de Historia durante la Dictadura. Santiago de Chile, 1982-1990', *Revista de pedagogía crítica Paulo Freire*, (14), pp. 99–111. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.25074/07195532.14.406>.
- Donoso, S., Benavides, N. and Cancino, V. (2012) 'Análisis crítico de las políticas de formación de directivos escolares en Chile: 1980-2010', *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, 17, pp. 133–158. Available at: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=27522482008>.
- Donoso, S., Castro, M. and Alarcón, J. (2016) 'Aspectos críticos en las propuestas sobre una nueva arquitectura de la educación pública chilena', *Estudios pedagógicos (Valdivia)*, 41(2), pp. 305–324. doi: 10.4067/s0718-07052015000200018.
- Donoso, S., Fernandez, J. and Reyes, D. (2019) 'Directores de escuelas públicas chilenas seleccionados por alta dirección removidos de su cargo antes de finalizar su período de gestión: Lecciones para América Latina', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 27(April), p. 43. doi: 10.14507/epaa.27.3798.
- Donoso, S., Frites, C. and Castro, M. (2014) 'Los proyectos de ley de fortalecimiento de la educación pública de los años 2008 y 2011: propuestas y silencios', *Pensamiento Educativo: Revista de Investigación Educativa Latinoamericana*, 51(2), pp. 1–18. doi: 10.7764/PEL.51.2.2014.1.
- Donoso, S. and Schiefelbein, E. (2007) 'Análisis de los modelos explicativos de retención de estudiantes en la universidad: una visión desde la desigualdad social', *Estudios pedagógicos (Valdivia)*, 33(1), pp. 7–27.
- Donoso, S. and Schmal, R. (2002) 'Los modelos de financiamiento de la educación pública en Chile y sus requerimientos de adecuación Financial Models for Public Education in Chile and the Requirements for their Adjustment', *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa*,

4(2), pp. 46–84.

Dries, N., Pepermans, R. and De Kerpel, E. (2008) 'Exploring four generations' beliefs about career', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), pp. 907–928. doi: 10.1108/02683940810904394.

Drotter, S. and Charan, R. (2001) 'Building Leaders at Every Level a Leadership Pipeline', *Ivey Business Journal*, (416).

Duncan, H. E. (2013) 'Exploring gender differences in US school principals' professional development needs at different career stages', *Professional Development in Education*, 39(3), pp. 293–311. doi: 10.1080/19415257.2012.722561.

Duxbury, L. and Ormsbee, F. (2017) 'Does studying the past help us understand the future? an examination of the expectations of Gen X knowledge workers', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. Routledge, 5192, pp. 1–29. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2017.1393835.

Eacott, S. (2010) 'Bourdieu's strategies and the challenge for educational leadership', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 13(3), pp. 265–281. doi: 10.1080/13603120903410587.

Earley, P. *et al.* (2009) 'Future leaders: the way forward?', *School Leadership and Management*, 29, pp. 295–306.

Earley, P. (2009) 'Work, learning and professional practice: The role of leadership apprenticeships', *School Leadership and Management*, 29(3), pp. 307–320. doi: 10.1080/13632430902793718.

Earley, P. and Weindling, D. (2007) 'Do school leaders have a shelf life? Career stages and headteacher performance', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 35(1), pp. 73–88. doi: 10.1177/1741143207071386.

Eckman, E. (2004) 'Does Gender Make a Difference? Voices of Male and Female High School Principals.', *Planning & Changing*, 35(3), pp. 192–208.

Edge, K. (2014) 'A review of the empirical generations at work research: implications for school leaders and future research', *School Leadership & Management*, 34(2), pp. 136–155. doi: 10.1080/13632434.2013.869206.

Edge, K. (2015) 'Generation X Leaders in Global Cities: Emerging Perspectives on Recruitment, Retention and Succession Planning', in Harris, A. and Jones, M. (eds) *Leading Futures: Global Perspectives on Educational Leadership*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications India, pp. 187–199.

Edge, K., Descours, K. and Frayman, K. (2016) 'Generation X School Leaders as Agents of Care: Leader and Teacher Perspectives from Toronto, New York City and London', *Societies*, 6(2), p. 8. doi: 10.3390/soc6020008.

Edge, K., Galdames, S. and Horton, J. (2017) 'Diversity: New leaders and new leadership', in Greany, T. and Earley, P. (eds) *School Leadership and Education System Reform*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 211–221.

Edge, R., Cockerham, J. and Correale, C. (2011) 'Is your facility struggling with millennial nurse retention?', *Nursing Management*, 42(6), pp. 19–23. doi: 10.1097/01.NUMA.0000397921.88595.1d.

Elacqua, G., Martínez, M. and Aninat, C. (2010) '¿Cómo fortalecer la educación municipal? Capacidad y responsabilidad política', in Martinic, S. and Elacqua, G. (eds) *¿Fin de ciclo? Cambios en la gobernanza del sistema educativo*. Santiago: Chile: Unesco, pp. 101–129.

- Emmanuelle, V. (2009) 'Inter-relationships among attachment to mother and father, self-esteem, and career indecision', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. Elsevier Inc., 75(2), pp. 91–99. doi: 10.1016/j.jvb.2009.04.007.
- Eren, A. and Tezel, K. V. (2010) 'Factors influencing teaching choice, professional plans about teaching, and future time perspective: A mediational analysis', *Teaching and Teacher Education*. Elsevier Ltd, 26(7), pp. 1416–1428. doi: 10.1016/j.tate.2010.05.001.
- Erickson, F. (2012) 'Qualitative research methods for science education', in *Second international handbook of science education*. Springer, pp. 1451–1469.
- Errázuriz, L. (2009) 'Dictadura Militar en Chile. Antecedentes del golpe estético-cultural', *Latin American Research Review*, 44(2), pp. 136–157. Available at: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/LARR/prot/fulltext/vol44no2/Errazuriz_44-2.pdf.
- Escobar, P. and Le Bert, C. (2003) 'The new labor market: The effects of the neoliberal experiment in Chile', *Latin American Perspectives*, 30(5), pp. 70–78. doi: 10.1177/0094582X03256256.
- Espinoza, O. and González, L. E. (2009) 'Desarrollo de la formación de posgrado en Chile', *Revista CTS*, 5(13), pp. 207–232. doi: 10.1016/j.respol.2015.01.012.
- Etcheverry, S. B. (2008) 'Territorio, Estado y sociedad en Chile. La dialéctica de la descentralización: entre la geografía y la gobernabilidad'. Universidad de Alcalá.
- Everton, T. *et al.* (2007) 'Public perceptions of the teaching profession', *Research Papers in Education*, 22(3), pp. 247–265. doi: 10.1080/02671520701497548.
- Evetts, J. (2002) *Becoming a secondary head teacher*. A&C Black.
- Fakunmoju, S. B. (2018) 'Work ethic and life satisfaction among social workers in Massachusetts: the moderating effect of gender', *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance*. Routledge, pp. 1–21. doi: 10.1080/23303131.2018.1464994.
- Farley-Ripple, E. N., Raffel, J. A. and Welch, J. C. (2012) 'Administrator career paths and decision processes', *Journal of Educational Administration*, 50(6), pp. 788–816. doi: 10.1108/09578231211264694.
- Federici, R. A. and Skaalvik, E. M. (2012) 'Principal self-efficacy: Relations with burnout, job satisfaction and motivation to quit', *Social Psychology of Education*, 15(3), pp. 295–320. doi: 10.1007/s11218-012-9183-5.
- Fernandez, R. *et al.* (2015) 'Career experiences of latino/a secondary principals in suburban school districts', *NCPEA International Journal of Educational Leadership Preparation*, 10(21), pp. 60–76.
- Fink, D. and Brayman, C. (2006) 'School leadership succession and the challenges of change', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 42(1), pp. 62–89. doi: 10.1177/0013161X05278186.
- Firfiray, S. and Mayo, M. (2017) 'The lure of work-life benefits: Perceived person-organization fit as a mechanism explaining job seeker attraction to organizations', *Human Resource Management*. Wiley Online Library, 56(4), pp. 629–649.
- Fokkens-Bruinsma, M. and Canrinus, E. T. (2014) 'Motivation for becoming a teacher and engagement with the profession: Evidence from different contexts', *International Journal of Educational Research*. Elsevier Ltd, 65, pp. 65–74. doi: 10.1016/j.ijer.2013.09.012.
- Francis-Smith, J. (2004) 'Surviving and thriving in the multigenerational workplace', *Journal Record*, 1, p. 1.

