



A Study of Scale Development for Determining the Political Tactics Used by School Administrators

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to develop a scale to identify the political tactics used by school administrators. To do this, a 44-item measurement tool, which was created based on interviews with 12 teachers, was presented to six domain experts to verify the content validity. The content validity ratio of each item was then calculated via the Lawshe technique and 12 items that were not approved were subtracted from the scale. The remaining 32-item measuring instrument was applied to 200 teachers working in the Turkish province of Denizli during the 2016-2017 school year.

The reliability coefficients (Cronbach α) of all scales and sub-dimensions were calculated, and factor-based discrimination procedures, item-remaining and item-total correlations, and relationship analysis between factors were performed. As a result, three items with a negative correlation with the item-total correlation and two items with a contradiction as a result of the factor analysis were subtracted. A 27-item scale consisting of five factors was obtained. The identified factors were named favoritism, intimidation, depreciation, branding, and coalition formation, respectively.

Keywords: Political tactics, favoritism, intimidation, degrading, branding, and coalition formation.

INTRODUCTION

In all organizations, situations may arise that lead to conflict. In particular, conflict that is nonfunctional and that mitigates against achieving the goals of the organization must be managed in a way that harms neither the group nor its members. Administrators must try to influence the parties involved by drawing on different aspects of the conflict resolution process. They may also direct the conflict in a manner that protects their individual benefits. In either case, managers must develop political tactics to defend both their own and their organization's interests. They frequently do this through policy changes. According to the political framework, organizations are coalitions formed by various individuals and interest groups. Coalition members have permanent differences in values, beliefs, knowledge, interests, and reality

perceptions. Moreover, most important decisions involve the distribution of scarce resources. Both of these factors may provoke conflict and make power the most important asset (Bolman & Deal, 2013).

From a political perspective, conflict is not necessarily a sign of a problem or of something wrong. Political frameworks emphasize strategy and tactics more than peace. Indeed, conflict has as many benefits as costs. A calm, harmonious organization may be indifferent, lacking creativity, stagnant, rigid, and unresponsive. Conflict challenges the status quo and stimulates interest and curiosity. It constitutes the basis of personal and social change and the foundation of creativity. Conflict encourages finding solutions to problems by promoting new ideas, approaches, and innovations (Bolman & Deal, 2013). How the conflict is managed is more important than its

amount and severity. A poorly managed conflict can lead to new confrontations and destructive power struggles within the organization. On the other hand, a well-managed conflict can create more effective working conditions by encouraging vibrancy and flexibility (Kotter, 1985).

The most important challenge administrators face is to understand and shape how conflicts proceed. A well-managed conflict can increase productivity, while a misconducted one can foster weakness (Peck, 1998).

Mintzberg (1983a, 1983b) emphasizes the hidden nature of intra-organizational policies that favor the interests of individuals and groups while often being against those of the organization. For this reason, these policies can cause division and conflict. Despite the lack of legal qualification, politics can ensure that the strongest member of the organization becomes the leader. Political authority, based on ideology and sometimes on one-sided expertise systems, creates an environment in which issues can be discussed. Since politics make it easy to implement decisions, managers apply political strategies (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Effective organizational politics require members who negotiate to influence decisions and objectives, seek a deal, try to come to a consensus, and employ various political tactics, including political strategies, political games, and conflict management. Mintzberg (1983a) identifies five types of political games: resistance to authority, resistance disapproval, building a power base, defeating rivals, and effecting organizational change. Resistance involves challenging formal authority. At the lowest level, individuals with limited power may try to exploit formal organizational structures to increase their strength and further their interests (Hoy & Miskel, 2015).

Building a power base is a method that participants use to gain support. It can involve superiors, peers, and subordinates, and includes strategies such as sponsorship, alliance building, empire building, expertise, and lording. In sponsorship, subordinates associate themselves with superiors on the assumption that they will show a definite commitment to certain transactions in the future. Sponsors fight for the people they protect and support them in official settings; they also provide information to those they sponsor via informal channels, and show a kind of power display by giving a message to their co-workers.

Alliance building entails power sharing among colleagues. According to Mintzberg (1983a), either the individuals involved try to find support for themselves by attempting to gain power, or they look for an informal leader to represent themselves. Thus, the core of the interest group comes into existence.

While some interest groups disperse after achieving their goals, others move towards factionalism to fight against a large number of targets. If such groups do not have the power to accomplish their objectives, they may form alliances with other interest groups or factions to increase their power. Alliances continue to grow as long as no more people join the game, the group is not captured, or an opponent does not emerge.

