

The Iterational Dimension of Teacher Agency within Ecological School Settings: Exploring the Beliefs of Generation X and Generation Y Teachers

Khalida Qattash * Nayel Al-Shra'ah

Received Date: 10/10/2017

Accepted Date: 1/2/2018

Abstract: This research aimed at exploring the role of the international dimension of teacher agency within ecological school settings in shaping the beliefs of Generation X and Generation Y teachers at the Ahliyyah and Bishop Kindergarten. A concurrent nested design was utilized. A questionnaire was designed to depict the distinguishing features of teacher agency regarding the two generations of teachers. (17) teachers out of a total of (23) responded. Personal interviews were conducted with four teachers to gain deeper understanding of how the iterational dimension and ecological setting shape teachers' beliefs. Findings indicated that the iterational dimension of teacher agency and the school's ecological contexts shape teachers' beliefs, where each generation's beliefs differ concerning nine distinct features. The research concluded with a comparison between the two generations in an attempt to suggest recommendations that capitalize on their strengths, and propose professional development strategies and experiences to harmonize their efforts.

(**Keywords:** Teacher Agency, Generational Theory, Generation X teachers, Millennial teachers).

Introduction

Ecological teacher agency is an emerging area of research, where agency is viewed as an active engagement within ecological contexts of the school, i.e. the existing structures, relationships, discourse and culture. In addition, agency is temporal; it is accomplished through three main intertwining dimensions of time that shape it. The first is the iterational dimension that involves the personal and professional history of past experiences; the second is the projective dimension that is related to the short and long term predictions and/or aspirations toward the future; and the third is the practical-evaluative dimension that is based on the teacher's ability to address problematic situations emerging through current practices in the present (Amirbayer & Mische, 1998). It is also noteworthy that ecological teacher agency is emergent, and the relationship between the three temporal dimensions of agency within their enabling contexts are interchangeable (Biesta & Tedder, 2007). This also specifically means that each one of the three dimension of agency consists of undertones of the other two dimensions.

بعد التاريخ الشخصي والمهني للقوة المحركة للمعلمين ضمن سياقات بيئة المدرسة: استكشاف معتقدات الجيل X والجيل Y من المعلمين

خالدة قطاش ونابل الشرعة، كلية العلوم التربوية، الجامعة الأردنية، عمان، الأردن.

ملخص: هدف هذا البحث إلى تقصي الدور الذي يلعبه بعد التاريخ الشخصي والمهني للقوة المحركة للمعلمين ضمن سياقات بيئة المدرسة في تشكيل معتقدات الجيل X والجيل Y من المعلمين في روضة الأهلية والمطران. ولتحقيق ذلك، تم تطوير استبانة لإبراز السمات المميزة للقوة المحركة لكل جيل من المعلمين. وقد استجابت (17) معلمة من أصل (23) للاستبانة. كما أجريت مقابلات شخصية للتقصي العميق في معتقدات الجيلين من المعلمين، ودور البعد الشخصي والمهني في تشكيلها. وقد أظهرت نتائج البحث أن البعد الشخصي والمهني، بالإضافة إلى سياقات بيئة المدرسة، يعملان على تشكيل معتقدات كل جيل من المعلمين بشكل مختلف فيما يتعلق بتسع سمات مميزة. وأدت خلاصة البحث إلى مقارنة بين الجيلين في محاولة لاقتراح توصيات مبنية على مناحي القوة لدى كل جيل من المعلمين، والتقدم باستراتيجيات للتطوير المهني وخبرات لإيجاد التناغم في جهودهم.

الكلمات المفتاحية: (القوة المحركة للمعلمين، نظرية الأجيال، الجيل X من المعلمين، والجيل Y من المعلمين)

The particular importance of the iterational dimension is that "It is manifested in the actor's ability to recall, to select, and to appropriately apply ... the schemas of action that they have developed through past actions" (Amirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 975). This encompasses a teacher's personal capacity of skills, knowledge, and beliefs that align with their school, in addition to the values they carry and enact in their professional conduct. Therefore, the iterational dimension affects their practical-evaluative dimension, embodied in their agentic actions, and enables their projective agency that allows them to predict patterns and take action accordingly. Giving special attention to what shapes the iterational dimension and how it enables the enactment of strong teacher beliefs and agentic qualities may enlighten schools in their processes of shaping contexts that prepare and develop teachers to be highly agentic.

* Faculty of Educational Sciences, The University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan.

© 2018 by Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan.

Based on an empirical study conducted by Priestley, Edwards, Priestly, & Miller (2012), teachers in the study were involved in curriculum making in a school and further education college in Scotland. The researchers conducted interviews and observations, which concluded that teacher agency is heavily reliant on context and varies from one context to another. They also found that teachers' agentic engagement depends largely on the teachers' iterational dimension pertaining mainly to the beliefs and values, gained from past experiences that drive their action in certain situations.

Generational theory is also an emerging area of research that is as ripe a notion as that of teacher agency, and it is a developing theory that can afford further research to substantiate many claims it puts forth. Howe and Strauss (2007) state that "Generations follow observable historical patterns and thus offer a very powerful tool for predicting future trends" (p. 42). This perhaps well corresponds with the couching of the term teacher agency within ecological contexts, as generational theory looks into the historical context's impact on generations to divide them as such. What mainly characterizes each generation is major historical, scientific, cultural, socioeconomic, and political events that shape a generation's consciousness and hence traits. This echoes the significance of the iterational dimension of ecological teacher agency and its temporal nature. This research bases its definition on Howe and Strauss' work, that categorizes Generation X as those born between 1961- 1981, whereas Generation Y are those born between 1982- 2003 (Howe & Strauss, 2007).

Some of the research on generational theory highlights the attributes of generation Y rather negatively in comparison to Generation X. In her empirical research on Millennials, Twenge (2006) found that Millennials are self-centered and cynical in contrast with generation X through interviews she has conducted on college students in her research studies on Millennials. She accuses generation Y of being "narcissists" (p. 223), and further claims that they are entitled, and as a result lack confidence and clarity concerning their future. McCrindle (2012) also comes to conclusions based on his experience with Millennials. He asserts that "if there's a clash in the work-life balance, life wins", and that "Many [Millennials] quit jobs not because there is a compelling reason to leave, but because there is no compelling reason to stay" (pp. 16-17). Such findings on Millennials require attention, as they seem to shape part of their iterational make-up and affect their agentic qualities.

From a more positive perspective, Sinek (2016) attempts at defending Millennials, and acquits them from the responsibility of being "entitled" and "tough to manage, although he doesn't deny it. He discusses the problem with Millennials by delineating four major issues that shape Millennials' profile, which are: "failed parenting strategies", "technology addiction", the need

for "instant gratification and the lack of patience", and "environment"- particularly corporate environments that do not teach Millennials the needed skill-sets to survive in the workforce (Sinek, 2016). In this case, the focus on the iterational dimension of agency in its relation to its secondary tones becomes very relevant in shaping the agency of Millennial teachers.

In an attempt to link the two theories of ecological teacher agency and generational theory, research seems to confirm the doubts clouding Millennials' agency as teachers. Some studies claimed that "Millennials are different from other generations" (Greenebaum, 2009, p. 6), and that "Most new teachers leave within their first three years. Many teachers are from the so-called Millennial generation" (Melchiorre, 2015, p. 11). Accordingly, exploring ecological teacher agency with regards to generational traits is significant in understanding and addressing issues pertaining to the different beliefs carried by teachers of these two generations currently existing in schools.