- Frank, K. A. (2000) 'Impact of a confounding variable on a regression coefficient', *Sociological Methods and Research*, 29(2), pp. 147–194. doi: 10.1177/0049124100029002001.
- Fuenzalida, V. (1988) 'Television in Chile: A History of Experiment and Reform', *Journal of Communication*, 38(2), pp. 49–58. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1988.tb02046.x.
- Fusarelli, B. C., Fusarelli, L. D. and Riddick, F. (2018) 'Planning for the Future: Leadership Development and Succession Planning in Education', *Journal of Research on Leadership Education*, 13(3), pp. 286–313. doi: 10.1177/1942775118771671.
- Galdames, S. et al. (2016) 'Exploring the daily work of newly appointed principals in Chile', *ICSEI Express and Digest*, 7(1), pp. 8–11. Available at: https://www.icsei.net/fileadmin/ICSEI/icsei_express/icsei_express_7_2_2016.pdf.
- Galdames, S. et al. (2018) 'Novice principals in Chile mobilizing change for the first time', *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 46(2), pp. 318–338. doi: 10.1177/1741143217707520.
- Galdames, S. (2019) 'Trabajo duro, una sed por aprender y un poco de suerte: la trayectoria laboral de los directores de la generación milenio en las escuelas públicas de Chile', *Perspectiva Educativa*, 58(1), pp. 69–91. doi: 10.4151/07189729-Vol.58-Issue.1-Art.821.
- Galdames, S. and González, Á. (2016) 'The relationship between leadership preparation and the level of teachers' interest in assuming a principalship in Chile', *School Leadership & Management*. Routledge, 36(4), pp. 435–451. doi: 10.1080/13632434.2016.1209178.
- Galeano, E. (1986) 'The Dictatorship and Its Aftermath: The Secret Wounds', *Contemporary Marxism*, Fall(14), pp. 16–20. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29765866>.
- Galvin, P. and Shepherd, P. (2000) 'School principal shortages: An analysis of changes over time', in *A paper presented to the American Educational Research Association Conference, April, New Orleans*.
- García-Herrero, A., Ortiz, A. and Decadenas, G. (2015) *Economías Emergentes y Líderes del Crecimiento. Informe Anual*.
- García-Izquierdo, A. L., Aguinis, H. and Ramos-Villagrasa, P. J. (2010) 'Science-Practice Gap in e-Recruitment', *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 18(4), pp. 432–438. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2389.2010.00525.x.
- Garriott, P. O., Hudyma, A. and Keene, C. (2015) 'Social cognitive predictors of first- and non-first-generation college students' academic and life satisfaction', *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 62(2), pp. 253–263. doi: 10.1037/cou0000066.
- Gentry, W., Griggs, T. and Deal, J. (2011) 'A comparison of generational differences in endorsement of leadership practices with actual leadership skill level', *Consulting Psychology Journal*, 63(1), pp. 39–49. doi: 10.1037/a0023015.
- Godoy, O. (1999) 'La transición chilena a la democracia: Pactada', *Estudios Públicos*, 74(74), pp. 79–106.
- Gómez Gil, E. and Alba Páez, Y. A. (2018) 'Variaciones de competencias organizacionales entre la generación Millennials joven y la generación Millennials adulta: caso empresa del sector industrial en Colombia.'
- González, L. E. (2015) *Arriba profes de Chile. De la precarización laboral a la reorganización docente*. Santiago, Chile: América en Movimiento.
- Gonzalez, M. and Restrepo, A. (2015) *Análisis histórico hermenéutico de los temas musicales oficiales de la copa mundial de fútbol sudáfrica 2010 y brasil 2014 y sus*

interpretes como marcas representativas del evento. Universidad Autonoma de Occidente.

Goodson, I. F. and Sikes, P. J. (2001) *Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives*. Open University Press.

Gothard, S. and Austin, M. J. (2013) 'Leadership Succession Planning: Implications for Nonprofit Human Service Organizations', *Administration in Social Work*, 37(3), pp. 272–285. doi: 10.1080/03643107.2012.684741.

Greenbank, P. (2003) 'The role of values in educational research: the case for reflexivity', *British Educational Research Journal*. Routledge, 29(6), pp. 791–801. doi: 10.1080/0141192032000137303.

Greenlinger, J. A. (2013) 'Minding the gap: Baby boomer superintendents' leadership and support of millennial principals', (May), pp. 1–109.

Griffith, J. (1999) 'The school leadership/school climate relation: Identification of school configurations associated with change in principals', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 35, pp. 267–291. Available at: internal-pdf://griffith_l-1897757286/griffith_l.pdf.

Guihen, L. (2017) 'The two faces of secondary headship', *Management in Education*, 31(2), pp. 69–74. doi: 10.1177/0892020617696627.

Gumus, S., Bellibas, M. S. and Esen, M. (2018) 'A systematic review of studies on leadership models in educational research from 1980 to 2014', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 46(1), pp. 25–48. doi: 10.1177/1741143216659296.

Gursoy, D., Chi, C. and Karadag, E. (2013) 'Generational differences in work values and attitudes among frontline and service contact employees', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 32, pp. 40–48. doi: 10.1016/j.ijhm.2012.04.002.

Gursoy, D., Maier, T. and Chi, C. (2008) 'Generational differences: An examination of work values and generational gaps in the hospitality workforce', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 27(3), pp. 448–458. doi: 10.1016/j.ijhm.2007.11.002.

Hall, D. (1996) *The Career Is Dead--Long Live the Career. A Relational Approach to Careers*. The Jossey-Bass Business & Management Series. ERIC.

Hall, J. (2018) 'The performative shift: middle leadership "in the line of fire"', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. Taylor & Francis, 50(4), pp. 364–378. doi: 10.1080/00220620.2018.1518317.

Hallinger, P. (2011) 'A review of three decades of doctoral studies using the principal instructional management rating scale: A lens on methodological progress in educational leadership', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 47(2), pp. 271–306. doi: 10.1177/0013161X10383412.

Hancock, D., Hary, C. and Müller, U. (2012) 'An investigation of factors impacting the motivation of german and US teachers to become school principals', *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 7(3), pp. 352–363. doi: 10.2304/rcie.2012.7.3.352.

Hanselman, P., Grigg, J. and Bruch, S. (2016) 'The Consequences of Principal and Teacher Turnover for School Social Resources Paul', *Research in the Sociology of Education*, 19(c), pp. xi–xix. doi: 10.1108/S1479-3539201619.

Hansen, J.-I. and Leuty, M. (2012) 'Work Values Across Generations', *Journal of Career Assessment*, 20(1), pp. 34–52. doi: 10.1177/1069072711417163.

Hansen, M., Backes, B. and Brady, V. (2016) 'Teacher Attrition and Mobility During the Teach for America Clustering Strategy in Miami-Dade County Public Schools', *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 38(3), pp. 495–516. doi: 10.3102/0162373716638441.

- Hargreaves, A. (2001) *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Postmodern Age*. Bloomsbury UK (Teacher development 0).
- Harris, A., Jones, M. and Adams, D. (2016) 'Qualified to lead? A comparative, contextual and cultural view of educational policy borrowing', *Educational Research*, 58(2), pp. 166–178. doi: 10.1080/00131881.2016.1165412.
- Harris, A. and Townsend, A. (2007) 'Developing leaders for tomorrow: Releasing system potential', *School Leadership and Management*, 27(2), pp. 167–177. doi: 10.1080/13632430701237339.
- Harris, K., Kacmar, M. and Witt, L. (2005) 'An examination of the curvilinear relationship between leader-member exchange and intent to turnover', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 26(4), pp. 363–378. doi: 10.1002/job.314.
- Hart, C. (2018) *Doing a literature review: Releasing the research imagination*. Sage.
- Hartle, F. and Thomas, K. (2003) 'Growing tomorrow's school leaders: the challenge: full report'. National College for School Leadership.
- de Hauw, S. and de Vos, A. (2010) 'Millennials' career perspective and psychological contract expectations: Does the recession lead to lowered expectations?', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 293–302. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9162-9.
- Helbig, A. (2006) 'The Cyberpolitics of Music in Ukraine's 2004 Orange Revolution', *Current Musicology*, 82(82), pp. 81-101,137. Available at: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/224860676?accountid=15533>.
- Hennessy, J. and Lynch, R. (2017) "'I chose to become a teacher because": Exploring the factors influencing teaching choice amongst pre-service teachers in Ireland', *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*. Routledge, 45(2), pp. 106–125. doi: 10.1080/1359866X.2016.1183188.
- Hennink, M., Hutter, I. and Bailey, A. (2010) *Qualitative research methods*. Sage.
- Hershatter, A. and Epstein, M. (2010) 'Millennials and the world of work: An organization and management perspective', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 211–223. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9160-y.
- Hess, N. and Jepsen, D. M. (2009) 'Career stage and generational differences in psychological contracts', *Career Development International*, 14(3), pp. 261–283. doi: 10.1108/13620430910966433.
- Hewitt, P. M., Denny, G. S. and Pijanowski, J. C. (2011) 'Why Teacher Leaders Don't Want to Be Principals : Evidence from Arkansas', *Education Working Paper Archive*.
- Hewlett, S. A. and Luce, C. B. (2006) 'Extreme jobs the dangerous allure of the 70-hour workweek', *Harvard Business Review*, 84(12), pp. 49–60.
- Hiebert, B. and Mendaglio, S. (1988) 'A Transactional Look at School Principal Stress.' ERIC.
- Hirsh, Å. and Bergmo-Prvulovic, I. (2018) 'Teachers leading teachers – understanding middle-leaders' role and thoughts about career in the context of a changed division of labour', *School Leadership & Management*. Taylor & Francis, 37(1), pp. 52–57. doi: 10.1080/13632434.2018.1536977.
- Hirudayaraj, M. and McLean, G. (2018) 'First-generation college graduates', *European Journal of Training and Development*, 42(1–2), pp. 91–109. doi: 10.1108/EJTD-06-2017-0055.

- Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2012) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: A Psychosocial Approach*. London, UK: Sage.
- Houghton, C., Casey, D. and Shaw, D. (2013) 'Rigour in qualitative case-study research', *Nurse Researcher*, 20(4), pp. 12–17.
- Howe, N. and Strauss, W. (2000) *Millennials Rising The Next Great Generation*. New York: Vintage Books. doi: 10.1108/jcm.2002.19.3.282.4.
- Howe, N. and Strauss, W. (2007) 'The Next 20 Years How Customer and Workforce Attitudes Will Evolve', *Harvard business review*, 85(January), pp. 19–20. Available at: <internal-pdf://hbr-next-20-years-4273201976/HBR-Next-20-Years.pdf>.
- Howley, A., Andrianaivo, S. and Perry, J. (2005) 'The pain outweighs the gain: Why teachers don't want to become principals', *Teachers College Record*, 107(4), pp. 757–782.
- Hsieh, C.-T. and Urquiola, M. (2006) 'The effects of generalized school choice on achievement and stratification: Evidence from Chile's voucher program', *Journal of Public Economics*, 90(8–9), pp. 1477–1503. doi: 10.1016/j.jpubeco.2005.11.002.
- Hurst, J. and Good, L. (2009) 'Generation Y and career choice: The impact of retail career perceptions, expectations and entitlement perceptions', *Career Development International*, 14(6), pp. 570–593. doi: 10.1108/13620430910997303.
- Hurtado, S. (2013) 'El golpe que no fue: Eduardo Frei, la Democracia Cristiana y la elección presidencial de 1970', *Estudios Públicos*. Centro de Estudios PÁblicos, (129), pp. 105–140.
- Hvidston, D., Range, B. and McKim, C. (2015) 'The views of novice and late career principals concerning instructional and organizational leadership within their evaluation', *Planning and Changing*. Illinois State University, 46(1/2), p. 109.
- Inandi, Y. (2009) 'The barriers to career advancement of female teachers in Turkey and their levels of burnout', *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*. Scientific Journal Publishers, 37(8), pp. 1143–1152.
- Interior, M. del (2004) *Informe de la Comision nacional sobre prision politica y tortura*. Comisión N. Santiago. Available at: <http://bibliotecadigital.indh.cl/bitstream/handle/123456789/455/informe.pdf?sequence=4>.
- Johnson, L. and Campbell-Stephens, R. (2013) 'Developing the next generation of black and global majority leaders for London schools', *Journal of Educational Administration*, 51(1), pp. 24–39. doi: 10.1108/09578231311291413.
- Jones, N. (1999) 'The Changing Role of the Primary School Head', *Educational Management & Administration*, 27(4), pp. 441–451. doi: 10.1177/0263211x990274001.
- Jorgensen, B. (2003) 'Baby Boomers, Generation X and Generation Y? Policy implications for defence forces in the modern era', *Foresight*, 5(4), pp. 41–49. doi: 10.1108/14636680310494753.
- Kaparou, M. and Bush, T. (2007) 'Invisible barriers: The career progress of women secondary school principals in Greece', *Compare*, 37(2), pp. 221–237. doi: 10.1080/03057920601165587.
- Keeling, S. (2003) 'Advising the millennial generation', *NACADA Journal*, 23, pp. 30–36. Available at: internal-pdf://12-05-05_millennial_generation-1226048673/12-05-05_millennial_generation.pdf.
- Kesavayuth, D., Rosenman, R. E. and Zikos, V. (2018) 'Retirement and health behaviour', *Applied Economics*. Routledge, 50(54), pp. 5859–5876. doi: 10.1080/00036846.2018.1488070.

- Keys, Y. (2014) 'Looking ahead to our next generation of nurse leaders: Generation X Nurse Managers', *Journal of Nursing Management*, 22(1), pp. 97–105. doi: 10.1111/jonm.12198.
- Kian, T. S., Yusoff, W. F. W. and Rajah, S. (2013) 'Relationship between Motivations and Citizenship Performance among Generation X and Generation Y', *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 3(11), pp. 53–68. doi: 10.6007/IJARBSS/v3-i11/319.
- Kong, H., Okumus, F. and Bu, N. (2019) 'Linking organizational career management with Generation Y employees' organizational identity: The mediating effect of meeting career expectations', *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*. Routledge, 0(0), pp. 1–18. doi: 10.1080/19368623.2019.1616644.
- Kornbluh, P. (2013) *The Pinochet file: A declassified dossier on atrocity and accountability*. The New Press.
- Kowske, B., Rasch, R. and Wiley, J. (2010) 'Millennials' (lack of) attitude problem: An empirical examination of generational effects on work attitudes', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 265–279. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9171-8.
- Kruger, M. and Saayman, M. (2015) 'Consumer preferences of Generation Y: Evidence from live music tourism event performances in South Africa', *Journal of Vacation Marketing*. Sage Publications Sage UK: London, England, 21(4), pp. 366–382.
- Kulesza, C. and Smith, D. (2013) 'Reverse Mentoring — Something for Everyone!', *Strategic Finance*, (April).
- Kupperschmidt, B. R. (2000) 'Multigeneration employees: strategies for effective management', *The health care manager*, 19, pp. 65–71. Available at: internal-pdf://00126450-200019010-00011-0783205130/00126450-200019010-00011.pdf.
- Kwan, P. (2009) 'The vice-principal experience as a preparation for the principalship', *Journal of Educational Administration*, 47(2), pp. 191–205. doi: 10.1108/09578230910941048.
- Lambert, M. (2015) *Generational Differences in the Workplace: The Perspectives of Three Generations on Career Mobility*, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Larrañaga, O. and Rodríguez, M. E. (2015) 'Desigualdad de ingresos y pobreza en Chile: 1990 a 2013', *Las Nuevas Políticas de Protección Social en Chile*, pp. 251–294.
- Larrondo, J. E. E. (2007) 'Chile: campo experimental para la reforma universitaria', *Perfiles Educativos*, XXIX(116), pp. 41–59.
- Leach, R. et al. (2013) 'Baby boomers, consumption and social change: The bridging generation?', *International Review of Sociology*, 23(1), pp. 104–122. doi: 10.1080/03906701.2013.771053.
- Lee, J., Kwan, P. and Walker, A. (2009) 'Vice-principalship: Their responsibility roles and career aspirations', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 12(2), pp. 187–207. doi: 10.1080/13603120802449652.
- Lee, K. (2010) *Careers and Career-Stages of Mainland Chinese School Principals -A Life-History Approach*. University of Leicester.
- Lee, N., Garlough, C. and Friedland, L. (2012) 'Gender and Generation in the Social Positioning of Taste', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), pp. 134–146. doi: 10.1177/0002716212454817.
- Leithwood, K., Harris, A. and Hopkins, D. (2008) 'Seven strong claims about successful school leadership', *School Leadership and Management*. Taylor & Francis, 28(1), pp. 27–42.

doi: 10.1080/13632430701800060.

Leiva, J. A. (2007) 'Las reglas de nuestro juego: privatización neoliberal de la educación en Chile', *Práxis educativa*, 12(3), pp. 1–18.

León, A. and Martínez, J. (2001) *La estratificación social chilena hacia fines del siglo XX, Políticas Sociales . Division de Desarrollo Social. CEPAL.*

Levin, H. M. and Belfield, C. (2015) 'Guiding the Development and Use of Cost-Effectiveness Analysis in Education', *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness*. Routledge, 8(3), pp. 400–418. doi: 10.1080/19345747.2014.915604.

Levinson, B. (2007) 'Dictatorship and Overexposure: Does Latin America Testify to More than One Market?', *Discourse*, 25(1), pp. 98–118. doi: 10.1353/dis.2004.0008.

Lillo, M. (2009) 'La Novela De La Dictadura En Chile', *Alpha N°*, 29, pp. 41–54. Available at: <http://alpha.ulagos.cl>.

Lim, S. A. and You, S. (2017) 'Long-Term Effect of Parents' Support on Adolescents' Career Maturity', *Journal of Career Development*, 46(1), p. 089484531773186. doi: 10.1177/0894845317731866.

Lisbona, F. and Navia, P. D. (2018) 'Los mensajes de la propaganda televisiva en las campañas presidenciales de Michelle Bachelet y Sebastián Piñera en Chile, 2005-2013', *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, 63(233). doi: 10.22201/fcpys.2448492xe.2018.233.63010.

Loi, R., Lam, L. and Ngo, H. (2015) 'Article information':, *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, Vol. 30 No, pp. 645–658. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02683940010305270>.

López, V., Ahumada, L. and Galdames, S. (2012) 'School principals at their lonely work: Recording workday practices through ESM logs', *Computers and Education*, 58(1), pp. 413–422. doi: 10.1016/j.compedu.2011.07.014.

Lovett, S., Dempster, N. and Flückiger, B. (2015) 'Personal agency in leadership learning using an Australian heuristic', *Professional Development in Education*, 41(1), pp. 127–143. doi: 10.1080/19415257.2014.891532.

Luscombe, J., Lewis, I. and Biggs, H. C. (2013) 'Essential elements for recruitment and retention: Generation Y', *Education and Training*, 55(3), pp. 272–290. doi: 10.1108/00400911311309323.

Lyons, S., Schweitzer, L. and Ng, E. (2012) 'Comparing apples to apples', *Career Development International*, 17(4), pp. 333–357. doi: 10.1108/13620431211255824.

Lyons, S., Schweitzer, L. and Ng, E. (2015a) 'How have careers changed? An investigation of changing career patterns across four generations', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*. Edited by D. Vicki Culpin, P. Carla Millar, and P. Kai Peters, 30(1), pp. 8–21. doi: 10.1108/JMP-07-2014-0210.

Lyons, S., Schweitzer, L. and Ng, E. (2015b) 'Resilience in the modern career', *Career Development International*, 20(4), pp. 363–383. doi: 10.1108/CDI-02-2015-0024.

Van Maanen, J., Schein, E. H. and Bailyn, L. (1977) 'The shape of things to come: A new look at organizational careers', *Perspectives on behavior in organizations*.