Empire building is often an effort by mid-level managers to increase their power by taking advantage of the potential of other groups and subordinates. This effort takes place within a certain area. The expertise game is played by professionals who have the knowledge and skills that the organization requires. Such experts highlight the organization's need for their talents while emphasizing their importance and authenticity and trying to remove any effort to

rationalize them by fighting for their ability to bespecial. Lording can be thought of as applying to "those who have legal power overlaid on their subordinates and thereby illegally exploitthem." Indeed, individuals with limited power tend to seek more of it (Hoy & Miskel, 2015).

In defeating rivals, the aim is to conquer one's opponents. In competition-based games, classical mid-level managers confront decision-making authorities and those with expertise. This type of confrontation between two major allies is a low-morale game, generally with winners and losers. The game may be between two people or between units, as well as against the forces of change or stability. Proposed changes divide the organization into rival camps: the old-order advocates and the innovation advocates. Often the situation ends with one group failing to defeat the other, and the organization continues as usual. However, sometimes, neither group can win (Hoy & Miskel, 2015).

Change games are aimed at restructuring the organization or its practises. They are divided into strategic candidates, whistle blowing, and young Turks. The strategic candidate game can be played by any individual in the organization. In this process, a person or group seeks strategic change by using legal authority systems to support a candidate for a proposal or project. Those who initiate a successful transformation within the organization gain great power. Whistle blowing is becoming increasingly common. In this technique, an individual uses internal information about a particular rule or behavior that is believed to violate the norm. The player informs the external authorities about the violation of the game by whistle blowing. The player keeps this strategy secret as the informer bypasses the legal channels and may be subject to retaliation. Young Turks attempt not only to effect change or resist the authorities, but also to influence the legal

framework to a point where it can be disputed. In this type of game, the goal is to combat the basic values of the organization by performing important transformations to its mission, areas of expertise, ideology, and leadership. This is a major rebellion and the consequences can be severe(Hoy & Miskel, 2015).

Political tactics can be defined as all the actions that an individual performs to gain or retain power within an organization, beyond what is expected of him/her. Some tactics are honest and legal, while others are deceptive and illegal. The moral legitimization of political tactics based on deception and false knowledge is quite difficult.Robert Vecchio (1988) states that those who are in positions of self-defense must be aware of deceptive political tactics such as declaring a scapegoat, creating conflict via rumors, not calling competitors to important meetings, and making false commitments.There are also political errors such as violating the command chain of the organization, losing composure, frequently saying "no" to superiors, and challenging cherished beliefs.

Various studies on political tactics have been conducted that define different sub-dimensions. One of these was carried out by Allen, Madison, Porter, Renwick, and Mayes (1979).In a survey of chief executive officers, staff managers, and supervisors, they identified the eight most commonly used political tactics. Of these, the one that is most frequently employed is to blame or attack others. This tactic is related to holding other people responsible in the event of a problem or failure. An individual may also deliberately understate the success of someone whom he/she regards as an opponent. The second tactic is the leveraging of information as a political tool. It can be applied retrospectively, for future events, or for both. In this tactic, knowledge can be held, diverted, or used to influence others.



The goal is also to get rid of potentially harmful information. The third tactic, image creation management, includes outward appearance, clothing, and hair style; sensitivity to organizational norms; attention to one's own achievements and those of others; and the impression that the organization is the locus of important activities. The fourth tactic is creating support for one's ideas. Examples include informing a decision maker of one's opinions before others do, making decisions before the meeting, and ensuring that one's ideas are communicated to other employees. This strategy aims to increase the loyalty of colleagues by persuading them that these ideas are theirs. In the fifth tactic, ingratiation, the person praises the senior executives and tries, through "polishing" and "blarney" jargon, to get close to them. The sixth tactic is forming power coalitions and gaining strong allies. The person builds a network of colleagues and other friends, both inside and outside the organization, hoping to get help and support in achieving his/her goals. The seventh tactic is connecting with effective people to establish quality relationships with those who can make an impact within the organization. These people are expected to use their influence both in business and in social situations. The final tactic is to create obligation and reciprocity. The purpose of this behavior is to help others to obtain their help when it is needed (e.g., Kaya, 2014).