The urgency of this becomes more apparent through a simple calculation of generations of teachers in schools nowadays regardless of their location. The oldest teachers of Generation X- born in 1961- have already hit retirement or will do so soon, as the average age of retirement is 65 worldwide (OECD, 2017). The youngest generation X teachers-born in 1981- will be retiring within a maximum of three decades or less; whereas, the oldest teachers of Generation Y- born in 1982- have over three decades ahead of them, while the youngest- born in 2003 and have still not assumed their professional lives- will last in teaching for over half a century to come once they enter the work force; that is, if they retain their profession as teachers.

Statement of the Problem and Questions the Study

From current statistics administered for this research at The Ahliyyah and Bishop's Kindergarten (ABKG) in Amman-Jordan, Generation Y teachers at ABKG exceed 50% of the respondents and the total population of teachers at the school. In light of the skepticism pertaining to generation Y teachers as professionals who might not retain their place in the teaching profession, or might not show high agentic qualities in their contexts due to being "entitled", the problem appears to be how the school can retain, engage, and enable generation Y teachers. Accordingly, the purpose of this study is an attempt to test the impact of the iterational dimension of teacher agency and ecological school contexts on the beliefs of generation X and Y teachers at ABKG, by exploring generational traits in their relation to agentic qualities. The research also seeks to conclude ways that can enhance preparing, training, engaging, and retaining teachers, particularly Millennials, in addition to harmonizing between the two generations of teachers to maximize the agency of both within their ecological school settings.

Research questions:

Question 1: What role does the iterational dimension of teacher agency play in shaping the beliefs of Generation X and Generation Y teachers?

Question 2: How do the school's ecological contexts enhance teachers' agentic engagement and beliefs?

Question 3: How can the beliefs of Generation X and Generation Y teachers be synchronized to demonstrate teacher agency at its best within the ecological contexts of the school?

Significance of Study

The significance of this study is that it will explore the iterational dimension of teacher agency, particularly with regards to the two generations of teachers' beliefs. This link between ecological teacher agency and generational theory, on the one hand, and the role the iterational dimension plays in shaping teacher beliefs within ecological school contexts, on the other hand, may carry potential to further understand how agentic qualities can be better enabled by school contexts, specifically when taking into consideration their generational traits as part of the capacities they carry which shape their beliefs. It is also an area that has seldom been explored in previous research. Moreover, perhaps the most important aspect is that it will attempt to give further understanding on how synchronization of the beliefs of the two generations of teachers is possible, particularly on part of Generation Y teachers as the current and future generation of teachers anticipated yet to spend the coming half a century or more in schools.

In addition, the development of a questionnaire to explore differences in the nature of teacher agency on part of the two aforementioned generations of teachers is significant. This is significant since the researcher has not found any quantitative tools utilized in exploring ecological teacher agency in its three dimensions, as most of the research in this area is strictly qualitative.

Definition of Key Terms

- **Teacher Agency:** the capacity of teachers to act by means of their school's ecological contexts to critically shape their own responsiveness to problematic situations, through the chordal triad of iterational (the past), projective (the future), and practical-evaluative (the present) dimensions within the flow of time (Biesta & Tedder, 2006).
- **The Iterational Dimension of Teacher Agency:** the past personal and professional experiences that shape a teacher's capacities, skills, values and beliefs. (Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2015).
- **Generation X teachers:** born between 1961 and 1981, according to Strauss and Howe (1991).
- **Generation Y teachers:** born between 1982 and 2003, according to Strauss and Howe (1991).

- **Ecological school contexts:** the means provided by school contexts, such as available resources and contextual structural factors like relationships, discourse, language and culture, as they come together in interplay with individual efforts in a natural school setting.

Method

Participants

Seventeen respondents out of a total of (23) teachers at ABKG filled in the questionnaire, which consisted 73.9% of the total population of teachers. Out of the seventeen teachers, 41.2% belong to Generation X, while 58.8% are Generation Y teachers. All respondents carry a university degree, and one carries a Master's Degree. The respondents' specializations vary, where only seven teachers, 41.1%, carry degrees from a faculty of education.

Considering that the majority of teachers are Millennials, a majority of 70.6% of the respondents have ten years of experience or less, while the remaining 29.4% have eleven years of experience in teaching and above. Accordingly, almost two thirds of the respondents can be considered aspiring professionals. Nevertheless, 70.5% of these teachers carry other leadership roles or administrative responsibilities in addition to teaching, which indicates the school's tendency to entrust in teachers the ability to assume such roles as long as they demonstrate the capacity, skills, and knowledge to do them, regardless of their years of experience.

Instruments & Tools

In order to investigate the impact of the iterational dimension of teacher agency on teacher beliefs, a questionnaire was emailed to all (23) teachers who work at ABKG to respond to. The questionnaire was thoroughly refereed by 12 experts. The results of the questionnaire were descriptively analyzed using cross-tabulation. SPSS was utilized for this purpose. The questionnaire was followed by a series of semi-structured interviews with four teachers, two from Generation X and two from Generation Y.

Since the questionnaire offered the option of being anonymous, or allowing the researcher to obtain the respondents contact information, the researcher was limited in choice of interviewees by only those who provided their emails for further information. Nine respondents out of the 17 who responded to the questionnaire allowed the researcher to access their contact information. Accordingly, four teachers were randomly selected to participate in the personal interviews, provided that each has at least a minimum of three years' experience in teaching at ABKG.

Upon participating in the interviews, teachers verbally consented to the recordings at the beginning of

the interview. The length of each semi-structured interview lasted for a duration varying from 30 minutes to an hour, depending on the flow of each teacher's response to the questions. The interviews mainly explored teachers' past personal and professional history, how they deal with problematic situations, and their views on professional development and future plans.

Two additional interviews were held with the Head of ABKG and the superintendent of ASG&BSA- the parent school of ABKG- to gain further knowledge pertaining to the discourse, relationships, culture and directives put forth by leadership as part of the schools' ecology. Interviews were transcribed and coded using NVivo software. The connection between agency and generation was explored, and the analysis was embedded within the ecological contexts of ABKG.

Interviewees

The four teachers who were interviewed had a number of common traits. All of them chose to become KG teachers as a desired choice. Two among them were strongly influenced by family members who are teachers. Two carry educational certifications, while the other two come from different specializations that were undertaken due to convenience. They all started teaching at an early age, 22 years old, and remained in teaching so far. It is noteworthy that they all speak favorably of the school environment, culture, and relationships with genuine passion.

Context of the Study: ABKG Ecological Settings

ABKG is an integral part of The Ahliyyah School for Girls (ASG), established in 1926, and the Bishop's School for Boys (BSA), established in 1936. ASG and BSA are the parent schools of ABKG, where ABKG is the main "feeder kindergarten for The Ahliyyah and The Bishop's schools" (Ahliyyah & Bishop, 2017). As a kindergarten with a specific targeted age group of 4-5 year-olds, ABKG's specific mission "is to leave a transformative imprint on children to better prepare them for life and education" (Ahliyyah&Bishop, 2017). ABKG gives particular attention to teachers, where it describes them as being "chosen for their professionalism, as well as their caring and compassionate personalities" (ASG&BSA, 2016).

Being sister schools and the parent school for ABKG, both ASG and BSA are among the oldest schools in Amman, Jordan. The schools were established by the Church Missionary Society in England (CMS), which was Arabized in 1957 by the Arab Episcopal Church in Jerusalem (ASG, 2009-2013). The schools are considered a private non-profit organization that adopt the mission of youth empowerment, where students are "active lifelong learners; reflective and critical thinkers who maintain a high degree of emotional intelligence and adopt a strong humane set of values; knowledge creators; initiators of

change; responsible and productive citizens, aware of their cultural heritage, and open to diversity" (ASG & BSA, 2016).