MacBeath, J. (2009) 'Recruitment and retention of senior school leaders: Meeting the challenge', *European Educational Research Journal*, 8(3), pp. 407–417. doi: 10.2304/eej.2009.8.3.407.

MacBeath, J., O'Brien, J. and Gronn, P. (2012) 'Drowning or waving? Coping strategies

- among Scottish head teachers', *School Leadership and Management*, 32(5), pp. 421–437. doi: 10.1080/13632434.2012.739870.
- Macmillan, R. B., Meyer, M. J. and Northfield, S. (2004) 'Trust and Its Role in Principal Succession: A Preliminary Examination of a Continuum of Trust', *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, 3, pp. 275–294.
- Magnus, G. (2009) *The age of aging : how demographics are changing the global economy and our world /George Magnus*. (How Demographics Are Changing the Global Economy and Our World).
- Male, T. (2006) *Being an effective headteacher*. Sage.
- Mannheim, K. (1952) 'The Problem of Generations', *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 24(19), pp. 276–322. doi: 10.1016/s0168-8227(00)00198-4.
- Mano-Negrin, R. and Tzafirir, S. S. (2004) 'Job search modes and turnover', *Career Development International*, 9(5), pp. 442–458. doi: 10.1108/13620430410550727.
- Manzi, J., González, R. and Sun, Y. (2011) *La Evaluación Docente en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: MIDE UC. Available at: <http://repositorio.minedu.gob.pe/>.
- Martin, C. A. (2005) 'From high maintenance to high productivity', *Industrial and Commercial Training*, 37(1), pp. 39–44. doi: 10.1108/00197850510699965.
- Martin, E. and Warshawsky, N. (2017) 'Guiding Principles for Creating Value and Meaning for the Next Generation of Nurse Leaders', *Journal of Nursing Administration*, 47(9), pp. 418–420. doi: 10.1097/NNA.0000000000000507.
- Martinic, S. and Villalta, M. (2015) 'La gestión del tiempo en la sala de clases y los rendimientos escolares en escuelas con jornada completa en Chile', *Perfiles Educativos*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 37(147), pp. 28–49. doi: 10.1016/j.pe.2013.03.001.
- Mascall, B. and Leithwood, K. (2010) 'Investing in leadership: The district's role in managing principal turnover', *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, 9(4), pp. 367–383. doi: 10.1080/15700763.2010.493633.
- Mathews, M., Ryan, D. and Samarasena, A. (2017) 'Early-career work location of Memorial University medical graduates: Why the decline in rural practice?', *Canadian journal of rural medicine : the official journal of the Society of Rural Physicians of Canada = Journal canadien de la medecine rurale : le journal officiel de la Societe de medecine rurale du Canada*, 22(2), pp. 54–61. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/28441128>.
- Maxwell, G. A., Ogden, S. M. and Broadbridge, A. (2010) 'Generation Y's career expectations and aspirations: Engagement in the hospitality industry', *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*. CAUTHE, 17(1), pp. 53–61. doi: 10.1375/jhtm.17.1.53.
- Maxwell, G. and Broadbridge, A. (2014) 'Generation Y graduates and career transition: Perspectives by gender', *European Management Journal*. Elsevier Ltd, 32(4), pp. 547–553. doi: 10.1016/j.emj.2013.12.002.
- McAdams, D. (2001) 'The Psychology of Life Stories', *Review of general psychology*, 5(2), pp. 100–122. doi: 10.1037/1089-2680.5.2.100.
- McArdle, S. *et al.* (2007) 'Employability during unemployment: Adaptability, career identity and human and social capital', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 71(2), pp. 247–264. doi: 10.1016/j.jvb.2007.06.003.
- McEwan, P., Urquiola, M. and Vegas, E. (2008) 'School Choice, Stratification, and

Information on School Performance: Lessons from Chile', *Economía*, 8(2), pp. 1–27. doi: 10.1353/eco.0.0003.

McGee, J. (2010) 'To Climb or Not to Climb: The Probing of Self-Imposed Barriers that Delay or Deny Career Aspirations to be an Administrator in a Public School System.', *Forum on Public Policy Online*, 2010(2), pp. 1–22.

McKillop, E. and Moorosi, P. (2017) 'Career development of English female head-teachers: influences, decisions and perceptions', *School Leadership and Management*. Taylor & Francis, 37(4), pp. 334–353. doi: 10.1080/13632434.2017.1338682.

McLay, M. (2008) 'Headteacher career paths in UK independent secondary coeducational schools: Gender issues', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 36(3), pp. 353–372. doi: 10.1177/1741143208090594.

McLay, M. and Brown, M. (2000) 'The under-representation of women in senior management in UK independent secondary schools', *International Journal of Educational Management*, 14(3), pp. 101–106. doi: 10.1108/09513540010322375.

Medina, E. (2006) 'Designing freedom, regulating a nation: Socialist cybernetics in Allende's Chile', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38(3), pp. 571–606. doi: 10.1017/S0022216X06001179.

Mendels, P. (2016) 'Building Principal Pipelines: A Job That Urban Districts Can Do. Perspective', *Wallace Foundation*.

Méndez, M. L. and Gayo, M. (2019) *Upper Middle Class Social Reproduction*. Santiago, Chile: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-89695-3.

Mendoza, M. (2019) 'To mix or not to mix? Exploring the dispositions to otherness in schools', *European Educational Research Journal*, pp. 1–13. doi: 10.1177/1474904119830846.

Meriac, J. P., Woehr, D. J. and Banister, C. (2010) 'Generational differences in work ethic: An examination of measurement equivalence across three cohorts', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 315–324. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9164-7.

Mičík, M. and Mičudová, K. (2018) 'Employer Brand Building: Using Social Media and Career Websites to Attract Generation Y', *Economics & Sociology*, 11(3), pp. 171–189. doi: 10.14254/2071-789x.2018/11-3/11.

Miller, A. (2013) 'Principal turnover and student achievement', *Economics of Education Review*. Elsevier Ltd, 36, pp. 60–72. doi: 10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.05.004.

Miller, M., Woehr, D. and Hudspeth, N. (2002) 'The meaning and measurement of work ethic: Construction and initial validation of a multidimensional inventory', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60, pp. 451–489.

Mineduc (2005) *Marco para la Buena Dirección*. Edited by E. e I. P. Centro de Perfeccionamiento CPEIP. Santiago, Chile. Available at: <internal-pdf://mbd-1552715264/MBD.pdf> <internal-pdf://mbd-15-3857442616/mbd-15.pdf>.

Mineduc (2011) 'Ley 20.501 Calidad y Equidad de la Educación', pp. 1–26. Available at: <http://www.leychile.cl/N?i=1022346&f=2011-02-26&p=>.

Mineduc (2012) *Decreto 453, Mineduc*.

Mineduc (2018) *Minuta N° 04*. Available at: <https://centroestudios.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/100/2018/11/MINUTA-4.pdf>.

Mineduc (2019) *Bases de datos de Cargos Docentes, datos.mineduc.cl*. Available at:

<http://datos.mineduc.cl/dashboards/20031/descarga-bases-de-datos-de-cargos-docentes/> (Accessed: 18 March 2019).

MINEDUC (2015) *Informe del Sistema Educacional con Análisis de Género*. Santiago, Chile. Available at: <https://centroestudios.mineduc.cl/wp-content/uploads/sites/100/2017/06/PMGGenero-2015.pdf>.

Montealegre, J. (2014) 'Salvador Allende: caricatura y monumento', *Meridional. Revista Chilena de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 0(2), pp. 39–62. doi: 10.5354/0719-3734.2014.30900.

Montecinos, C. *et al.* (2015) 'Targets, Threats and (dis)Trust: The Managerial Troika for Public School Principals in Chile', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23(1), p. 87. doi: 10.14507/epaa.v23.2083.

Montecinos, E. (2005) 'Antecedentes sobre la relación histórica centralismo y descentralización en Chile', *Revista Venezolana de Gerencia*, 10(31), pp. 433–462. doi: 10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2.

Montt, P. (2012) 'Políticas educativas y liderazgo pedagógico en Chile: una lectura de dos décadas de desarrollo (1990 a 2011)', in *¿Qué sabemos sobre los directores de escuela en Chile?*, pp. 397–426.

Moorosi, P. (2010) 'South African Female Principals' Career Paths: Understanding the Gender Gap in Secondary School Management', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 38(5), pp. 547–562. doi: 10.1177/1741143210373741.

Moriña, A. (2018) 'Using life history with students with disabilities: researching with, rather than researching on', *Educational Review*. Routledge, 00(00), pp. 1–15. doi: 10.1080/00131911.2018.1550054.

Morris, J. (1999) 'Managing women: Secondary school principals in Trinidad and Tobago', *Gender and Education*, 11(3), pp. 343–355. doi: 10.1080/09540259920627.

Mulford, B. (2005) 'Organizational Learning and Educational Change', in *Extending educational change*. Springer, pp. 336–361.

Mumford, M. D. and Hemlin, S. (2017) 'Handbook of research on leadership and creativity', *School Leadership & Management*, 38(1), p. 512. doi: 10.4337/9781784715464.

Muñoz, G. and Weinstein, J. (2010) 'Formación y Entrenamiento de los Directores Escolares en Chile: situación actual, desafíos y propuestas de política', *Fondo Nacional de Innovación y Desarrollo en Educación, Ministerio de Educación*, pp. 1–114.

Murphy, M. (2012) *Exploring generational differences among Millennials, GenXers, and Baby Boomers: Work values, manager behavior expectations, and the impact of manager behaviors on work engagement*, *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences*.