Hoy and Miskel (2015) mention seven political tactics: ingratiating, networking, managing information, managing impressions, coalition building, scapegoating, and indispensability. *Ingratiating* involves gaining goodwill by helping others, being sensitive, and demonstrating positive behavior. *Networking* is the process of establishing reciprocal communication with effective people. These people may not be in important positions, but they have the potential to provide important

information. Managing information enables individuals to control other people or to achieve status. The tactics used to disseminate information can enhance the person's position in the formal and informal organization. The first step in managing information is to obtain and use vital prescriptive knowledge, to give the impression that other people need this information, and to craft a "real" image of who knows what is going on. *Managing impressions* is a simple strategy that people use from time to time to create an appropriate image. It includes proper behavior, emphasis on success, assertiveness, and fostering the notion that the person is important. A person attempts to form an image that will enable other people to see him/her as knowledgeable, sensitive, empathetic, and resourceful. *Coalition building* is the process of bringing people together to achieve common goals. Individuals have more limited power than groups, and relatively less powerful groups increase their strength when they act together. *Scapegoating* involves blaming others when things go wrong. This is common in all organizations, including schools. Finding a scapegoat allows cunning political strategists to divert attention in another direction and to place the responsibility for failure on others. *Indispensability* entails demonstrating that a person or unit is necessary to the organization. Managers can show that they are important and develop special talents or teams that the company needs to succeed. In addition, such managers are not willing to explain what they are doing or to inform others. They are often asked to solve problems, and their solution proposals contribute to the rise of their status and value.

In their scale of political behaviors, İslamoğlu and Börü (2007) distinguish between six subscales, namely, "to give concessions," "act hypocritically," "try to penetrate," "build coalitions," "mutually benefit," and "play up to



superiors.” Yukl and Fable (1990) identify tactics that fall into these six subcategories. The Political Tactics Scale, developed by Ringer and Boss (2000), also consists of six influence tactics: assertiveness, bargaining, coalition, friendship, high authority, and reasons. It is thought that these scales, which are found in the literature, do not fully reflect the tactics used in schools. Since schools are official institutions, the formal rules to which administrators should adhere are applied more effectively, making political manoeuvres more difficult. The fact that each institution has its own organizational culture and the existence of normal modes of exchange between teachers and administrators also afford each school a unique identity. In this context, this study was conducted to identify tactics specific to managers working in schools. In addition, it sought to determine whether the Political Tactics Scale was a reliable and valid instrument for the purposes of the research.

METHOD

Research Model

A mixed method was employed in this research. In this approach, the researcher collects and analyzes data and incorporates the findings and inferences using qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study or research program. Among others, exploratory sequential patterns were utilized in the study. The aim of using exploratory patterns is to generalize the qualitative findings gathered from a few primary participants to a broader sampling. This pattern, used to develop the scale, begins with the collection and resolution of qualitative data. In the next step, wherein the interface in which the combination takes place is presented, the researcher develops a tool based on the results obtained from the previous step, identifying the forms or

determining the propositions for the tests based on the emerging theory or framework. These developments associate the primary qualitative stage with the next quantitative stage of the process. In the third step, the researcher evaluates the resulting forms with a new participant sample using the developed tool. Finally, the researcher comments on the extent to which the quantitative results can generalize and build on the qualitative findings (Creswell & Clark, 2014).

Population and Sample Group

The qualitative data were collected from 12 teachers who worked in different types of schools in Denizli province, as determined by the maximum diversity sampling method. The purpose of this method is not to generalize to the world by providing diversity, but to discover what kind of partnerships and similarities exist among diverse situations (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2003).

In their study of scale development, Bryman and Cramer (2001) state that the sample size should be at least five, or even ten, times that of the number of items (e.g., Tavşancıl, 2002). Comrey and Lee (1992) define a sample of 100 as weak, 200 as medium, 300 as good, 500 as very good, and 1,000 as excellent. Guilford (1954) maintains that the sample size should be at least 200, while Aleamoni (1976) calls for 400 respondents in scale development studies (e.g., Yiğit, Bütüner, & Dertlioğlu, 2008). Kline (1994) notes that a sample of 200 people is usually sufficient to find reliable factors, and though this figure can be reduced to 100 if the factor structure is clear and small, a larger sample may produce better results.

The sample group for this study consisted of 200 teachers working in the province of Denizli in the 2016–2017 academic year.

Scale Development Process

First, a literature review was conducted and 18 questions were selected to be asked during the qualitative interviews. Afterwards, a pool of 44 items was established based on the collected data. The measuring tool, designed as a five-point Likert scale, was presented to the six experts consulted. After the answers from these experts were received, they were aggregated. When the data were evaluated, the results of a Lawshe analysis were used to determine whether it was appropriate to include the item on the scale. According to Yurdugül (2005), the Lawshe method considers the validity of the measurement tool, the intelligibility of the scale item, and the suitability of the applied scale. In addition, the compatibility and differences between expert opinions are also used as an indicator for content or construct validity. At this stage, the content validity ratios (CVR) for each item are determined. They are expressed as the ratio of the number of experts who specify that an item is required to the total number of experts consulted.

$$CVR = \frac{N_G}{N/2} - 1$$

N_G: Experts stated required
N: Number of experts

Veneziano and Hooper (1997) state that for six experts for $\alpha = 0.05$, the minimum content validity ratio should be 0.99* (e.g., Yurdugül, 2005).