This mission statement mainly emphasizes a code of ethics that governs student learning, which is rather telling of the contexts in which the schools operate, particularly that these contexts are shaped by and shape beliefs of the teaching and administrative staff as well as students. In terms of programs implemented in the schools, "ASG and BSA are amongst a handful of schools worldwide who have adopted the four International Baccalaureate (IB) programmes" (ASG & BSA, 2016). This is inclusive of ABKG, which operates in accordance with the Primary Years' Program (PYP) set by the IB.

Furthermore, their philosophy clearly claims the schools as a learning organization that "creates and nurtures a well-balanced learning environment and takes initiative through exposing its learners to a variety of enriching experiences to enhance their individual abilities within a supportive, safe and inclusive environment in an attempt to achieve excellence" (ASG, 2009-2013). This philosophy is all-encompassing of learners; it implies that learning in this organization includes students, teachers, and staff alike. Accordingly, the literature explicitly describes the school's cultural contexts in terms of all the schools' community, as learners who grow through the nurturing environment and opportunities the schools provide. The superintendent relays that ASG and BSA, and ABKG perceive themselves as "a learning organization, learning institution. And it has become easy for this learning organization to continuously transform itself" (Najjar, 2016).

One of the outstanding features of the schools' ecology is their infrastructure. The schools are tight on physical space due to residing in very old premises that were built in the early 1900s. Despite this being one of the biggest challenges teachers in particular face, the schools' the superintendent constantly says in public, "while our infrastructure might not be luxurious, our services are; we serve from the heart" (Najjar, 2017). It is noteworthy that the superintendent plays a major role in setting the climate for the schools' culture and environment, whether it has to do with resources, relationships, or emotional and intellectual space, as she is a very charismatic, and inspirational figure for ASG and BSA and ABKG family members. She also assumes many public roles as member of different local, national and international educational boards in addition to being a senate in the upper house of parliament in Jordan (Najjar, 2017). In an interview conducted with the superintendent, she clearly stated, "the culture is what we call spirit and soul. The culture of the Ahliyyah School ever since it was established involves compassion and passion, and an attempt to change the reality of Jordan". There is an emphasis on shared

values that the school family carries, where they are always expected to “put values at the center”(Najjar, 2016).

ABKG promotes this notion of being mission driven and agentic within their ecology. The Head of the KG clearly stated that “sometimes we struggle with the new teachers to enable them to feel the spirit of the school more, and to be more dedicated, and to understand that they have not come only as teachers who do their work and leave. It’s more than that”. Upon elaborating, she insisted that, “They have a mission that they need to fulfill, and we work on well establishing that”(Madanat, 2017). This corresponds with the beliefs and actions of the Superintendent and the leadership team at the school and sets the nature of the schools’ culture, relationships, and ecology that drive teacher agency and beliefs in both conscious and subtle manners.

Design

This research utilizes a concurrent nested design, which involves collecting both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously. However, since “a nested design has a predominant method”(Creswell, Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, p. 229), the one dominating in this case will be the qualitative method, where the role of the nested quantitative analysis is to enlighten and enhance the qualitative analysis. Accordingly, the quantitative and qualitative data are simultaneously utilized throughout the analysis.

Results and Discussion

From the data concurrently collected, nine aspects of teacher agency within ecological school settings emerged as significant, particularly pertaining to the iterational dimension of Generation X teachers in comparison with Generation Y teachers. The following findings are arranged according to the nine aspects of the questionnaire discussed concurrently with the responses of the interviewed teachers from both generations attempt to respond to the three research questions. The discussion highlights the role of iterational generational agency and ecological school contexts in shaping teachers’ beliefs in addition to depicting certain aspects that are key to synchronizing teacher agency among the two generations of teachers present.

1. Personal Mission: Making a Difference

In this multiple choice question, 60 % of Millennials selected the option of “making a difference” as the main reason their personal mission in teaching stems from, while 85.7% of Generation X teachers did not choose this item in the questionnaire. Generation X teachers’ responses highlighted that their personal mission in teaching stems from other choices such as “a set of personal beliefs” in addition to believing in the “mission of the school and its leadership” as the trigger that their personal mission in teaching stems from. (see figure 1)

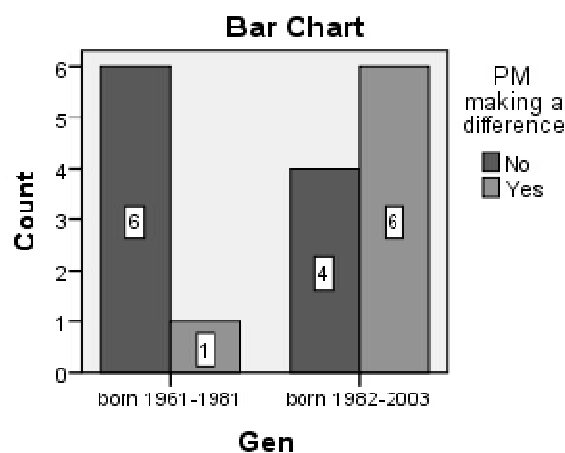


Figure 1: Personal Mission stems from wanting to make a difference

This finding may be supported by Johnson (2004) that Millennial teachers have an urge to create an impact and influence the world. In her interview, the youngest respondent confirmed this notion of needing to feel that her actions make a difference when asked about the aim behind her teaching, as she said, “I have to do something that I feel I own. Like when I want to do something I want to feel there is progress” and “feel the value of what you are doing”.

In comparison, the oldest respondent said, “I became a homeroom teacher for KG 1 with another teacher, and I continued for years. But I always would go to the superintendent for support”, and “I would consult her”. The expressed need for confirmation and support of others here implies that the purpose of teaching stems from, and is shaped by a shared leadership vision that is collective and not individualistic in its approach. Layton outlines this as a characteristic of Generation X who “are loyal to friends and bosses who, in their opinion, have earned their loyalty” (Layton, 2015). This is reiterated perhaps in Generation X teachers’ major choice of their purpose stemming from the mission of the school and leadership, as opposed to the desire on part of Millennial teachers to make a difference that they individually feel they need to own. In relation to teacher agency, such beliefs may imply that while Millennial teachers believe that being unique and impacting is agentic, Generation X teachers believe their agency comes from an expectation of desired collective values that they are loyal to and reliant on.

ABKG constantly invests in the enthusiasm of its teachers, giving opportunities for teachers who aspire to assume leadership positions regardless of age or years of experience. This is evident in the statistics, where 30% of subject leaders are Generation X teachers, while 70% are Millennials. In addition, 70% of these subject leaders have no more than 10 years of experience in teaching (see figures 1, 2).