Murray, K., Toulson, P. and Legg, S. (2011) 'Generational cohorts' expectations in the workplace: A study of new Zealanders', *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 49(4), pp. 476–493. doi: 10.1177/10384111111423188.

Musah, M., Abdul, R. and Tahir, L. (2018) 'Headteacher-teacher relationship and its effect on teacher's trust in Malaysian high performing schools', *International Journal of Educational Management*, 32(3), pp. 479–497. doi: 10.1108/IJEM-10-2016-0204.

Nesje, K., Brandmo, C. and Berger, J. L. (2018) 'Motivation to Become a Teacher: a Norwegian Validation of the Factors Influencing Teaching Choice Scale', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*. Taylor & Francis, 62(6), pp. 813–831. doi:

10.1080/00313831.2017.1306804.

Netemeyer, R. G., Boles, J. S. and McMurrian, R. (1996) 'Development and validation of work-family conflict and family-work conflict scales.', *Journal of applied psychology*. American Psychological Association, 81(4), p. 400.

Ng, E., Schweitzer, L. and Lyons, S. (2010) 'New generation, great expectations: A field study of the millennial generation', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 281–292. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9159-4.

Nicolaidou, M. and Petridou, A. (2011) 'Echoing school leaders' voices in Cyprus: A study of novice school leaders' perceptions regarding leadership professional development', *Professional Development in Education*, 37(5), pp. 721–740. doi: 10.1080/19415257.2011.564051.

Nie, T., Lian, Z. and Huang, H. (2012) 'Career exploration and fit perception of Chinese new generation employees: Moderating by work values', *Nankai Business Review International*, 3(4), pp. 354–375. doi: 10.1108/20408741211283728.

Norris, D., Rinella, J. and Pham, X. (2018) 'Examining the career trajectories of nonprofit executive leaders', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. SAGE Publications Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA, 47(1), pp. 146–164.

Northfield, S. (2014) 'Multi-Dimensional Trust: How beginning principals build trust with their staff during leader succession', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 17(4), pp. 410–441. doi: 10.1080/13603124.2013.825011.

Norton, M. S. (2002) 'Let's keep our quality school principals on the job', *The High School Journal*, 86, pp. 50–56.

Novaro, M. and Palermo, V. (2003) *La dictadura militar, 1976-1983: del golpe de estado a la restauración democrática*. Paidós Buenos Aires.

Núñez, I. (2007) 'La Profesión Docente En Chile: Saberes E Identidades En Su Historia', *Revista Pensamiento Educativo*, 41, pp. 149–164.

Núñez, I. (2010) 'Escuelas normales: una historia larga y sorprendente. Chile (1842-1973)', *Pensamiento Educativo*, 46–47, pp. 133–150.

Núñez, I. (2017) 'Valoración de la profesión docente en Chile', *Contextos*, pp. 63–69.

Núñez, I., Weinstein, J. and Muñoz, G. (2010) '¿Posición Olvidada? Una Mirada Desde La Normativa a La Historia De La Dirección Escolar En Chile', *Psicoperspectivas. Individuo y Sociedad*, 9(2), pp. 53–81. doi: 10.2225/PSICOPERSPECTIVAS-VOL9-ISSUE2-FULLTEXT-.

OEI (1993) *Evolución histórica del sistema Educativo: El personal docente, situación y formación*.

Olavarría, M. and Allende, C. (2013) 'Student Debt and Access to Higher Education in Chile', *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 141, pp. 91–112. doi: 10.5477/cis/reis.141.91.

Olson, J. S. (2016) "'Chasing a passion": first-generation college graduates at work', *Education + Training*, 58(4), pp. 358–371. doi: 10.1108/ET-03-2015-0023.

Oplatka, I. (2001) "'I Changed My Management Style": The cross-gender transition of women headteachers in mid-career', *School Leadership & Management*, 21(2), pp. 219–233. doi: 10.1080/13632430120054781.

Oplatka, I. (2004) 'The principal's career stage: An absent element in leadership

- perspectives', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 7(1), pp. 43–55. doi: 10.1080/1360312032000154540.
- Oplatka, I. (2012) 'Towards a conceptualization of the early career stage of principalship: Current research, idiosyncrasies and future directions', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*. United Kingdom, pp. 129–151. doi: 10.1080/13603124.2011.640943.
- Oplatka, I. and Mimon, R. (2008) 'Women principals' conceptions of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction: An alternative view?', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 11(2), pp. 135–153. doi: 10.1080/13603120701576225.
- Oplatka, I. and Tamir, V. (2009) "'I don't want to be a school head": Women deputy heads' insightful constructions of career advancement and retention', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 37(2), pp. 216–238. doi: 10.1177/1741143208100299.
- Orellana, P. (2020) 'La construcción de sujetos en torno a la institucionalización de políticas públicas de género en Chile.', *iQual. Revista de Género e Igualdad*, (3), pp. 108–131.
- Pairicán, F. and Álvarez, R. (2011) 'La Nueva Guerra de Arauco: la Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco y los nuevos movimientos de resistencia mapuche en el Chile de la Concertación (1997-2009)', *Revista Izquierdas*. Universidad de Santiago de Chile, (10).
- Papa, F. (2007) 'Why Do Principals Change Schools? A Multivariate Analysis of Principal Retention', *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, 6(3), pp. 267–290. doi: 10.1080/15700760701263725.
- Paredes, A. (2004) 'La Operación Cóndor y la guerra fría', *Universum (Talca)*. Universidad de Talca. Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 19(1), pp. 122–137.
- Paredes, R. D. and Pinto, J. I. (2009) '¿El Fin de la Educación Pública En Chile? Is this the end of Public education In Chile?', *Estudios de Economía*, 47(1), pp. 47–66. doi: 10.1136/annrheumdis-2014-206998.
- Park, S. (2018) 'Exploring the generation gap in the workplace in South Korea', *Human Resource Development International*. Routledge, 21(3), pp. 276–283. doi: 10.1080/13678868.2017.1306769.
- Partlow, M. (2007) 'Contextual factors related to elementary principal turnover', *Planning and Changing*, 38(1), pp. 60–76. Available at: internal-pdf://ej785716-2544289125/EJ785716.pdf.
- Pascarella, E., Pierson, C. and Wolniak, G. (2004) 'First-Generation College Students: Additional Evidence on College Experiences and Outcomes', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 75(3), pp. 249–284. doi: 10.1353/jhe.2004.0016.
- Pastor, D. (2004) 'Origins of the Chilean binominal election system', *Revista de ciencia política (Santiago)*. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Instituto de Ciencia Política, 24(1), pp. 38–57.
- Peirano, C. (2015) *Evaluación de la Implementación del Sistema de Selección de Directores en el Objetivo*. Available at: <https://www.serviciocivil.cl/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Evaluación-de-la-Implementación-del-Sistema-de-Selección-de-Directores-en-el-marco-de-la-Ley-N°20.501-Grupo-Educativo.pdf>.
- Peirano, C., Campero, P. and Fernández, F. (2015) 'Sistema de selección de directivos en Chile. aprendizajes para la región 1', *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 69, pp. 109–134. Available at: http://rieoei.org/rie_revista.php?numero=rie69a05&titulo=Sistema de selección de directivos en Chile. Aprendizajes para la región.
- Pekerti, A. and Arli, D. (2017) 'Do Cultural and Generational Cohorts Matter to Ideologies

and Consumer Ethics? A Comparative Study of Australians, Indonesians, and Indonesian Migrants in Australia', *Journal of Business Ethics*. Springer Netherlands, 143(2), pp. 387–404. doi: 10.1007/s10551-015-2777-z.

Peralta, L. (2017) 'La identidad docente en profesores n6veles: ¿ap6stoles? ¿t6cnicos? o ¿intelectuales transformativos?', *Didasko*, (1), pp. 95–120.

P6rez, J. (2016) 'La regulaci6n de la jornada docente en perspectiva comparada: los casos de Argentina, Brasil, Chile y Uruguay', *Propuesta Educativa*, A6o 25 Nro, pp. 10–20. Available at: <https://1drv.ms/b/s!AnCFFVdd3-Gag2nG1sn4w27jvo5m>.

Perticara, M., Rom6n, M. and Selman, J. (2013) *Rendimiento escolar y uso de los recursos de la ley SEP*, Facultad de Educaci6n. Available at: <http://fen.uahurtado.cl/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/I-2971.pdf>.

Peters-Hawkins, A., Reed, L. and Kingsberry, F. (2018) 'Dynamic Leadership Succession: Strengthening Urban Principal Succession Planning', *Urban Education*, 53(1), pp. 26–54. doi: 10.1177/0042085916682575.

Phillips, D. R. and Siu, O. (2012) 'Global aging and aging workers', *The Oxford handbook of work and aging*. Oxford University Press New York, pp. 11–32.

Pickett, S. (2019) 'The Chilean Winter: A Student Revolution', *IU Journal of Undergraduate Research*, 4(1), pp. 04–09. doi: 10.14434/iujur.v4i1.24207.

Pietsch, M., Tulowitzki, P. and Hartig, J. (2019) 'Examining the effect of principal turnover on teaching quality: a study on organizational change with repeated classroom observations', *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*. Taylor & Francis, 0(0), pp. 1–23. doi: 10.1080/09243453.2019.1672759.

Pijanowski, J. C. and Brady, K. P. (2009) 'The influence of salary in attracting and retaining school leaders', *Education and Urban Society*, 42(1), pp. 25–41. doi: 10.1177/0013124509342952.