Table 1. Lawshe Minimum Content Validity Ratios

Number of Experts	Minimum Value
6	.99
8	.78
10	.62
15	.49
20	.42
25	.37
30	.33

Twelve items whose CVR values were zero or negative were extracted from the scale. In addition, based on the opinions of the experts, five items that were deemed problematic were corrected without any change in the dimension to be measured. It was decided that the draft scale would consist of 32 items, which were rearranged on the basis of chance.

A five-point Likert-type rating scale was used for each item. The scores for negative items (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32) are below. The lowest scores for negative items are 1.00-1.80 and the highest are 4.21-5.00.

- 1.00-1.80 Never
- 1.81-2.60 Rarely
- 2.61-3.40 Sometimes
- 3.41-4.20 Often
- 4.21-5.00 Always

The positive items (7,8,10) were scored by reverse coding. The highest score range (4.21-5.00) for these items is the "always" statement, while the lowest (1.00-1.80) corresponds to the expression "never." The scale was applied to 200 teachers in Denizli province during the 2016-2017 academic year.

Data Analysis

Content Analysis

The data obtained from the preliminary interviews with 12 teachers were evaluated using the content analysis method. The goal of content analysis is to determine the concepts and associations that can explain the collected data. For this purpose, it is necessary to conceptualize the data, to organize it in a logical way according to the concepts that emerge, and to determine the resulting themes. Concepts lead the researcher to the themes, and in turn, the themes can organize and clarify the events. Qualitative research data is analyzed in four stages: coding the data, finding the themes,



arranging the codes and themes, and defining and interpreting the findings (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011).

In the coding stage, the researchers gathered data from the preliminary questionnaires and took interview notes. A grouping was done according to the questions asked and the answers given. The 12 interviews were coded as T1, T2 ... T12. In the second phase, the explanations made on the forms were read and evaluated several times. Afterwards, the subcategories were determined. Each participant's opinion was placed in the categories the researchers created. According to these answers, five themes appeared, namely, "degrading," "branding," "intimidation," "favoring," and "coalition building." In the identification and interpretation phase, the findings were examined via their cause-and-effect relationships. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) emphasize that an in-depth report of the data and an explanation of how the investigator reached the results is one of the most important criteria for qualitative research (e.g., Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011).

Validity Analysis

Validity is the degree to which an instrument measures the desired construct without measuring any other particularity. The validity level of scales in quantitative research can be understood by calculating the validity coefficient. This is the correlation coefficient between the values obtained from the scale and a set of theoretical criteria based on the purpose of the scale; it has values between -1.00 and +1.00. The higher the relationship coefficient is, the better the scale (Ercan & Kan, 2004).

In the current study, both content and construct validity were used in developing the Political Tactics Scale. Content validity is the extent to which the scale as a whole and each of

its items serve its intended purpose. The researchers relied on expert opinions to ascertain content validity. To avoid evaluation based on different criteria, thereby invalidating the determination of the content, both the experts and the scale developer must accept common definitions. An evaluation is also made in terms of the various reactions that the presentation of the material causes (Tavşancıl, 2002).

Construct validity explains the results of the scale and what they are related to. It may be regarded as the high-level relationship between the items in the scale and the features they aim to measure; it also compares these relationships to the literature (Yaşar, 2014). Factor analysis was used to reveal whether the Political Tactics Scale had construct validity. Factor analysis is a structure validation technique employed to establish whether a certain order exists between people's responses to the items being measured (Tavşancıl, 2002).

Reliability Analysis

The reliability of an instrument describes how consistently it measures the variable, or how well the results are purged of errors (Tavşancıl, 2002). In this study, the Cronbach alpha internal consistency coefficient, which is frequently used to determine whether the items agree with each other, is calculated.

FINDINGS

1. Findings from the Qualitative Data

This section contains the findings on teachers' opinions about the five themes discussed above: "degrading," "branding," "intimidation," "favoritism," and "coalition building."

Opinions on Degrading

This theme includes the attitudes and behaviors of school principals that make teachers feel worthless. Based on the interviews, principals



ignore the work done by the teachers, criticize them in front of students, and describe them as useless to superiors. Some of the views expressed on this theme are:

T8: Our principal criticizes teachers in front of students. For instance, he compares the teachers with other school teachers and he questions their failure.

T9: He ignores the success of my students, the activities I do in class, and the activities I do with my students outside the school.

T10: He always criticizes everything I do, but never shows how it is done.

T11: Our principal does not let me explain the work I do, emphasizing that it is unimportant and that it already needs to be done.