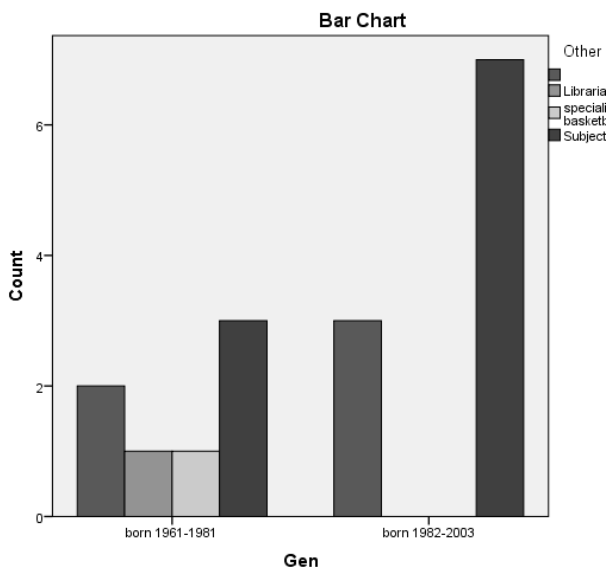


Figure 1: Other positions held according to generation

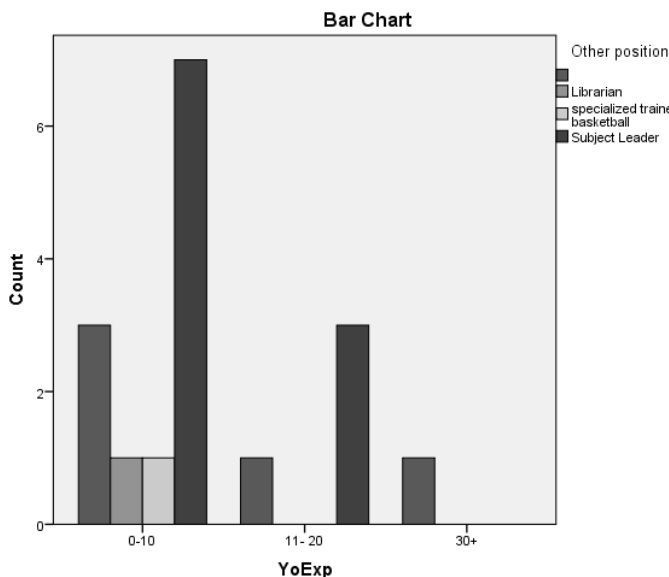


Figure 2: Other positions and years of experience

This attests to the empowering culture of the school’s contexts that enables those who are willing to walk the extra mile. Head of ABKG said, “We made a lot of changes for the coming year, and a lot of the initiatives were from the younger generation. They even do things I don’t know how to do” (Madanat, 2017). the Leader’s belief in teachers’ capacity to create change and make a difference gives them space for growth and enables ambitious Generation X and Millennial teachers to advance in terms of leading positions when they qualify for them.

2. Experience and Expectations

In response to the item of the questionnaire that questioned teacher expectations of students based on their teaching and experience, 80% of Millennials based their expectation for student behavior on the aspect of students being challenging; whereas 57.1% of Generation X teachers expressed their belief that students are expected to be disciplined (see figure 3).

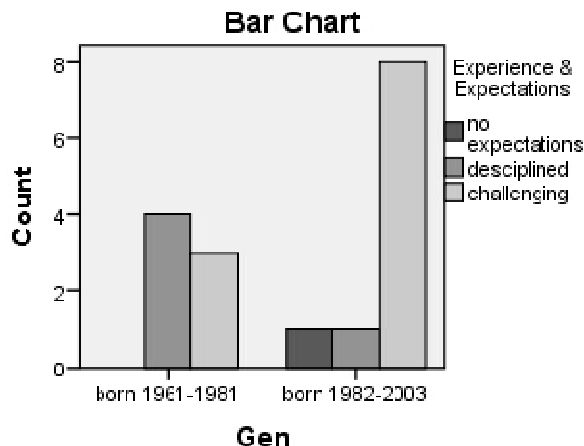


Figure 3: Expectations of students based on experience in teaching

Again the youngest respondent came straightforward in her belief that “a lot comes out of children”. She confirmed that “sometimes the goals are so big and so, that the themes revolve around; but then no, it appears that the children know and can. They understand what you are saying and know, they even give you ideas that they develop and they make you every time to add to experiences and change and do things”, which clearly shows that she finds and expects children to be challenging. She also speaks of it in a positive and anticipating manner. The other Millennial respondent also stated that “the way the kids learn, the research and the inquiry that they do. all of these changed in the kids” and “they become different; they do”. This implies an element of ability and change in students that is challenging as she also said on many occasions that this is “not easy”. Such an expectation complements the description of Millennials to have “a desire for variety, challenge, and change” (Dinnell, 2007, p. 14), which they find rewarding. In this case, students being challenging is a belief that stimulates teacher agency in terms of expectations.

As for Generation X teachers, the younger expressed that “at the end you feel that you are working with humans who, as much as you give them and as much as you work on them, they will grow to give too”, which shows considerable predictability that is reciprocal. However, she reconsidered by saying that, “Not everything should be imposed from above. ... But sometimes as a teacher, I cannot help it and I want to interfere, to impose or control, but then, I remember, no,

let them, no, give them space. Sometimes you want to guide, but then you have to back off". So, there is a realization of the need to allow for space beyond predictability although it is not always easy.

The eldest respondent believed that she is to an extent more in control of her expectations due to her experience and dedication to knowing each child as she said, "I know the child I am dealing with and consider I understand the child from all aspects". She also stated that it is necessary "To give freedom within limits". This seems to indicate the difference in expectations between the two generations of teachers, where considerable control through knowledge, experience, and dedication seems relevant to Generation X teachers, while being challenged and more open to possibilities is characteristic of Generation Y teachers.

The beliefs carried by the Millennial teachers regarding their expectations due to their instruction seem to play a role in motivating them to want to be challenged by their students and open to the unexpected, whereas Generation X teachers expressed the desire and ability to predict and control their expectations of students. This may be due to longer periods of experience in teaching which shaped this belief on their part. However, the reflective manner of the younger Generation X teacher, pertaining to holding back from her expectations, shows an attempt to acknowledge the possibility of being more open. Being closer to the Millennials' generation, the younger Generation X teacher demonstrated a cusp characteristic, which means her belief is borderline between Generations X and Y as she clearly questioned it in a compelling manner that may enable her to reshape this belief.

At ABKG, there is a strong urge for teachers to be "lifelong learners" who are "open-minded", as stated in the school's philosophy. In addition, the PYP programme ABKG adopts and invites teachers to be reflective practitioners. Such resources within the school context enable teachers to reflect and view change as a positive attribute. From the response of the younger Generation X teacher aforementioned, there is a window of opportunity for generational cusps to be the shapers of balanced change, where learning becomes reciprocal among the two generations of teachers. Moreover, the constant culture of collaboration previously described is also an enabler for stronger teacher agency within the ecology of ABKG.

3. Best teaching practices and educational certification

While the whole body of Millennial respondents believed educational certification is not necessarily a major condition for best teaching to occur, 71.4% of Generation X teachers revealed that they are convinced that educational certification is a requirement to the best teaching practices (see figure 4).

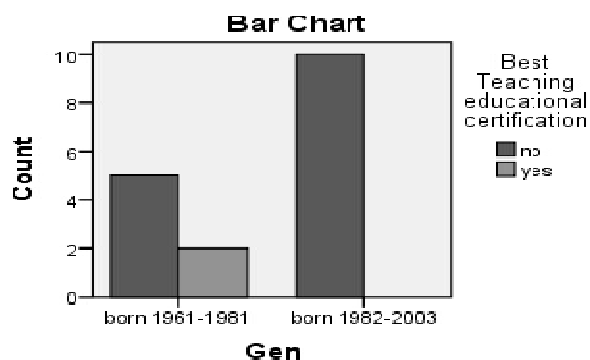


Figure 4: Best teaching practices and educational certification

The belief in self-learning and the sufficiency of personal experience to build knowledge seem to suffice to Millennial teachers. Greenebaum (2009) relays from her findings that "Millennial teachers learn by participating, interacting, experiencing, and constructing knowledge" (p. 33). To support this, the youngest respondent believes that "sometimes with experience and self-learning it might be enough, but maybe yes, maybe it [educational certification] is bound to add some value. But I feel that the experience I gained in this environment and my mom, I feel that I already know how to do what I am doing. And I already read a lot; ... so I felt this covered an area of what I need". The other Millennial teacher expressed her desire to pursue certification as she stated, "I like to pursue a Master's and a PhD. Really, I love to study", and that her "dream was to become a teacher at a university". However, it appears that seeking certification is out of personal desire rather than a belief in its being useful for enhancing her profession as a KG teacher; she did not attempt to link the two during the interview.