Pilcher, J. (1994) 'Mannheim's sociology of generations: an undervalued legacy', *British Journal of Sociology*, pp. 481–495. Available at: <internal-pdf://161.120.180.188/591659.pdf>.

du Plessis, A. E. and Sunde, E. (2017) 'The workplace experiences of beginning teachers in three countries: a message for initial teacher education from the field', *Journal of Education for Teaching*. Taylor & Francis, 43(2), pp. 132–150. doi: 10.1080/02607476.2017.1286759.

Poetschke, F. (2003) *The Research Project*, Department of Social and Environmental Studies. Liverpool.

Polumbaum, J. (2002) 'Free society, repressed media: The Chilean paradox', *Current History*, 101(652), pp. 66–72.

Pounder, D. G. and Merrill, R. J. (2001) 'Job desirability of the high school principalship: A job choice theory perspective', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 37(1), pp. 27–57. doi: 10.1177/00131610121969235.

Priestley, D. (2011) 'The rise of the global small business', *Strategic Direction*, 27(8), pp. 3–4. doi: 10.1108/02580541111146786.

Puga, I. (2011) 'Escuela y estratificaci6n social en Chile: ¿cu6l es el rol de la municipalizaci6n y la educaci6n particular subvencionada en la reproducci6n de la desigualdad social?', *Estudios pedag6gicos (Valdivia)*, 37(2), pp. 213–232. doi: 10.4067/S0718-07052011000200013.

QS (2020) *Universities Ranking*. Available at: <https://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2020> (Accessed: 6 April 2020).

- Ramirez, N. (2019) 'CNA advierte que 58 Pedagogías que dictan 6 universidades no acreditadas deberán cerrar', *EMOL*, 11 January.
- Ranmuthugala, G. *et al.* (2007) 'Where is the evidence that rural exposure increases uptake of rural medical practice?', *Australian Journal of Rural Health*, 15(5), pp. 285–288. doi: 10.1111/j.1440-1584.2007.00915.x.
- Real, K., Mitnick, A. D. and Maloney, W. F. (2010) 'More similar than different: Millennials in the U.S. building trades', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 303–313. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9163-8.
- Reay, D., Crozier, G. and Clayton, J. (2009) "'Strangers in Paradise"?", *Sociology*, 43(6), pp. 1103–1121. doi: 10.1177/0038038509345700.
- Redondo, R., Sparrow, P. and Hernández, G. (2019) 'The effect of protean careers on talent retention: examining the relationship between protean career orientation, organizational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit for talented workers', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*. Routledge, 0(0), pp. 1–24. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2019.1579247.
- Rhodes, C. and Brundrett, M. (2006) 'The identification, development, succession and retention of leadership talent in contextually different primary schools: A case study located within the English West Midlands', *School Leadership and Management*, 26(3), pp. 269–287. doi: 10.1080/13632430600737124.
- Rhodes, C. and Brundrett, M. (2014) 'Reteniendo el talento de liderazgo en las escuelas', *Revista Iberoamericana sobre Calidad, Eficacia y Cambio en Educación*, 12(4e), pp. 191–207. Available at: internal-pdf://art8-3840808232/art8.pdf.
- Ridley, D. (2012) *The literature review: A step-by-step guide for students*. Sage., *Evaluation & Research in Education*. Sage. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Riesco, M. (2007) 'La necesidad de reconstruir el sistema nacional de educación público desmantelado por la dictadura y la LOCE', *Pensamiento Educativo. Revista de Investigación Educativa Latinoamericana*, 40, pp. 243–261. Available at: <http://www.pensamientoeducativo.uc.cl/files/journals/2/articles/406/public/406-903-1-PB.pdf>.
- RIISG (2018) *UCL Research Information and IT Services Group*. London.
- Riley, K., Montecinos, C. and Ahumada, L. (2017) 'Effective principals serving in high poverty schools in Chile: managing competing realities', *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier, 237, pp. 843–849.
- Rinke, C. R. (2009) 'Exploring the generation gap in urban schools: Generational perspectives in professional learning communities', *Education and Urban Society*, 42(1), pp. 3–24. doi: 10.1177/0013124509342699.
- Rivero, R. and Hurtado, C. (2018) '¿ CUÁN PREPARADOS LLEGAN LOS DIRECTORES ESCOLARES ? : UN ANÁLISIS SOBRE SU FORMACIÓN Y TRAYECTORIAS Introducción En las últimas décadas , la evidencia internacional ha situado al', pp. 17–49.
- Riveros, L. and Báez Castillo, G. A. (2015) 'Chile y la OCDE. La dicotomía entre lo macroeconómico y el desarrollo humano', *Estudios Internacionales*, 46(179). doi: 10.5354/0719-3769.2014.35461.
- Robinson, V. M. J., Lloyd, C. A. and Rowe, K. J. (2008) 'The Impact of Leadership on Student Outcomes: An Analysis of the Differential Effects of Leadership Types', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 44(5), pp. 635–674. doi: 10.1177/0013161X08321509.
- Rocha-Coutinho, M. L. (2008) 'Variations on an old theme: Maternity for women with a very

- successful professional career', *Spanish Journal of Psychology*, 11(1), pp. 66–77. doi: 10.1017/S1138741600004121.
- Rodriguez, A. and Rodriguez, Y. (2015) 'Metaphors for today's leadership: VUCA world, millennial and "Cloud Leaders"', *Journal of Management Development*, 34(7), pp. 854–866. doi: 10.1108/JMD-09-2013-0110.
- Rojas, P. (1998) *Remuneraciones de los profesores in Chile, Estudios Públicos*. Centro de Estudios Públicos.
- Rosenthal, G. (1993) 'Reconstruction of life stories: Principles of selection in generating stories for narrative biographical interviews'.
- Ross, J., Valenzuela, M. and Intindola, M. (2017) 'Preparing potential leaders: Facilitating a learning experience on LMX and fairness in the workplace', *The International Journal of Management Education*. Elsevier Ltd, 15(1), pp. 84–97. doi: 10.1016/j.ijme.2017.01.006.
- Rudolph, C., Rauvola, R. and Zacher, H. (2018) 'Leadership and generations at work: A critical review', *Leadership Quarterly*, 29(1), pp. 44–57. doi: 10.1016/j.leaqua.2017.09.004.
- Ruffinelli, A. (2016) 'Ley de desarrollo profesional docente en Chile: de la precarización sistemática a los logros, avances y desafíos pendientes para la profesionalización', *Estudios pedagógicos (Valdivia)*, 42, pp. 261–279.
- Said, C. (2018) 'Carrera Docente hizo que el 82% de los profesores aumentara su sueldo', *La tercera*, 5 November. Available at: <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/carrera-docente-82-los-profesores-aumentara-sueldo/387539/>.
- Said, C. (2019) '106 personas buscan llegar a la rectoría del Instituto Nacional: Así se selecciona a los directores de colegios', *La tercera*, 13 September. Available at: <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/106-personas-buscan-llegar-la-rectoria-del-instituto-nacional-asi-se-selecciona-los-directores-colegios/823094/>.
- Salifu, I., Alagbela, A. and Gyamfi, C. (2018) 'Factors influencing teaching as a career choice (FIT-Choice) in Ghana', *Teaching Education*. Routledge, 29(2), pp. 111–134. doi: 10.1080/10476210.2017.1365360.
- Samuels, G. and Ross-Sheriff, F. (2008) 'Identity, oppression, and power: Feminisms and intersectionality theory', *Affilia - Journal of Women and Social Work*, 23(1), pp. 5–9. doi: 10.1177/0886109907310475.
- Sandoval, F. (2007) 'Cincuenta Años de Educación y Cambio Cultural en Chile : Etnografía de Profesores Cincuenta Años de Educación y Cambio Cultural en Chile : Etnografía de Profesores Normalistas', in *VI Congreso Chileno de Antropología. Colegio de Antropólogos de Chile*. Valdivia.
- Savickas, M. L. (2001) 'Toward a comprehensive theory of career development: Dispositions, concerns, and narratives', *Contemporary models in vocational psychology: A volume in honor of Samuel H. Osipow*, pp. 295–320.
- Schaefer, L. and Clandinin, D. J. (2018) 'Sustaining teachers' stories to live by: implications for teacher education', *Teachers and Teaching*. Routledge, 00(00), pp. 1–15. doi: 10.1080/13540602.2018.1532407.
- Schmidt, C. E. et al. (2011) 'Generation Y: Recruitment, development and retention', *Der Anaesthetist*, 60(6), pp. 517–524. doi: 10.1007/s00101-011-1886-z.
- Schulz, J. (2013) *Research methods in educational leadership and management, International Journal of Research & Method in Education*. Sage Publications. doi: 10.1080/1743727X.2012.752206.