T12: When my supervisor asks something before I say something, he gives the impression that I do not know anything about that issue.

Opinions on Branding

This theme encompasses principals' behaviors and attitudes about promoting themselves and their work. Some teachers' views on this issue are as follows:

T2: Our principal constantly advertises his work on social media and other platforms.

T3: Our principal praises himself in the staff room, at meetings, and whenever else he has the opportunity, and talks about the work he has done.

T4: He evaluates the teachers in terms of students' attendance at the courses on weekends. If the attendance is low, he implies that we teach badly.

T4: He puts pressure on us to work with students who can get degrees in school competitions.

T5: He hides his weaknesses by constantly emphasizing his ideology.

T9: He creates the impression that things will not work when he is not at school. He prevents his

deputy managers from using their authority in his absence.

T12: He uses the social position of his family and the occupation of his wife to be admitted.

Opinions on Intimidation

From the teachers' point of view, it seems that school principals use the legal authority given to them to intimidate their staff extensively. Some teachers' views on this issue are as follows:

T2: We had a problem with the principal. After that, the principal reduced the number of my courses. Instead of my course, he made me choose another similar course. When the number of my courses decreased, I became a nonpermanent staff.

cT3: My principal prepares the timetables of his close friends to suit their wants. [...] He prepared my timetable very badly, although I don't have many courses.

T5: He creates an image outside the school that he follows the rules, while inside the school he behaves illegally.

T6: I wrote a petition for being off duty on my master class days. He made my petition wait until the legal time and then sent it to the higher authorities. Similarly, he waited to answer until the legal time and then disclosed it to me.

T9: He called me in to school on my free day. He created pressure on me by stressing that I had to do this work while he was able to do the communicated work.

Opinions on Favoritism

The teachers reported that their principals use tactics such as offering success certificates to their favorites, exaggerating their work, praising them, and creating private classes for them. Some of their opinions include:

T2: Our principal was constantly picking on a friend. He reduced the number of his courses and this teacher fell below the norm and left the school. After his leaving, the principal increased

the number of the courses again and created a norm. That year the principal's sister came to school at that branch. Actually, she came because of a high service score, but the principal made the norm vacant for her.

T7: In the school, our principal organizes the timetables of his wife, relatives, and close teacher friends as they wish.

T8: He recommends his acquaintances for success certificates.

T9: He praises his acquaintances exaggeratedly.

T10: He shows the work as having been done by an acquaintance, even though it was done by another person.

T11: Our principal created a special class for the branch of teachers who were close to him.

T11: He uses his acquaintances to get information from the school.

Opinions on Coalition Building

From the teachers' point of view, it appears that school principals use common ideologies, unions, and relationships for coalition building. Some opinions on this issue are as follows:

T2: He makes people gather around him by addressing their ideals and religious values.

T5: He uses the power of unions when it is needed by having close relationships with efficient members.

T5: He transfers privileges to the unions that hold power.

T11: He transfers his decisions to higher authorities by meeting with powerful people.

T12: He fulfills the needs of his staff and creates his own environment. He uses people when he needs them.

2. Findings of the Quantitative Data

Table 2. KMO and Bartlett's Test Results

KMO and Bartlett's Test	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy	.916
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	5.495
Approximate K Square	
Degree of Freedom (DF)	561
Significance Level (Sig.)	.000

The validity and then the reliability analyses of the Political Tactics Scale were conducted. Firstly, the results of the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO, a measure of sampling adequacy) and Bartlett's Sphericity (BS) tests were checked to discover whether the data were suitable for factor analysis. To be able to perform factor analysis, the value of the KMO must be higher than 0.60 and the significance value of the BS should be less than 0.05 (Tavşancıl, 2002). A 0.916 value for the KMO indicates that the sample size is sufficient and that the data set is excellent for factor analysis. In addition, the Bartlett's test result ($\chi^2 = 5.495$; $p < .05$) and the significance value of 0.000 indicates a sufficient level of correlation between the variables.

Table 3. Statistics of Political Tactics Scale Items

		Ort.	S.S.	Total Correlation	Deletion Reliability Coefficients
1	He shows behaviours that degrade teachers in front of students.	2.26	1.20	.561	.950
2	He ignores the success of teachers.	2.55	1.20	.761	.948
3	He constantly criticizes teachers, but never shows the correct way of doing things.	2.73	1.25	.752	.948
4	He compares the work done by teachers with other teachers' work.	3.15	1.23	.498	.950