Teachers of the older generation clearly stated that they believed in the value of certification to enhance their professional abilities. One said, "I would love to take courses in early childhood", where "through experience, throughout the years we have been working, we develop knowledge about childhood and children... but ... I feel I really like to study courses in these areas". To her, experience does not substitute for certification despite its value. Again, the younger generation X teacher demonstrates a borderline position of a perhaps transitional nature concerning her beliefs.

The eldest teacher, on the other hand, believed she needed "to study and get a higher diploma in hope that ... [she] can assume an administrative role outside the classroom". And when asked whether she would be interested in being a consultant for younger teachers, she genuinely asked the interviewer, "do I need certification for that?" which reflects her belief in the importance of certification to perform this task well before she assumes it. Throughout the interview, she expressed a genuine interest and effort in preparing

herself well academically to serve the children to the best of her ability.

These beliefs concerning the importance of certification may be attributed to the different upbringing of the two generations of teachers. Where Millennials were brought up on the notion of being able to do anything they want to do, Generation X, particularly in Jordan and the Arab world, were raised by parents who believed in the significance of education in creating change and changing realities. Such beliefs are translated reasonably in the way each of the two generations of teachers assess the importance of certification to teaching and professional work.

However, the superintendent of the schools clearly understands that the younger generation “see professional growth different than us”(Najjar H. , 2016). She describes the school culture as one that capitalizes on meaningfully training its teachers to be equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills, particularly Millennials, by saying, “I have a list of all the youth at school. And I will give them opportunities”(Najjar H. , 2016) in reference to an aspiring teacher being sent on training abroad despite being in her early professional years. Accordingly, there is an indirect impact of the school practices that attempts to reshape teachers’ beliefs in actions aligned with their mission.

4. Best teaching is the result of teacher’s own efforts

In terms of best teaching practices being the result of the teacher’s own efforts in professionally developing, 60% of Millennial teachers believe that their own efforts are what shapes best teaching practices. On the contrary, 85.7% of Generation X teachers believe that this is not necessarily true (see figure 5).

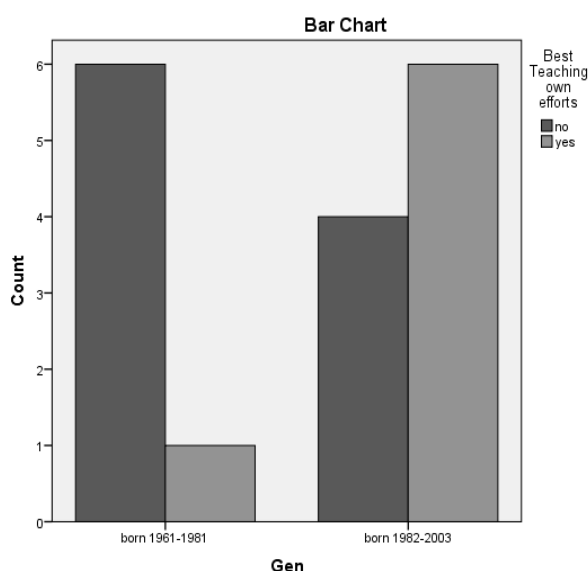


Figure 5: Best teaching is the result of teacher’s own efforts

The youngest respondent described her encounter with a problematic situation by saying, “I immersed in the situation and read a lot about it... so I could know. They gave me reports about the case and such, but I had to read, to research and so, and the situation improved”. Therefore, she attributed her improvement to her own efforts of researching and gaining more knowledge on her own. As for the other Millennial teacher, she also described how sometimes she needs to change her practical teaching against her plan saying, “Inside the classroom, I might enter, having prepared the plan, and I enter the class, and change the whole plan. My goal is one, but the children themselves are more ready for the thing I want to give them more than what was written. This happened many times with me”. In both responses, there is a frequent use of the personal pronoun “I” in acting upon their better judgment, indicating an attribution of “improved” and “smooth flow” to themselves and their experiences.

Perhaps the same enactment of agency was present in problematic situations that required calling upon good judgment on part of Generation X teachers, but the nature of description seems different in the belief behind this judgment. Similar to the older Millennial teacher, the younger Generation X teacher said, “sometimes, I feel we come up with something, ... an idea emerges ... I apply it, and I record it in my reflection, and when we sit together... we reflect upon what we did and we go to the coordinators during the meeting, and if they find that the interaction of students was good, we document it for next year”. Accordingly, not only is there a dominance in the use of the plural pronoun “we” in most of the response, but the attribution of good change is collaborative not only between the partner teachers but also in correspondence to what the administration thinks is best. Furthermore, the older Generation X teacher commented that when discussing a matter of urgency with the group, “If the teacher knows that any change is for the benefit of the child, you have to be flexible and adapting. I had no problem, I would immediately comply, I would work on myself and with the school”; so, to her the individual act of the teacher is expected to be in compliance and agreement with the school. Additionally, she constantly quotes and recalls expert opinions in her work as a backbone to her best teaching.

This belief seems to fit in well with generational theory since Millennial teachers believe their best practices to be due to their own efforts; it complements their being called the “Me Generation”, who have been characterized due to globalization as being “overconfident and self-involved” (Stein, 2013). On the other hand, the collaborative attitude of Generation X teachers can be attributed to their iterative dimension of teacher agency tapping upon their professional experiences in which they tend to refashion practices through past patterns of behavior and experience (Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2015).

Such a reaching into their iterational agency can be claimed to be due to the impact of school systems that itched on Generation X teachers across their years of experience, where the older generation KG teacher states explicitly, “I would immediately comply”. This perhaps implies that the impact of the school ecology, particularly collaborative systems, may need time to become part of Millennial teachers’ beliefs.

5. Accountability is related to the teacher herself

In a parallel line with best practices, when it comes to accountability of practices, 90% of Millennials think that this is due to themselves as teachers, whereas 57.1% of Generation X teachers believe accountability is a process involving school systems and policies, and stakeholders, in addition to their own selves (see figure6).

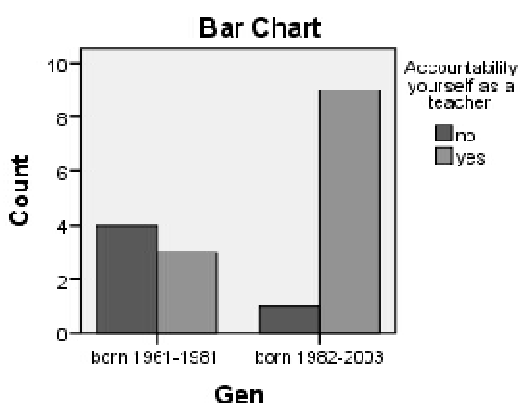


Figure 6: Accountability attributed to teacher herself

The younger Millennial teacher said, “I feel four years are not enough for me to decide. But I have developed a good amount of experience and I am now confident in myself to be honest”, and “I feel that I already know how to do what I am doing”. Such an expression of confidence reflects self-accountability despite her realizing that she is professionally still ripe. This comes in line with Millennials described by Howe and Strauss(2007) and Johnson(2004)as being confident and responsible, and therefore accountable for what they do. In comparison, the oldest Generation X teacher explicitly said, “I have a good reputation that comes from parents”, and “When they [KG2 students] went to grade one and went to BSA, they [grade one teachers] would come back to us and say wow your children are amazing”. Accountability here seems to come from testimonies of stakeholders who affirm the good teaching that took place. While Millennials’ iterational agency seems to stem from personal beliefs related to an entitled upbringing according to Sinek(2016), Generation X teachers’ agency appears to be derived from the judgment of themselves and others with regards to the outcomes of their actions perhaps due to their being the rather cynical generation.