- Schwartz, S. E. O. *et al.* (2018) "'I'm Having a Little Struggle With This, Can You Help Me Out?": Examining Impacts and Processes of a Social Capital Intervention for First-Generation College Students', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 61(1–2), pp. 166–178. doi: 10.1002/ajcp.12206.
- Schyns, B., Torka, N. and Gössling, T. (2007) 'Turnover intention and preparedness for change', *Career Development International*, 12(7), pp. 660–679. doi: 10.1108/13620430710834413.
- Seipert, K. and Baghurst, T. (2017) 'Contrasting work values of baby boomers and generation x rural public school principals', *Public Administration Quarterly*, 38(3), pp. 347–370. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24372035>.
- Senate Select Committee (1976) *The church report original*. Available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100504030947/http://www.fas.org/irp/ops/policy/church-chile.htm>.
- Sherman, W. H. and Beaty, D. M. (2010) 'Using feminist phase theory to portray women in the principalship across generations in the USA', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. Routledge, 42(2), pp. 159–180. doi: 10.1080/00220621003701304.
- Shiba, K., Kondo, N. and Kondo, K. (2017) 'Retirement and mental health: Dose social participation mitigate the association? A fixed-effects longitudinal analysis', *BMC Public Health*. BMC Public Health, 17(1), pp. 1–10. doi: 10.1186/s12889-017-4427-0.
- Simkins, T., Close, P. and Smith, R. (2009) 'Work-shadowing as a process for facilitating leadership succession in primary schools', *School Leadership and Management*, 29(3), pp. 239–251. doi: 10.1080/13632430902793759.
- Simpson, T. (1987) 'Headteacher stress', *School Organisation*, 7(3), pp. 281–285. doi: 10.1080/0260136870070303.
- Sisto, V. (2012) 'Identidades Desafiadas: Individualización, Managerialismo y Trabajo Docente en el Chile Actual', *Psikhe*, 21(2), pp. 35–46. doi: 10.7764/psikhe.21.2.542.
- Smethem, L. (2007) 'Retention and intention in teaching careers: Will the new generation stay?', *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 13(5), pp. 465–480. doi: 10.1080/13540600701561661.
- Smeyers, P. (2001) 'Qualitative versus quantitative research design: A plea for paradigmatic tolerance in educational research', *Journal of philosophy of education*, 35, pp. 477–495.
- Smith, J. (2011) 'Agency and Female Teachers' Career Decisions: A Life History Study of 40 Women', *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 39(1), pp. 7–24. doi: 10.1177/1741143210383900.
- Smith, J. (2015) 'Gendered trends in student teachers' professional aspirations', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 43(6), pp. 861–882. doi: 10.1177/1741143214543200.
- Smith, J. M. (2012) 'Reflections on using life history to investigate women teachers' aspirations and career decisions', *Qualitative Research*, 12(4), pp. 486–503. doi: 10.1177/1468794111433090.
- Smola, K. and Sutton, C. (2002) 'Generational differences: revisiting generational work values for the new millennium', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23(4), pp. 363–382. doi: 10.1002/job.147.
- Soto, C. (2015) 'Introducción Dictadura real y dictadura imaginada', 15(4), pp. 279–303.
- Stake, R. E. (2000) 'Case Studies', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *Handbook of*

Qualitative Research. ERIC.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1993) 'Breaking out again: Feminist epistemology and ontology'. London: Routledge.

Stevenson, H. (2006) 'Moving towards, into and through principalship: developing a framework for researching the career trajectories of school leaders', *Journal of Educational Administration*, 44(4), pp. 408–420. doi: 10.1108/09578230610676604.

Stone-Johnson, C. (2011) 'Talkin'bout my generation: Boomers, Xers, and educational change', *Journal of Educational Change*, 12, pp. 221–239.

Stone-Johnson, C. (2014) 'Not Cut Out to Be an Administrator: Generations, Change, and the Career Transition From Teacher to Principal', *Education and Urban Society*, 46(5), pp. 606–625. doi: 10.1177/0013124512458120.

Strauss, V. (2013) 'Professor: Why Teach For America can't recruit in my classroom', *Washington Post*. Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2013/02/18/professor-why-teach-for-america-cant-recruit-in-my-classroom/>.

Strauss, W. and Howe, N. (1991) *Generations: The history of America's future, 1584 to 2069*. William Morrow & Co.

Sullivan, S. and Baruch, Y. (2009) 'Advances in career theory and research: a critical review and agenda for future exploration.', *Journal of Management*, 35(6), pp. 1542–1571. doi: 10.1177/0149206309350082.

Sullivan, S., Forret, M. and Carraher, S. (2009) 'Using the kaleidoscope career model to examine generational differences in work attitudes', *Career Development International*, 14(3), pp. 284–302. doi: 10.1108/13620430910966442.

Sumintono, B., Sheyoputri, E. and Jiang, N. (2015) 'Becoming a principal in Indonesia: possibility, pitfalls and potential', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 35(3), pp. 342–352. doi: 10.1080/02188791.2015.1056595.

Sun, M. and Ni, Y. (2016) 'Work Environments and Labor Markets: Explaining Principal Turnover Gap Between Charter Schools and Traditional Public Schools', *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 52(1), pp. 144–183. doi: 10.1177/0013161X15616659.

Sutcher, L., Darling-Hammond, L. and Carver-Thomas, D. (2016) 'A Coming Crisis in Teaching? Teacher Supply, Demand, and Shortages in the U.S.', *Learning Policy Institute*. Available at: <https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/coming-crisis-teaching-brief>.

Suutari, V., Tornikoski, C. and Mäkelä, L. (2012) 'Career decision making of global careerists', *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 23(16), pp. 3455–3478. doi: 10.1080/09585192.2011.639026.

Sylva, H. and Mol, S. (2009) 'E-Recruitment: A study into applicant perceptions of an online application system', *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 17(3), pp. 311–323. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2389.2009.00473.x.

Tahir, L., Thakib, M. and Hamzah, M. (2017) 'Novice head teachers' isolation and loneliness experiences: A mixed-methods study', *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 45(1), pp. 164–189. doi: 10.1177/1741143215587302.

Tanner, E. (2001) 'Chilean conversations: Internet forum participants debate Augusto Pinochet's detention', *Journal of communication*. Oxford University Press, 51(2), pp. 383–403.

Taylor, R. T. et al. (2013) 'Urban school district's Preparing New Principals Program 2008-2011 : Perceptions of program completers , supervising principals , and senior level school

district administrators', *International Journal of Educational Leadership Preparation*, 9(1), p. 13. Available at: [http://sfx.ucl.ac.uk/sfx_local?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Ajournal&genre=article&sid=ProQ%3AProQ%3Aericshell&atitle=Urban School District's Preparing New Principals Program 2008-2011's Perceptions of Program Co.](http://sfx.ucl.ac.uk/sfx_local?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=info%3Aofi%2Ffmt%3Akev%3Amtx%3Ajournal&genre=article&sid=ProQ%3AProQ%3Aericshell&atitle=Urban%20School%20District%26apos%3Bs%20Preparing%20New%20Principals%20Program%202008-2011%3A%20Perceptions%20of%20Program%20Co.)

Tekleselassie, A. and Villarreal, P. (2011) 'Career Mobility and Departure Intentions among School Principals in the United States: Incentives and Disincentives', *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, 10(3), pp. 251–293. doi: 10.1080/15700763.2011.585536.

Thompson, C. A. (2017) *Leading a Multigenerational Workforce in the Public Sector*. doi: UMI : 3257958.

Topa, G. and Alcover, C.-M. (2015) 'Psychosocial factors in retirement intentions and adjustment: a multi-sample study', *Career Development International*, 20(4), pp. 384–408. doi: 10.1108/CDI-09-2014-0129.

Torche, F. (2005) 'Privatization Reform and Equality of Educational Opportunity in Chile', *Sociology of Education*, 78(4), pp. 316–343. Available at: <http://start.ubuntu.com/9.04/>.

Torres, A. C. (2018) 'Push, Pull, Tap and Switch: Understanding the Career Decisions of Charter School Leaders', *Leadership and Policy in Schools*. Routledge, 00(00), pp. 1–19. doi: 10.1080/15700763.2018.1513155.

Tran, H., McCormick, J. and Nguyen, T. (2018) 'The cost of replacing South Carolina high school principals', *Management in Education*, 32(3), pp. 109–118. doi: 10.1177/0892020617747609.

Turnbull, B. (2005) 'Facilitating early career leadership through pre-service training', *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 11(5), pp. 457–464. doi: 10.1080/13450600500238451.

Turnbull, B., Riley, D. and MacFarlane, J. (2015) 'Districts Taking Charge of the Principal Pipeline. Building a Stronger Principalship: Volume 3', 3(January), p. 96. Available at: <http://libaccess.mcmaster.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1697494366?accountid=12347>.

Twenge, J. (2010) 'A review of the empirical evidence on generational differences in work attitudes', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 25(2), pp. 201–210. doi: 10.1007/s10869-010-9165-6.

Ummanel, A., McNamara, G. and Stynes, M. (2016) 'The career paths of primary school principals in Ireland', *Irish Educational Studies*. Taylor & Francis, 35(1), pp. 57–71. doi: 10.1080/03323315.2016.1151373.

Uribe, M., Berkowitz, D. and Galdames, S. (2017) *Marco para la gestión y el liderazgo educativo local: desarrollando prácticas de liderazgo intermedio en el territorio*, *Lideres Educativos*. Valparaiso, Chile. Available at: <https://www.lidereseducativos.cl/recursos/marco-para-la-gestion-y-el-liderazgo-educativo-local/>.

Valenzuela, J., Villarreal, G. and Villalobos, C. (2013) 'Ley de Subvención Escolar Preferencial (SEP): algunos resultados preliminares de su implementación', *Pensamiento Educativo: Revista de Investigación Educativa Latinoamericana*, 50(2), pp. 113–131. doi: 10.7764/PEL.50.2.2013.17.

De Vaus, D. (2001) *Research design in social research*. London: Sage.

Vere, J. P. (2017) "'Having It All' No Longer: Fertility, Female Labor Supply, and the New Life Choices of Generation X", *Demography*, 44(4), pp. 821–828.