5	He doesn't give teachers a chance to express their ideas about their profession.	2.46	1.28	.602	.949
6	He labels teachers as useless to top authorities.	2.01	1.21	.649	.949
7	He constantly promotes his work on social media and other platforms.	2.54	1.46	-.214	.956
8	He tells everybody inside and outside the school about his work.	2.26	1.31	-.441	.957
9	He constantly praises himself in the staff room.	2.77	1.42	.628	.949
10	He ensures that students who can earn degrees in inter-school competitions (sports, art, literature, etc.) can also be studied outside the school.	2.86	1.25	-.087	.955
11	He clearly expresses his ideology in public.	2.92	1.48	.450	.951
12	He mentions the brand and price of his clothes in public.	1.60	1.01	.530	.950
13	He creates an impression that things can go wrong when he is not at school.	2.69	1.37	.701	.949
14	He uses his family's socio-economic situation to gain dignity.	1.72	1.15	.575	.950
15	He makes teachers with whom he has had problems over the norm.	1.99	1.37	.707	.948
16	He is unfair in distributing courses.	2.25	1.34	.752	.948
17	When speaking with teachers, he tries to justify himself by raising his voice.	2.91	1.39	.645	.949
18	Teachers' petitions are not processed until the end of the legal waiting period.	1.88	1.13	.670	.949
19	To punish teachers or school personnel, he asks them to work on free days/holidays.	1.79	1.17	.702	.949
20	He isolates the teachers who stand against him.	2.57	1.42	.838	.947
21	He holds grudges against those who support the teachers he does not like.	2.31	1.36	.829	.947
22	He judges teachers according to how well students and parents like them.	2.74	1.45	.739	.948
23	He advises teachers who are close to him on obtaining a success certificate.	2.89	1.55	.816	.947
24	He exaggerates the work done by teachers who are close to him.	2.93	1.43	.798	.948
25	He claims work was done by his acquaintances or by himself, even though it was done by another person.	2.43	1.36	.735	.948
26	He creates a separate class for his favorite branch of teachers.	2.04	1.28	.717	.948
27	He uses close colleagues as informers.	2.31	1.39	.816	.948
28	He forces/encourages teachers to join the union he belongs to.	1.98	1.36	.663	.949
29	He establishes close relationships with the most efficient union members.	3.05	1.59	.701	.948



30	He transfers to the unions that hold power.	2.83	1.65	.749	.948
31	He provides benefits to teachers to create his own environment.	2.39	1.42	.797	.948
32	He wants the teachers he supports to support him.	3.21	1.42	.640	.949
Cronbach's Alpha (α)= 0.953					

The item-total correlation is calculated for each item on the scale. This correlation is the relationship between the attitude score obtained from each item and the total attitude score, and the correlation coefficient of each attitude item is given in Table 3. An internal consistency assessment was used to examine the correlation coefficients between the items and the total and between the items and the area (dimension). The item-total correlation is expected to be positive and to be higher than 0.2. The seventh, eighth, and tenth items, which were negatively valued, were therefore withdrawn from the analysis. After determining that the data were suitable, the

remaining 29 items were analyzed for basic components without dimension definition and the unrotated factor analysis was examined.

In the first stage of factor analysis, factors with an overall score of one or higher are considered significant. The criterion for selecting this limit is to have a factor equal to at least one of the variances of 1.00. At the beginning of the analysis, there are theoretically as many factors as the number of variables and an eigenvalue calculated for each factor. The total of the eigenvalues is the number of variables. It has been determined that there are 5 dimensions with eigenvalues over 1.

Table 4. Total Variance Explained

Components	Preferred Eigenvalues			Omitted Sum of Squares Load Values (Factors)		
	Total	Explained Variance Percentage	Accumulated Explained Variance Percentage	Total	Explained Variance Percentage	Accumulated Explained Variance Percentage
PT1	15.236	52.538	52.538	15.236	52.538	52.538
PT2	1.828	6.304	58.842	1.828	6.304	58.842
PT3	1.338	4.614	63.456	1.338	4.614	63.456
PT4	1.099	3.789	67.245	1.099	3.789	67.245
PT5	1.000	3.450	70.694	1.000	3.450	70.694

As seen in Table 4 and Figure 1, when the eigenvalue is taken as one and after repeated factor analysis, five factors are determined. The total amount of variance of these factors is 70,694%. The variance amounts were 52.538% for the first factor, 6.304% for the second, 4.614% for the third, 3.789% for the fourth, and 3.450% for the fifth. The higher the variance rates

obtained at the end of the factor analysis, the stronger the factor structure of the scale. In the social sciences, it is not possible to reach very high variance rates, but rates ranging from 40% to 60% are considered adequate (Tavşancıl, 2010).