While school systems and policies constantly state that accountability is both personal and collective, the superintendent clarifies that the schools’ structures and policies are of a “flexible” nature(Najjar, 2016). However, in her interview she also stated that the older generation who took part in collectively establishing these are more understanding of them than the younger generation who came and took things for granted with their different understanding or perhaps even underestimation of policies and structures (Najjar, 2016). This perhaps explains the beliefs of the two generations especially that Millennials fulfill their profile. But the flexibility of leadership shows an understanding of the new generation, and sustains belief in change toward the better through their energies.

6. Relationship with Administration

Regarding the nature of the relationship between teachers and administration, 80% of Millennial teachers described this relationship as “collegial”, while 71.4% of Generation X teachers described it as “semi-formal”. This may be due to Generation Y teachers’ parenting (Sinek, 2016) that made them feel entitled to equal footage with others, particularly at a professional level. And by believing their relationship is collegial with administration, Millennial teachers maintain two things: the professional relationship and the power of opinion and presence.

Since most Generation X teachers working in the school took part in the reshaping of the school at the end of the 20th century under a new and young administration at the time, this led them to build a rather semi-formal relationship with administration as partners in change. Such a personal or even familial relationship allowed Generation X teachers to have high levels of ownership and loyalty, which seem to explain their choice of describing the relationship with administration as mostly semi-formal to informal (see figure 7).

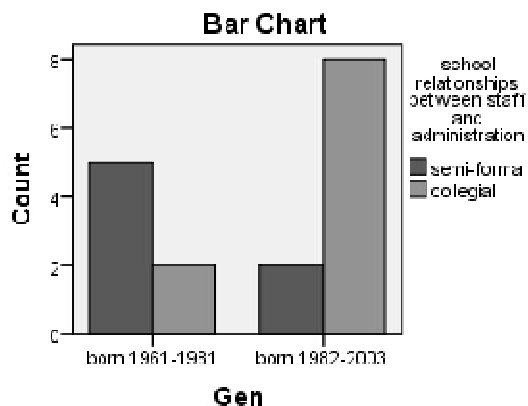


Figure 7: Relationship with administrations

Although there is no direct reference to the nature of the relationship as such, the younger Millennial teacher did say, “I wanted to preserve the thing that existed

when I left the school”, referring to why she came to work at the school after graduating. This shows a familiarity with place from the past that she feels capable of impacting in the present. She further explained, “There is an atmosphere, related to treatment and comfort, there is comfort”, which implies an ease in returning as a teacher. This complements the notion that “Millennials have a greater sense of entitlement” (Anderson, Baur, Jennifer, & Buckley, 2017, p. 247). The older Millennial teacher spoke as a long-lived insider, when anxiously talking about an undesirable experience with a colleague who left the school. She said, “For someone new to come from outside, out of nowhere, and tell you [what to do] ... why would such a thing happen?” implying ownership of space and decisions. She comments on the ending of this conflict by saying, “Now we have become more at ease. So, the situation has become more comfortable. and they listen to us more”.

On the other hand, Generation X teachers express a different nature of their relationship with administration. The younger Generation X teacher says, “We have a lot of trust. The school really provides blind faith in their teachers”. This is said in a tone that reflects high responsibility and living up to such an occasion, where the relationship is beyond professional and collegial but rather more personal and semi-formal. The older Generation X teacher supports this semi-formal relationship in describing her relationship with the Superintendent who was Head of the KG in the past by saying, “She supported me a lot, and encouraged me. She was Head of the KG” and “I wouldn’t have become like this without”. The appreciative mannerism and closeness reflect why this generation, who probably consider themselves co-builders of the school, feel their relationship is beyond professionally collegial but rather personal, familial, and therefore semi-formal.

7. Relationship with Colleagues

As for their relationship with colleagues, it is noteworthy that a vast majority of 90% of Millennials agree to its being “interdependent”, somewhat similar to the “collegial” nature of their relationship with the administration implying equal footage with others. Generation X teachers vary in their responses where 57.1% find it either “informal” or “semi-formal”, while 42.9% find it “interdependent”. Millennial teachers mostly view relationships through a professional lens while many Generation X teachers perceive it through a more personalized one (see figure 8).

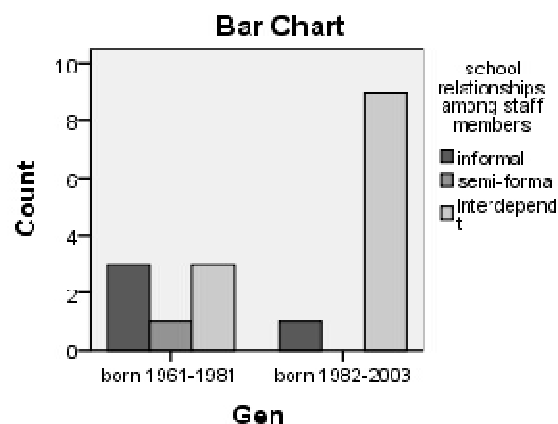


Figure 8: Relationship with colleagues

The beliefs carried by the two generations of teachers regarding relationships at the school can be attributed to the iterational dimension shaping such beliefs. Their previous experiences allow them “to recall, select, and appropriately apply ... the schemas of action that they have developed” (Amirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 975), and activate them. Millennials see the relationship as collegial and interdependent, confirming their desire to be treated equally, but also efficiently led by and dependent on good leaders, whereas Generation X teachers derive a sense of partnership and view relationships mostly as semi-formal and rather personal.

Interestingly enough also, the culture of the school that impacted the two generations of teachers is expressed also differently in correspondence with their iterational dimension and in accordance with their generational traits. While the Millennial teachers speak of an atmosphere of “comfort” and “ease”, Generation X teachers highlight a culture of “trust”. Therefore, the ecology of the school impacts each in a way that relationally engages them.

8. The teacher’s role in school life

Perhaps what is most striking is the difference in the response of teachers of the two generations with regards to what they believe their role is in terms of school life. Surprisingly enough, 70% of Millennial teachers believe that they do “initiate change” as part of their role in school life. Nevertheless, none of Generation X teachers opted for the choice where they “initiate change”, choosing “fulfilling duties”, or taking part in school life “when asked” or “when appealing” to them. (see figure9)

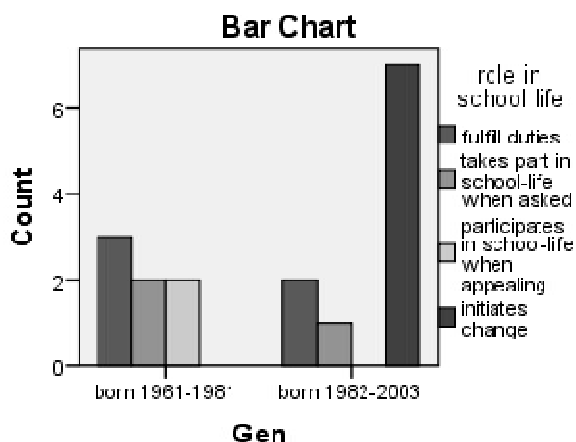


Figure 9: Teacher's role in school life

The younger Millennial teacher expressed personal pride in initiating new ideas that are different and enforcing their being acted upon immediately saying, "I and another teacher initiated the idea... we insisted let's do it this year. And we actually tried it, and it worked". When asked why they didn't follow systematic procedure of documenting and applying in the following year, she said, "it won't make a difference whether this year or another. There is a time when it will be the first time, so why not now?" expressing this in a strong rhetorical tone. Her other Millennial colleague also said, "We do always try to change", in reference to individual and personalized teaching styles, putting change in an active context that she and her colleagues initiate in her opinion. This reflects Millennials' feelings of empowerment, which they enact in their dealing with change.