- Verger, A., Bonal, X. and Zancajo, A. (2016) 'Recontextualización de políticas y (cuasi) mercados educativos. Un análisis de las dinámicas de demanda y oferta escolar en Chile', *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24. Available at: internal-pdf://2098-9258-2-pb-2593589253/2098-9258-2-PB.pdf.
- Villalobos, S. (1991) *Historia de Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Andres Bello.
- Vincent, J. A. (2005) 'Understanding generations: political economy and in an ageing society', *British journal of sociology*, 56(4), pp. 579–599. Available at: internal-pdf://vincent-4210033925/Vincent.pdf.
- Vowden, K. J. (2012) 'Safety in numbers? Middle-class parents and social mix in London primary schools', *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(6), pp. 731–745. doi: 10.1080/02680939.2012.664286.
- De Vries, M., Miller, D. and Toulouse, J.-M. (1984) 'Using the life cycle to anticipate satisfaction at work', *Journal of Forecasting*, 3(2), pp. 161–172. doi: 10.1002/for.3980030204.
- Waldman, G. (2009) 'Chile: la persistencia de las memorias antagónicas', *Política y Cultura*, 31, pp. 211–234.
- Wallace, M. and Rogers, G. (2001) 'Potentially Aspiring Headteachers in Small Welsh Primary Schools: Education professionals that policy makers forgot?', *School Leadership & Management*, 21, pp. 441–461. doi: 10.1080/13632430120108952.
- Wang, F., Pollock, K. and Hauseman, C. (2018) 'School Principals ' Job Satisfaction : The Effects of Work Intensification', *Canaian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, (185), pp. 73–90.
- Wanjiru, J. (2019) 'Post-conflict reconstruction: Negotiating school leadership practice for inclusive education of conflict-affected children in Kenya', *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, p. 174114321881755. doi: 10.1177/1741143218817554.
- Watt, H. and Richardson, P. (2007) 'Motivational factors influencing teaching as a career choice: Development and validation of the FIT-Choice scale', *The Journal of experimental education*. Taylor & Francis, 75(3), pp. 167–202.
- Weindling, D. and Dimmock, C. (2006) 'Sitting in the "hot seat": new headteachers in the UK', *Journal of Educational Administration*, 44(4), pp. 326–340. doi: 10.1108/09578230610674949.
- Weiner, J. M. and Holder, S. (2018) 'Why lead?: Using narrative to explore the motivations of those aspiring to be principals in high needs schools', *International Journal of Leadership in Education*. Routledge, 00(00), pp. 1–18. doi: 10.1080/13603124.2018.1492024.
- Weinstein, J., Fuenzalida, A. and Muñoz, G. (2010) 'La subvención preferencial: desde una difícil instalación hacia su institucionalización', *¿Fin de ciclo? Cambios en la gobernanza del sistema educativo*, pp. 161–182.
- Weinstein, J. and Muñoz, G. (2012) *¿Qué sabemos sobre los directores de escuela en Chile?* Edited by E. de F. C. y C. de E. de P. y P. en E. (CEPPE). Santiago. doi: 216.953.
- Weinstein, M., Jacobowitz, R. and Ely, T. (2009) 'New schools, new leaders: A study of principal turnover and academic achievement at new high schools in New York City', *The Institute for Education and Social Policy, New York University*, (June). doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1875901>.
- Whitaker, K. S. (1996) 'Exploring causes of principal burnout', *Journal of Educational Administration*. MCB UP Ltd, 34(1), pp. 60–71.

- White, R. E. and Cooper, K. (2011) *Principals in Succession*. Edited by R. E. White and K. Cooper. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-1275-1.
- Whitlock-Pope, S. (2010) *Leadership Succession: The First-Year Principal- Insiders And Outsiders*. Fordham University. Available at: <https://search.proquest.com/docview/751282429/?pq-origsite=primo>.
- Wilson, S., Cunningham-Burley, S. and Bancroft, A. (2007) 'Young people, biographical narratives and the life grid: Young people's accounts of parental substance use', *Qualitative Research*, 7(1), pp. 135–151. doi: 10.1177/1468794107071427.
- Wilson, V., Powney, J. and Hall, S. (2006) 'Who Gets Ahead?', *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 34(2), pp. 239–255. doi: 10.1177/1741143206062496.
- Wong, M., Gardiner, E. and Lang, W. (2008) 'Generational differences in personality and motivation: Do they exist and what are the implications for the workplace?', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(8), pp. 878–890. doi: 10.1108/02683940810904376.
- Yi, X., Ribbens, B. and Fu, L. (2015) 'Variation in career and workplace attitudes by generation, Gender, And culture differences in career perceptions in the United States and China', *Employee Relations*, 37(1), pp. 66–82. doi: 10.1108/ER-01-2014-0005.
- Yigitcanlar, T. *et al.* (2007) 'Attracting and retaining knowledge workers in knowledge cities', *Journal of knowledge management*, 11(5), pp. 6–17. doi: 10.1108/13673270710819762.
- Yin, R. (2009) 'Case study research: design and methods, 4th ed.', in *United States: Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*.
- Yin, R. (2018) *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*, SAGE. SAGE, 2018.
- Yost, D., Patton, M. and Ward, K. (2018) 'Building a Bench : Planning for Leadership Succession', *The Department Chair*, spring. doi: 10.1002/dch.30188.
- Zemke, R., Raines, C. and Filipczak, B. (2000) *Generations at work: Managing the clash of Veterans, Boomers, Xers, and Nexters in your workplace*. Amacom New York, NY.
- Zhang, J. H. (2004) *A study of the lives and careers of selected secondary headteachers in rural China*. University of Birmingham. Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/cbdv.200490137/abstract>.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1 – Approach Letter
The headship through the eyes of time:
A Multiple case study of the careers of headteachers in Chile

Approach Letter

Dear [insert name]

My name is **Sergio Galdames**, I am a PhD student at the Institute of Education, University College of London, University of London. My research explores the lives and careers different generational cohorts [Millennials, GenXers and Boomers] headteachers in state-funded schools in -Valparaiso.

According to the information on the National database, you are part of the **[INSERT COHORT]** or in other words you are currently **[INSERT AGE PERIOD]** years old. Through this email I am asking your collaboration in sharing your experience as a headteacher, **in a one-hour interview**. The study focuses on career development, including topics as work before education, career as a teacher, the headship, current working conditions and educational policy.

While in the latest years there is a growing body of research in headteacher, there is not much research about the influence of age on careers, especially in Latin American contexts. Therefore, your participation in the study will be a great help to gain more knowledge and to inform teachers, school leaders and policymakers.

If you are willing to participate, we can organise an interview in a place of your convenience (for instance in your school), between **September and December**. If you are interested in and available, please let me know as soon as possible by replying this email (sergio.galdames.15@ucl.ac.uk) or calling to [Chilean number]. All the information you provide will be treated with a high level of confidentiality and anonymity.

As I am currently based in London, it will be great if you can answer this invitation as soon as possible, in order to organise the trip. I would welcome your participation in this exciting project and look forward to hearing from you.

Best wishes,

Sergio Galdames

Appendix 2 – Informed Consent

The headship through the eyes of time:
A Multiple case study of the careers of headteachers in Chile

Appendix B

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW

The Research Project

Research and practice have highlighted the importance leadership as an integral component of school improvement and student's learning (Leithwood, Day, Sammons, Harris, & Hopkins, 2006) Accordingly, the role of the headteacher has been identified as a key component in explaining school outcomes (Gunter & Rayner, 2007; Webb, 2005). However, a growing body of knowledge has indicated difficulties in attracting and retaining headteachers (Fink & Brayman, 2006; Galvin & Shepherd, 2000). Due to the increasing demands for accountability, effectiveness, efficiency, and equity, the headteacher's position has been perceived as complex and unattractive (Earley, Weindling, Bubb, & Glenn, 2009; Mascall & Leithwood, 2010).

Studies have started to identify that age is a relevant feature to understand how people approach work and careers. A recent study focused on GenX (38 – 50 years old) Headteachers identified distinct generational characteristics from this cohort in comparison with older generations. Less is known about how different generations approach career in the Latin American context, none about the Chilean.

This research aims to explore the careers of Millennial, GenXs Headteachers, in specific the ways they are building their professional lives and its relation with the educational policies and personal development.

Overall Research Strategy

The study is planned in 4 years, aimed to have findings and publications by mid-2019:

- 2016: Design
- 2017: Data collection
- 2018: Data Analysis
- 2019: Findings and Publications

The Interview

I will conduct the interview with you at a mutually convenient time, date and location. The interview will last for 60-90 minutes. Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate in the study.

Privacy and Confidentiality

Your participation in this study will remain confidential. While I would like to audiotape your interview, you are free to decline it or to turn off the recorder at any point during your interview. Following the interview, your audiotape will be transcribed. For the duration of the study, all tapes will be stored at my

personal computer only. You will also be assigned a pseudonym immediately upon completion of your interview. During our analysis and writing, your name and the name of your school will not be included on the raw data, draft documents or final versions. While I may use direct quotes from your interview, they will never be attributed to you.

Consent

I agree to participate in an interview for this research project. I am aware that my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time, without fear of penalty. I have retained a personal copy of this letter.

_____	_____	_____
Print Name	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
EMAIL	Mobile Number	City

I agree to have my interview audiotaped.

If you have any questions about the project, please do not hesitate to contact Sergio Galdames at sergio.galdames.15@ucl.ac.uk For questions about the Institute of Education and research safety, please contact Sergio Galdames' Supervisor, Dr Karen Edge at k.edge@ucl.ac.uk