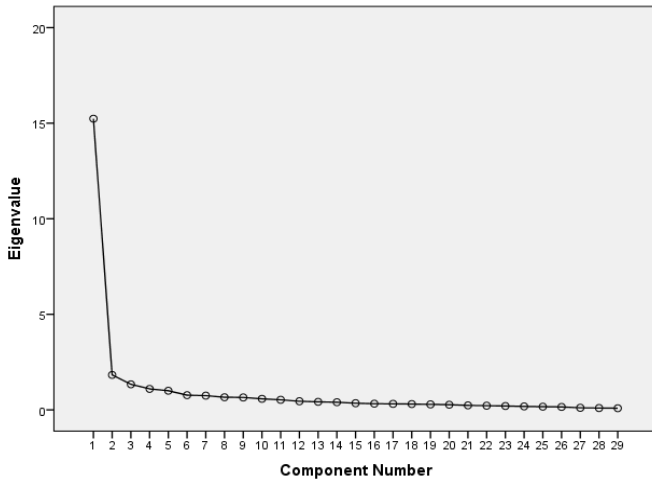


Figure 1. Scree Plot

The scree plot for the factor loadings of the components of the Political Tactics Scale in Table 4 is given in Figure 1. According to Çokluk, Şekercioğlu, and Büyüköztürk (2012), a scree plot is an auxiliary graph suggested by Cattell to decide the number of factors. In previous scales, it

was assumed that the factor loadings had to be one or higher. However, Thompson (2004) suggests that the scree plot graph can be a better way to determine the factors than eigenvalues (e.g., Çokluk, Şekercioğlu, & Büyüköztürk, 2012). For this reason, this study, besides considering the factor loading values, also employs the scree plot graph when determining the number of factors. When the factor values in the scree plot are examined, it is seen that the values on the Y axis make a sharp descent toward the X axis near the beginning. The reason for this drop is that there is a significant difference between the first component value and the load values of the second component and the other components. In the graph, the Y-axis components do not fall sharply toward the X-axis after the fifth component. In this case, it seems reasonable that the cut-off point in determining this factor is five.

Table 5. Loadings of Political Tactics Scale Factors

	Factors				
	1	2	3	4	5
ITEM 24	.746				
ITEM 32	.742				
ITEM 22	.676				
ITEM 23	.671				
ITEM 20	.669				
ITEM 27	.571				
ITEM 21	.557				
ITEM 17	.531			.422	
ITEM 31	.494				
ITEM 25	.481				
ITEM 18		.760			
ITEM 15		.746			
ITEM 16		.730			
ITEM 19		.717			
ITEM 26	.522	.590			
ITEM 5			.741		
ITEM 3			.713		
ITEM 1			.704		

ITEM 2			.653		
ITEM 6			.621		
ITEM 4			.531		
ITEM 9				.660	
ITEM 14				.614	
ITEM 12				.593	
ITEM 13				.511	
ITEM 11					.773
ITEM 28					.637
ITEM 30					.607
ITEM 29					.567
Cronbach Alpha(α)	.870	.896	.904	.900	.903

Factor analysis is a structure validation technique to determine whether a certain order exists among the responses to the items being measured (Tavşancıl, 2002). The factor loading value is a coefficient that describes the relationship of the variables to the factors. It is expected that the load values of the factors should be high. If there is a cluster of variables with a high level of association with a factor, this finding means that they all contribute to the factor. For instance, a loading of 0.3 indicates that a variable represents 9% of the variance explained by the factor. The variance at this level is remarkable, and regardless of the sign in general, the value of the loading is higher than 0.60. A loading value between 0.30 and 0.59 can be defined as moderate and is considered in the subtraction of the variable. Loading values can also be examined for statistical significance as a

correlation value. However, it should not be forgotten that the likelihood of low correlations increases as the sample increases (e.g., Büyüköztürk, 2007; Kline, 1994).

After using the Varimax vertical turning technique, it was seen that when the factor distribution was evaluated, the aggregate was concentrated in five factors with scores greater than one and all the variables had acceptable loading values (0.481 being the lowest and 0.773 being the highest). Two items with a high value in more than one factor were removed from the scale. In terms of the sub-dimensions, the items collected under Factor 1 are related to favoritism, those under Factor 2 to intimidation, those under Factor 3 to devaluation, those under Factor 4 to branding, and those under Factor 5 to coalition building. The 27-point scale is given in Appendix 1.

Table 6. Results of the Pearson Correlation to Determine Factor-to-Factor Relationships

	Ort.	S.S.	1	2	3	4	5
1. Favoritism	2.63	1.18	1				
2. Branding	1.98	1.07	.754**	1			
3. Degrading	2.52	0.97	.766**	.610**	1		
4. Intimidation	2.19	0.98	.752**	.686**	.637**	1	
5. Coalition Building	2.65	1.24	.781**	.667**	.602**	.604**	1

** p< .01



Pearson correlation analysis revealed a significant positive correlation among the factors. These relationships were highest between the favoritism sub-dimension and the coalition building sub-dimension ($r = .781$; $p < .01$) and between the coalition building subscale and the substantializing sub-dimension ($r = .602$; $p < .01$). These results demonstrate that all the factors are within the same structure.