Generation X teachers also spoke of change, but within a different context. Change is something that happens to them consciously and after periods of internalization. The younger Generation X teacher explicitly said, "we change", and further expanded that "our basic beliefs changed a lot". She further clarified, "I mean, we changed a lot from within", in reference to the impact of implementing the new PYP program on her and other teachers, and as a parent as well. In her words, what appeared was the collective change in terms of being affected and influenced, as she further said, "there are some things I have to comply to and complete, and I later change", referring to unit plans. Accordingly, the mannerism and belief come from a different mindset. This is strongly confirmed as the older Generation X teacher genuinely said, "I had no problem; I would immediately comply; I would work on myself and with the school, and would love to attend workshops and follow up so as to apply them and change". Again, this implies that it is she who will change in correspondence with school's directives. This reflects the nature of change on part of Generation X teachers, which is different than that of Millennials. Accordingly, Generation Y teachers seem to believe

they are subjects of change, whereas Generation X teachers seems accepting of being subjected to change, influenced by their contexts.

The school documents verbalize the promotion of initiating change and innovation in many of their written statements. This manifests itself in Millennial's belief of being subjects who lead change rather than objects of which change happens upon as it appears on part of Generation X teachers. Again, the impact of ecological contexts has a different effect on members of each generation in accordance with their generational traits. This may be attributed to Generation X teachers being more habitually attuned to what exists in comparison with Millennials.

9. Career advancement in form of more professional knowledge

Almost the same percentage of each generation of teachers was on an opposite end when it came to professional advancement through gaining more professional knowledge in form of certification or other means. While 70% of Millennials negated this form of professional advancement, 71.4% of Generation X teachers affirmed such a possibility (see figure 10).

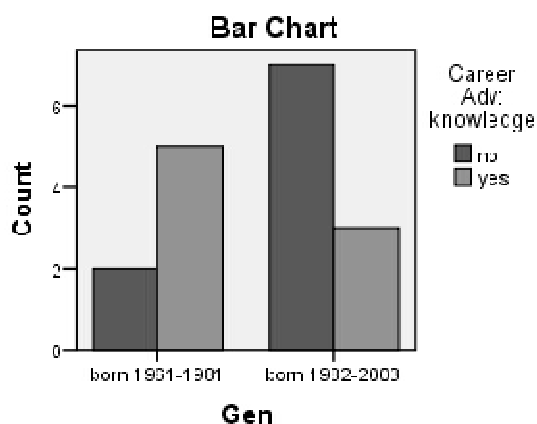


Figure 10: Career advancement in form of professional knowledge

Uncertainty characterized the youngest respondent upon being asked about future plans, where she declared, "I need four or five more years until I decide what I want. To continue in the same thing, or other". And when asked about the advantage of having formal certification in education she said, "I feel that I already know how to do what I am doing". However, she did express a desire to advance in her position as she stated, "what I really want to become is ... a workshop trainer or something of the sort". The other Millennial teacher did express a liking to pursue further studies but out of personal interest and not in terms of a step toward a career advancement in the school.

The latter opinions seem different to what Generation X teachers view in terms of career

advancement and further certification as one of them said, “I would like to attend courses in early childhood”, further expressing that, “I feel I really like to study courses in these areas”. The context in which this was expressed is within her current professional working place, and to feed into her current work. To correspond with this, the older Generation X teacher revealed that attaining further certification is something she actually looks forward to as she said, “to study and get a higher diploma in hope that I can assume an administrative role outside the classroom. Perhaps an advisor for new teachers”. Her future plans pertained to sustaining her educational career within the school itself, where she stated, “I would like to have a new experience not inside the classroom. Let me float among all classrooms. Or to become the head of the nursery. I would like something different”. Furthermore, when considering beyond that, she clearly had contemplated on launching her own project as she said she would love to “start a kindergarten or nursery” after retirement, and she expressed confidence in saying, “I can train teachers and walk inside the classrooms and guide the teachers. This is attainable for me”. Again, the beliefs that emerge on part of the two generations of teachers reflect the values they were brought up to believe in and enact.

The fact that the school offers ample resources such as training workshops to develop teachers and enable them to advance professionally as a valued investment seems to play more of a role on part of Generation X teachers than it does on Millennials. However, the school’s open opportunities for teachers to advance and train is reflected in the high percentage of Millennial subject leaders, where the superintendent affirms her will to invest in a young teacher even if “she decides not to stay with us”, because “... she needs to see that we are investing in her” (Najjar, 2016). Such a culture sows knowledge in teachers, to reap later with much faith.

Word Frequency as a Reflection of Beliefs Shaped by the Iterational Dimension

Word clouds of the interviews conducted with Millennial and Generation X teachers visually manifested their sets of beliefs, shaped and reshaped by their iterational dimension of agency and the school’s ecological settings (see figures 11-14).

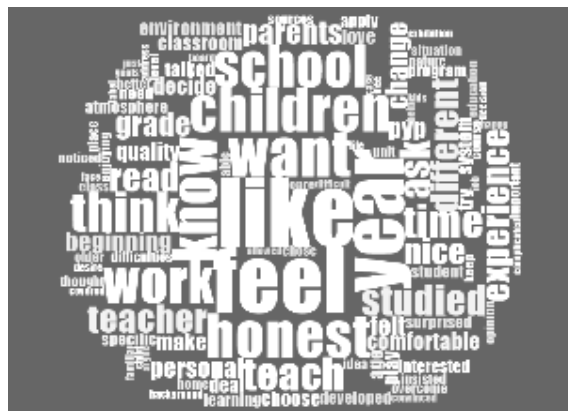


Figure 11: Millennial 1



Figure 12: Millennial 2

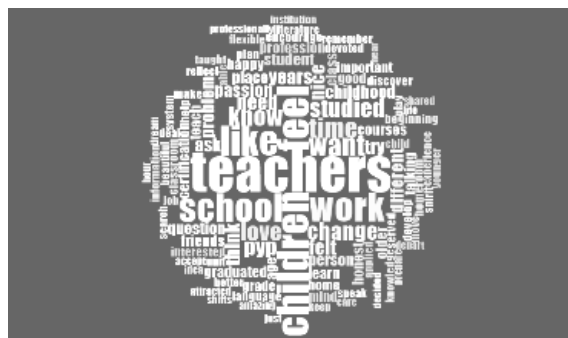


Figure 13: Generation X1

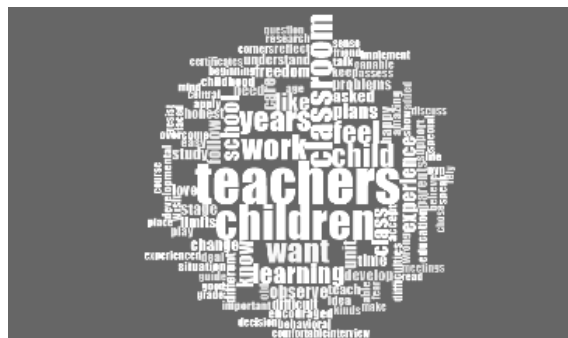


Figure 14: Generation X2

The word clouds of the two Millennial teachers show that the most frequent word is an emotive one:

In comparison, Millennials believe they are able to make a difference and initiate change, which is also supported by their belief in their students' ability to generate ideas beyond their expectations as teachers. However, their beliefs also seem to lead them to underestimate the value of educational certification and the role further professional knowledge plays in enabling them to advance in their careers. Contrary to this, Millennials believe in their own ability to acquire needed knowledge through experience or through off-hand research that is often of a pragmatic and not necessarily reliable nature. And due to their entitled upbringing, they highly regard their own efforts as the main source behind their best practices, and consider accountability as something they take upon themselves to achieve personally. Millennials also engage in collegial and interdependent relationships with others holding a middle-ground of professionalism to sustain their belief in themselves as equal to all others.

Accordingly, each generation has much to offer to educate the other. From the findings, there is an implication that cusp teachers- in-between generations- are the best candidates to build the bridges of reshaping self-beliefs, belief toward knowledge, and beliefs toward productive collaborative relationships. While cusp cases- the youngest among Generation X teachers- carry the generational and iterational characteristics of Generation X, they also have the capacity to reflect on and look into useful beliefs of Millennials and reconsider their own beliefs.

Accordingly, professional development would be most effective in being differentiated, where it mainly employs an apprenticeship model for Millennials, and a theory-based cognitive model for Generation X teachers, with intermittent eclectic models to blend learning. It would also seem appropriate to pair Millennial teachers with cusp Generation X teachers in apprenticeship processes to maximize the impact of semi-formal, but also collegial, professional development on part of both generations of teachers.

In terms of school ecology, increasing opportunities for socialization beyond school time and/or schoolwork, to increase teachers' iterational repertoire of experiences is advisable. Additionally, implementing an experimental model of rotational and participatory leadership within departments may prove to maximize opportunities for reciprocal learning to occur even between younger Millennials and older Generation X teachers. The idea of capitalizing on the experience of Generation X teachers in floating around to offer insightful guidance, while creating a challenging atmosphere for Millennials may also prove to be an innovative model of collaboration.

References

- Ahliyyah & Bishop, K. (2017). *The Ahliyyah And Bishop Kindergarten*. Retrieved from Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/pg/The-Ahliyyah-and-Bishops-Kindergarten-274124499362772/about/?ref=page_internal
- Amirbayer, M. & Mische, A. (1998, January). What is Agency? *The American Journal of Sociology*, 103(4), 962-1023. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2782934>
- Anderson, J.; Baur, J.; Jennifer, G. & Buckley, M. R. (2017, Feb.). What Works for You May Not Work for (Gen)Me: Limitations of Present Leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 28(1), 245-260. Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1048984316300467?via%3Dihub>
- ASG. (2009-2013). *School Information*. Retrieved from The Ahliyyah School for Girls: <http://www.asg.edu.jo/SubDefault.aspx?PageID=153|Node=10&LanguageID=2>
- ASG & BSA, A. (2016). *ASG & BSA Schools*. Retrieved from ASG & BSA: <http://www.asgbsa.edu.jo/>
- Biesta, G. & Tedder, M. (2006, February). *How is Agency Possible? Towards an Ecological Understanding of Agency-as-Achievement*. University of Luxembourg, Education & instruction. Luxembourg: The Learning Lives project. Retrieved from Learning Lives: <http://hdl.handle.net/10993/13718>.
- Biesta, G. & Tedder, M. (2007, Autumn). Agency and Learning in the Lifecourse: towards an ecological perspective. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 39(2), 132-149. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=C54384E9B2FA6053F1CC0667067879B4?doi=10.1.1.829.7386&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.
- Creswell, J.; Clark, V. L.; Gutmann, M. L. & Hanson, W. E. (2003). Advanced Mixed Methods Research Design. In & C. A. Tashakkori (Ed.), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research* (pp. 209-240). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dinnell, S. (2007). Risky Business: Generation Y – Attracting, Engaging & Leading a new Generation at Work. *AVA Annual Conference 2007*, (pp. 1-18). Retrieved from: http://avpma.ava.com.au/sites/default/files/AVPMA_website/resources/5.2%20Generation%20Y%20-%20Attracting,%20Engaging%20%26%20Leading%20a%20New%20Generation%20at%20Work.pdf
- Greenebaum, H. (2009, March 20). *Teachers' Voices: Millennial Teachers' Daily Lived Experiences in Public Schools*. Retrieved from ProQuest: <http://ezlibrary.ju.edu.jo/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/excellence/myBookshelf.action?folderID=1>.

- Howe, N. & Strauss, W. (2007, July- August). The Next 20 Years: How Customer and Workforce Attitudes Will Evolve. *Harvard Business Review*, 41-52. Retrieved from www.hbr.org.
- Johnson, S. (2004). *Finders and Keepers: Helping New Teachers Survive and Thrive in Our Schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Layton, D. (2015, July). Perceptions of Millennial Teachers' Commitment to Teaching as a Career (Doctoral dissertation). (UMI 3714125). Arkansas, USA: ProQuest. Retrieved from: <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2201&context=etd>.
- Madanat, D. (2017, August 2). Interview with Head of ABKG. (K. Qattash, Interviewer).
- McCordle, M. a. (2012, April 12). Bridging the Gap: An Employer's Guide to Managing and Retaining the New Generation of Employees. Retrieved from http://www.mccordle.com.au/resources/whitepapers/Bridging-the-Gap_EMPLOYERS.pdf
- Melchiorre, M. (2015). *How Millennial Teachers Perceive Their Principals: Will They Stay or Will They Leave?* Retrieved from ProQuest: <http://ezlibrary.ju.edu.jo/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/excellence/myBookshelf.action?folderID=-1>
- Najjar, H. (2016, October 12). Interview with H.E. Superintendent of ASG and BSA. (K. Qattash, Interviewer).
- Najjar, H. (2017). *Personal Profile*. Retrieved from LinkedIn: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/haifa-hajjar-najjar-a9722112/?ppe=1>
- OECD. (2017). *Ageing and Employment Policies - Statistics on average effective age of retirement*. Retrieved from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: <http://www.oecd.org/els/emp/average-effective-age-of-retirement.htm>
- Priestley, M.; Biesta, G.& Robinson, S. (2015). Teacher agency: what is it and why does it matter? In R. K. Evers (Ed.), *Flip the System: Changing Education from the Bottom Up* (pp. 134-148). New York: Routledge. Retrieved from [https://books.google.jo/books?id=s7YBCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA147&lpg=PA147&dq=Priestley,+M.,+Biesta,+G.J.J.+and+Robinson,+S.+\(2013\)+Teachers+as+agents+of+change:+teacher+agency+and+emerging+models+of+curriculum,+in+M.+Priestley+and+G.J.J.+Biesta+\(eds\),+Reinventing+](https://books.google.jo/books?id=s7YBCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA147&lpg=PA147&dq=Priestley,+M.,+Biesta,+G.J.J.+and+Robinson,+S.+(2013)+Teachers+as+agents+of+change:+teacher+agency+and+emerging+models+of+curriculum,+in+M.+Priestley+and+G.J.J.+Biesta+(eds),+Reinventing+)
- Priestley, M.; Biesta, G.& Robinson, S. (2016). *Teacher Agency: An Ecological Approach*. London, UK: Bloomsbury. Retrieved February 20, 2017.
- Priestley, M.; Edwards, R.; Priestley, A. & Miller, K. (2012). Teacher Agency in Curriculum Making: Agents of Change and Spaces for Manoeuvre. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 42(2), 191-214. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2012.00588.x>
- Sinek, S. (2016, December 30). the Millennial Question. (T. Bilyeu, Interviewer) Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vudaAYx2IcE>
- Stein, J. (2013, May 20). Millennials: The Me Me Me Generation. USA: TIME. Retrieved from <http://time.com/247/millennials-the-me-me-me-generation/>
- Twenge, J. (2006). *Generation me: Why today's young Americans are more confident, assertive, entitled- and more miserable than ever before*. New York: Free Press.