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To measure the political tactics used by the administrators in this study, 44 items were created based on interviews with 12 teachers. The results were presented to six experts for verification. The coverage validity ratio of each item was then calculated via the Lawshe technique, and as a result, 12 items were deducted from the scale. The remaining 32 items were given in questionnaire form to 200 teachers. The reliability coefficients (Cronbach α) of all scales and sub-dimensions were calculated, after which factor-based discrimination, item-residual and item-total correlations, and relationship analysis between factors were performed. As a result of these procedures, five items with negative correlations were deleted, leaving a 27-item scale consisting of five factors. The identified factors were named favoritism, intimidation, depreciation, branding, and coalition building, respectively. The 27-point scale is provided in Appendix 1.

Some of the qualitative findings obtained in the study were not supported by the quantitative data. These items, which were subsequently removed from the scale, were, "The work the principal does is published continuously on social media and other platforms," "He tells everybody inside and outside the school about his work," "He favors students who excel in school competitions

(sports, literature, etc.)," "When talking with teachers, he tries to justify himself by raising his voice," and "He creates a separate class for the teachers he likes." Although these items reflect the experiences of the 12 teachers initially surveyed, when the sample size was expanded, it was concluded that these tactics were not pervasive.

Many items in this scale appear to be specific to public schools, including "The principal does not process petitions until the end of the legal waiting period," "He recommends the teachers who are close to him for success certificates," etc. Such sector-specific scales are common in the literature. İslamoğlu and Börü (2007) performed scale development studies on political behaviors with a sample group of individuals working in private companies. Items specific to the private sector included "frequent meetings with the manager during the salary increase period," "going to the break room," and "not coming to work when the manager is absent." However, such items are not valid in schools, where compensation is determined by the state.

Bursali (2008) found that employees are below average in exhibiting tactics related to hierarchy and pressure, and moderate in exhibiting those related to creating support. From this, it can be concluded that employees tend to favor positive political strategies over negative ones. In this study, however, teachers mainly report that principals employ negative tactics. Oruç (2015) has found that the level of political behavior among academics is low. In the dimensions of political behavior, it was determined that giving concessions, acting hypocritically, trying to ingratiate oneself, establishing coalitions, and mutually benefitting had a low level of support. In our study, favoritism, coalition formation, and depreciation were moderate, while intimidation and branding were below average.



Given the rigorous validity and reliability procedures conducted in this study, this scale can be confidently used to measure the political tactics used by school administrators. Investigating public/private discrimination in subsequent studies will contribute to different outcomes and to the development of the literature in this area. In addition, a scale may be created to identify the tactics that teachers employ when dealing with administrators.

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APPENDIX 1. Scale of Political Tactics

		Scale of Political Tactics
Favoritism	1	He exaggerates the work done by teachers who are close to him.
	2	He wants the teachers who are supported by him to support him.
	3	He distinguishes between teachers according to their preference by the student or parent
	4	He advises teachers who are close to him in proposal of success certificate.
	5	He makes the teachers alone who stand up against him.
	6	He uses close teachers as informers.
	7	He has an attitude against those who support the teachers he does not love.
	8	He provides benefits to teachers to create his own environment.
	9	He shows the work was done by his acquaintances or by himself even though it was done by another person.
Intimidation	10	Teachers' petitions are not processed until the end of the legal waiting period.
	11	He makes teachers over norm with whom he has had problems.
	12	He is unfair in distributing courses.
	13	To punish teachers or school personnel, he calls them to school on free / holiday day.
Degrading	14	He doesn't give a chance to teachers to express their ideas about their profession.
	15	He constantly criticizes teachers but never shows how right things to be done.
	16	He shows behaviours that degrade teachers in front of students.
	17	He ignores the success of teachers.



	18	He labels the teachers as useless beside the top authorities.
	19	He compares the work done by teachers with other teachers' work.
Branding	20	He constantly praises himself in teachers' room.
	21	He uses his family's socio-economic situation in order to gain dignity.
	22	He declares the brand and price of his clothes in public.
	23	He creates an impression that the works can go wrong when he is not at school
Coalition Building	24	He transfers to the unions which held power.
	25	He expresses his ideology clearly in public.
	26	He forces/encourages teachers to join the union he belongs to.
	27	He establishes close relationships with the efficient people in unions.